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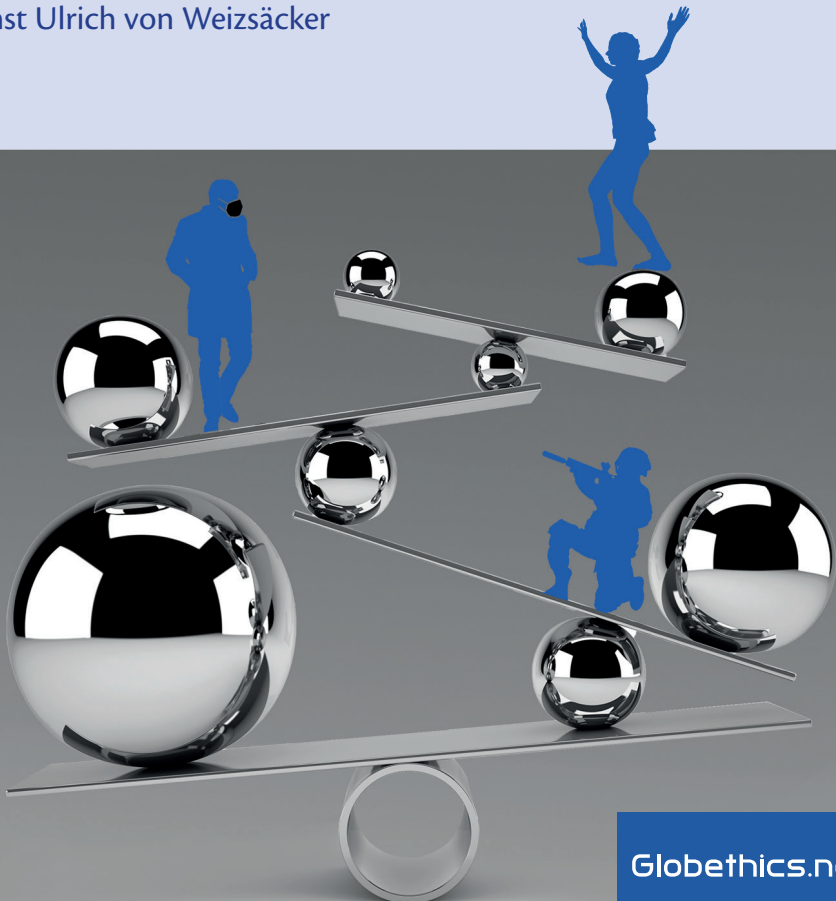
Globalance towards a New World Order

Ethics Matters and Motivates. Handbook with 250 Graphs

Christoph Stückelberger

Prefaces: Mariana Bozesan, Liu Baocheng

and Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker



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towards a
New World Order

Ethics Matters and Motivates.
Handbook with 250 Graphs

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Christoph Stückelberger

Prefaces

Mariana Bozesan

Liu Baocheng

Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker

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I STILL HAVE A DREAM

*I have a dream
Superpowers cooperate
Suspicion is converted to trust
Escalation is turned to de-escalation
Domination is replaced by participation
Innovation is balanced with conservation
Competition is combined with cooperation
Polarisation is defeated by respect of opposites
Power and leadership are executed with integrity
The Golden Rule of reciprocity becomes true
Self-confidence is balanced with modesty
Soft water is stronger than hard stones
Freedom and justice kiss each other
Hate is transformed into love
Death is integrated into life
Love will never end
A New World*

I still have a dream

Christoph Stückelberger

This book is dedicated to all those who contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for a world and life of values-driven global balance.

“We affirm finally that any deliberate attempt to reach a rational and enduring state of equilibrium by planned measures, rather than by chance or catastrophe, must ultimately be founded on a basic change of values and goals at individual, national, and world levels.”¹ *Club of Rome, 1972*

“Yin and Yan represent the balance, where two opposites co-exist in harmony and are able to transmute into each other.” *Tao Te King*

“Western culture - unlike Asian or African - is not balance-oriented. The new enlightenment should emphasize the virtue of balance.”²
Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, Physicist, Biologist, Politician

“Justice and Peace kiss each other.” *Bible, Psalm 85:10*

“Love the Lord your God. Love your neighbor as yourself. *Mark 12:30-31*

“If there is righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character. If there is beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the home. If there is harmony in the home, there will be order in the nations.”
Confucius, Analects

“Virtue is a middle state between too faulty ones, in the way of excess on one side and of defect on the other. Virtue is a mean state; but in reference to the chief good and to excellence it is the highest state.” *Aristotle, NE II*

“Do it like God: become Human” *(unknown Christian)*

“E.T.H.I.C.S stands for Empowerment, Transformation, Holistic Approach, Integrity, Competence, Sustainability.” *Globethics.net, Strategy*

¹ Meadows, Donella and Denis et al, *The Limits to Growth*, New York: Universe Books, 1972, 195. <https://clubofrome.org/publication/the-limits-to-growth>.

² Weizsäcker, Ernst Ulrich von, *Systeme kollabieren langsam*. Interview with Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker, *Tages-Anzeiger*, 17 March 2018, 43. Translation by the author.

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PREFACE

MARIANA BOZESAN

Climate scientists have long warned about climate catastrophe, its cascading effects, and impending societal breakdown, but so did anthropologists. They showed that today's developed societies could soon follow into the footsteps of the Sumerian, the Mayan, or the Roman Empire, and collapse due to the Law of Diminishing Returns, which makes it impossible to finance the increasing societal complexity over time. In modern terms, we call such "solutions" Quantitative Easing, which is nothing else, but the ongoing process of printing money to finance failing systems without transforming them. Does that ring a bell?

Across the world, many of us are disturbed by the lack of leadership, poor behavior, and the inability of governments to implement policies that could address these challenges in a timely manner. From the financial crisis on 2007/8, to the COVID pandemic, and the current energy crisis, we had plenty of opportunities. Because our economies are intertwined, interdependent, operating globally, and their unsustainable activities push the limits of a safe operating system of our Planet, a collapse would be global and enormous.

And let's not forget the current massive societal polarization and growing inequality fueled by the modern-day tech feudalism of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp that are not regulat-

ed and thus undermining not only our highest human values, but also science for personal gain and profit.

But there is also tremendous hope. Hope that comes from the abundance generated by the technological development which could enable us to address current crises and avoid impending collapse if enacted upon ethically, sustainably, and in a timely manner. That should encourage us because other than the Law of Diminishing Returns, we witness for the first time in human history what Ray Kurzweil calls the Law of Accelerating Returns. It refers to the speed and power of the evolutionary process that increases exponentially over time and leads to massive cost reduction, demonetization, and democratization of technology. It is based on human individual and collective consciousness evolution, which explodes exponentially, particularly within the context of global interconnectivity. This unprecedented window of opportunity is here now but we must act while Mother Earth is still patient.

And then there is hope that arises from the human ability to enact higher ethics and morals, ethics rooted in a world-centric, even Universe-centric, view of the world that acts collectively and locally. A view of the world, that enables us all to see that we are a privileged few travelling the Universe on a beautiful blue dot that must be protected at all cost. It is all we have.

We need not wait any longer!

In this book, Christoph Stueckelberger gives us world-centric ethics and morals and shows us how to apply them. He is a rare ethics expert and university professor who when asked “What are the major stages of human ethics development that we all go through?” can give a well-informed answer that is based on consciousness evolution. This book

attests to it. It is a highly practical and useful book which is both cognitively stimulating and sacredly motivating. In this updated version, it speaks the language of ethics and morals to a wide audience, across all age brackets, genders, and creeds, and from politicians to high technologists, to financiers, businesspeople, and civil society, and from the richest to the poorest.

Written primarily from an ethical perspective during these transformative times, the book also carries priceless insights and important messages for every deep-thinking individual who seeks solutions to the unrelenting trials threatening humanity today. It is set in the context of revolutionary global events; a post COVID-era that barely gave us a taste for future pandemics; a failed, unsustainable, economic and financial system that is widening societal polarization and inequalities while continuing to damage planetary boundaries, the safe operating system of our Earth; the continuing climate emergency which forces us to make an immediate transition from fossil fuels to a carbon neutral economic system, but whose call lands widely on deaf ears; an exponentially-growing revolution in disruptive technologies that also carry significant security risks arising from unregulated, unethically operating Artificial Intelligence technologies, to name a few.

Despite the current state of the world, or maybe because of it, Christoph won't give up. He won't give up because he still has a dream! In his dream, superpowers are led by modest, just, innovative, and ethical people who convert suspicion into trust, and hatred into love with the intention to unite the peoples of the world and to build the sustainable future we all want.

I take great gratification in this Globalance handbook because I sincerely value its contribution to our collective humanity for a world that

rejoices in implementing higher ethics for this century and beyond. Thus, I highly recommend it because it gives hope, it shines a pure light on ethics and morals, and offers practical guidance for a New World Order to all those who seek to ensure the future of human civilization.

This book demonstrates why ethics matter and motivates those looking for value-based thinking, holistic action, and an ethical code that has never been timelier or more needed. And, it is a powerful invitation to seize the extraordinary opportunities that lie before us.

Dr. Mariana Bozesan, Berlin/Germany
Europe's Leading Female Investor 2019
Full member Club of Rome
Author of Integral Investing: From Profit to Prosperity

PREFACE

LIU BAOCHENG

The Creator has bestowed sufficient provisions to the entire human race to sustain and prosper, but that is never adequate to fulfill the ferocious appetite of those ambitious schemers. When indwelt love gives in to the hunger for power, the world is set afire with incessant violence and oppression instead of fanning into flame the gift of the Creator.

Crédit Suisse reported that the richest 1% on the planet accumulated 45.6% of global wealth in 2021, a rise of 1.7% from 2019, the year before the Covid-19 pandemic. This observation is reaffirmed by the recent Oxfam report that the world's 10 richest men have more than doubled their collective fortunes since March 2020 while lower incomes for the world's poorest contributed to the death of 21,000 people each day.

When world economy is sliding onto the verge of recession, global military expenditure reached \$2.1 trillion, rising for its seventh year in a row. In addition to its titanic volume of natural reserves, with 1.8% of the world population occupying 10% of the planet landmass, 4 times of EU 27 countries combined, Vladimir Putin still predates on Ukraine for expansion of what he considers national security belt.

By no means Professor Christoph Stückelberger intends to depict a world of egalitarianism by his magnificent works of Globalance towards a New World Order. From an ethics perspective, he calls for a world

order that is based on binding multilateral rules, regulations, standards and law enforcement, negotiated in fair processes and implemented with power, incentives and sanctions. As a great ethicist, the author clearly understands that rules are servants to ethics. Therefore, he dives deep into individual and institutional ethics that conceptualizes and contextualizes the essence of equality, fairness, justice and peace.

Most outstanding of all, he draws on the strength and wisdom of philosophers from various civilizations to support his argument for a life in dignity for all humans. Major events from different parts of the world along historical path are analyzed in normative framework in order to broaden readers' vision beyond contemporary trivialities. Based on his solid research, Stückelberger delineates an array of principled routes to reinvent and promote a new global equilibrium - a dynamic balance laden with values and virtues. The entire human pursuit is the zealous search for meaning. Such meaning is defined in a host of spatial and temporal relations. Any decision or action shall find its entry on one's specific balance sheet of life consummate with lasting impact on family, organization, community, nation and nature. It is the intention of the author to enliven the embedded sober mindedness innate in all human being that is more often than not ignored. The agape-love diagram throughout the book and especially in chapter 8 provides a key to unlock a treasure box of virtues that help enrich a meaningful life both individually and collectively, on the merit of fine balance management and good governance.

The book *Globalance towards a New World Order* is published in a crucial juncture when the world is experiencing a painful impasse on a cross-road. It is a customized wake-up call for human conscience to re-

vere the Creator and collaborate with all peers on this planet for sustainable peace and prosperity.

Prof. Dr Liu Baocheng, Beijing/China

*Director, Center for International Business Ethics
Associate Dean, Academy of Global Innovation and Governance
University of Internat. Business and Economics*

PREFACE

ERNST ULRICH VON WEIZSÄCKER

This Preface was published in the first edition 2020

The world is imbalanced. Climate change risks severe disruptions. Political polarisation between superpowers are likely to increase. The current Covid-19 pandemic requires a new dimension of co-operation. That is the opposite of imbalance!

How can this fragile, dangerously imbalanced world be transformed into balanced societies capable of dealing with opposites, differences and putting them in relation by relational thinking and action?

This is the question of this very timely and much needed book *Globalance*. It calls for a balance, but not in a superficial way of superficial peace making. The book digs deep into the question, by analysing polarities from an ethical perspective as poles of values and virtues, which belong together. The success story of humans was not endless conflicts but co-operation.

The author Christoph Stückelberger engages since over four decades for the balance of environment and development, peace and justice, empowerment and respect, global and contextual values. I had the pleasure of working with him on the ethics and practice of sustainable investments. The author, in his manifold publications and practical initiatives as founder of five organizations for environment, fair trade, transparency, global ethics and ethical investments always combines ethical foundations with practical guidelines for implementation.

The same is the philosophy of this titanic volume. He applies the concept of balanced values-poles to thirty sectors of society. Readers are encouraged to closely look at the domains of their prior interest. Readers will immediately notice that different sectors are always mutually inter-related. Stückelberger shows, how the technological divide, the political competition between superpowers, the non-sustainable financial system, religious fundamentalisms, education and many more sectors need to be seen in a holistic way as a global interdependent system. He proposes solutions by including latest information and insights from the current pandemic.

This insightful and inspiring book with its holistic approach relates closely with the Club of Rome's recent Report issued at the occasion of its 50th Anniversary *Come On! Capitalism, Short-termism, Population and the Destruction of the Planet* (Springer 2018, with Anders Wijkman and myself as lead authors). In that Report, we are calling for a New Enlightenment, with balance instead of harsh dogmatism as its philosophical core. Christoph Stückelberger with this book *Globalance. Ethics Handbook for a Balanced World Post-Covid* strengthens and continues that ambitious message.

I recommend the book for students and teachers, politicians and businesspersons, women and men, journalists and bloggers, religious leaders and spiritual seekers, jobholders and job losers, people in despair and with hope. Let us continue to work together for a humane and environmentally sustainable balanced world!

Prof. Dr Ernst Ulrich von Weizsäcker
*Environmental Scientist and Politician
past Co-President of the Club of Rome*

INTRODUCTION
MY PASSION FOR A WORLD
OF DYNAMIC BALANCE

The first edition of this book *Globalance* was written and published in 2020, during lockdown at home in the midst of the disastrous Covid-19 global pandemic. Only two years later, in 2022, I have revised and substantially expanded the book in this second edition. The fundamental reasons are additional considerations in the fast changing turbulent world: The Covid-19 pandemic continues, and in many countries has shifted to an endemic phase with a “back to the new normal” of living with Covid, although in some countries such as China, heavy restrictions and lockdowns remain (status Sept 2022). Additional turbulences came with the war in Ukraine; an additional arms race, sanctions against Russia, fears of energy shortage in Europe, hectic reorganisation of grain supply chains, interrupted production of high tech materials like microchips, fights for access to rare metals for battery production, nationalist trends in democracies, and increase of mental disorder and more.

0.1 A New World Order?

The subtitle of the first edition of this book *Globalance* was “for a balanced world post-Covid”. The new book is entitled, “*Globalance towards a New World Order*”. More is at stake than a return to normalcy post Covid. I have collected about ten statements from presidents of governments from 2021-2022, all of whom speak about a New World Order – from the *Zeitenwende* of Scholz in Germany to Xi in China, Macron in France, Biden in the USA and many more (see chapter 1.0.3). However, every leader has a different view of what this order should be.

The new title on a *New World Order* sounds very ambitious. Indeed, much is at stake. Little reforms and adjustments here and there are not enough to counter the huge challenges of today, especially linked to the climate warming. At the same time, the term must be clarified. This book does not aim at a new order from above, imposed with violence by a superpower in an imperialist way, like a *pax romana* or *pax americana*. Should we talk about a *New World* instead of a new world order? No, this is too soft. A ‘new world’ is mainly used in a religious and spiritual context as a vision of a new era. The term *New Paradigm* indicates that a paradigm shift, or a new model and way of thinking and forming values is needed. The term *Re-Balanced World* emphasises the need to find a new balance, but could indicate that the world was in balance before Covid, which is not correct. It was already very imbalanced in wealth distribution, environmental damage and much more.

Why I maintain the term *New World Order* is because I am convinced that we need more than new visions, models, examples, and paradigms. We need binding multilateral rules, regulations, standards, and

law enforcement, based on a strong value-base. The book aims to show that individual ethics, interpersonal ethics and institutional ethics are all needed, but institutionalized ethics in form of global, regional, national and local rules and laws are critical. Institutional ethics are not unilaterally declared or imposed, but negotiated in fair processes and implemented with power, incentives and sanctions. This is my meaning of the term *New World Order*.

The collective security system, developed after WW2 with the UN system as core, seems to be more and more replaced by century-old politics of power and imperialist aggression with the principle: The stronger wins and dominates. Globalance, the vision of this book does not accept this as our fate, but shows concrete paths of collectively securing the future of humanity in a dynamic and competitive – yet fair – way to enable a life in dignity for all humans and the whole creation.

A New World Order is not a static system like a bunker. It is a dynamic interaction of many sub-systems, new sectoral orders, which all have to redefine themselves and find their way: the security order, the economic, financial, religious, ethical, social, technological, media, spiritual, networking and resources new orders, to name only some.

0.2 My Journey

1968, 1973, 1979, 1989, 2001, 2007, 2020, 2022: These eight years of the last five decades are landmarks for historic global changes. They are also benchmarks in my biographic memory as adult: 1968 was the beginning of the students' revolts as cultural revolution of values. The year 1973 marked the oil price shock, which boosted environmental concerns and the call for 'Limits to Growth' of the Club of Rome. The

year 1979 was the start of the Open Door Policy of China and beginning of its rise as superpower, 1989 was the fall of the Berlin wall, the beginning of the end of the bi-polar world and the kickoff of the new phase of exponential globalisation. The date 11 September 2001 (in short 9/11) was the attack on the twin towers in New York and the beginning of global measures against terrorist (Islamic) fundamentalism. The year 2007 was the beginning of the global financial crisis, 2020 the beginning of the global Covid-19 pandemic and 2022 with the Ukraine war the accelerated polarization East-West. Each of these years stands for disruptions, crises and some shifts in geopolitics, economics and many sectors of society. Each date symbolizes periods of uncertainty, imbalances and world disorder, but they also stand for push of new solutions and joint efforts. Crisis and disorder indicate imbalances and trends to extremisms, such as consumerism, neoliberal unregulated globalisation, overregulation or nationalisms against fundamentalisms.

1972-2022 is also the period of fifty years, half a century, of intense debates and policies on sustainability, after the publication of the groundbreaking study “Limits to Growth” of the Club of Rome in 1972! The Club of Rome was an early warner and eye opener and remains relevant with its regular analyses and studies³. Many organisations have taken up the challenges and support the objectives for sustainability in their way.

Myself I publish articles and books since fifty years, now compiled in the bibliography 1972-2022.⁴

³ <https://www.clubofrome.org/publications>.

⁴ Stückelberger, Christoph, *50 Years of Publishing. Bibliography 1972-2022*, Geneva: Globethics.net 2022.

My first book, the master thesis in ethics, on “growth with a human face” and a new lifestyle⁵, published in 1979 was an answer to and in line with *The Limits to Growth* of the Club of Rome,⁶ I looked for a way of combining *development* and *environment* in a period of harsh conflicts between the ‘Global North’, emphasizing environmental protection as result of first environmental awakening, and the ‘Global South’, claiming economic growth and poverty eradication as first priority and looking at environment as a Northern agenda which would hinder development in the South. It was ethically obvious, that development and environment are two sides of the same coin, but politically separated – also in the frame of the polarised Cold War mentality.

My doctoral thesis on peace ethics and the contribution of churches in conflict resolution and reconciliation tried to show a way for churches for taking an *advocacy role* for the weaker and a *mediator role* between different conflict parties and to find criteria when the one and when the other role is appropriate.⁷

My habilitation deepened then the search for balancing the opposite of *environment and development* by looking systematically in history, science and presence to *concepts of the balance* (Greek: mesotes, middle

⁵ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Aufbruch zu einem menschengerechten Wachstum. Ansätze für einen neuen Lebensstil*, Zurich: TVZ, 1979, 3rd edition 1982.

⁶ I feel committed to the goals of the Club of Rome since this first book until today, with the book to the 50th anniversary of the Club of Rome and its call for an enlightened balance: Von Weizsäcker, Ernst Ulrich/ Wijkman, Anders, *Come On! Capitalism, Short-termism, Population and the Destruction of the Planet*, Berlin: Springer 2018.

⁷ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Vermittlung und Parteinahme. Der Versöhnungsauftrag der Kirchen in gesellschaftlichen Konflikten*, Zurich: TVZ, 1985

way).⁸ In 2001, the book on “Global Trade Ethics”⁹ proposed in a practical way the *balance between free trade and fair trade*.

The first book with the proper title *Globalance*¹⁰, co-authored with the economist Dr. Hella Hoppe as a study authored for the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, dealt with “Christian Perspectives for a globalisation with a human face.” It was published 2005 in the midst of very harsh controversies between *globalisation defenders and globalisation deniers* (who opted for de-globalisation, many of them within the churches of the Global South) and during the peak of demonstrations in Switzerland against the World Economic Forum. Neoliberal free trade was not enough to counter the fears of globalisation and the warnings of the deniers. Ten recommendations showed the way to overcome globalisation-impasses by promoting free and fair globalisation.

Let me close this biographic introduction by looking at recent history from a family perspective: my family was living in Basel, Switzerland, directly at the border of France and Germany. My great-grandparents experienced closed borders during the war between France and Germany (1870-71) and World War I (1914-18), my grandparents experienced

⁸ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozialetische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997 (published also in Chinese and Korean).

⁹ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Global Trade Ethics. An Illustrated Overview*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2003. (French: *Commerce mondiale éthique*, Geneva, WCC Publications, 2002. German: *Ethischer Welthandel. Eine Übersicht*, Bern, Haupt Verlag, 2001.

¹⁰ Stückelberger, Christoph /Hoppe, Hella, *Globalance, Christliche Perspektiven für eine menschengerechte Globalisierung*, Schweizerischer Evangelischer Kirchenbund SEK/ Verlag Institut für Theologie und Ethik ITE, Bern: 2005. (French: *Globalance, Perspectives chrétiennes pour une mondialisation à visage humain*, 2005. English Summary: *Globalance, Christian perspectives on globalisation with a human face*, Summary, 2005.

World War I and II (1939-45) and my parents World War II, again with closed national borders for six years. My father studied during the war, could not leave the country and spent half of his six years of theological studies in military service. My children, grandchildren and I were the first generations in the last 130 years to grow up without war at the border of Switzerland. The year 2020 was the first experience of closed borders and lockdown, although just for three months. My great-grandfather Karl Stückelberger was a pastor at both the State Prison and the State Psychiatric Clinic of the City of Basel in Switzerland, located at the borders of Switzerland, Germany and France. He did his pastoral work for the marginalized of the society. In 1937, during Hitler's time and two years before World War II, he published the booklet *Gottes Ordnung und der Menschen Unordnung. Ein Wort für unsere Zeit* (God's Order and Human Disorder. A Message for our Time).¹¹ His question was: What can be the ethical and spiritual orientation in times of great challenges, disorientation and threats? His answer was: "Crisis means: the violation of God's order means to sink in human disorder."¹² He then re-interpreted the biblical Ten Commandments as ethical orientation in light of the threats of World War II. The disorder brought him back to basics and fundamentals. This question and his answer of orientation shall guide also this book *Globalance*. The pandemic brings us back to fundamentals of life and death. The Christian perspective remains, but the context of values must now be global with multi-religious and non-religious inclusion.

¹¹ Stückelberger, Karl, *Gottes Ordnung und der Menschen Unordnung. Ein Wort für unsere Zeit*, Basel: BEG Verlag, 1937.

¹² *Ibid*, translated from German by the author.

0.3 The Key Question: Globalance

How can we transform such disruptions and imbalances through a dynamic New World Order and global balances? How can ethics contribute to this transition by a balance of values and virtues? These questions led me to write this book.

“The Age of Values is at the end - The New World Disorder” was the title of the keynote speech of the editor-in-chief of the famous *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* at the first NZZ Global Risk Conference on 24 August 2017. More and more people fear that the new world of globalisation, symbolized with the fall of the Berlin Wall 1989, has ended. The perception of many people and institutions about the world at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century is that the world is in disorder and that the ‘global order decays.’¹³ The profound crisis of the financial markets in 2008/2009 showed the vulnerability of the current globally interdependent system. A new phase of world disorder takes over. Weakened multilateral mechanisms, increased nationalism and a crisis of world order politics¹⁴ are observed. Syria, North Korea, Russia, Poland are countries mentioned; Trump, Erdogan, Putin, IS, Boko Haram are names popping up; terrorism, extremism, fundamentalism, nationalism, protectionism, cyberism and other ‘-isms’ are threatening trends (see more in chapter 3.1). The Covid-19 pandemic increased this percep-

¹³ Diem Meier, Markus, *Davos hat gezeigt, wie die globale Ordnung gerade zerfällt*, *Sonntagszeitung*, 27 January 2019, 19. An article about the World Economic Forum 2019 in Davos.

¹⁴ Ingeborg, Gabriel/Schwarz, Ludwig (eds.), *Weltordnungspolitik in der Krise. Perspektiven Internationaler Gerechtigkeit*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011.

tion of global disorder. Another perception is that it is not the end of a period of values, but the end of a one-sided globalisation and growth, but also growth of inequalities and thus a burgeoning rebellion of the losers of globalisation.

What is the alternative? There are visions of a new world order based on global values. The visionary theologian Hans Küng was a pioneer of *Global Ethic*¹⁵, just after the fall of the Berlin wall at the beginning of the globalisation boom, and one of the promoters of the *Declaration of the Parliament of World's Religions in 1993*¹⁶, searching for the (smallest) common denominator of values across religions and cultures. He also developed a view of a *Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*¹⁷ at the end of the 20th century. Many concepts of a sustainable, environmentally balanced world exist. The latest report to the Club of Rome shows, how social inequality, unemployment and climate change can be fought with “one percent growth is enough.”¹⁸

This book Globalance looks specifically at balancing values in global politics and global economics. Globalance¹⁹, the title and topic of this book, is the alternative to the disorder of the world. ‘Globalance’ was in fact my main underlying passion and vision during the last four decades of my life and work in academic research, as journalist, in global devel-

¹⁵ Küng, Hans, *Projekt Weltethos*, München: R. Piper, 1990.

¹⁶ Parliament of the World's Religions, *Toward a Global Ethic. An Initial Declaration*, Chicago: 1993.

¹⁷ Küng, Hans, *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. German: *Ein Prozent ist genug*.

¹⁸ Maxton, Graeme/Randers, Jorgen, *Reinventing Prosperity. Managing Economic Growth to Reduce Unemployment, Inequality and Climate change*, Vancouver: Greystone, 2016.

¹⁹ The term Globalance is used in this book always with a capital G, as it is used as the main term, as a proper name.

opment cooperation and the Globethics.net foundation. Balancing opposites, which belong together, is a topic and goal that has been consistent throughout my published works.

The balance of opposites is a mindset and a concept mainly known in yoga, Feng-Shui, meditation and other practices of balancing the mind. These approaches are mainly for individuals, dealing with physical, mental, emotional, relational and spiritual polarities.²⁰ However, this book looks more at balance in global perspective, as a concept for economy, politics, environment, finance and all other power structures and international relations in the world. Individual faith, values and behaviour on one hand and balanced structures, laws and regulations on the other, are two sides of the same coin of life and society. Globalance in this book is an ethical, normative concept²¹ for society and for international relations. It is based on the concept of global ethics, which unites global fundamental values with their contextualisation in diversified concrete norms.²²

²⁰ See e.g. Assagioli, Roberto, *The Balancing and Synthesis of the Opposites*, P.R.F. Issue 29, <https://kennethsorensen.dk/en/the-balancing-and-synthesis-of-the-opposites-by-roberto-assagioli/> (accessed 16 July 2019).

²¹ Frost, Mervyn, *Ethics in International Relations. A Constitutive Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. He develops a normative theory for international relations called constitutive theory, derived from Hegel. He finds order-based theories, utilitarian theories and rights-based theories unconvincing. His constitutive theory tries to reconcile state sovereignty and individual rights as a core normative issue in international relations.

²² The UN University published a helpful collection of articles on values in international affairs: Coicaud, Jean-Marc / Daniel Warner (eds.), *Ethics and International Affairs: Extent and Limits*, Tokyo, New York, Paris: United Nations University Press, 2001.

Globalance, balancing opposites is not a goal in itself. What then, is the ultimate goal? *The ultimate goal is to become human!* Extremes dehumanize others or oneself and violate human dignity; unbalanced lifestyle destroys environment and unbalanced values in economy and politics leads to suffering, war and victims. Religions around the globe are part of the problem and the solution. With fundamentalist or authoritarian religious structures, they often hinder human beings from becoming human. But religions in their core show the way to become truly human. Incarnation of the divine means, we see how to become human by looking at the divine. As an anonymous Christian in light of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ said: “Do it like God: Become Human.” The topic of the World Congress of Philosophy in Shanghai in August 2018 was “Learning to Be Human.”²³ That is the ultimate goal of Globalance.

0.4 Focus, Method and Structure of the Book

The focus of this book is not to describe what is (descriptive) nor to predict the future of what will be (predictive) but to give an orientation for what should be (normative). I write it not as a social scientist or a futurist, but as an ethicist. However, ethics needs social science to see what is and what can be in order to be relevant for normative orientation in specific areas and situations. It means that the goal of the book is neither to be limited to ‘Realpolitik’, which means to describe what realistically can be expected from politics as an eternal power game nor is the book demanding a moralistic ideal-politics. The goal is rather a value-

²³ <http://wcp2018.pku.edu.cn/yw/index.htm>.

orientation, based on the value of global balance – for politics, economics, culture and religions and after analysis of the factual data.

Every science is based on *fundamental axioms*, which are not further justified or justifiable. Such an axiom is: what we see, hear or measure has a relation to what exists (otherwise, all is illusion). In ethics, a fundamental axiomatic assumption is “living beings want to live” or “life has a value” (if this is not the case, why should we care about life?). Another axiomatic assumption is “all human beings are human beings.” It sounds trivial, but it is not as human history of racism shows. The consequence of this assumption is “*Everyone has the right to be treated with respect as a human being and has the duty to treat others with respect as a human being, in the spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood.*”²⁴ This basic equality of human beings is a foundation for all ethical values and virtues in this book on Globalance.

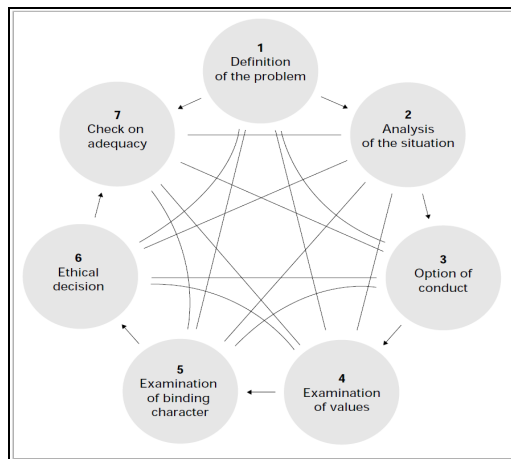
The *methodology of this book* is normative ethics. The norms for decisions and actions are fundamental values²⁵ and virtues²⁶. The process towards ethical decisions follows classical methodologies in ethics, combining normative ethics and situation ethics. One method are the three steps of seeing (analysis), judging (ethical normative decision) and

²⁴ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the World’s Religions, 2016*, Article 1. Download: <http://worldsreligions2016.org/declaration/>. A first draft with comments from each world religion was published for discussion in 2003: Runzo, Joseph, Martin, Nancy M., Sharma, Arvind (Eds.), *Human Rights and Responsibilities in the World Religions*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2003, 141-147.

²⁵ Stückelberger, Christoph/Mathwig, Frank, *Grundwerte. Eine theologisch-ethische Orientierung*, Zürich: TVZ, 2007.

²⁶ For the rehabilitation of virtue ethics since the last fifty years see e.g. Hutchings, Kimberly, *Global Ethics. An Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity, 2010, 54-60.

acting (consequences for action).²⁷ With similar structure, but with more details are the seven steps of decision-making²⁸: 1. Definition of the problem, 2. Analysis of the situation, 3. Options/scenarios of possible solutions, 4. Values and virtues relevant for the problem, 5. Examination for whom in which situation these values and norms are binding, 6. The ethical decision, 7. The control and monitoring of the adequacy of the decision (if the real impact corresponds to the envisaged result).



The *structure of the book* follows these steps:

This book looks in chapters 2, 5 and 6 at the normative aspects of Globalance, in chapter 3 at the descriptive and in chapter 4 at the historical aspects. The main chapter 7 then integrates both: each of the thirty topics (subchapters) starts with describing “Current Developments”, focuses then on ethical “Value-Poles” of two opposite values or virtues and concludes with normative perspectives for the “Transition towards

²⁷ In theological ethics, especially the catholic social doctrine/liberation theology, revived by Pope Francis.

²⁸ From the author, used in teaching and publications, referring to Heinz Eduard Tödt and others.

Globalance.” Chapters 1-3 define the problem and analyse the current situation of the world in the perspective of balance: *Chapter 1* gives few first flashes on the pandemic and raises ethical questions. *Chapter 2* defines *what Globalance* is in ethical perspective. *Chapter 3* analyses the *ideological polarisation* and the political and technological *empire* structures. *Chapter 4* examines options and philosophical and religious *concepts of Globalance throughout history* and contemporary authors. Chapter 5 is then the normative core by examination of values and virtues and their relationality for values-balance. Chapter 6 looks at processes of transformation towards Globalance. Chapter 7 analyses and validates *thirty applied domains of Globalance*. Each of the thirty chapters includes the three steps of seeing by analysis (‘current development’), judging by ethical orientation (‘value-poles’) and acting by concretisation (‘towards Globalance’). This chapter is the most important chapter and represents half of the book. The goal is not an extended monograph for single topics, but rather to show the relationality and interdependence of all sectors of society and all continents in today’s globalised world. After the marathon of chapter 7 with its thirty topics, *Chapter 8* invites a sit down, takes distance and reflects on *fundamentals* in a spiritual way: what is at the end what counts in this world? *Death, life and love*. The *Outlook in chapter 9* draws some conclusions on the tasks for *transformation towards a balanced post-corona world order*.

Ethics must be fundamental for general long-term orientation, but also contextual and based on strong analyses for concrete decisions. This is the reason why I have included many statistics, graphs and information that provide a factual basis for understanding current complex

situations as much as possible. I am not at all a data fetishist, but factual analysis is an instrument against ideologies and myths as they resurface.

We live in a time of extremely speedy and *rocketing knowledge production*. Until 1900, knowledge doubled every 100 years, in 1945 every 25 years. In 2022, the ‘knowledge double curve’ is estimated at 12 hours! And maybe 5 hours in 2030? When we wake up tomorrow, we are already running behind the doubled knowledge.

But relax. Yes, data are doubling, but do not worry. Here, for data and statistics, I used the latest available data where possible and *with the weblinks in the footnotes, you can find updates of data as needed*. And knowledge? And wisdom? When you are tired of data, *just relax*, take the Analects of Confucius, the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, the Bible, the Qur’an or the Bhagavad-Gita (or simply read chapter 4 in this book). Find wisdom to digest data. A crucial methodology of my ethics and this book is then to combine analytical data with wisdom and values throughout human history and revelation. Enjoy it!

I started writing this book after the election of the polarising American President Trump, end of 2016. I finished the first edition on 20 July 2020 during the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdowns, in community with all those who look for balanced human world post-corona. I finished this second enlarged edition on 20 October 2022, while the war in Ukraine was still ongoing, the US-China trade war on tech restrictions had climbed to a new high, emergency measures for energy shortage in Europe for the 2022/23 winter had been announced, a far right-wing government in Italy was elected, financial markets were very volatile and mainland China continued strong quarantine conditions due to the pandemic.

I thank my family (wife, four sons their partners and my grandchildren) for manifold discussions and supporting the space to write. I thank friends and colleagues in many academic and multilateral institutions around the globe and I thank my students, as I have the privilege as visiting professor to teach and research in Nigeria, China, Russia and occasionally in other countries in Asia, Africa, South America and Eastern Europe in order to contextualize the ideas of Globalance. Globalance therefore is not an abstract concept. I hope it serves as orientation for values-driven decisions on personal, professional and public level.

Suggestions for the Reader

For an entry into issues of the pandemic and post-pandemic and the concept of Globalance and values, read chapters 1, 2 and 5 and then jump to the end “fundamentals” in chapter 8. If you are interested in the philosophical and theological historical and contemporary concepts and strategies of Globalance, read chapters 4, 5 and 6. If you are interested in the application of Globalance in thirty sectors of society, go to the extended chapter 7 and select those subchapters of interest. In order to understand these applications, reading chapters 1 and 5 is highly recommended. For data and statistics, I used the latest available data where possible. However, with the web links in the footnotes, you can find updates of data as needed.

This book can also be used as a reader and handbook for lectures and seminars. It is planned to offer it as an online course by the end of 2023.

TOWARDS GLOBAL DISORDER OR A NEW WORLD ORDER?

1.0 Disorder, Uncertainties, New World Order

1.0.1 Global Disorder? Vulnerable Transition Period

“Nobody can plan for the future without reflecting on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, which started early 2020 on the world. The pandemic was still ongoing in July 2020 when I concluded this manuscript.” This was the first sentence of Chapter 1 in the first edition of this book “Globalance”, published in August 2020. Now, only two years later, in August 2022, the world looks even more unpredictable: The *pandemic* transformed into an endemic and most parts of the world have gotten used to it; We realize that Covid-19 will remain as other diseases like the flu, but much less deadly than as it was in 2020. However, new challenges erupted:

The *New Cold War*, which became obvious with the US-China trade war under the former Trump administration has now accelerated with the *hot war in Ukraine*. The aggression of Russia starting on 24 Febru-

ary 2022, was like an earthquake most people and governments did not expect. We are still looking at interpretations for clarity and understanding. The danger of war spreading beyond Ukraine is already clear.

Climate warming as a long-term threat became visible with droughts and forest fires around the world. Billions of people experienced it directly. The food and water crisis, linked to the Ukraine war and with delayed grain exports from Ukraine and Russia, combined with climate change, creates high vulnerability of lives. The climate change remains a predominant threat and became undeniably obvious with the hottest climate in 2022 since many decades and in some places on the globe with the warmest temperature ever measured. ““We live in a crazy, mad world” said a good friend recently to me. He is not an angry teenager, but a rational academic researcher.

In addition, these threats together accelerate the struggle for a *New World Order* and fight for power or dominance between superpowers like China and USA, but also the EU, Middle East and Africa (more in chapter 7.13). Proxy wars will increase, mainly in countries with energy sources and rare minerals. The technological war for dominance and control of the cyber space is as important as economic, political and military power and is in fact a core part of conflicts. In addition, nationalist identity politics of (autocratic and democratic) governments fuel conflicts within and between nations. As reaction to these developments, the financial markets are nervous; high inflation – and possibly hyperinflation – is expected. Riots, demonstrations, and changes of government are already on the rise. “A triple Food, Fuel and Finance crisis in many

countries around the world”²⁹ is reality. This triple ‘F’ crisis leads to lower tax income for states, higher military expenditures, thus reducing funds available for innovation, social programmes, education, infrastructure and climate measures.

All these economic, political, military, environmental, ideological, cultural, religious and social developments lead to an *explosive amalgam of crises*. More and more analysts describe it as a *trend to global disorder*³⁰ with vulnerability, instability, and potentially increased number of violent conflicts. “*Disunited Nations*” is the title of a provocative book, published also 2020. “Disunited Nations is about what happens when major powers decide they are better off competing instead of cooperating” is a major conclusion of the author, a geopolitical strategist.³¹ More neutral is another new book “*The Changing World Order. Why Nations Succeed and Fail*”.³² A fascinating, profound analysis by the Bestseller author and globally leading investor Ray Dalio. The author describes internal and external factors of order and disorder. He then analyses the rise and fall of the Dutch, British, USA empires and China’s rise.

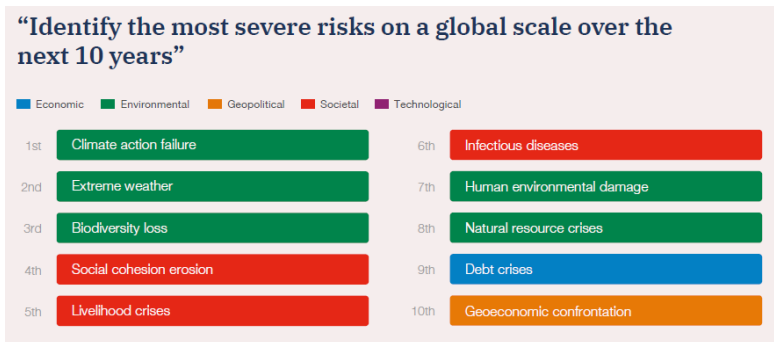
²⁹ <https://worldinvestmentreport.unctad.org/world-investment-report-2022>.

³⁰ Robert Harvey, *Global Disorder: How to Avoid a Fourth World War*, 2003; *Digital Disorder. War and Peace in the Cyber Age*. Cover title of Foreign Affairs, Vol 101, No 1, Jan/Feb 2022; *Le nouveau désordre mondial*, Cover title and dossier of Alternatives Economiques Mai 2022, 22-40.

³¹ Zeihan, Peter, *Disunited Nations. The Scramble for Power in an Ungoverned World*, New York, HarperCollins 2020, XI.

³² Dalio, Ray, *Principles of Dealing with the Changing World Order. Why Nations Succeed and Fall*, New York: Avid Reader Press, 2021. I unfortunately discovered the book only at the very end of the revision of my book.

Risks on many fronts are increasing, as risk analyses for all sectors show.³³ Risk perception surveys show that the climate risks are still perceived as predominant, followed by social and health risks. The World Economic Forum regularly publishes the Global Risks Perception Survey. In its edition 2022, the global risk perception by topic was the following³⁴:



At the same time, publications show that the threat of a ‘global disorder’ is used as term predominantly by US-American authors, be it after 9/11 and the terrorist attacks, be it after the financial crisis 2007 or now in and after the pandemic. ‘Global disorder’ in this context seems to express that the present US-dominated order is threatened. Many devel-

³³ Insurance, re-insurance and rating companies have often the most sophisticated risks analysis methodologies. In addition, intelligence units, e.g. Economist Intelligence Unit EIU on operational risks in 180 markets (www.eiu.com), the World Economic Forum (www.weforum.org/reports/global-risks-report-2022) and multilateral institutions such as UNCTAD (World Investment Report), IMF, World Bank and others. All these methodologies have to be carefully examined on their criteria, as some are not holistic enough, e.g. related to societal, ideological or religious risks. A comparison would be helpful. In megatrends, the vector of development re perception of economic uncertainty or climate risks are often similar.

³⁴ World Economic Forum, The Global Risks Report 2022, 14.

oping countries live in constant disorder and would therefore call the present situation less an extraordinary disorder but rather a punctual disorder as they experience disorder since long time.

A key question is, if this period of increased crises, conflicts and “disorder” leads to a collapse of systems with millions (or even billions when we look at climate warming) of people and institutions dying. Could it be a collapse ‘by accident’, as human history was often not a result of rational calculations and planning, but at some point, a great accident as Jeffrey Sachs fears:

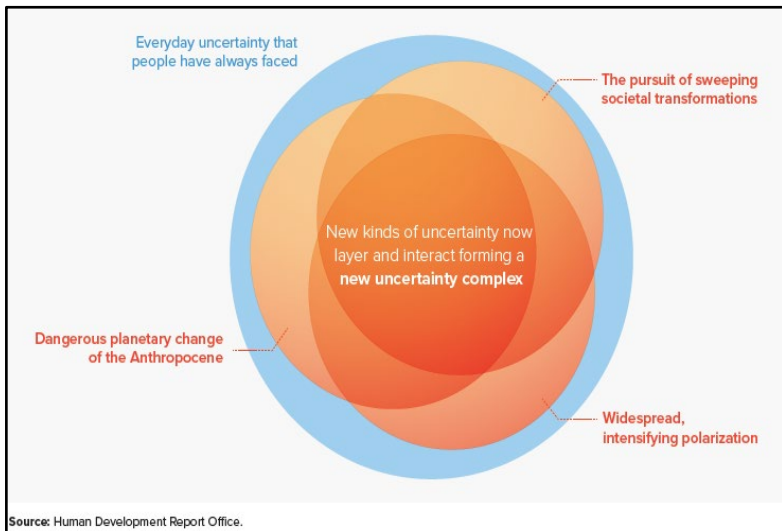
“I don’t believe in the balance of power as the source of non-conflict. I’m more pessimistic about a balance of power because I believe that great accidents can lead to disaster. I do not believe in a static world, rather in the chance of miscalculation.”³⁵

1.0.2 Multiple Uncertainties: A Holistic Approach

Let us look at four main dimensions of current vulnerabilities, in order of their historic development: A) the ongoing Climate Change, B) the new Cold War with its polarisation, accelerated by the Ukraine war, C) the pandemic Covid-19 and D) the financial and debt crises, which are partly linked to the other challenges. In short, we call it 4C challenges: Climate, Cold War, Covid, (financial) Crisis. The UNDP calls the same, “The new uncertainty complex”³⁶.

³⁵ Jeffrey Sachs, in a personal dialogue during a conference in Athens on 8 July 2022. *Global Cooperation Theory*, 2021

³⁶ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2021/2022. Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives: Shaping our future in a Transforming World*, New York 2022, 3.

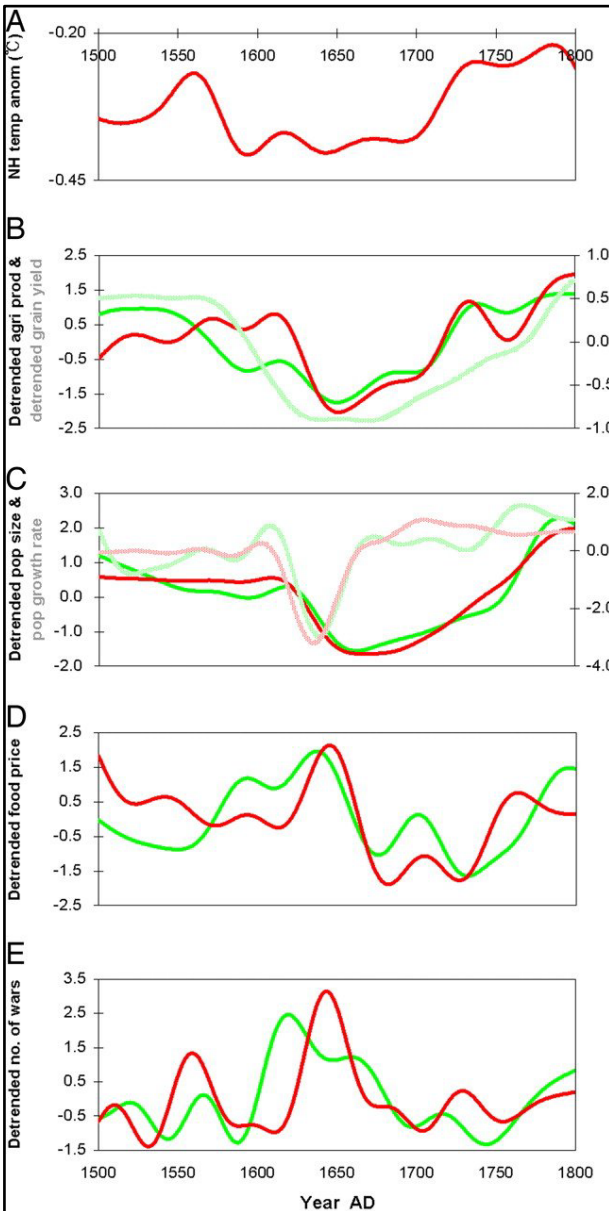


We analyse each of the 4Cs in 10 aspects of impact. The Covid-Impact is more developed in this chapter than Cold War and Climate, as the first edition focussed only on the pandemic. A pandemic (all people) affects everybody in one way or another. The term is defined by the WHO for the spread of a virulent disease in various countries and continents whereas an epidemic is geographically limited. The fact of a fast spreading ‘infection’ which has negative and life-threatening impact on large populations exists in sectors other than health. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the term ‘infodemic’ was used by UN and WHO to warn against misinformation and information-related cybercrime. A ‘cyber-virus’ affects millions of computers and systems around the world. It is not called ‘cyberdemic’ but has in fact similar characteristics to the infectious Covid-19, where infection of those computers occur when not protected. The financial crisis in 2007-2009 was not a regional crisis, but it affected (in short term) the banking system of the whole world. Global

economic recession is a pandemic of poverty. Climate warming is a slow process, but nevertheless impacting every single person on the planet. Religious or other ideological movements with apocalyptic messages, fundamentalism or fake news can spread and infect millions of believers. Racism was called in May 2020 the “most dangerous virus” in the US, only few days before the nationwide outbreak of demonstrations started against racism after the killing of a Black American. The table beside shows different sectors. Relational thinking (see chapters 1.0.4 and 2.1) between these sectors - as being at the core of Globalance – can inspire learning from each of the sectors.

Sectors Characteristics	Health	Communication	Cyber	Finance	Economy	Climate	Ideologies
Name	COVID-19 Pandemic	Corona Infodemic	Internat. Cyberattack	Global finance crisis	Global recession	Climate warm.	Fundamentalis.
Extension	global	global	global	global	markets	global	partial
Preventive measures	Pandemic strategies	Internet regulation	Cyber security	Financial regulation	Central banks	Climate policies	(Rel) education
Protective measures	Lock-downs, protection	Media education	Improve C security	Consumer protection	Market intervention	Co2 reduction	Credible faiths
Curative measures	Hospitals vaccines	Fact checkers	Repair cyber-crimes	manifold	manifold	Climate mitig.	Pastoral care
Support professions	Health professions	Journalists Media	Cyber specialists	Investors regulators	Business politics	All sectors	Theology
Deaths	Death counted	unknown	Estimated victims	Financial indicators	Poverty indicators	Climate victims	Unknown

The graph on this page is the result of a study (source below) of 300



years (1500-1800) on the relation and waves of A) Temperature change, B) Agricultural production, C) Population demography, D) Food prices, E) number of wars.

A few ethical questions on the relationality of ‘infections’ between sectors in post-corona times for further reflections: What can be

learnt from how ‘infectious’, fast spreading, life threatening developments in one sector affects the others? How can ‘pandemics’ in the other sectors than health be as well prepared?³⁷

1.0.3 Towards a New World Order?

Is the current disorder an expression of a transition period towards a New World Order (on the term see chapter 0.1)? In all disruptions and disorders, the globalized and interconnected world is still a strong reality, even more than ever since the pandemic! The global internet use continues to be increasingly accessible to more and more people, efforts to re-enforce global supply chains after Covid-19 are being undertaken, international regulations and standards for data security, trade and many more topics are increasing and de-escalation of military conflicts are attempted.

The Trade War US-China, the Covid-19 pandemic and the Ukraine war are dramatic, for many people traumatic experiences and accelerated the discussion of a New World Order. A “new paradigm for life and society” is needed.³⁸ For many governments, especially those in transition and in the developing world, it is indirectly a search for less de-

³⁷ Source of the graph on previous page: David Zhang et al, *Global climate change, war and population decline in recent human history*, PNAS; 4 Dec 2007, <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.0703073104>. (Accessed 17 Sept. 2022)

³⁸ Füllkrug, Cornelia/ Werner, Dietrich, *Ethics for Life. Voices from Ecumenical Partners on a New Paradigm of Life and Society. Jubilee Volume: 60 Years of Bread for the World*, Berlin: Bread for the World, 2019. An excellent reader of 27 contributions on five thematic areas of the paradigm shift envisaged: 1. Religion, Development and Ecumenical Diaconia, 2. Ethics of Integral Development, 3. Ethics of Ecological and Climate Justice, 4. Ethics of Economy, Caring and Sharing, 5. Ethics of Human Rights, Migration and Peace.

pendency from the US, the still most powerful superpower. For others like Chandran Nair, the new world should be a Post-Western world³⁹, free from white supremacy, which is still widespread in many sectors according to the author.

In 2021 and 2022, several leaders of superpowers and powers indicated and referred to some elements of a *vision of a New World Order, of course with different understandings*. Some quotes, in chronological order (in italic by the author):

- **Russia:** President Putin, in January 2020 in Jerusalem, called for a meeting of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to re-strengthen multilateral solutions for current conflicts. He published an extensive article in June 2020 in a US Magazine related to the 75th Anniversary of WW2⁴⁰, where he underlined the importance the Soviet Union together with the West played to end Nazism and the commitment of Russia to UN-related *multilateral solutions* of conflicts, “to develop collective principles in world affairs. To speak frankly about the issues of preserving peace, strengthening global and regional security, strategic arms controls, as well as joint efforts in countering terrorism, extremism and other major challenges and threats, ... above all, overcoming the economic crisis caused by the

³⁹ Chandran Nair, *Dismantling Global White Privilege. Equity for a Post-Western World*, Oakland: Berrett-Koehler, 2022. He analyses Geopolitics, History, Business, Media, Education, Entertainment, Sports, Fashion and Environment.

⁴⁰ Vladimir Putin, *The Real Lessons of the 75th Anniversary of World War II*, Extended article in The National Interest, 18 June 2020, published by the center for the National Interest, created by President Nixon for “strategic realism in U.S. foreign policy”. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/vladimir-putin-real-lessons-75th-anniversary-world-war-ii-162982?page=0%2C5> (Accessed 12 Aug 2022).

coronavirus pandemic. ... Drawing on a shared historical memory, we can trust each other and must do so. That will serve as a solid basis for successful negotiations and concerted action for the sake of enhancing the stability and security on the planet and for the sake of prosperity and well-being of all States.” The position shows the commitment of Putin to *multilateralism* and a *multipolar world*, where Russia is still (again) a key player in the New World Order as one of five permanent members of the UN Security Council. At the same time, the analysis of Putin’s speeches since 2001 show an increasing frustration and radicalisation of Putin⁴¹. In the view of Russia, the West repeatedly refused to be supportive when it tried to strengthen links to Europe since Russia’s NATO-partnership in 1994). And as result of three decades of deception, Russia turned away from the West to the East, and to nationalism, culminating in the disaster of the Ukraine war (more in chapter 7.13.1.4).

- **India:** Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the beginning of 2021 said: “A new world order will take shape after the coronavirus pandemic and India will have a major role to play in it. ... This decade is a very important one, just like the decade after 2nd world war; unlike earlier, we are not going to be a mute spectator.”⁴²
- **China:** President Xi Jinping somehow launched the debate about a new world order with his speech at the 76th UN General Assembly on 21 Sept 2021: “The World has entered a *period of new turbulence and transformation*.” Xi proposed a “*Global Development Initiative*” with six pillars: “development as a priority”, “people-centered approach”, “benefits for all”, “innovation-driven development”,

⁴¹ Katrin Büchenmacher/ Cian Jochem, *Putins Weg der Radikalisierung*, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 26 July 2022. (Accessed 12 Aug 2022)

⁴² <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pm-narendra-modi-new-world-order-emerging-after-pandemic-big-role-for-india-2360605>.

harmony between man and nature” and “results-oriented actions”. All this in the frame of the SDGs 2030, global governance, multilateralism, and *values* of a shared future “based on mutual respect, equity, justice and win-win cooperation.”⁴³

- **Turkey:** President Erdogan of Turkey said at the end of 2021: “The year 2021 has proven that the *current global order* that emerged after the World War II cannot be allowed to continue at the cost of humanity’s suffering.” The current order was *unable to handle the challenges* like the pandemic, climate, migration, and regional conflicts. “Our goal is *to make Turkey one of the world’s biggest economies* and we are willing to work together with anyone who shares this vision.”⁴⁴
- **Russia-China:** The joint statement of the President of Russia Vladimir Putin and President of China Xi Jinping, of 4 February 2022, at the beginning of the Olympic games (and shortly before the invasion of Ukraine by Russia on 24 February), speaks in similar words as Xi at the UN of “humanity is entering a *new era of rapid development and profound transformation*. It sees the development of such processes and phenomena as multi-polarity, economic globalization, the advent of information society, cultural diversity, transformation of the global governance architecture and world order; there is increasing interrelation and interdependence between the States; a trend has emerged towards *redistribution of power in the world*.” The joint statement mentions a list of *values* and calls “to build dialogue and mutual trust, strengthen mutual understanding, champion such universal human values as peace, development,

⁴³ Xinhua News, http://www.news.cn/english/2021-09/22/c_1310201230.htm.

⁴⁴ Turkish Anadolu Agency AA, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/current-world-order-cannot-continue-while-humanity-suffers-turkish-president/2462152> (accessed 6 Aug 2022).

equality, justice, democracy and freedom, respect the rights of peoples to independently determine the development paths of their countries and the sovereignty and the security and development interests of States, to protect the *United Nations-driven* international architecture and the international law-based world.”⁴⁵

- **USA** President Joe Biden on 25 March 2022: “There’s going to be a *new world order out there, and we’ve got to lead it. And we’ve got to unite the rest of the free world* in doing it.”⁴⁶ The view was not further developed, but the context was the new situation with the war in Ukraine. Biden does not refer to multilateralism and the UN, but calls for a leading position of the US. He refers to uniting the free world, not finding a world order for the whole world. And the US see in their “pivot strategy” the Indo-pacific Region as the key area, where the new world order will be decided (more in chapter ..
- **Russia:** The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov seconded the joint statement Xi-Putin during his visit to his counterpart, the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi in Beijing on 29 March 2022: “We, together with you, and with our sympathisers will move towards a *multipolar, just, democratic world order*.”⁴⁷
- **France:** President Emmanuel Macron’s vision of a New World Order is *European Sovereignty* “to build a stronger and more sovereign Europe”⁴⁸, a closer Europe as a better Europe and a strong pole in a

⁴⁵ <http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/5770>. Accessed 5 Aug 2022

⁴⁶ Joe Biden at a business Round Table, 25 Mar 2022, <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/factcheck/2022/03/25/fact-check-biden-did-not-admit-new-world-order-conspiracy/7156937001/> Accessed 5 Aug 2022.

⁴⁷ <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220330-russian-fm-hails-china-as-part-of-emerging-just-world-order>.

⁴⁸ Emmanuel Macron, Speech at the Closing Ceremony of the Conference on the Future of Europe, held 9 May 2022. <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/news/speech-by-emmanuel-macron-at-the-closing-ceremony-of-the-conference-on-the-future-of-europe/> (Accessed 6 Aug 2022).

multipolar world, more independent from the US and united in front of Russia and China. After the Ukraine war, “we will need to build new security balances and we will need, together, to never give in to the temptation of humiliation, nor the spirit of revenge”. In 2019, as host of the G7 Summit, Macron called for a “*New Global Economic Order*”⁴⁹, overcoming a market economy, which is “too-finance-driven, creating inequalities”.

- **Iran:** Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei said in early May 2022 that “the world is on the threshold of a new world order”. Iran would have a strong role in creating it and the influence of US would be reduced.⁵⁰ **Middle East:** Many Middle East countries, namely Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, United Arab Emirates and Turkey do not want to break with China and Russia and express rather frustration with US, maintaining the options of multi-aligned players. These middle eastern countries are positioned to become mediators between China, Russia, US and Europe, as it was already the case with Turkey on the grain agreement under the umbrella of the UN.
- **Germany:** Federal Chancellor Olaf Scholz, at the World Economic Forum in Davos on 27 May 2022⁵¹, spoke about a *Zeitenwende* (new era) and disqualified *Putin’s new World Order as Imperialism*: “Putin wants a return to a world order in which strength dictates what is right; in which freedom, sovereignty and self-determination are simply not for everyone. That is imperialism! The system of in-

⁴⁹ AP 27 Aug 2019. <https://www.courthousenews.com/macron-calls-for-a-new-global-economic-order/>.

⁵⁰ Maria Maalouf, *Iran likely to be left behind if ‘new world order’ merges*, Arab News, 4 May 2022, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2075701>. (Accessed 6 Aug 2022).

⁵¹ *Special Address at Davos 2022 by Olaf Scholz, Federal Chancellor of Germany, in full*, 27 May 2022, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2022/05/olaf-scholz-speech-to-davos-2022-in-full/> (Access 5 Aug 2022).

ternational cooperation that was designed in the aftermath of two devastating world wars, to give effect to the vow of 'never again', is at stake. A system that subjects power to the law, that bans the use of force as an instrument of politics, and that has in the past decades guaranteed us freedom, security and prosperity. "The new world will be without dependency of Russian oil and gas, with "restructuring our economy" as green economy with closer EU cooperation. Scholz pleads "to live in a *multipolar world*", not the US as sole power, nor the bipolar world US-China, nor "Chinese hegemony in Asia and beyond" but a multipolar world "seeing new and ambitious powers emerging in Asia, Africa and Latin America". The EU, he sees as "converting its geo-economic weight into *geopolitical influence*. That is what I mean by European sovereignty. ... Where there is a shift in the balance of influence and global power, it also inevitably affects the political order. The crucial question is this: how can we ensure *that the multipolar world will also be a multilateral order*? Or to put it another way, how can we create an order in which very different centres of power can interact reliably in the interests of everyone?" this question is at the core of the topics of this book *Globalance!* And it needs solidarity: "In a multipolar world, this kind of international order will not be achievable without international solidarity. That is why we are investing in new partnerships."

- **Indonesia** was a strong founding member of the *Non-Aligned Movement* and since then a *bridge between poles* and committed to multilateralism. With its substantially growing economy and its large population it is a key player in South East Asia, ASEAN and will be more so globally. Its implicit intention of a New World Order is multilateralism, combined with strong cooperation in the ASEAN re-

gion, eventually IBIS⁵² (replacing BRICS), combined with growing *self-confidence, claiming to play a significant role on global level*.⁵³ Indonesia's presidency of the G-20 summit, for the first time, in 2022, in Bali/ Indonesia is a sign for it.

- **Africa:** The African Union adopted in 2013 the “Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want.”⁵⁴ It is a vision for Africa for the 50 years from 2013 to 2063. The vision is “an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens, representing a dynamic force in the international arena” “Agenda 2063 is Africa’s blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It is the continent’s strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and is a concrete manifestation of the pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance ... aimed at *repositioning Africa to becoming a dominant player in the global arena.*”
- **Latin America:** Latin America is a complex and diverse continent, from giant countries like Mexico and Brazil to tiny countries. The continent was often more the recipient of international developments than in its driver seat. National interest often prevail – depending on governments such as Bolsonaro in Brazil. The strong economic influence of China in a number of Latin American countries and their debt-dependency on China, lead to a complex new order. Many Afri-

⁵² R Jagannathan, *IBIS, not BRICS: New World Order Needs Second Rung Powers Like India, Brazil, Indonesia and South Africa to Step in*, Magazine Swarajya, 4 Aug 2022.

⁵³ Edward Parker, *The Rise of Indonesia on the Global Stage: Reflections on an Economic Ascent*. With its presidency of the G-20, the country is finally beginning to fulfill its potential as a regional and global leader, *The Diplomat*, 29 July 2022. Accessed 6 Aug 2022.

⁵⁴ <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview>. (Accessed 5 Aug 2022).

can countries tend to turn away from liberal economies and democracies to a Chinese economic and political model. However, the commitment to multilateralism is strong. The uncertainty about the “dangers and opportunities in a multipolar world” is obvious.⁵⁵ The “Death of Pan-Americanism” as consequence of Trump’s “America First” seems clear. However, a⁵⁶ common vision of Latin America in this “Transitional World Order”⁵⁷ is not yet clear. Brazil with its recent, fast increasing efforts to provide green energy for the world, may become a strong global partner if political stability and accountable leadership beyond populism is possible.

These selected quotes show different concepts of a New World Order, from US unilateral leadership to multilateralism and from shared values to bipolar value systems, or from one superpower to multiple poles where developing and emerging countries play a more dominant role than in the past. Shifts in the weight and influence of superpowers, new alliances and new polarisations are part of these struggles for a new order; And, of course, each president of a nation must show that their own country will play in the New World Order a more significant role than in the past.

A number of above quoted political leader compare the current situation with the decade after 1945 when new post-WW2 institutions like the system of the United Nations, mechanisms of cooperation and values

⁵⁵ Antonella Mori (ed.), *Latin America and the New Global Order. Dangers and Opportunities in a Multipolar World*, Milano: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2020.

⁵⁶ Loris Zanatta, *America First: The Death of Pan-Americanism*, in Antonella Mori (ed.), *Latin America and the New Global Order. Dangers and Opportunities in a Multipolar World*, Milano: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2020, 12-30.

⁵⁷ Evan Ellis, *The Transitional World Order: Implications for Latin America and the Caribbean*, *Global Americans*, 29 March 2022, special contribution.

have been built and modified step-by-step. The quotes also show that it is too early to know exactly where the New World Order —the current transition will lead. Much will depend on economic, financial, military and leadership developments.

A World Order is also not a fixed entity in stone like a monument or an iron box. It is rather like a house: the main architecture is given, but rooms can be enlarged, renovated, stairs replaced, an additional floor added etc. A world order can also be compared to a living tree, it develops, grows, some branches may die, but it is still the same tree. This *dynamic character of a world order* is even truer in our concept of Globalance as a dynamic and not a static balance. Therefore, it would be appropriate, to speak rather of a *new world organism or world setting* than world order. Nevertheless, we use the term New World Order as it is the most used in the quoted president's addresses, meaning a paradigm shift towards a next societal setting for humanity, especially linked to the international political order of states and their relations.

This book tries to clarify this question of the way from disorder towards a new World Order in detail, especially in chapter 7 with its thirty sub-chapters by sections of society. My intention with the book is that the analysis serves as the basis for ethical orientation and action. We humans are not just victims of global or personal fate, but we can and have to take responsibility in pro-actively promoting survival and a life in dignity for humans and the whole creation. I therefore do not share the attitude of fatalism or solidification like the rabbit in front of the fox. I rather promote with this book the attitude of informed, values-driven, courageous decisions and collective actions to overcome the threats and

to contribute to a new World Order with a dynamic balance of values and virtues. The impact scenarios range from a ‘total new world order’ to ‘business as usual’ and a majority in between who hope for a ‘new normal’. Before we look at long-term scenarios, let us look at the current impact of the pandemic in selected sectors, which are already visible or predictable. I do not promote a superficial optimism that every crisis is an opportunity and can be solved. A crisis can also be deadly.

My attitude is rather rooted in the hope and certitude that the divine power – God has thousand names – will energize, orient, and encourage humans and the whole creation to do whatever we can to overcome the crises and contribute to a next phase of a new world order, balanced and value-driven.

In any case, the current decade 2020-2030 seems to become a turbulent time. On one hand, the ambitious Sustainable Development Goals of the UN should be reached by 2030, a goal agreed by all nations together. On the other hand, many of the disruptions described in this book may lead to a situation that humanity does not reach these goals.

Nobody can be sure of what will be in the following years with their risks and vulnerabilities.

The focus of this book – as explained in the introduction – is not to predict the future of what will be but to give an orientation for what should be (normative). I write it not as a futurist, but as an ethicist. However, ethics needs social sciences to see what *is* in order give relevant normative orientation of what *should be*.

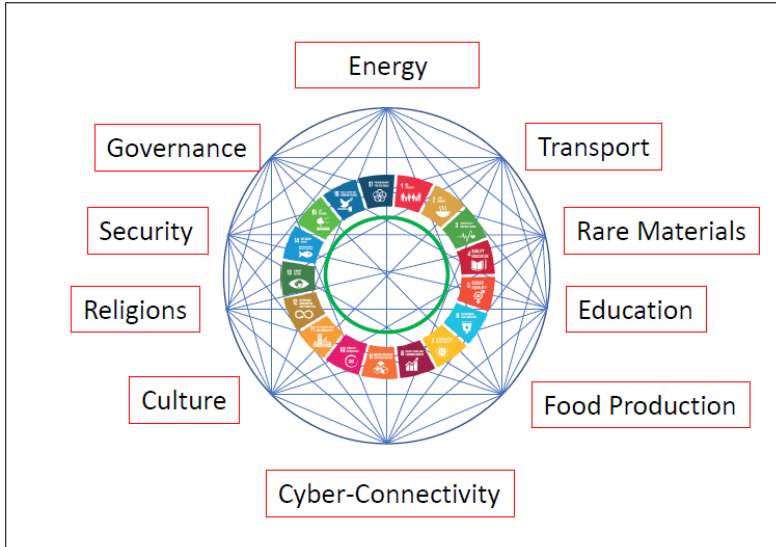
1.0.4 Relational Thinking

Globalance means holistic, relational thinking and acting (chapter 2.2). In chapter 1.1 we first focus on the impact of the 4C on ten topics. The chapter is structured as follows: Ten sectors of impact are each of them analysed by the 4 C's:

4 C Challenges Impact	<i>Climate</i>	<i>Cold War</i>	<i>Covid</i>	<i>Crash fin</i>
<i>1 Mortality</i>	1.1.1.1	1.1.1.2	1.1.1.3	1.1.1.4
<i>2 Health, Science</i>	1.1.2.1	1.1.2.2	1.1.2.3	1.1.2.4
<i>3 Econ, Business</i>	1.1.3.1.	1.1.3.2	1.1.3.3	1.1.3.4
<i>4 National Politics</i>	1.1.4.1	1.1.4.2	1.1.4.3	1.1.4.4
<i>5 Environment</i>	1.1.5.1	1.1.5.2	1.1.5.3	1.1.5.4
<i>6 Geopolitics</i>	1.1.6.1	1.1.6.2	1.1.6.3	1.1.6.4
<i>7 Culture, Gen, Rel</i>	1.1.7.1	1.1.7.2	1.1.7.3	1.1.7.4
<i>8 Information War</i>	1.1.8.1	1.1.8.2	1.1.8.3	1.1.8.4
<i>9 Leadership</i>	1.1.9.1	1.1.9.2	1.1.9.3	1.1.9.4
<i>10 Values, Ethics</i>	1.1.10.1	1.1.10.2	1.1.10.3	1.1.10.4

We then dare to check three scenarios (chapter 1.2), which we in detail will verify, falsify or modify (especially in chapter 7). The impact scenarios range from 1) back to normal and business as usual, to 2) a new normal with modifications in almost all sectors of society. The scenario 3) leads to disruptions and revolutions leading with a new world order'.

Relational thinking is at the heart of this book *Globalance*. That is the reason why you find in this book many graphs as circle or hexagon with connections between all topics/sectors/themes on it. Look at the example of relations between sectors, be it material or immaterial, political, economic or religious.



1.1 The Impact of 4C Uncertainties by Sector

1.1.1 Climate, Cold War, Covid, Crash: Overlapping Periods

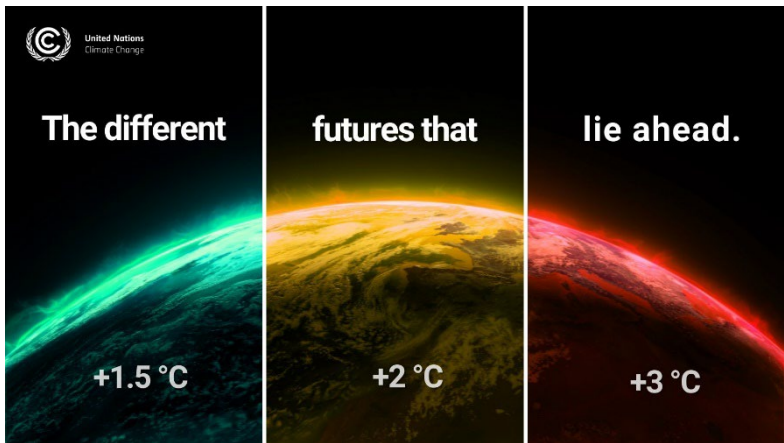
The four selected challenges have different periods of duration. The climate challenge has been known for five decades, the new Cold War started is “only two decades ago, but became more prominent in the last few years, the Covid-19 pandemic started at the end of 2019. The financial crises pop up in irregular cycles, accompanied by many economic, political and social effects. The following shows in a simplified way the periods of these four challenges (other challenges could be added). The main insight of the graph is that we live in a period of accumulation of crisis, as all four are present at the same time and interconnected.

4C: 4C's: Overlapping Periods									
	1945-69	1970-9	1980-9	1990-99	2000-4	2005-9	2010-14	2015-19	2020-25
C1 Climate			11	12	12	12	12	12,13	12
C2 Cold War					21			22	23
C3 Covid									31
C4 Crash		41		42		43			44?
Events									
11: 1988 WMO establishes IPCC; 12: Annual UN Climate Change Conference CoP since 1995, 27th 2022; 13: Youth Climate Protests since 2019									
21: 1999 NATO expansion to Poland, Hungary, Czech Rep.; 22: Since 2018 Trade War US-China; 23: Hot war Ukraine									
31: Covid-19 outbreak Dec 2019, highest 20-21, change to endemic 2022									
41: 1973 Opec Oil crisis; 42: Asian Crisis 1997-98; 43: Global Financial Crisis 2007-2008; 44: 2022 high inflation, increasing debts, financial crisis?									
<i>Source: Stueckelberger, Globalance towards a New World Order, 2022, 1.1.1</i>									

1.1.1.1 Climate Change

Climate changes have been happening for millions of years as we know. However, it never changed in such a speed as today. It is now broad consensus, that modern climate change is mainly human-made by vast CO2-emissions. Climate change science studied changes since the 19th century. However, in modern times, warnings for climate warming

increased since the 1970s and a consensus began in the 1980s. a decisive step was the establishment of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988 by the World Meteorological Organisation WMO. Since 1989, the annual UN Conference of Parties (CoP) takes place, in order to decide on recommendations for UN-member states, which means global measures. The 27th CoP took place in November 2022.⁵⁸



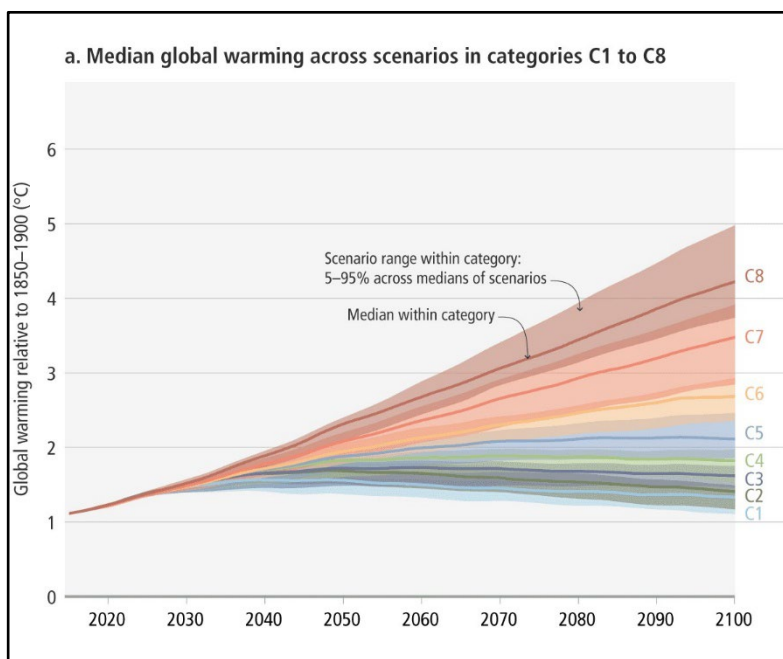
The UN Climate Change campaign makes it clear in a simple message: Global warming by +1.5°C from 1990 to 2030 is the internationally agreed goal. Warming of +2°C is critical and +3°C is deadly for many millions of people. The International Panel on Climate Change IPCC in its 2022 report projects eight scenarios of climate warming:⁵⁹

I had the privilege to participate as early as in 1989 at the interdisciplinary “Greenhouse Gas Conference” in Washington D.C., representing

⁵⁸ For more details see the *History of Climate Change Science* on Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_climate_change_science#Modern_period:_1988_to_present. (Accessed 30/7/2022).

⁵⁹ IPCC, *Climate Change 2022. Mitigation of Climate Change*. <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/sixth-assessment-report-working-group-3>. (Accessed 27 Sept. 2022)

the Conference of European Churches. As a consequence, I co-organized the first national Climate Campaign in Switzerland in 1990 under the motto “Save the skin of the earth”, as president of the 1986 formed Swiss Association Church and Environment (OeKU).⁶⁰ It shows: Climate change is a very long-term and global challenge. It makes the task more demanding than visible and immediate catastrophes such as an earthquake or a flood.



1.1.1.2 *Cold War II*

In 1991, with the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the old Cold War in the bipolar world of US and Soviet Union ended. A new phase of mono-polar Globalization started with the US as main remaining super-

⁶⁰ www.oeku.ch

power. However, a new Cold War developed step by step. A key element was the unilateral expansion of the NATO with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as new members since 1999, welcomed by US Senate in 1998.⁶¹ The fast economic and technological rise of China led to the open Trade war started by US-President Trump in 2018 and ongoing economic conflicts between the two superpowers especially in the technological sector. In this perspective, the hot war in Ukraine is not a surprise falling from heaven, but somehow the next stage of escalation in this new Cold War.

The New Cold War is just the Old Cold War with new means and enemies: the race US-USSR is replaced by US-China, traditional weapons for liberation movements in Africa are replaced by sea cables and satellites, radio programmes are replaced by internet media. People and countries in Africa may benefit from this race by faster internet connectivity and other advantages, but the motivation of the superpowers remains the old one: not people first, but power first! We will come back to it in several chapters of this book.

1.1.1.3 Covid-19

Like waves of a cyclone, the Covid-19 pandemic devastated first Asian, then European, North American, to lesser extent African countries and then strongly emerged in South American countries. Most countries experienced an average period of about four months for the first wave of infections, also fearing and not knowing, if and when second waves may occur. In June 2020, countries like USA, Brazil and

⁶¹ George Kennan named the US Senate decision the beginning of the new Cold War and predicted that “the Russians will gradually react quite adversely and it will affect their policies.” Quoted in *Second Cold War*, Wikipedia, footnote 19. (Accessed 30/7/2022)

Russia had yet to peak on the first wave and some already experienced the second wave.

After the first shock-waves between February and April 2020, the reflections on a post-Covid world started in May and June 2020. But since April, and more so from July 2020, leaders warned that we have to live with Covid-19 for a long time. The Director General of the World Health Organization in his update on 7 July 2020 said: “There will be no return to the ‘old normal’ for the foreseeable future. But there is a roadmap to a situation where we can control the disease and get on with our lives.”⁶² Does it mean that we should not speak about a ‘post-Covid’ era, but the ‘with-Covid’ era as the world has to live with HIV-Aids or other diseases?

The developments 2020-2022 showed in many countries already four waves of infections. It also showed that a large part of the world population got one to four doses of vaccine. In addition, the number of deaths per million decreased dramatically, which is an indicator that the pandemic transformed step by step to an endemic with relatively mild symptoms of the infected persons.

Since 2021, the long-term economic effects of the pandemic became more and more visible. The zero-tolerance policy of China lead to very long lockdown periods with closing of borders and travel restrictions. One of the major effects on world economy was the disruption of supply chains in almost all parts of the world, as China is still ‘the factory of the world’ for pieces in almost all sectors of business.

⁶² <https://www.who.int/dg/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---13-july-2020>

The public discourse on the pandemic in most of the countries followed similar patterns and phases: 1. Health: strong increase of cases, emergency law, medical equipment, lockdown. 2. Economy: effects of lockdown on economy, loss of jobs, disruptions in specific sectors and in supply chain. 3. Politics: after first phase of united governments under emergency, reopening of political struggles, international blame and shame, conspiracies and controversial strategies of who pays the costs. 4. Culture: limitations and re-opening of public life, religions, culture, sport, mental health and social life. With end of lockdown, social unrests, further fuelled by the stress of the pandemic, increase. 4. Finance: Exploding debts through emergency support of business global recession.

1.1.1.4 Financial Crisis

A financial crisis is characterised by steep decline of asset prices, difficulties of consumers, investors or nations to pay debts, liquidity shortage, often with a panic to withdraw money from bank savings. It can be linked to speculative bubble, stock market crash, sovereign default or a currency crisis.⁶³

Such financial crises arise regionally or – in the modern interdependent globalized world more and more globally. Several of these threatening crises happened in the last hundred years, the latest 2007-2008. The current vulnerability of and accumulation of risks, as shown in the table, increases fears of a next global financial crisis.

⁶³ Will Kenton, *Financial Crisis?*, Investopedia, updated 10 June 2022, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/financial-crisis.asp>. Accessed 30/7/2022.

1.1.2 Impact on Mortality: Who Dies First? Ethical Questions

What is the effect of the 4C's on death and mortality?

1.1.2.1 Climate Change: Impact on Mortality

Climate change is a creeping catastrophe. Therefore, the number of deaths related to it is not so visible and not easy to quantify. According to a WHO study, climate change is expected to cause about 250,000 additional deaths per year from malnutrition, malaria, diarrhea and heat stress, between 2030 and 2050.⁶⁴ A US Study calculates an increase of the US annual mortality from 0.5 to 1.7% by the end of the 21st century.⁶⁵

From an ethical perspective, each unnatural death is one too much. The key ethical question is not how many, but who dies first, or more painful: whom do we sacrifice first?⁶⁶ It is obvious, that the poor are more vulnerable than those with health insurances, cooling systems and money for increased food prices. The question of struggle for survival, solidarity and sharing becomes crucial.

⁶⁴ World Health Organisation, *Climate Change and Health*, 30 Oct. 2021, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/climate-change-and-health>, (Accessed 30/7/2022)

⁶⁵ Olivier Deschênes/ Michael Greenstone, *Climate Change, Mortality, and Adaptation: Evidence from Annual Fluctuations in Weather in the US*, OECD Paper June 2007, www.oecd.org. (Accessed 30/7/2022)

⁶⁶ Christoph Stückelberger, *Climate Justice Who dies First? Who is Sacrificed First?*, *Climate Justice Who dies First? Who is Sacrificed First?*, in Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Ethics Applied, Vol 2 Environmental Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 30-49 (article first published 2009).

1.1.2.2 Cold War II: Impact on Mortality

The additional mortality caused by the Cold War II is again difficult to quantify. Many studies look at the economic impact of the US-China Trade War, but mainly for one country like the US. Oxfam International estimates that global raising of food prices due to the Ukraine War and other factors of the supply chain will push 65 million more people into extreme poverty, in addition to those caused by Covid (below).⁶⁷

Reliable figures on the direct victims of the war in Ukraine (soldiers and civilians) - on Ukrainian and Russian side - are difficult to access, as both sides are also in an information war as part of the military war. Between 24 Feb and 28 July 2022, the UN documented 5,237 civilians killed and 7,035 wounded. The Ukrainian Government estimates 12-28'000 civilians killed, 10'000 Ukrainian forces killed and 40,230 Russian and allied forces lost. The Russian Government reports 23,367 Ukrainian forces killed and gives no figures about killed or wounded Russian forces.⁶⁸

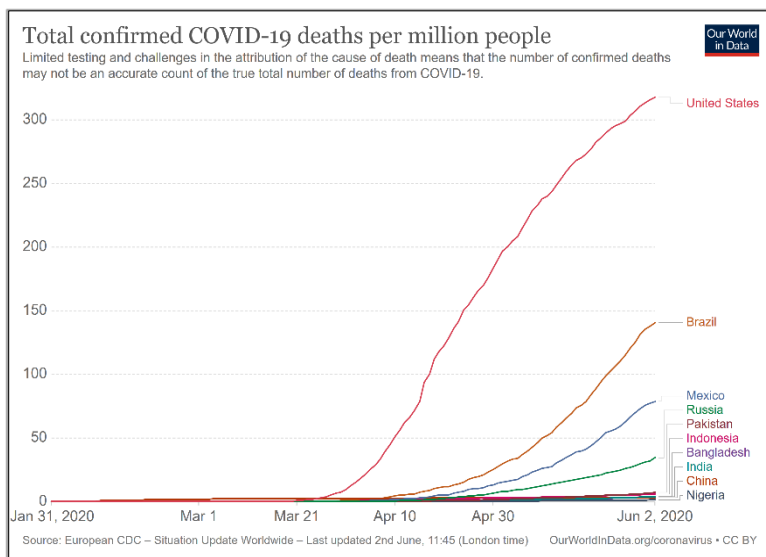
One of the ethical challenges is that mortality due to war is emotionally and politically much more sensitive and controversial than death from hunger. Each killed soldier is honored. People who die from hunger as result of the war on hunger (like the case of Ukrainian and Russian grain exports) remain anonymous. They never get a war pension and a memorial!

⁶⁷ *'Terrifying prospects' of over a quarter of a billion more people crashing into extreme levels of poverty and suffering this year*, Oxfam Press Release 12 April 2022, www.oxfam.org. (Accessed 30 July 2022)

⁶⁸ A detailed table from different information sources and very regularly updated is on *Casualties of the Russo-Ukrainian War*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casualties_of_the_Russo-Ukrainian_War#Total_casualties. (Accessed 30 July 2022)

1.1.2.3 Covid-19: Impact on Mortality

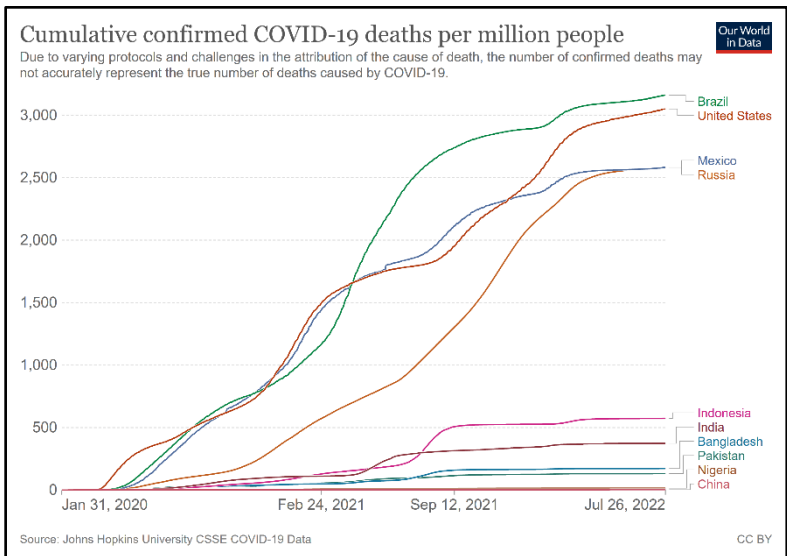
The Covid-19 pandemic led to a never seen lockdown of 2.6 billion people in their homes, 7 million people infected and over 400,000 deaths from February to June 2020)! The pandemic showed substantial differences between countries in strategy, measures and success in limiting number of infections and deaths as the following graph shows.⁶⁹ The comparison of South Korea with its fast reaction to the Corona pandemic and low number of total deaths and the USA with late reaction by its leadership of President Trump, resulting in the globally highest number of deaths shows. (See the graph in the 1st ed. of this book, Jun. 2020):



⁶⁹ This graph and others in this book are retrieved from ‘Our World in Data’ <https://ourworldindata.org>, a serious data and graph database, mainly with data from UN institutions and IMF/World Bank, used by top universities and media in the world. Online the data are interactive and related to the pandemic updated daily. (They have been accessed April-June 2020 and July 2022.)

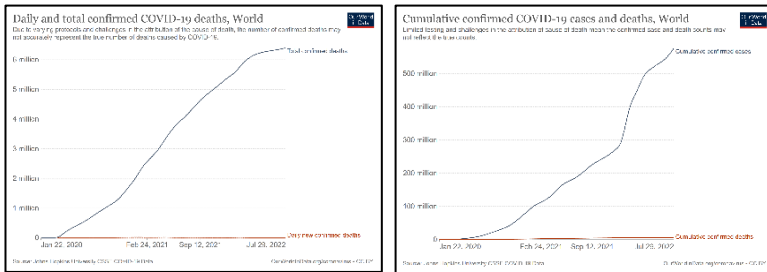
The denial of the pandemic in spite of the manifold warnings of experts and experiences of other countries leads to disaster. The USA had to mourn 104,702 deaths (1 June 2020) within 80 days of pandemic (310 per million population), whereas South Korea mourned 271 (5.2 per million population) and China 4,638 (3.3 per million population)! The graph compares the ten countries with the largest population.

Two years later, in July 2022, the graph below shows the waves since the beginning in 2020. Example: The total number of deaths in USA was 310 per million in June 2020 and with 3000 per million ten times higher in July 2022!



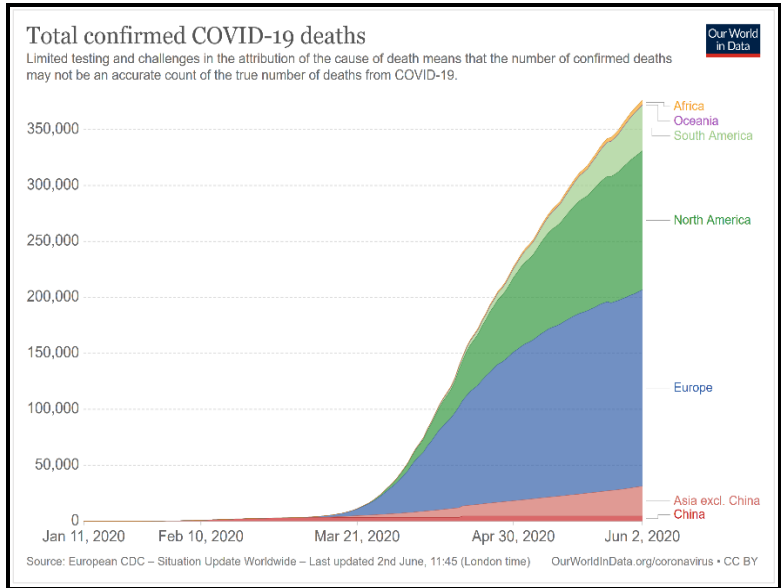
The graph as of July 2022.

The *total global number of casualties (death)* increased from Jan 2020 to July 2022 to over 6 million persons! The *total global number of covid-infected people* (light and serious cases) to almost 600 million people!

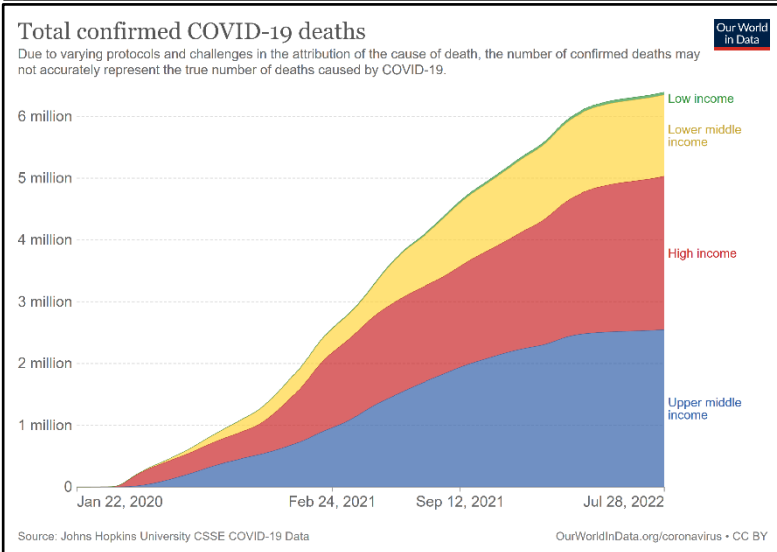
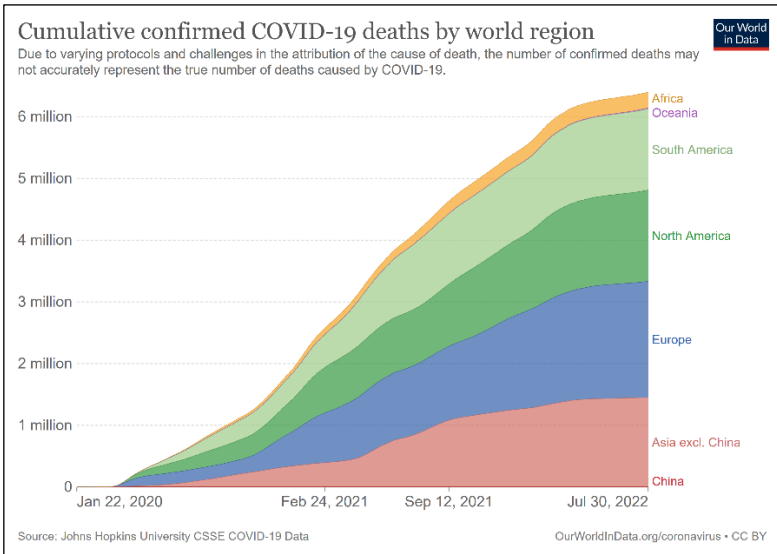


Important is also the geographic distribution by continent. The graph shows, that Europe, North America and South America had to mourn for more deaths than Asia and Africa. Middle and high income population was more affected than lower income. Counted are confirmed deaths. It is not sure if in some developing countries all casualties are counted.

The comparison of confirmed death by continent shows: Against alarming prognoses, Africa remained surprisingly spared from high numbers of infections and death. Even if the figures do not cover all cases due to lack of access to info in some African countries and would be tripled compared to the counted numbers, it would – until mid-2020 – still be very low compared to Europe and North America and even lower than Asia. Africa represents 17 percent of the world population, but only 1.2 percent of the Covid-19 deaths (as of 2 June 2020), Asia with 60 percent of the world population with only 8.3 percent, North America with 4.7 percent of world population counts for 33 percent of the deaths and Europe with 9.8 percent of the world population counts for 46.6 percent!



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The hypothesis, which we will deepen in this book, is that the cultural values are one of the decisive factors to explain the differences in

handling the pandemic.⁷⁰ Even though the general WHO guidelines for pandemics are global, the nation states are free to implement them in different ways. One key difference is discipline versus freedom. The value of discipline is higher rated and more implemented in Asian countries with Confucian tradition like South Korea and China, independent of their political system. Individual freedom is more emphasized in Western liberal countries.

The geo-economic development due to Covid-19, trade barriers, supply chain disruptions, social unrest and many more factors lead to an increase of 75 to 95 million people in absolute poverty (living on less than 1.9 USD per day) by the end of 2022 compared to pre-covid, according to the World Bank.⁷¹

1.1.2.4 Financial Crisis

The economy, shown to a great extent in the financial sector, is a crucial main factor in human development. It influences technological, academic, political, social, religious and cultural developments and is heavily influenced by them. Several indices can be used to show the situation, be it the investment level, the debt level, consumer behavior and much more. Is there a connection between a financial crisis and mortality? Individuals in an impasse may commit suicide to a greater extent than in normal times. Studies also show also higher mortality due to mental health illness during economic crises, especially among elder-

⁷⁰ More in chapter 7.6.

⁷¹ World Bank, *Poverty. Overview*, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview>, 26 April 2022. (Accessed 30 July 2022)

ly women.⁷² However, in terms of numbers more important are those millions slipping back to absolute poverty as mentioned. A study covering 180 countries and six decades found that “recessions are associated with a sizeable and highly significant increase in mortality ... Importantly, recessions cast a long shadow: they lead to significantly higher death rates for up to 10 years and higher child mortality rates for up to 12 years.”⁷³

1.1.2.5 Ethical Questions on the impact of mortality

More on death and ethics in chapters 8.1 and 8.2.

1.1.3 Impact on Health, Science and Ethical Questions

1.1.3.1 Climate Change: Impact on Health

Climate change has significant impact on health. Malnutrition, new diseases, tropical diseases in non-tropical zones, forced climate migration, water quality impacts and much more. The following chart offers a good summary.⁷⁴

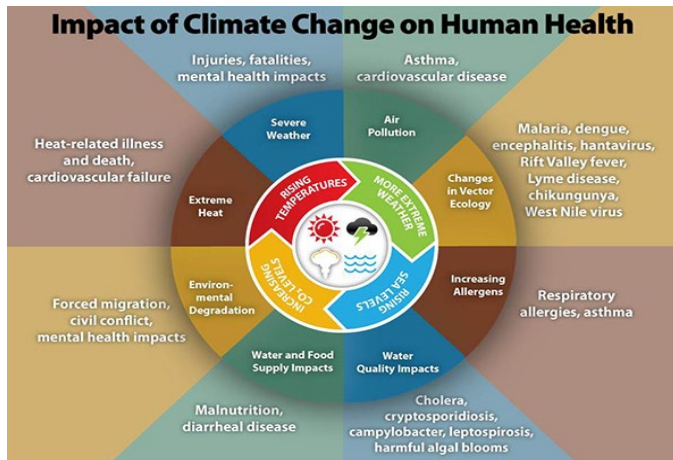
⁷² C Zilidis/ NV Angelopoulos, *The impact of economic crisis on mortality due to mental health illnesses*, *Journal of Public Health*, Vol 44, Issue 1, Mar 2022, 92-99.

⁷³ Sebastian Doerr/ Boris Hofmann, *Recessions and mortality: a global perspective*, *BIS Working Papers*, 910, 15 Dec 2020. <https://www.bis.org/publ/work910.htm>. (Accessed 31 July 2022).

⁷⁴ US Center for Disease Control and Prevention, retrieved from Southpole. <https://www.southpole.com/de/nachhaltigkeitsloesungen/healthcare> (Accessed 31 July 2022).

The World Health Organization estimates an additional 250,000 health related deaths per year related to climate change, between 2030 and 2050.⁷⁵

A key *ethical question* remains the same as in the previous chapter (1.1.2.1): who dies first? Who suffers first and most from climate impact on health and how is fair mitigation and burden sharing possible?



1.1.3.2 Cold War II: Impact on Health

Each hot war like the one Ukraine by Russia has severe effects on health systems. Drugs are missing, hospitals and transport systems destroyed, delivery under pressure from sanctions etc.

The Cold War II leads to some disruptions in supply chain. It affects temporarily or for a long time the availability of health care services incl. medicine and it increases prices and thus costs of the health systems. On the other hand, a polarized world in a new world order is able to reorganize production of pharmaceuticals and health services, after a

⁷⁵ <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/climate-change-and-health>. (Accessed 31 July 2022)

painful transition period. It can strengthen innovation within protected markets, but also hinders global research and cooperation. Developing countries then have often to decide between political-economic blocs and their health services, e.g. if they get access and can buy medicine from ‘the West’ or from ‘the East’. The growing E-health services with distant medicine is an option to overcome limits, but in an advanced polarization, cooperation across blocs may be limited, also because of dependency on polarized, mutually excluded digital software and hardware.

The ethical criteria to judge if globalization or polarization are positive or negative, must be the effect on humans on survival and a life in dignity as well as the sustainability of the ecosphere.

1.1.3.3 Covid-19: Impact on Health

The COVID-19 pandemic catapulted health (within a few weeks in January 2020) to the top priorities worldwide ahead of all other challenges and risks in annual risk barometers. Insurance companies are among the best in risk prediction, as this is their core business. Allianz, the third largest insurer in the world, published in January 2020 its Risk Barometer 2020, where 39 percent of the respondents mentioned cyber-crime as highest risk, 37 percent were problems with the supply chain due to trade war and only 3 percent “health issues (e.g. pandemics)”!⁷⁶ In February 2020, the world was already a different world. Even though virologists had warned in March 2019, a pandemic was likely to come at one point, no one could predict when. This lesson shows that life, devel-

⁷⁶ *Allianz Risk Barometer 2020*, Media release 14 January 2020.

opment and human history remain to some extent unpredictable, even with sophisticated risk analyses.

Thanks to modern communication technologies, a huge amount of information and data on the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic was and is available within a short time. Even though China and WHO have been criticised for late response, 2-3 weeks between the first suspicion of a new virus and global alarm is, historically speaking, a very short time. Even though cooperation between virologists was here and there criticised, it is an immense progress in humanity to have an intense global cooperation of experts to find the origin and character of the new virus and develop in parallel, solutions for a vaccine. With all critique of globalisation, this international cooperation can be seen as a fruit of globalisation, which should not be put in danger.

The last decade was dominated by the development of the *cyber sphere* and cyber technologies. Now with the pandemic, suddenly the *viro sphere* gets high attention. Viruses are very dangerous, but at the same time very important for all life “and may well have been crucial for the origins of life. ... They are everywhere. Each day, some 800 million viruses attached to dust particles fall onto every square metre of Earth’s surface.”⁷⁷ It seems that viruses help organisms to adapt and survive. As viruses are now also used in research to beat bacteria, viral ecology becomes a new field of research. About 195,000 species of viruses have been discovered as of now, 20 times more than 2015 and it

⁷⁷ Goodman, Jonathan, *The zombie world of viruses could hold the key to evolution itself, Viruses are essential to life on earth*, New Scientist, 8 Jan 2020. <https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg24532640-700-the-zombie-world-of-viruses-could-hold-the-key-to-evolution-itself>. Also: <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/3075785/viruses-arent-just-threat-public-health-they-are>.

seems only the beginning of discoveries. New classifications are in discussion as the classical classification of organisms seems to be only partly adequate. The International Committee on Taxonomy of Viruses works on these new classifications. There is also a relation between the cyber sphere and the virosphere. Bug data collection and artificial intelligence support and accelerate virological research. “We need to be thinking about pandemics in the same way we think about climate change – it’s an existential threat to us, but it’s one we can actually control, because we’re the drivers of it,” said Daszak, who is President of the New York City-based research non-profit EcoHealth Alliance and has advised the WHO on infectious diseases. He started fundraising for a US\$1 billion project to find and catalogue these viruses. The goal is to build on work done by the United States Agency for International Development to create a database of genetic data to better equip a public health response to such pathogens.⁷⁸

Scientific research on the origin of the Covid-19 virus, the best strategies to defeat it and vaccine development has highly intensified. This novel virus showed the importance of scientific cooperation and a level of trust, which is a precondition for this cooperation. The pandemic also confirmed the importance of independence of scientific medical research. Efforts to instrumentalize virologists or research results for political objectives lead to confusion and reduced trust both in politics and science.

The pandemic, especially in its hot phase of expansion brought also to the surface the crucial importance of health workers such as doctors,

⁷⁸ McCarthy, Simone, *Coronavirus: one virus caused Covid-19. Scientists say thousands more are in waiting*, South China Post, 6 April 2020.

nurses, elderly home personnel as well as prepared infrastructures. A new study of WHO from April 2020 shows the State of the World's Nursing and the need to invest in education, jobs and leadership.⁷⁹ The global number of nurses in 2018 was 28 million. By 2030, only 10 years from now! - 36-49 million are expected, but many countries (especially in Africa) still maintain a very low number of nurses (below 10 per 100,000 inhabitants).

A few ethical questions on the impact of the pandemic on health and medical research in post-corona times for further reflections: How can epidemics and pandemics be integrated as an ongoing reality into the future? What is a fair, just allocation of limited medical, financial and human resources during a pandemic? How can a holistic understanding of health and resilient immune systems in a healthy environment contribute to reduced infections? *More on health in chapter 7.6.*

1.1.3.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Health

The impact of financial disruptions on health is obvious. Governments have less tax income for social services including health services. Consumer budgets are under great pressure, health services become more costly. A WHO case study for France, Belgium and the Netherlands showed that countries with robust health care systems could better manage the period of the crisis. The crisis increases the inequality in access to health care.⁸⁰

More on health and ethics in chapter 7.6.

⁷⁹ WHO, *State of the World's Nursing 2020. Investing in education, jobs and leadership*, Geneva: WHO, April 2020.

⁸⁰ *The impact of the global economic crisis on the health care systems of Belgium, France and the Netherlands: policy recommendations for the Republic of Korea*, WHO, Geneva 2014.

1.1.4 Impact on Economy/Business and Ethical Questions

1.1.4.1 *Climate Change: Impact on Economy*

One of the big challenges of climate change is that more capital is needed for mitigation of climate related events, catastrophes and disasters. Less capital and economic measures are then available for preventive measures. Example: in 2022, a never experienced number of wild forest fires happened in Europe and other continents. The World Meteorological Organization expects an increase of wildfires by 50% by 2100.⁸¹ Fire brigades and mitigation to stop fires then have the priority and measures against reforestation is postponed; even if it is though, it must be one of the top priorities for climate change prevention. On the other hand, climate change accelerates the shift towards a green economy. It creates business opportunities e.g. in renewable energies, innovative technologies, new forms of social life and sharing due to the lack of funds etc.

The *ethical question* is: how can humans be convinced to act early enough with prevention instead of acting late with adaptation, mitigation and reparation. Prevention is economically always cheaper than adaptation and reparation.

1.1.4.2 *Cold War II: impact on Economy*

The Cold War II has very serious economic impacts: the trade war US-China interrupted supply chains and delayed delivery, the Ukraine war fueled a new arms race. Increased military budgets bring other sectors of public and private expenditures such as education and social ser-

⁸¹ <https://public.wmo.int/en/media/news/number-of-wildfires-forecast-rise-50-2100> published 23 Feb 2022 (Accessed 31 July 2022).

vices under high pressure. In the trade war, the United States imposed tariffs on China imports of about USD 350 billion by end of 2019 and China as a reaction retaliated USD 100 billion tariffs on imports from US to China.⁸²

1.1.4.3 Covid-19: Impact on Economy

Poverty: During the last three decades of fast globalisation, the number of people in extreme poverty was reduced from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 650 million people in 2018! An incredible success, never seen in human history in such a short time. A good part of this progress was thanks to the economic boom and antipoverty strategy in China. China alone reduced (between 1978 and 2019) the poor population in the countryside from 770 million to 5.5 million people. Together with the urban poor, the country counts ‘only’ 40 million poor out of the 1.4 billion total population. Globally, the number of people in extreme poverty increases again since 2020 as we will see later.

The IMF in its World Economic Outlook April 2020 predicted a negative growth of three percent (-3%) of the world economy for 2020 as result of the COVID-19 pandemic, being the most severe recession since 1929 and much more serious than the 2009 financial crisis.⁸³ The economic outlook of the World Bank estimates globally a new increase of extreme poverty – for the first time since 1996 – by 40-60 million people,⁸⁴ other sources estimate 85-400 million newly poor. The largest

⁸² Pablo D. Faigelbaum/ Amit K. Khandelwal, *The Economic Impacts of the US-China Trade War*, Annual Review of Economics, Vol 14, Aug 2022 (online since 28 April 2022). Accessed 1 Aug 2022.

⁸³ IMF, *World Economic Outlook April 2020*.

⁸⁴ World Bank Group, *Macro Poverty Outlook Spring 2020*, Washington: April 2020.

threat is still the “pandemic of poverty”, as Pope Francis called it in his sermon at Pentecost on 31 May 2020. The increase in absolute poverty may not only or mainly happen in Africa as one may expect, but in emerging countries including China with its vulnerable population, which just came out of poverty. Some African analysts are confident, that the post-covid Africa “seems promising” and that Africa could come out of the crisis stronger than before.⁸⁵

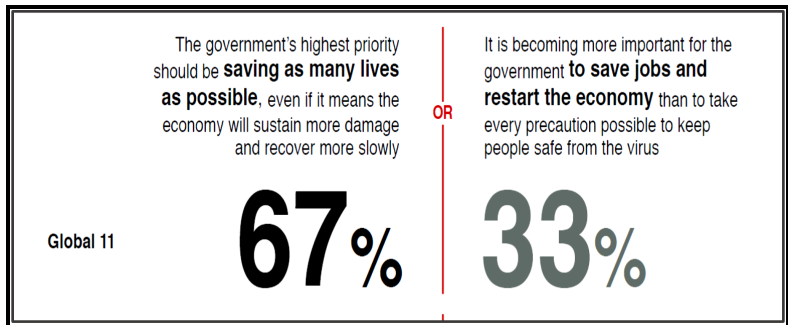
Production for own country versus export: The lockdown of a good part of humanity provoked a partial disruption of supply chain. Components of products have not been available for assembling of products and more notably, cargo transport facilities have been blocked or grounded. Therefore, the call for bringing production of goods and services back inside the national borders of a country grew, especially in countries with high dependence on import and export. At the same time, it becomes clear that de-globalisation would increase costs of products as they would no longer be produced where it is cheapest. Economist also calculate that stockpiling products, e.g. masks or medical equipment, which is not needed in normal times is still better than having a local production. China’s five-year plan 2021-2025, presented as outline at the People’s Congress in May 2020 to be adopted in spring 2021, with plans to focus more on the inland market (incl. West China) with 500-700 million middle class people, and on export only (second in line and increasingly with Europe), as a reaction to continued trade conflicts with USA.

⁸⁵ L’enquête Coronavirus: Et si l’Afrique en sortait renforcée ? Dossier Special Covid-19, Jeune Afrique, June 2020, 22-45 (cover).

The regionalisation of global supply chains was accelerated by Covid-19, but it had started before. Food from local farmers has been a trend for years. Concepts of ‘global’, the combination of global and local supply chains, existed since the 1990s⁸⁶, but mainly for ecological reasons.

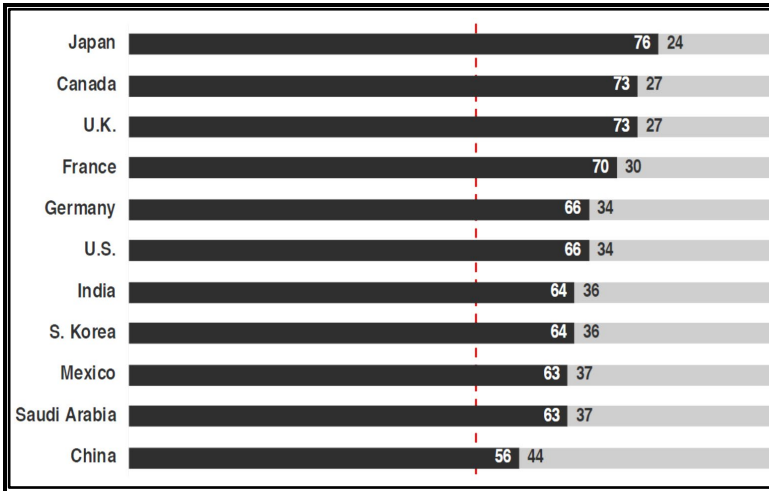
The impact of the pandemic on world economy will depend on how fast the different markets recover. China’s economy may recover faster than the American one, due to America’s much higher exposure to the virus, extremely high unemployment and social unrest. But failure of the US economy may affect the world more.

All these factors lead to the phenomenon of Covid Economics⁸⁷: economy under the condition of the pandemic.



⁸⁶ Douthwaite, Richard/Diefenbacher, Hans, *Jenseits der Globalisierung. Handbuch für lokales Wirtschaften*, Mainz: Mathias Gründewald, 1998. More in chapter 7.1 on globalisation.

⁸⁷ From March 2020 to June 2021, the center for economic policy research published many real-time papers on the topic. <https://cepr.org/content/covid-19>. (Accessed 4 Aug 2022).



In many countries during the pandemic, the strategic question was debated whether to extend lockdown to save lives from deadly infection or to lift lock down in order to limit damage for business and threats of unemployment. During the pandemic, on international average two out of three persons believe saving lives has priority over saving jobs. Differences between countries are significant as well as the timing of the pandemic in a country, when the survey in May 2020 was done, as well.⁸⁸

UNCTAD published the following trend analysis on foreign direct investments due to Covid-19. The monitor documents and analyses of how investment policies are responding the crisis, are expected to slash global foreign direct investment (FDI) flows by up to 40% during 2020-2021, according to the UNCTAD Global Investment Trends Monitor of May 2020: “To protect their health sector and industries in other sectors

⁸⁸ *Edelman Trust Barometer, 2020 Spring Update: Trust and the Covid-19 Pandemic*, 5 May 2020, 36.

considered as particularly important in the crisis, several countries have tightened foreign investment screening mechanisms, introduced new regulations or are planning such steps. Other State interventions in the health industry include mandatory production and export bans for medical equipment, as well as reduction of import duties for medical devices. ... Looking ahead, the pandemic is likely to have lasting effects on investment policy making. It may strengthen and solidify the ongoing trend towards more restrictive admission policies for foreign investment in industries considered as being of critical importance for host countries. At the same time, the pandemic may trigger increased competition for attracting investment in other industries as economies seek to recover from the downturn and disrupted supply chains need to be rebuilt. Concerning investment facilitation, the crisis may boost the use of online administrative approval procedures for investors and personnel.”⁸⁹

Aviation and Mobility: Globalisation was enabled among others by modern fast transport systems with immensely increased capacities, for persons and goods especially via airplanes. The aviation industry is among the industries most affected by Covid-19. The thirty largest airport hubs have been also hubs for spreading the virus. According to experts, aviation needs to be reinvented, as lock downs, slowdown of globalisation, new consumer behaviours and changes in tourism will not lead to the scenario ‘back to normal’ in the aviation sector.

⁸⁹ Unctad, *Investment Policy Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic*, Investment Policy Monitor, 4 May 2020, 1.

1.1.4.5 *Financial Crisis: Impact on Economy*

The challenge of the coming financial crisis will have further negative impact on the whole economy. In mid-2022, over half of the population in Europe feared the inability to pay their private debts. Public debts also increase due to Covid, in addition to political and military disruptions. *We will analyze it more in detail in chapter 7.11*

1.1.4.6 *Ethical questions on the economic impact of the 4C*

As stated earlier, many countries during the pandemic debated whether to extend lockdown to save lives from deadly infection or lift lockdown in order to limit damage for business and threats of unemployment. Whether somebody dies from Coronavirus, from hunger, from polluted water, depression or cancer because of air pollution – in each case it is a loss of a human life. The other way round: all measures, which save and extend life, are similarly important, from an ethical perspective. This means that health measures to mitigate the pandemic and economic measures to decrease unemployment or provide drinkable water cannot play off against each other. The ethical imperative is then rather that economic considerations must be measured against their impact on saving and extending life. During the Covid-19 pandemic, governmental programmes to stimulate food production and distribution are therefore more justified than stimulating the sales of luxury watches. Covid-19 lockdown measures are justified as long as the risk of massive loss of life still exists. However, the weighing up of goods means to promote those economic, political and health measures, which produce the lowest number of lives lost.

The ethical question will also be to weight economic losses and challenges e.g. in aviation against environmental gains and societal re-orientation with less mobility.

More on economy in chapters 7.7-7.11.

1.1.5 Impact on National Politics and Ethical Questions

1.1.5.1 Climate Change: Impact on National Politics

The advantage of a pandemic compared to climate change is that it is an immediate health threat, creates a mindset of alertness and thus leads to immediate reactions, also in politics. The disadvantage of climate change is that it happens slowly, without the same mindset of urgency and therefore political decisions are slow. The Swiss national parliament discussed over twenty years a CO₂-legislation to reduce CO₂-emissions but could decide a pandemic-related lockdown within two weeks (which, by the way, reduced the CO₂-emissions substantially due to almost no car and airplane traffic)! Now with more and more immediate disasters partly related to climate warming such as the wildfires in 2022, national politics realizes that decisions must be taken in shorter time. Part of the crisis of democracy is linked to the perception that less and less people trust that democratic procedures are adequate to solve challenges such as climate.

1.1.5.2 Cold War II: Impact on National Politics

The New Cold War strengthens nationalism and national politics. It also reinforces block thinking and nations searching alliances with other like-minded nations (more in chapter 7.13). It also has a direct impact on national expenditures as military budgets increase, debts increase and tax money e.g. for education is under pressure. In countries with nationalist parties in power, the New Cold War strengthens their positions.

1.1.5.3 Covid-19: Impact on National Politics

The impact of Covid-19 on national politics is in many countries one of the most publicly visible impacts. The emergency status gave huge competences to national governments, above constitutional rights and responsibilities of parliaments, as well as to regional and local government officials such as city mayors. A crisis like the pandemic shows how healthy and stable a country is. The result of national strategies raised questions of political systems: Are democracies or centralized one-party systems or autocracies better equipped to handle fast and decisive action during a pandemic? Or is it not the political system, but the level of trust in governments and the culture of discipline more significant? How do upcoming elections like in the US influence the national pandemic strategy and how can governments resist using a disaster for party politics and personal interests? Germany was less affected by the pandemic than Italy; both countries democratic. More important than the form of state seems to be the integrity of and trust in leadership. Populist politicians, who resist expert advice as a strategic political conviction (US, Brazil) or who use religious arguments to defy experts (Tanzania), clearly worsened the situation in their country.

Managing risks in a crisis shows the cultural differences in a nutshell. The Corona pandemic showed that the governments reacted with different strategies, speed and measures, even if they had similar scientific information. Cultural, political, economic and religious factors played a role: trust and mistrust in scientist and governments, fear of economic losses, speed of political decisions, denial based on prejudices or populist political leaders, historical experiences with former epidemics, religious leaders' messages that the virus cannot affect believers,

health and communication infrastructures, the culture (and economic potential) for making provisions etc. The Edelman Trust Barometer published in addition to the annual barometer, a spring 2020 update due to Covid-19.⁹⁰ Under the threat of the pandemic, 65 percent of the people had trust in government (+11 percent compared to 2019). Over 70 percent wanted the governments to lead the pandemic response. About 61 percent were willing to give up personal health and location data, more than normal, in order to help contain the spread of the virus.

1.1.5.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on National Politics

The financial crisis impacts national politics by raising unrest in the population linked to low consumption, the tendency of authoritarian reactions of governments, in rare cases the bankruptcy of a country with shock waves on international financial markets.

1.1.5.5 Ethical Questions

A few ethical questions on the impact of the 4Cs on national politics for further reflections: How can trust in governments, which has been on the decline for years, be increased not only for a short peak due to the pandemic, but in a sustainable way? How can abuse of power for personal political ambitions be limited during a national crisis where unity is needed? What “type and degree of authority [is] needed during this period”?⁹¹ How can the checks and balances and a balanced national development be reinstalled in time after such a crisis?

⁹⁰ *Edelman Trust Barometer Special Report Spring 2020*, 5 May 2020.

⁹¹ Haaz, Ignace, *Corona Virus and Value Pluralism: A Robust Ethical Perspective on a Pandemic*, *Journal of Dharma* 45, 2 (April-June 2020), 239-258. The author, philosopher and Globethics.net Publications Manager, embeds the lockdown of populations around the globe in the question of political philosophy starting with Juan Stuart Mills: “The axiological and ethical question confront-

More on national politics and ethics in chapters 7.17

1.1.6 Impact on Environment and Ethical Questions

1.1.6.1 Climate Change: Impact on Environment

Climate change, mainly caused by human-made CO₂ emissions, has a huge impact on the environment: biodiversity, water, food production, diseases, draughts, floods, wildfires and more. The changes are accelerating and at one point can have a tipping effect on whole ecosystems, such as the change of ocean currents. However, fundamental changes in nature and ecosystems are inherent in the history of the earth. The change between ice ages and tropical periods, with shocks from volcano eruptions or huge asteroids hitting on the globe show that climate in very long periods is a sensitive system of dynamic balances. The difference to today is the extreme speed of the climate change compared to the past millions of years. Nature – be it seen in secular terms as ecosystem or in faith-terms as God’s creation – can and will survive on whatever level of biodiversity, with ice or tropical forests. The challenge is for the human being in current or future population density, which may not provide enough space, food or water and where many places may become uninhabitable.

1.1.6.2 Cold War II: Impact on Environment

Military wars affect the environment in manifold ways: contamination of soil by mines; destruction of infrastructure and buildings with the need to reconstruct, which in each case burden the environment; the

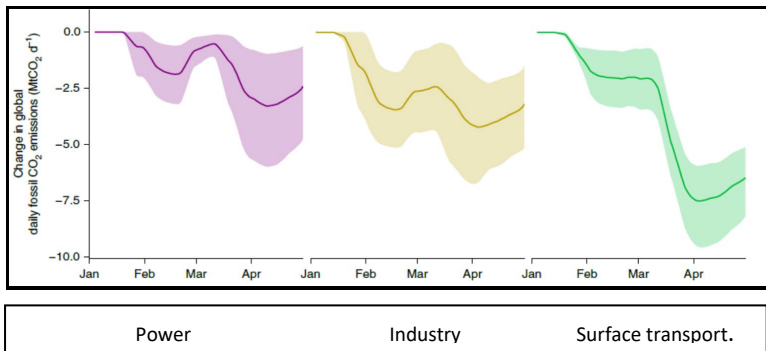
ing philosophers relates to the type and degree of authority needed during this period.” (239)

effect of ABC-weapons of mass destruction on the environment; destruction of industrial facilities such as chemical factories etc.⁹²

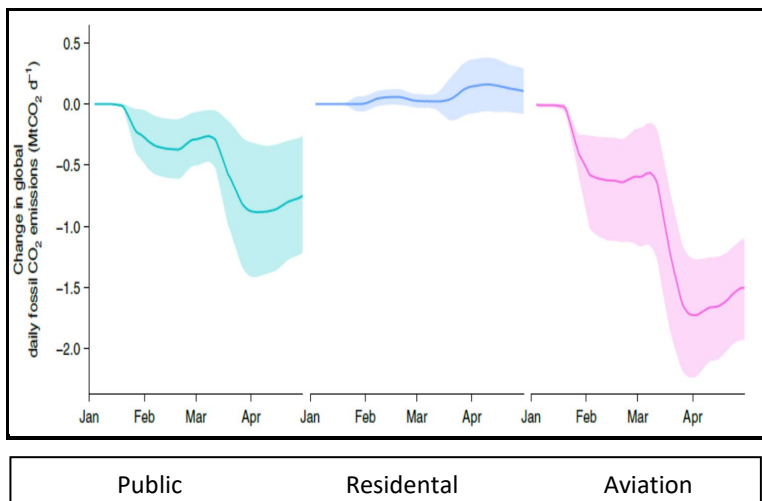
The New Cold War leads to growing competition between blocks now built or reactivated. It can potentially lead to more environmental pollution e.g. by longer shipping ways due to restrictions. Less cooperation e.g. on climate issues or accessing the arctic can lead to a negative spiral in environmental engagement. However, it is somehow too early to have a clear picture on the impact of the new cold war on the environment.

1.1.6.3 Covid-19: Impact on Environment

Covid had to some extent a positive impact on the environment as it reduced travel frequency by air and car, slightly reduced CO₂-emissions. Climate change as top topic in the public debate in 2019 was abruptly replaced by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. However, millions of people discovered a new reality: no noise from airplanes, blue skies and clean air in megacities as roads remained empty. Lockdown at home let many people discover the flowers on the balcony. The map of reduction in CO₂ emissions was impressive:



⁹² A good overview: <https://ceobs.org/how-does-war-damage-the-environment>. (Accessed 4 Aug 2022)



Daily global CO₂ emissions decreased at their peak in individual countries by 26% on average. The impact on 2020 annual emissions depends on the duration of the confinement, with a low estimate of -4% (-2 to -7%) if pre-pandemic conditions return by mid-June, and a high estimate of -7% (-3 to -13%) if some restrictions remain worldwide until the end of 2020. The graph shows the change in daily fossil CO₂ emissions by sector (MtCO₂d⁻¹) between January and end of April 2020.⁹³ The question remained: Will it last? The development post-Covid showed that people rushed as soon as possible to “back to normal”. Flights are overbooked, cars on the street as many as before Covid etc.

⁹³ Le Quéré, Corinne et al, *Temporary reduction in daily global CO₂ emissions during the Covid-19 forced confinement*, Nat. Clim. Change 19 May 2020.

1.1.6.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Environment

Each financial crisis has an immediate effect on the environment. The green economy is then more difficult to finance.

1.1.6.5 Ethical questions on environment

A few ethical questions on the impact of the pandemic on environment in post-corona times for further reflections: Do human beings change their environmental behavior due to disaster or pandemic experiences or mainly due to information and convictions gained independently of it (more in chapter 6)? How can the balance between health, jobs, environment and security be established? How can environmental gains be balanced against economic disasters e.g. in loss of jobs? How does the heavy indebtedness of most countries due to the pandemic or increased military budgets due to the USA-China tensions or social unrest influence the future capacity of financing the shift to the green economy?

More on Environment and ethics in chapters 7.4 and 7.5

1.1.7 Impact on Geopolitics and Ethical Questions

1.1.7.1 Climate Change: Impact on Geopolitics

Climate change impacts geopolitics in manifold ways. On one side, it increases the awareness of the need for global cooperation, as weather conditions have no national borders. On the other hand, the effects lead to increased conflicts in the struggle for resources: water conflicts, sea level rise, climate refugees, food shortage. Water as weapon, hunger as weapon, fire as weapon, diseases as weapon, climate conspiracies as weapon: the list of non-military weapons in the ‘climate war’ is long.

Such weapons can be used to pressure especially smaller nations to partner with others e.g. in alliances.

1.1.7.2 Cold War II: Impact on Geopolitics

The New Cold War definitely has an impact on geopolitics and is itself an expression of geopolitics.

1.1.7.3 Covid-19: Impact on Geopolitics

A pandemic is only defeated when it is defeated globally, otherwise it can come up and come back again. A pandemic demonstrates how interlinked humanity is and how much we depend on each other. Solidarity and cooperation in such situations is not optional, but a requirement to defeat a common enemy like a virus.

However, political reality is different: political leaders who are under pressure ‘at home’, take a global problem as an opportunity for blaming and shaming others for their mistakes. This outsourcing is a strategy as old as humanity; from family level to geopolitics – and it is as harmful and deadly as ever.

As the pandemic is a stress test showing the strength and weaknesses of national governments, the same is true for geopolitics and multilateral strengths and weaknesses. The UN institutions have only as much power and provided resources as the members give them. The WHO plays obviously a key role for coordinating strategies, supporting weaker countries in their measures, providing consolidated data etc.; but WHO soon came under pressure due mainly to attacks from the American President (I do not say from America). The IMF, World Bank, Unctad, ILO and others played less visible, albeit important roles especially in providing global data, policy proposals and financial negotiations.

China was self-confident in evaluating the pandemic: “China has stood the test [of Covid-19]. Our economy will emerge stronger and more resilient, our people more united and confident in socialism with Chinese characteristics, and our nation more unstoppable in its march toward rejuvenation”, said Wang Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, at the Two Sessions political meeting in Beijing in May 2020.

However, the core of geopolitics during the pandemic is the threatening ping-pong, attacks and counter attacks between US and China, extending the trade war on the level of the pandemic; the blaming and threatening, now mixed with a burgeoning war on financial markets. The majority of international observers agree with the perception that the US as the still most powerful superpower failed to take a leadership role and focused too much on the image of its president. China convinced much more in terms of a decisive fast lockdown strategy and consistent measures. China may also succeed better in economic recovery, however was unsuccessful in gaining enough trust of the world community in handling information in the midst of the pandemic, in addition to provoking issues like the new security law for Hong Kong. The European Union offered in mid-2020 services as a mediator in the bipolar US-China-relations, as Europe needs good relations with both superpowers, for economic, political and security reasons.

1.1.7.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Geopolitics

Each international financial crisis is shaking geopolitics. Business, governments and consumers are nervous, some panic reactions are possible (at least the stock markets react often, for understandable reasons, more with herd emotions and panic than rational analyses. Each financial crisis also shows again the dependency on the US dollar and renews attempts to create alternatives with trading in local currencies (more on

it in chapter 7.11). Estimation of additional 40-80 million people returning to extreme poverty may be an indication. A global recession means a decrease in demand of raw material from Africa. The IMF already cancelled 210 million USD of debts for 19 African countries, but OECD estimates that over 1 trillion USD of debt cancellation will be needed.

1.1.7.5 Ethical Questions

The chapter shows that geopolitics is influenced by manifold complex factors and indicators such as climate change, technological innovation, internal national politics, financial markets and much more. Rational decisions by politicians are overestimated, personal, emotional, opportunistic factors play an important role. As amalgam, they can lead to aggressions 'by accident'. Ethical questions are then how to guide decision-makers for holistic decisions and how to build robust checks and balances to avoid disastrous decisions 'by accident'.

Additional ethical questions on the impact of the 4C on geopolitics are: How will the pandemic influence the power relations between the superpowers? How will it vary between economic, financial, educational, governance, military, cultural and religious sectors? What will be the impact on reputation, trust in leadership and the weight of multilateral organisations? Will the polarisation further increase or will common challenges increase the will for global cooperation?

More on geopolitics and ethics in chapters 7.12-7.15.

1.1.8 Impact on Culture, Gender, Religion, Education, Social Stability and Ethical Questions

1.1.8.1 Climate Change: Impact on Social Factors

Climate change is often analyzed in its environmental and economic impact. However, Climate change also has immense impact on social factors: Social unrest may increase, as we already see. Migration may increase, with manifold impact on cultures, religions and education. Cultural heritage sites and landscapes may be endangered. Religious fundamentalism and apocalyptic end-time doctrines may grow. Psychological pressure and mental health challenges may increase, especially if people feel hopeless and without perspective. Education on how to deal with crises and overcome challenges may become more important than purely teaching knowledge and professional skills.

1.1.8.2 Cold War II: Impact on Social Factors

On the surface, the new Cold War may give orientation in a bi-polar world, replacing a complex globalized world. But people then have to decide on which side they stand, which leads, already now, to dramatic family situations and splits in a world where through globalization the number of mixed, intercultural and interreligious marriages increased, family members living in different countries belong to different political and ideological blocks etc.

1.1.8.3 Covid-19: Impact on Social Factors

The Covid-19 pandemic had massive impact on social and cultural sectors: with the lockdown, the importance of culture, music, entertainment, sport, worship, ceremonies, singing in choirs, communication at the workplace, in schools etc. became obvious. The pandemic showed the weight in lobbying of the different sectors; whereas sport organisa-

tions are heavy weights, cultural associations are much less so. Creative solutions such as online singing, online worship, distant teaching and sporting events without visitors have been established, media consumption increased, and public media became more important than social media. With the end of the lockdown, social unrests, intensified by the stress of the pandemic, increased. Demonstrations in Europe and the most severe unrest against racism in the US due to the killing of a Black American shows that a pandemic cannot be managed only by medical and economic measures, but attention is needed for social dynamics, mental problems and sensitivity for inequalities. In spite of all criticism of pandemic management, overall on a global level, we have to acknowledge that it is a great success how humans cooperate on all levels and how modern technologies and research help to handle it, compared to the devastations of pandemics and plagues in past centuries. Pandemics show the unpredictability and vulnerability of life. The majority of religious communities played a very constructive, stabilising role during the pandemic related to the vulnerability of life, but a minority fuelled extremism, conspiracies, fake news and dangerous anti-medical slogans. Spirituality and religions play a role in overcoming fears as result of the unpredictability, mourning over loss of lives and celebrating life with thankfulness (more in chapter 8.3).

1.1.8.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Social Factors

The gap between poor and rich normally increases as result of financial crisis. Wealthy persons and companies can better prevent, adapt and even benefit from financial crises. Social and religious institutions are then always called to soften the effects for the population by offering soup kitchens, social, diaconal and health services and restructuring per-

sonal financial debts. Some NGOs and religious organisations through their advocacy mandates work on national or international alternatives to the current international financial architecture.⁹⁴

1.1.8.5 Ethical Questions of the Impact on Social Factors

How can the importance of community also be respected and strengthened after the pandemic as the pandemic has shown its vital importance? How can values and virtues strengthen resilience in the face of extreme collective and individual stress such as in a pandemic, climate change and financial crises? What is the ethical, spiritual and diacritical role of religion in times of such crises? How can “transformative spiritualities in situations of conflict”⁹⁵ strengthen and support people?

More on social factors and ethics in chapters 7.20-7.26.

1.1.9 Impact on Trust in Leadership and Ethical Questions

1.1.9.1 Climate Change: Impact on Trust in Leadership

Trust in business leaders is higher than trust in politicians, related to climate change. A reason may be that business leaders are more seen and expected to be innovators who come up with technical and scientific solutions for this global challenge. Trust in scientists is also high as they provide data and explanations.

⁹⁴ Example: The Protestant Churches in Germany EKD published the discussion paper *Towards a Sustainable and Just Financial System. An Evangelical Perspective to Guide Reform Steps*, Berlin, May 2022. Free download: <https://www.ekd.de/en/towards-a-sustainable-and-just-financial-system-1527.htm>.

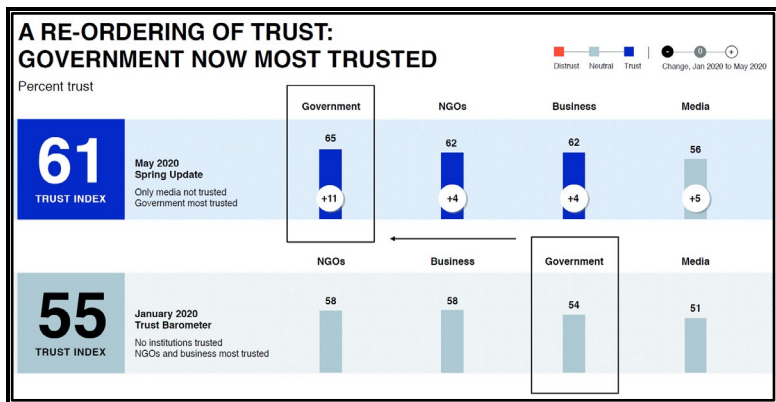
⁹⁵ Fernando Enns et al (Eds.), *Transformative Spiritualities for the Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace*, Geneva: WCC/Globethics.net, 2022, 44-91: Transformative Spiritualities in Situations of Conflicts. Free download: www.globethics.net/pjp-series, PJP series 2.

1.1.9.2 Cold War II: Impact on Trust in Leadership

Cold and hot wars often increase trust in leaders, as humans try to close the ranks faced with a common threat. On the other hand, the information war (next chapter) increases distrust, as we are never sure if a news is fake or not. Trust also depends to a great extent on individual personalities. A member of government may be trustworthy, another not, the same with bankers, religious leaders or academics.

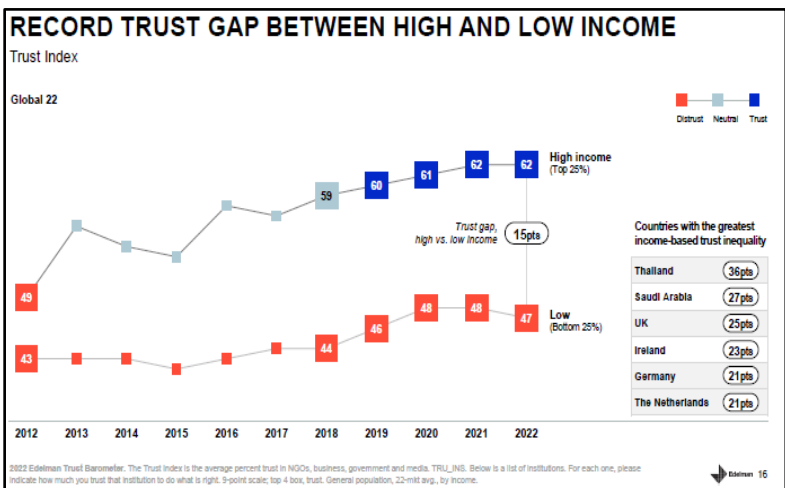
1.1.9.3 Covid-19: Impact on Trust in Leadership

Leadership on all levels, but especially national governments, are under stress tests during crises such as a pandemic, financial crises and global warming. It does not change the world order per se, but it makes strengths and weaknesses of individual leaders and political systems manifest. It is also not surprising, that trust in leaders in general increase during an immediate crisis such as a pandemic as people need security.



But during and after the crisis, mistrust against individual leaders also increases if the crisis is badly managed. Trust in governments increased during the pandemic between January and May 2020 by 11 per cent, more than the other sectors, but all sectors could experience a

slight increase in trust.⁹⁶ The barometer in May 2020 showed that local governments, especially on the city level, are more trusted than national governments, where failure occurs. ‘Where national governments lack trust, local governments fills the void.’ The search for reliable and accurate information related to the pandemic has driven trust in news sources to an all-time high with traditional media (+7 points) and owned media (+8 points) seeing the biggest gains. The global trust over time shows that trust in general is rather increasing in the last decade (2012-2022), but the gap between income classes is strongly increasing. People with low income have much less trust in leaders than those with high income, which are people with more possibilities of influencing or being part of decision-making leaders. It also shows indirectly the gap in trust in democracies. Low income with less trust tend to favor authoritarian solutions more often.⁹⁷



⁹⁶ Edelman Trust Barometer, 2020 Spring Update: Trust and the Covid-19 Pandemic, 5 May 2020, 14.

⁹⁷ Edelman Trust Barometer 2022. Global Report, 16.

1.1.9.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Trust in Leadership

The financial crisis of 2007-2009 dropped trust of people in the banking sector fundamentally. The same happens always in countries where banks collapse and inflation is very high. As many people are tempted by gambling, they also participate in the volatility of the financial markets and become blind to the dangers of new promises. The Cryptocurrency markets are an example with the hypes and downs, blind trust and fleeing the sinking boat. Blockchain seems to be a democratically controlled system, where trust in a leader or banker is not needed and replaced by ‘only’ trust in a technological mechanism and the algorithms behind it. It is a kind of trust in anonymous, collective leadership.

1.1.9.5 Ethical Questions of the Impact of Leadership-Trust

Which virtues and values of leaders are important to build and maintain trust in them? Why do vices sometimes increase the support of some parts of the population? How can leadership come from an emergency status with almost unlimited competencies back to constitutional normality without temptation towards autocracy? How can the gap of trust between low-income and high-income social classes be reduced? Is a cryptocurrency technical money transfer solution based on block chain a leader? Can it be called leadership the machine is executing for its users? It can only be called leadership as much as a robot can be called a human. The term leadership should be reserved to decisions and actions of human beings!

More on death and ethics in chapter 7.18.

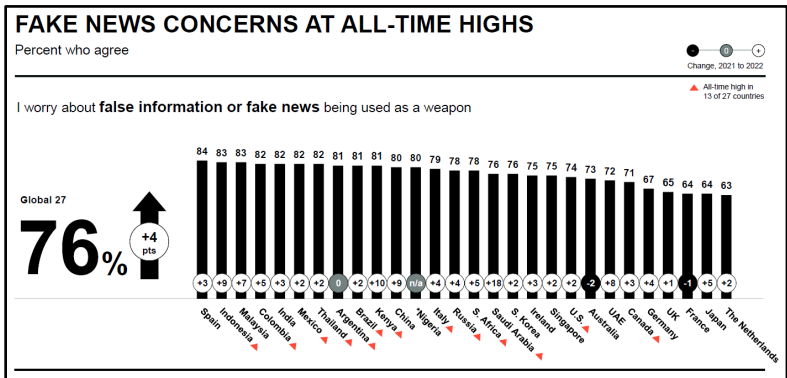
1.1.10 Impact on Information Wars

1.1.10.1 Climate Change: Impact on Information Wars

“Misinformation & disinformation are increasingly used as weapons of war. Access to information is a human right. Credible, accurate, and human-centred communication is one of our best instruments to counter these threats.”⁹⁸ This call of the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterrez underlines the importance of information and media for peace efforts.

Three of four people, in global average, are concerned about fake news and false information, as the 2022 Edelman Trust Barometer shows.⁹⁹

This scepticism against news exists across topics such as a war, climate change or ideological controversies. At the same time, it is an expression of the vibrant, never seen level of information accessible in almost real time. Instead of having one newspaper per day or one main radio emission, we can now anytime anywhere – in almost real time – access information.



⁹⁸ Tweet of Antonio Guterrez, 31 July 2022.

⁹⁹ Edelman Trust Barometer 2022. The Cycle of Distrust. Global Report, 8.

Climate change was a much controversial issue in the past twenty years in the social media and between few denying scientists and politicians, while the majority acknowledges climate warming as an urgent reality. As warming can now be experienced by everyone, this debate is less dominant. They are replaced by fake news and conspiracies on Covid-19.

1.1.10.2 Cold War II: Impact on Information Wars

The *Hot War* in Ukraine is a clear example of biased information from the Russian and Ukrainian side. We should not be surprised, as the information war for millennia of human history was and is part of every war. Today, fact-checking journalism and social media are able to shed much light on fake and biased information, so that military information can be – to some extent – counter-balanced for those who have the time and independent internet capacity to access it. The majority of people still depend on the official, government-controlled media channels in countries of war.

The *Cold War* is to a great extent an information war. Information and interpretation of facts are important elements to escalate and de-escalate a conflict. Statistical facts and figures are not easy to falsify with the modern, immense sea of available data. More important is the narrative about history and myths, the ideology, and the claimed values.

1.1.10.3 Covid-19: Impact on Information Wars

In 2022, trust in national health authorities slightly increased by 1 percent to an average high of 67 percent.¹⁰⁰ It shows that populations can distinguish between government ministries and their quality.

¹⁰⁰ Edelman Trust Barometer 2022. The Cycle of Distrust. Global Report, 42-44.

1.1.10.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on Information Wars

Each financial crisis increases fears and vulnerabilities. It sets the mindset in an alert mode, which is more open for extreme and exaggerated narratives. In addition, in each profound crisis, people are searching for scapegoats for the disaster and searching for some orientation in situations of chaos, turbulences and lack of clarity.

1.1.10.5 Ethical Questions of Impact on Information Wars

The *ethical questions* and challenges seriously look for truth or at least fairness in information gathering by listening to contrasting information and opinions. The Ninth of the Ten Commandments in the Bible “Do not bear false witness against your neighbor” or in short “do not lie” (Exodus 20:16) is still the ethical benchmark in the information war.

More on information wars and ethics in chapter 7.25 and 3.1.17.

1.1.11 Impact on Values and Ethical Questions

All 4C challenges have a direct impact on ethical values and ethical values impact our behavior. This whole book on Globalance aims at clarifying these values in order to get more clarity for values-driven individual and institutional decisions and actions. We start with only a few glimpses:

1.1.11.1 Climate Change: Impact on Values

Climate change has a great impact on values and value systems. It shows the need for *long-term* thinking and thus increases the dilemma created by short-termism in business and politics. It becomes obvious, that the eco-system of the globe, exemplified by the climate change, is a highly complex *interdependent* system. Everything is linked to every-

thing, *holistic* and *relational* perspectives and solutions are needed. This leads to the very center of the approach and methodology of Globalance.

1.1.11.2 Cold War II: Impact on Values

The opposite value-impact is visible in hot and cold wars: hot wars like in Ukraine need *short-term* reactions, which are often one-sided. Cold Wars are by definition expression of a *polarized* world, where only part of the values count and others are seen as non-values as they are the values of the enemy. The US-USSR Cold War was perceived as a value-war between capitalism and communism, the new Cold War is perceived as a value clash between Western and Eastern values or democracy and autocracy, although even these terms are ideological simplified comparisons.

1.1.11.3 Covid-19: Impact on Values

What is the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on values and virtues? The pandemic as a common global threat, which raised manifold ethical issues. The need for *caring, support and solidarity* was so obvious that these values increased in the period of immediate danger of infection, but gradually decreased as the immediate danger decreased. The experience of the unexpected vulnerability of life through a tiny invisible virus increased the virtue of modesty of many people. Overall, the influence of such a crisis and situation of shock on values should not be overestimated as the wish to go back to normal is strong, which also means back to the normal values and virtues, non-values and vices. The pandemic is like a *storm*, which whirls priorities around like dust, but can be settled as dust after the storm. However, trees may fall, stronger protective walls may be built and new behaviours and attitudes may be discovered by chance.

1.1.11.4 Financial Crisis: Impact on values

A financial crisis or collapse provokes *existential fears* for losing the material basis of existence, jobs, wealth, stability and peace. It tends to increase a *grasping* attitude, *securing* what one has and thus *decreasing solidarity and sharing*.

The four aspects show that the interaction between events (developments in society as a whole) and values/ virtues is a complex system, comparable with the complexity of the ecosystem. Therefore, a dynamic values-balance has to be constantly re-established. On the other hand, some values and virtues are much more stable and long-term, from generation to generation, than the volatility of money or the short-term fashions of clothes.

More on values in chapters 51.-5.4, 7.1-7.30 (always subchapters 2) and the Outlook in chapter 9.

1.2 Three Scenarios towards a New World Order

Let us look at three main scenarios of a possible post-Corona world in transition towards a New World Order. At the end of the journey of this book, we will look at them again (outlook chapter 9). Scenario 1: Back to normal, Scenario 2: Total disruption, revolution and a new world order, Scenario 3: A new normal with substantial adaptation in specific sectors and elements of a New World Order.

The WHO called the 21st Century ‘a long history of scourges’. Whatever the final scenario, in each case the corona pandemic teaches us modesty that life and history remain to some extent unpredictable, even with the best knowledge and big data analysis. The Ukraine war teaches us, that old patterns of war can return, in addition to new chal-

lenges like climate change. It is modesty to accept that each generation may have to deal with scourges. It means to abandon the illusion of linear progress up to everlasting prosperity and security as the stupid “end of history”-optimism of Francis Fukuyama wanted to tell us in 1992 expressing the pride of western Globalisation history. However, latest the Ukraine war is the end of ‘the end of history’. ‘History’ with its human tragedy is back more than ever. It also means that trends and scenarios like the following can happen or be falsified in short or long term.

The WEF Global Risk Report 2022 showed: On the question “what is your outlook for the world over the next three years?”, 90 percent expect negative scenarios: 41.8% “constantly volatile with multiple surprises”, 37.4% “fractured trajectories separating relative winners and losers”, 10.1% “progressive tipping points with increasing catastrophic outcomes” and only 10.7% expected “accelerating global recovery”.¹⁰¹

1.2.1 Scenario 1: Back to normal. Business as usual

After two years of pandemic and months of lockdowns at home for billions of people, people looked, latest since 2022, for normalisation of life, especially social life and freedoms. Business hopes to go back to normal to overcome recession and debts, politics is eager to overcome emergency risks, education strives to fulfil the mandates of schooling and research etc. The pandemic is then like a nightmare and short period of interruption. However, also in this scenario the uncertainty remains if next pandemic waves or new variants could come, or when the next pandemic with another virus may arise. The next scenario of a total new world order was in the media mainly in April 2020, at the peak of infec-

¹⁰¹ World Economic Forum, The Global Risks Report 2022, 12.

tions. It shows that scenarios are, not surprisingly, directly influenced by the immediate psychosocial situation.

1.2.2 Scenario 2: Disruption, Disorder, Revolution

The opposite of ‘back to normal’ is the scenario of profound disruptions, disorder, probably revolutions and wars (above chapter 1.01). Elements for the disruption scenario are economic recession if not depression, fundamental change in economic supply chains, changes in international communication, tourism and migration, accelerated political polarisation between the two superpowers USA and China with the risk not only of a cold war, but at one point, a hot war as it happens in Ukraine but also e.g. in the Chinese sea or other world regions. The main question of many commentaries on the post-corona world was: Will China or USA be the winner?¹⁰² Moreover, Indians hoped “to replace China as global economic leader post Coronavirus crisis.”¹⁰³

In this scenario, much depends on the level of bankruptcy of small and medium enterprises linked with unemployment, the status of service employees. The level of indebtedness not only of individuals and companies, but also of states, with the danger that state bankruptcy will influence how likely this scenario will be. The disruption then can also come from social unrest, civil war and revolutions due to new impoverishment, high unemployment, limited migration, racism and ethnicism, fallout of basic infrastructure due to cybercrime or environmental disas-

¹⁰² Wintour, Patrick, *Coronavirus: who will be winners and losers in the new world order?*, The Guardian, 11 April 2020; *How the World Will Look After the Coronavirus Pandemic. 12 leading global thinkers for their predictions*, Foreign Policy, 20 March 2020.

¹⁰³ Darswal, Mrinalini, *Why India Has a Chance to Replace China as Global Economic Leader Post Coronavirus Crisis*, www.news18.com, 9 April 2020.

ters. It would be a combination or accumulation of Covid-related consequences and other factors. The countries would fail to reach the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 and would not reach them even by 2050.

1.2.3 Scenario 3: New World Order. Sectoral Adaptations

“The Coronavirus Pandemic will forever alter the World Order”, wrote Henry A. Kissinger, famous former US Secretary of State¹⁰⁴ in 2020. In 2021 and 2022, many country leaders started to speak about a new world order, as we have seen in chapter 1.02. This scenario is between scenario 1 and 3. In this scenario disruption will happen in some sectors, in others not. The main topic in this scenario is a geopolitical shift of powers: a continued power struggle for superiority between US and China, strengthened weight of India, ambiguous power role of Russia, new players in opportunistic or constant way of multi-aligned countries like Indonesia or African countries and regions like the Middle East and Latin America. A decade of economic stagflation, as predicted by the World Bank¹⁰⁵, would lead to tough economic pressures in all sectors, vulnerability and unrest, which makes the transition to a new world order a period of vulnerability and unpredictability. WTO, IMF and EU have similar prognoses. If air traffic, international cargo and tourism would recover only by fifty percent after the pandemic, it would lead to major shifts in economy, politics and society.

¹⁰⁴ Kissinger, Henri A, *The Coronavirus Pandemic will forever alter the World Order*, The Wall Street Journal, 3 April 2020, Commentary.

¹⁰⁵ World Bank Group, *Global Economic Prospects*, June 2022, Washington 2022. 51-78 (Accessed 8 Aug 2022)

Among the winners in this scenario will be e-commerce, as it was already the case during the pandemic. The GAFA and BATH internet giants (American Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Chinese Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, Huawei) increase their economic power and influence. Increasing US-China tensions can also hinder or even disrupt their business models if markets are split into a US and a Chinese sphere of influence or regulators further strengthen their control and tax regime. Scenario 3 includes further sectoral reduction of globalisation and enlarged proximity of production at the region of consumption, while good parts remain globalised. Jobs in the service sector such as nurses and cleaning personal will gain some attention and additional recognition, but not lasting. If without real impact, these sectors of employees may be radicalised when combined with new impoverishment. Student's mobility will be reduced due to new travel and visa restrictions, which means an adapted and modified landscape of internationally oriented universities. Based on the pandemic experience of the importance of reliable information and fact checkers against fake news, quality control of internet and especially social media may further increase. Smart cities and internet-based industries may be slower in development as expected due to caution of remaining functional also in cases of internet disruption, cybersecurity issues or electricity turbulences. Cybercrime may further increase in this scenario as vulnerable and instable periods, political disruptions and regulatory-judicial weaknesses can lead to a "golden age for cybercrime", as the global Cyber law specialist Pavan Duggal predicted for 2022 and coming years.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Personal dialogue with the author in Aug 2022. See also Christoph Stückelberger/ Pavan Duggal (eds.), *Data Ethics. Gaining Trust. How digital Technology*

Preliminary Conclusion:

From an ethical point of view, ‘back to normal’ as described in scenario 1 should not be envisaged (even though it is closest to human nature, looking for stability instead of change); it would perpetuate too many injustices and lacks sustainability. Scenario 2 of global disorder and revolutions is not an excluded outcome, but is very risky; it leaves many victims behind, leads often to more authoritarian than participatory structures and often also rather revisionist than innovative solutions. However, history shows that transitions do not often happen in a peaceful and evolutionary way, but with revolutionary turbulent transformations. *This book aims at concretising the vision of scenario 3 of a New World Order towards sustainability, new ways of multilateralism and power sharing, reached by a values-driven and not only power-driven transformation. A world of Globalance, a dynamic balance of values and powers.*

WHAT IS GLOBALANCE?

The search for a global balance in times of imbalance, disorder and transition to the new order is at the core of this book. If the new order is again imbalanced, it is in the perspective of Globalance not new, but still imbalanced as before even if the colour or dominating superpower may be replaced.

This chapter begins with a definition of Globalance (2.1). The 13 characteristics of Globalance are then unfolded (2.2). They show that Globalance is neither a static, but a very dynamic balance and that it is not the lukewarm, boring and softy middle way devoid of energy but rather the highly demanding art of reconciling opposites.

The short third part (2.3) shows five modes of dealing with opposites. They are then later (chapter 6) further developed under the aspect of transformation strategies towards Globalance.

2.1 Definition: ‘And’ instead of ‘Or’

Globalance in this book means a global balance of values and virtues, which are opposites or in tension to each other but belong together. Globalance is a worldview of the combination and reconciliation of opposites, the ‘and’ instead of the ‘or’, based on the assumption of a living centre holding the opposites together. Globalance leads to a dynamic (not static) and innovative middle way in overcoming extremisms and fundamentalisms. Globalance has roots in the wisdom and beliefs of many world religions, cultures and philosophical traditions (more in the East than in the West). Globalance is a worldview and strategy which recognizes the connectivity and relationality¹⁰⁷ (being in relation) of values, virtues and all phenomena. It recognizes the relativity of one’s own standpoint and therefore is self-critical. Globalance strives to be inclusive-holistic.

2.2 Characteristics of Globalance

2.2.1 Opposites as Two Sides of the Same Coin

Let us first look at the philosophical and spiritual foundation of Globalance (more in chapter 3). To perceive the world, to think and to act in opposites is deeply rooted in the human being and in nature: day and night, life and death, cold and hot, man and woman, soft and hard,

¹⁰⁷ Relational is a key concept in the ethical methodology of my respected late teacher in Zurich and pioneer in 20th century modern economic ethics, professor Arthur Rich, *Business and Economic Ethics: the ethics of economic systems*, Leuven: Peeters 2006, chapter 3.3.7.1, Relationality of the Basic Values.

long and short, light and heavy etc. Opposites are realities in nature and experiences of human life, which is part of nature and its natural laws.

Opposites are the characteristic of creation as described in many creation myths.¹⁰⁸ The Judeo-Christian creation story in Genesis 1 also describes creation as made of eight basic opposites (Gen 1:1-31): 1) Heaven and earth (V.1); 2) light and darkness/day and night (V.4); 3) sky and earth (V.8); 4) land and sea (V.10); 5) sun and moon (V.16); 6) plants (V.11) and animals (V.24), 7) fishes and birds (animals in water and in air, V.20); 8) Mankind as man and woman (V.27). And “God saw all that he had made, and it was very good” (V.31). Polarity is a fact in the whole universe, visible and invisible. And the religious value-judgment of it is: Polarity “is very good”!

2.2.2 United in the Centre of all Life

This world view of creation means that opposites are basic for all life and accepted and praised as being good. At the same time, it means that opposites are part of creation but united in the *One*. “The first chapters of Genesis introduce us to the theme ...: How can, or should, the ‘one and the ‘two relate to each other, so that neither dominates or disappears? Both unity and duality are necessary. The concept of image [humans as image of God] itself locates us somehow between the one

¹⁰⁸ It would be interesting to compare creation stories/myths under this aspect, e.g. the collection of 25 such stories in Virginia Hamilton/Barry Moser, *In the Beginning: Creation Stories from around the World*, London: Pavillon, 1992; Steven Zeitlin/ Christopher Raschka, *The Four Corners of the Sky: Creation Stories and Cosmologies from around the World*, New York: Henry Holt, 2000.

and the two. An image is not identical with what it ‘images – yet at the same time it cannot be wholly apart from it.’¹⁰⁹

Humankind in religious and philosophical debts, and especially in all mystical traditions, describes for almost 3000 years that behind polarity is unity in one which/who cannot be named and has thousands of names. The One is called *the Creator, the Ultimate, the Absolute, the Supreme, the Transcendent* etc. The creator, this One, is above the opposites and unites them. As both parts of the whole are made by the creator, the creator is both in one, all in one: in day and night, life and death, animals and humans, women and men etc. At least in the monotheistic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam, this is the world view of the creator¹¹⁰ as all in one (pan-en-theism¹¹¹) and the creation with its dualistic structure. In the monotheistic view, only God is able to perfectly unite opposites. They are not opposites, but one. In the Dharmic (“Asian”)

¹⁰⁹ Clare Amos, *Birthpangs & Blessings. A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Durham: Sacristy Press, 2022, 57f.

¹¹⁰ In the scriptures of the monotheistic religions, God the Creator is traditionally seen as a person, in an anthropomorphic way, as humans have been imagining God in human terms even though always knowing that God is beyond human and no image should be made of God. Therefore, God is not male or female, light or darkness, good or bad, as these are all expressions of opposites of creation. The mystical traditions in all world religions emphasized this. In combination with modern sciences, especially new insights in physics, God can be understood as energy, as spirit which unites (and is the centre of) all creation. There is then a thin line to pantheism. It is not the place to develop it further in this book. See e.g. Arnold Benz, *Die Zukunft des Universums. Zufall, Chaos, Gott?*, Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2005, 114-116.

¹¹¹ Pantheism means: All is God. Pan-en-theism means: God is in all/in the whole creation. Monotheism is the contrary to Pantheism, but in line with Panentheism.

religions, this is described in Taoism as the reality behind the opposites which has no name (see chapter 4.2.3).

Human beings – within their limits of remaining creatures – try to combine and reconcile opposites by a centred approach: balancing opposites by thinking and acting from a centre. Artists are trained to do it: Dancers can coordinate the body with their arms and legs by keeping the centre around the belly button stable while dancing. Musicians like singers do not produce the sound from their vocal cords, but in fact through their breath centred in the belly and the lung. Myself as a player of transverse flute had to learn to play not with the lips, but with the breath rooted deep in the centre of my body. The sportsmen and -women also achieve top results only by being centred. And artists in their drawing execute not from their hands, but are directed from the centre of their mind and body.

The believer tries to unite opposites by being concentrated in prayer and meditation on God as the centre of life and all being. God's love (agape) is the perfect expression of this centred unity (more chapter 8.3).

2.2.3 Dialectic, not Dualistic

Globalance is dialectic, *not dualistic*. *Dualism* (duo in Latin means two) is another expression for opposites but means in most of the philosophical and religious concepts exclusivity of the two opposites. In Dualism, two positions or entities are equal and separate realities. (In some concepts, dualism is compatible with our understanding of Globalance if the dual sides are seen as sides of the same coin).¹¹²

¹¹² See e.g. Sinclair, Alistair J., *The Need for the Dualist View to Combat Extremism*, University of Tabriz, Philosophical Investigations, Fall-Winter 2015,

Theistic dualism in Christianity (e.g. Marcionism, Catharism, Gnosticism) believed that God and creation are distinct and that the material world is bad and created by evil. This dualism was declared as heretical and not compatible with Christian and Jewish monism which declares the unity of creation as God's creation and therefore also the value of the created material world as the value of the spiritual world.

In Hinduism, dualism exists e.g. in the Dvaita Vedanta as one school of Indian philosophy. As in (heretic) Christian dualism, it separates two realities, the supreme Self as the absolute truth of the universe, and the second reality of the individual soul and material world.

Classical Hinduism, Zen Buddhism, Jewish and Christian Mysticism and Islamic Sufism aim at transcending dualistic perception of the world. This ontological dualism is compatible with Globalance, but not the Marcionite and Gnostic dualism.

Globalance is dialectic, not dualistic. Persons and organisations using the dialectical method¹¹³ think and act in three steps, in simple way expressed: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. In discourse, worldview and action, the dialectical method is a method to overcome the above-mentioned dualism (which sees opposites as mutually exclusive) as well a false monism (which denies the opposites in the world or sees them as in fact the same). Thesis and antithesis are real opposites but are both

Vol 9, No.17, 23-53. He distinguishes “Absolute Monists - Extreme Monists - Moderate Monists/Systematic Dualists - Naïve Dualists - Absolute Dualists” (36-40).

¹¹³ Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart RGG⁴, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998, Vol 2, Art Dialektik; See as overview of the history of dialectical philosophies in the article *Dialectic*, Wikipedia, English, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectic>.

transcended on a higher level in the synthesis. The dialectical method also shows the process character and evolutionary dynamism of interactions between opposites. It is a way of relation, dialogue (*disputatio*) and interaction where terms are modified and transformed during the process of interaction. Dialectic can deal with paradoxes. The methods have been developed by Greek philosophers such as Zenon of Elea, Plato and Aristotle.

2.2.4 Monistic, not Imperialistic

Globalance is monistic. I describe here a theological monism with the divine as one uniting reality, which embraces the opposites of the visible world. However, monism can be abused if it is understood as one world, one rule, one authority in this world, which then would lead to absolutism and imperialistic behaviour. Because there is only one God, there cannot be a god-like absolute authority on earth. Therefore, absolutism and imperialism must be refused as incompatible with Globalance.

2.2.5 Dynamic, not Static

Globalance is not static. It could be understood as a stable balance, always remaining in the middle of the opposites in order to avoid imbalances and extremism. But life is always on the move and per definition never stands still as long as the heart of animals and humans is beating and plants are growing. As the world is life, the whole world is always changing and developing, in the rhythm of day and night, seasons, societies, powers and cultures coming and disappearing. Therefore, a global balance cannot be a static, everlasting balance.

Globalance is dynamic. Life, as balance includes always constant movement, as the examples in chapter 1.6 below visualize. A dynamic balance is the capacity of an entity (a person, an object, a system) to move between opposites back and forth in a way which enables balance. If one (external) force pushes the entity to one side, the entity has to counterbalance on the other side. What is a natural law in physics and kinetics, is more complicated in human society. Societies do not function like a mechanical rule, but speaking of a dynamic balance as in kinetics is a parable for the concept of balance to be envisaged in a globalised world. Dynamic balance in society needs the vision and will to balance ethical values as we will see in chapter 3.

2.2.6 Evolutionary and Revolutionary

Dynamic Globalance normally happens in evolutionary processes, like the Tao parable of water as soft power which can transform hard stones over centuries. Is a revolution, therefore, against the concept of Globalance? No, not necessarily. Revolution is the hard struggle for power and fundamental transformation¹¹⁴, often with high numbers of victims but also the potential of large innovation. In a relatively short time, transformations are imposed by military, technological, economic or religious means and often a combination of them. The current fourth technological revolution with so-called disruptive cyber-technologies and artificial intelligence is an example. Revolutions can be and often

¹¹⁴ I agree with Rosenstock-Huessy, who uses the term revolution only for a fundamental upheaval (“eine Totalumwälzung. Danach scheiden Revolten und Putsche aus, auch wenn sie Revolutionen heissen.”) Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen, *Die Europäischen Revolutionen und der Charakter der Nationen*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1951, 5.

are against the principles of Globalance, if they place personal values as absolute and deny the relative value of the opposites or the past or the future. That is often the case in wars as revolutions which bear an absolutistic character. Hence, a revolution as a fundamental, fast change can also be in line with Globalance if it corrects former imbalances – e.g. the poor-rich gap – or disrupts technological or religious encrustations as in the reformation, which was a revolution.

2.2.7 Inclusive, not Exclusive

Because opposites belong together like pairs of shoes or hands, Globalance in its fundamental character is inclusive and not exclusive. It includes parts, which seem to be in contradiction or are in opposition to each other. This is quite obvious for natural phenomena but more difficult to accept for and implement in developments in society. The UN World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, in its key report “A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for all”, called in 2004 for “a fair and inclusive globalization”, “which would make the world safer, fair, ethical, inclusive and prosperous for the majority, not just for a few, within countries and between countries.”¹¹⁵ The world community of States, united in the United Nations declared by its General Assembly in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2015-2030 inclusivity as a pillar of the SDGs: “We envisage a world in which every country enjoys sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic

¹¹⁵ World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for all*, Geneva: ILO, 2004, Preface.

growth and decent work for all.”¹¹⁶ It means that economic growth is not sustainable if it serves only a few and excludes many from its benefits. SDG goal 5 on “Gender Equality”, goal 10 on “Reduced Inequalities” and many others refer to this value of inclusivity.

The crucial question is, where the limit of inclusivity lies. If fundamentalists destroy tolerance, can the tolerant people, person or society then accept and include fundamentalists, or must they oppose and eradicate them? This question of Herbert Marcuse in his famous treaty on tolerance is in today’s world of extremism and fundamentalism very relevant. In ethical terms it would mean: Can the evil – if extremism is seen as evil – be included in this worldview or not? Where are the limits of inclusivity? What does it mean to “love your enemy” (Matthew 6:44) when the enemy is an extremist? We will come back to this question later (chapter 8.3).

¹¹⁶ United Nations: *Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, point 9. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>.

2.2.8 Balance in Body and Natural Law

The Balance is a daily experience in physics and in the human body:

Pendulum

The pendulum of a clock keeps the clock running in a constant movement. But it must swing within a certain band-width. If it is too wild, the clock will not work and is destroyed.

Balance

The balance is working with two weights, a weight with a counterweight. It does not work if the weight is only on one side. Even if it is balanced, it is in constant slight swing.

Swing

The swing of children is like the balance in constant movement and needs the counterweight of the other person. A joyful movement if both sides play the game in a fair way.

Hovercraft

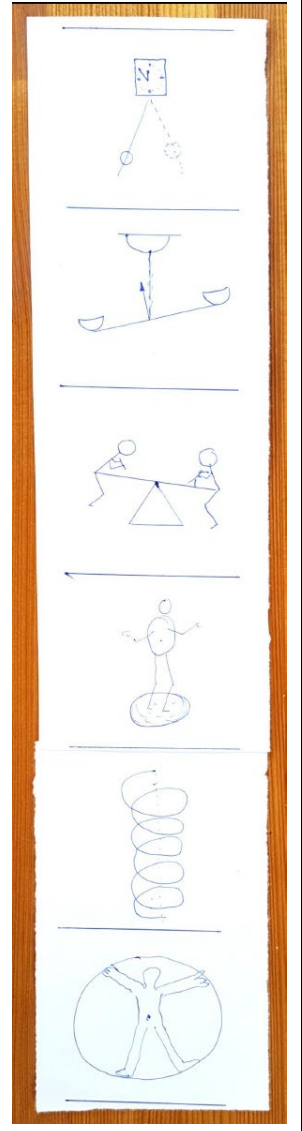
The hovercraft is used for exercises of physiotherapy or for healthy sitting posture. The human body needs constant movement and balance to remain healthy.

Spiral

The spiral of water in the outflow of a fountain is focused around the centre and again in constant movement of up or down stream flow.

Belly Button

The belly button is not only the nurturing centre of life of the embryo, but also the centre of the human adult body. The body is balanced if centred around the belly button.



2.2.9 Values-driven, not Values-denying

Globalance promotes values and values driven behaviour. The phrases ‘peace and security’, ‘prosperity and freedom’ can only exist if people and institutions are led by ethical values. Balance means to balance opposite values, which can conflict with each other. The main chapter of this book (ch.4) develops in detail how balancing conflicting things and values can happen in order to achieve Globalance.

Globalance cannot happen by values denial. Denying values happens in manifold ways: *Nihilism* denies by attending values and leads to ethical emptiness, cynicism or pessimism. *Relativism* accepts values in principle but denies the binding character of them by the situation ethics with which the values being, always relative. *Absolutism* looks values-driven as one of few principles seem to be absolutely binding. Absolutism reduces the set of values and their interrelatedness to one core value. For example: absolute anarchy accepts only freedom as value, extreme capitalism only the shareholder value, extreme communism only the collectivism as value. Absolutism in its political form of absolute power and dictatorship is in fact close to nihilism as it accepts at the end only one norm, the absolute power of the ruler, all other values are subordinated. *Fundamentalism* is another way of denying Globalance as a balance of living values because fundamentalism sticks to selected values which are made absolute as in absolutism.

Globalance as values-driven worldview therefore is also opposite to non-values. Good and bad as moral dualism cannot be balanced saying that the bad must be balanced with the good. The same is true for virtues and vices. The virtue of love cannot be balanced with the vice of hate. Hope cannot be balanced with fatalism.

2.2.10 Unity in Diversity, Diversity in Unity

Globalance supports diversity as wealth of the world and creation, visible in biodiversity, diversity of races, languages, religions, gender etc. Life and ecosystems in diversity are better fit for sustainable survival than monocultures and uniformity. But diversity leads to disorder, chaos and ongoing struggles if there is not unity in diversity through common values, binding principles, rules and a community-oriented identity as one humanity. Unity in diversity and diversity in unity are opposites which belong together and must be related to each other in a constantly refined, dynamic way, where some periods the unity prevails and in others the diversity as long as both are recognized as vital.

2.2.11 Religious and Non-religious

Globalance - as a conviction that we have only one world and need and want to live together in peace - accepts the fact that some people (still the majority of world population) base their values and virtues on their belief and that other people base their values and virtues on non-religious (humanist, agnostic or atheist) worldviews. It does not mean a fade tolerance that anything goes, but that values-driven behaviour can be religiously or non-religiously motivated.

The core of the religiously rooted worldview and values is that there is a transcendence beyond immanence, 'something' invisible beyond the visible, the divine caring and bearing the human, the creator before, above, around and within the creation. No creature, also no human being, can therefore be absolute, because only the creator, the divine, is absolute. The divine then helps the human to find its place in creation and to become truly human. It may sound strange but is true: by respect-

ing the fundamental difference between divine and human we find the path for true, balanced humanity. “Do it like God: become human” said an anonymous Christian, referring to the incarnation of God in the human being Jesus.

But many people suffer from religious oppression and exploitation and leave or deny a religious world view for this reason and as an act of liberation. This is to be respected. The Dalai Lama, His Holiness for Tibetan Buddhists, wrote in his book “Beyond Religion”: “The reality of the world today is that grounding ethics in religion is no longer adequate. This is why I believe the time has come to find a way of thinking about spirituality and ethics that is beyond religion.”¹¹⁷ Many humanists, agnostics and atheists have profound human, balanced values. What is true for religious people, is also true for non-religious: they are only truly human, if they respect that they are not absolute, but that ‘something ultimate’, the reason, the highest values, are limiting them. Learning to become human¹¹⁸ is the common basis of bringing religious and non-religious approaches to Globalance together.

2.2.12 Self-critical, not Autocratic

Accepting relationality as interdependence of values and virtues leads to the very important capacity of being self-critical: one’s own perception is never the whole and can be complemented and corrected by the other. Globalance therefore leads to modesty and openness for

¹¹⁷ Dalai Lama, *Beyond Religion. Ethics for a whole World*, Boston/New York: Mariner Books, 2012, XV.

¹¹⁸ See the new book Gerhard, Volker, *Humanität. Über den Geist der Menschheit*, München: C.H. Beck, 2019.

learning and transformation by way of others. It therefore resists autocratic behaviour, which denies self-critique and puts one's own view and action as absolute.

2.2.13 Reason and Emotion

Reason as rational arguments for decisions and actions are an excellent and outstanding characteristic of human existence. Rationalism is at the centre of modern science, of philosophy, of political structures etc. It was at the centre of enlightenment and the French revolution in overcoming middle age and religious world views, which have been disqualified as irrational. Emotion, in this world view, must be set aside as much as possible in decisions.

However, post-modern worldviews recognize that emotions play a key role in human decisions and actions, in mental health and in human interaction, in visions and in planning, as motivation motor and driver, as intuitive intelligence and prophetic foresight, as integrative and holistic view.¹¹⁹ Reason and emotion are opposite and complementary skills of human existence.

2.2.14 Holistic, not Fragmented

Human beings, cultures, nations and organisations always tend to have a partial and fragmented view of reality and visions. Therefore, to have the whole in view and to think and act for the whole requires spe-

¹¹⁹ E.g. Meera Baindur, *Nature, body and woman. An Indian perspective on value dualism*, Routledge, 2015. Christoph Stückelberger, *The Role of Emotions in Ethics. More Laughter of the Holy and the Fools, More Courage for Anger and Tears*, in Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Ethics Applied*, Vol 4, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 316-322. Free download: www.globethics.net/readers-series.

cial effort. As we look at the relation of the opposites, the unity behind diversity, the inclusion instead of exclusion and the dynamic process of belonging together instead of being fixed on the current visible fragment, de-fragmentation and a holistic perspective become possible.

2.2.15 Summary of the Characteristics

Globalance as we define it in this book, can be summarized in

Thirteen Characteristics of Globalance:

1. Opposites as the two sides of the same coin
2. Life from the centre of being
3. Dialectic, not dualistic
4. Monistic, not imperialistic
5. Dynamic, not static
6. Evolutionary and revolutionary
7. Inclusive, not exclusive
8. Balance in body and natural law
9. Values-driven, not values-denying.
10. Unity in diversity, diversity in unity
11. Religious and non-religious
12. Self-critical, not autocratic
13. Reason and Emotion
14. Holistic, not fragmented.

2.3 Five Modes of Dealing with Opposites

As opposites and polarisation are a basic fact in life and universe, how can we deal with it? Five main modes can be distinguished:

1. *Destruction*: One opposite tries to destroy the other in order to dominate with absolute power. This may lead to a short-term victory, but cannot be sustainable as the oppressed, denied, marginalized or ‘killed’ opposite cannot be eradicated, it will return.
2. *Fusion*: The opposites merge, become one, and neutralize each other with the result of no energy or confused energy or productive energy.
3. *Innovation*: The opposites combine to create together something new, e.g. a child as “product” of a man and a woman, whereas the opposites remain and are at the same time also transformed.
4. *Synthesis*: Similar to innovation, the opposites sublimate, absorb from the other, integrate and transform in a dialectic way to a higher new reality.
5. *Balance*: The opposites are in a constant relation and interaction of dynamic balancing and thus creating and procreating life as an ongoing evolutionary (sometimes disruptive-revolutionary) process on material and spiritual, individual and structural level, step by step, without mortal risks of extremes, with caring mindfulness and with joy.

THE NEED FOR GLOBALANCE: OVERCOMING –ISMS AND EMPIRES

Transition periods in world history are often experienced as periods of fear and insecurity. ‘The old’ is breaking down and ‘the new’ is not yet visible. Manifold struggles between powers, ideas and values are happening. “The Age of Values is at the end - The New World Disorder.” This was the title of the keynote speech of the Editor-in-Chief of the famous *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* at the first NZZ Global Risk Conference on 24 August 2017. More and more people fear that the new world of globalisation, symbolized with the fall of the Berlin Wall 1989 (already thirty years ago), has come to an end and a new phase of world disorder has taken over.

In this chapter, two main obstacles to global balance are issued: Thirteen forms of ‘-isms’ such as extremism, fundamentalism, nationalism, or protectionism provoke polarisation.

Empires are the most visible expression of a world order. Rise and fall of empires and related power struggles are among the most threatening imbalances in the current world, especially between USA and China.

3.1 Ideological Polarisation with ‘-isms’

Polarisation means that two or more opposite poles become stronger than the middle, bridge-making forces. Polarisation then often leads to accelerated escalation in conflicts. Economic polarisation refers to the poverty-wealth gap, political polarisation to struggle of powers for influence, religious polarisation often to absolute doctrines etc.

Ideological polarisation means that a group of people and institutions claim superiority and absolute truth and thus excludes others with its worldview. Ideologies are often used and abused for political and economic objectives of power-struggles.

However, polarisation can also be seen as a necessary phase in the struggle for recognition of a goal. Social justice or antiracism movements did and can polarise; it may have been needed to make progress on a topic. “Polarisation is sometimes required for our political disagreements to express themselves. The alternative to polarization often isn’t consensus but suppression.”¹²⁰

3.1.1 ‘-Isms’ as Threats to Globalance

An ideology in the original sense in the 19th century was the science of ideas, as theology for the science of God and biology the science of life. But ideology turned to a negative term as a form of absolutism of one value or idea. It is therefore to some extent the opposite of Globalance as balance of values. An ideology is a worldview of ideas, values

¹²⁰ Ezra Klein, *Why we are polarized*, London: Profile Books, 2020, 249 (in Chapter 10: Managing Polarization – and Ourselves). The book analyses especially the growing polarization between Republicans and Democrats in the US.

and beliefs, which reduces the complexity of reality by giving priority to one main topic and value. Therefore, an ideology is interpreting all aspects of reality in a way, which fits into the one system and denies other parts of reality and values. Ideologies reduce complexity to a seemingly consistent system. Ideologies attract people by pretending to give simple solutions to complex situations. Ideologies often also tend to suggest that the absolutist ideas can be implemented in this world, like Islamism with an Islamic “pure” state, some Christian movements like Müntzer in Germany that wanted to create the Kingdom of God in a city on earth. Ideologies then do not distinguish between ideal and partial fulfilment in reality, between utopia and its implementation. In the 19th and 20th century, communism, liberalism, fascist nationalism, and Islamism have been among the most powerful economic-political ideologies.

Most of the worldviews ending with ‘-ism’ represent such one-sided, ideological perspectives. Some theories classify religions as general ideologies since they defend specific values in a system; but they are not necessarily ideologies in the above sense. Religions, as far as they see the world through specific lenses by excluding other aspects of reality, they can be ideologies, especially in the fundamentalist form of religions (see below 2.5), but they can – on the contrary – also be eye-openers in criticising ideologies from the perspective of the transcendental truth as a critical lens. Religions are then instrumental in overcoming ideologies.

Names of worldviews with the ending ‘-ism’ normally indicate ideologies with a totalitarian tendency. Totalitarianism can be seen as the common characteristic of what is described in this chapter. The core values of these ideologies are ethically speaking very positive, but they turn into a negative, unethical system by maximizing and absolutizing

one value and thus contributing to polarisation. They then become a threat to Globalance as a relational worldview.

22 Such ‘-isms’ are described in chapters 3.1.2-3.1.15, and briefly analysed as expression of one-sided ideologies which contribute to polarisation and threaten Globalance. These ‘-isms’ claim to give clear, simple solutions, security and order! But since they are exclusive and not inclusive, and deny the existence or right of existence of opposing aspects, they in fact create conflicts, disorder and insecurity instead of order and security!

3.1.2 Terrorism

“Terrorism is the deliberate killing of innocent people, at random, in order to spread fear through a whole population and force the hand of its political leaders.”¹²¹ There is no globally agreed definition of terrorism, but all definitions include violence by killing, especially innocent civilians. The motives are very different: from political motives that destabilize powers/states through fear in order to gain or replace powers, to simple criminality. Terrorism is normally used to describe actions of self-determined groups, but also armed forces of states can act in similar way, then called state terrorism, e.g. executed by secret services in killing politicians of adversaries. The United Nations, especially with its Counter Terrorism Committee and Office, developed 16 international

¹²¹ Walzer, Michael (2002), quoted by Robert Mackey, *Can Soldiers be Victims of Terrorism?* New York Times, 20 Nov 2009.

counter-terrorism legal instruments¹²², from nuclear weapons to financing terrorism¹²³.

Why and how is Terrorism a threat to Globalance? Terrorism uses violence as the main instrument for an intended change. It refuses dialogue and is therefore not willing to find balanced solutions based on political negotiations and compromises. Terrorism declares its own worldview as absolute, which must be followed by everybody under its control.

3.1.3 Extremism

Extremism is often linked to terrorism but is a broader term. It includes all kind of extreme positions, and employs physical-armed violence or other oppressive instruments such as ideological and psychological pressure. The UN General Assembly on 12 Feb 2016 took note of the Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism (PVE)¹²⁴ of the UN Secretary General. It states: “Violent extremism is an affront to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It undermines peace and security, human rights and sustainable development. No country or region is immune from its impacts.”¹²⁵ ‘Violent extremism’ becomes almost another term for terrorism.

¹²² Overview on the page of the Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/laws.html>.

¹²³ *International Convention for the suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*, adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 9 Dec 1999. <http://www.un.org/law/cod/finterr.html>.

¹²⁴ www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism.

¹²⁵ UN General Assembly: *Plan of Action of Prevent Violent Extremism, Report of the Secretary General*, 24 Dec 2015, A/70/674, 1.

Why and how is Extremism a threat to Globalance? Extremism, as the word itself expresses, is the extreme position, normally on both sides of a scale, often called extreme right and extreme left. But when one looks at both extremes on a circle, '*les extrêmes se touchent*', the extremes touch each other. Meaning they look extremely opposite but are in fact very similar in their one-sided solutions and their refusal of compromises and cooperation.

3.1.4 Fundamentalism

“Fundamentalism can be defined as a religious or political movement or attitude with a strict adherence to a set of basic principles, based on a literal, not adapted and contextualised interpretation, especially as a return to former principles. Separation, exclusion and extremism are characteristics of fundamentalism.”¹²⁶

Fundamentalism is often associated with religious *fundamentalism in Islam* (Islamism), *Hinduism* (Hindutva, mainly a Hindu Nationalism) and *Christianity* (in different Christian denominations). However, it exists in all religions as one type of interpretation of holy scriptures. It exists also in sects of these religions with additional revelations by gurus and religious leaders. The literal interpretation is for many, convincing as it seems easily understandable or direct. The fundamentalist hermeneutics (method of interpretation) is selective, taking only those parts into consideration which correspond to the concept and values. Contra-

¹²⁶ Stükelberger, Christoph, Introduction, in Hadsell, Heidi /Stükelberger, Christoph (Eds.), *Overcoming Fundamentalism. Ethical Responses from Five Continents*, Global Series, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2009, 11. Free download www.globethics.net/publications.

dictions are not allowed, but unquestionable obedience and loyalty is required. These characteristics make fundamentalism an ideology whereas believers, scholars and theologians translate holy texts in the current context, question and struggle for truth in a constant living debate and ongoing search for certainty in doubts.

Fundamentalism exists in all spheres of society, not only the religious domain. Particularly, political ideologies, economic theories and technological innovation often have fundamentalist character. Some experience “Globalization as a fundamentalist religion”¹²⁷ or a political party or the trend “from the Republic to the Empire”¹²⁸ as political fundamentalism.

Why and how is Fundamentalism a threat to Globalance? Fundamentalism claims exclusivity for truth and therefore tries to overcome any form of tolerance and respectful dialogue. It is not dialectic, but monolithic. The basic intention of fundamentalism, namely, to go back to the fundamentals and roots, is positive as all worldviews should be deeply rooted. Back to roots (Latin radix – radical) is radical, but the way fundamentalists are doing it is not really radical, but selective. Fundamentalism fixes some elements of truth in a selective system and thereby hinders development, adaptation, contextualisation and finally kills life.

¹²⁷ Adeney-Risakotta, Bernard, *Globalization and Religion – an Indonesian Perspective*, in Hadsell/Stückelberger, op. cit., 89-110 (89-93).

¹²⁸ Hansen, Guillermo, *Tolerance, Democracy and Fundamentalism(s): Challenges in Time of Systemic Bifurcations*, in Hadsell/Stückelberger, op. cit. 173-206 (174-184).

3.1.5 Atheism/ Laicism

Atheism is denial of the existence of the transcendental reality (God). It can be as extreme and violent as extremism and fundamentalism by persecuting those who are believers. This was especially the case in modern time of overcoming religious dominance in Europe. Atheism's development hugely impacted the ideology of communism and parts of secularization.

Laicism is one consequence of European atheism especially after the French Revolution in France where the separation of church and state was instituted. This must not be seen as an ideology, as it respects a religious verdict view separate from the atheist one.

Why and how is Atheism a threat to Globalance? Atheism is not per se a threat to Globalance, but it becomes one if atheism claims to be the only recognized worldview and therefore denying any religious opposite. Agnosticism is a worldview, which claims not to know about any existence of the transcendental world and is in itself, dialectic rather than monolithic, as it shows openness to opposite views.

3.1.6 Cyberism

Cyber – from the word cybernetics – means the interaction by computerized facilities, mainly information and communication technologies ICTs. Cyberspace is the virtual space, 'room', where this interaction happens. As ICT's are not bound to borders, the cyberspace is almost by definition a global space even though technical and legal limitations can be set.

I defined '-isms' as the one-sided, ideological perspective and worldview in a specific area of society. Therefore, *cyberism* – the word

is not yet widely used - in *my definition* means the belief that a) information technologies in cyberspace are the solution for most of the problems, b) social media are a benefit for all and c) the fourth industrial revolution is inevitable and the main innovator and incubator for the future economy. One core part of cyberism is *dataism*¹²⁹ as big data are the core raw product and resource for the whole cyber world.

Why and how is cyberism a threat to Globalance? Cyberspace offers manifold opportunities and sometimes poses threats to humanity. It becomes a threat to Globalance only when it becomes a one-sided ideology of being the solution for most problems and beyond its real means. The pros and cons can then no more be considered in an objective way because a cyberism view would, in an ideological way, deny negative aspects of cyberspace – or conversely, would deny the positive aspects and see only the negative ones.

3.1.7 Dataism

Dataism as a term became known by the bestseller ‘Homo Deus’ of Yuval Noah Harari. “Dataism declares that the universe consists of data flows, and the value of any phenomenon or entity is determined by its constitution to data processing.”¹³⁰ Dataism combines data “from electronic and biochemical algorithms. Dataism thereby collapses the barrier between animals and machines, and expects electronic algorithms to eventually decipher and outperform biochemical algorithms.”¹³¹

¹²⁹ Dataism as religion of data: Harari, Yuval Noah, *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*, Harper Collins, 2017, 372-402.

¹³⁰ Harari, Yuval, Noah, *Homo Deus: A Brief history of Tomorrow*, Harper Collins, Kindle Edition, 2017, 372-402 (372).

¹³¹ Ibid.

Why and how is dataism a threat to Globalance? Dataism as all ‘-isms’ is based on one powerful source which exists, the data. Collected, sorting, interpreting and reusing data is at the core of the modern cyber world 4.0.¹³² It has a large positive potential for the benefit of humanity in almost all sectors of society. However, dataism becomes an ideology and a threat to relational thinking when data becomes the only and absolute source of knowledge and power as with capital in capitalism, race in racism etc. The absolutism of data ‘dictatorship’ then destroys the beneficial aspects of big data use.

3.1.8 Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system in which goods and services are produced, traded, consumed and recycled by individual initiatives based on supply and demand in the market (market economy). Capital is the main driving force in this economic system.

Capitalism only becomes a one-sided ideology¹³³ if the market operates in its purest form without any propagated intervention from the state (laissez-faire capitalism). This de facto ‘wild west’ capitalism does not exist as most of the modern market economies combine free market with state regulations as a frame for a functioning behaviour which the market cannot establish.

Why and how is capitalism a threat to Globalance? As we have already seen with other ‘-isms’, capitalism, from the perspective of

¹³² Stückelberger, Christoph/Duggal, Pavan, *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Globethics.net: Geneva, 2018.

¹³³ E.g. Nelson, Robert H. /Stackhouse, Max L., *Economics as Religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and beyond*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

Globalance, is not per se a threat to Globalance, it only becomes one if it is set as the absolute, only economic system in its pure form (which in fact could never be implemented). Freedom is the absolute value of action. Such a view of capitalism exemplifies making one specific economic system the only legitimate economic system and declares it as absolute, to be followed as natural law whereas all other economic systems are made by human beings. Such capitalism then excludes all alternatives and must be seen as extremist and fundamentalist.

3.1.9 Socialism

Socialism can be described as opposite to capitalism like a mirror reflection.

Socialism is an economic system in which goods and services are produced, traded, consumed and recycled by government regulations based on the scheme of the central planning unit (planned economy). Labour (workforce) is the main driving force in this economic system.

Socialism, like capitalism, becomes only then a one-sided ideology if executed in its purest form without free demand-supply market mechanism by individuals is propagated (absolute communist plan economy). The absolute, de facto socialism does not exist as most of the contemporary economies that are officially socialist combine the plan with elements of free market (socialist China more so than socialist Cuba). Equality is combined with some freedom of the market.

Why and how is socialism a threat to Globalance? As we have already seen with other '-isms', socialism, from the perspective of Globalance, is not per se a threat to Globalance, but becomes one if it is set as the absolute, only economic system in its pure form (which could in fact never be implemented). Equality and just distribution of goods and ser-

vices is the core value of this system. Such a view of socialist economy makes one specific economic system the only legitimate economic system and declares it as absolute, to be followed like a natural law whereas all other economic systems are man-made. Such socialism then excludes all alternatives and must be seen as extremist and fundamentalist.

3.1.10 Environmentalism

Environmental protection is a key element of sustainable development. It includes manifold topics such as biodiversity, climate change, animal welfare, resource management, pollution, land and water resources etc.

Environmentalism in the context of this chapter is defined as a one-sided emphasis on nonhuman nature as the only priority. Conservation of nature and non-interference of humans or animal protection above human needs in extreme vegetarianism are an expression of it.

Why and how is Environmentalism a threat to Globalance? Environmental protection is crucial for sustainability and therefore not the threat, but the precondition for Globalance. But environmentalism in the defined way does not balance human and nonhuman needs, conservation and innovation in interference between humans and nonhuman nature.

3.1.11 Globalism

Globalism is a concept which promotes global actors such as global players in the private sector and global governance in the political sector as the key actors in a globalised world. The local and national level become more and more irrelevant. The term is part of the theory of inter-

national relations which came up with modern globalisation and sees international policy as world domestic policy (Weltinnenpolitik).

Why and how is globalism a threat to Globalance? The global perspective in politics, economy, culture, religions, media etc. is key in a globalised world. But as a one-sided ideology that counts only the global level, it disregards the human need for local roots and identity, as the local sphere is still the immediate reality for the majority of humanity. It also neglects the value of subsidiarity by which the problems should be solved on the lowest possible level to allow proximity, efficiency and peoples' participation. An example: UBS, the Swiss global bank and among the ten largest banks in the world, since the 1990s showed clear disinterest in local Swiss clients and only interest in large global players. This made Swiss SMEs especially angry as they – as small players – could no longer get loans from the bank. In the financial crisis 2007-2009, the bank had to be saved from insolvency by the Swiss state. This showed clearly that even a global player depends on local and national legislation and safety nets. The company had to rethink its one-sided 'globalism'.

3.1.12 Liberalism

Liberalism promotes freedom above all other values. It supports free market, capitalism, secularism, democracy, equality. Liberalism was a key driver in overcoming aristocracy and clericalism in the age of enlightenment.

Why and how is liberalism a threat to Globalance? Liberalism, as the other '-isms' in this list, emphasises one important value. If it becomes an ideology by making this value absolute above all others, it is an obstacle to Globalance as it does not allow value-balance and negoti-

ations. Moderate liberal positions recognize that freedom needs to be linked to social responsibility and environmental protection and is then not a threat, but a contributor to Globalance.

3.1.13 Nationalism

Nationalism promotes the interests of the nation above all other interests in political economic, cultural, religious, media and other domains. Nationalism is built on national identity created by history, language, ethnicity, religion etc. Nationalism is the opposite of globalism. It denies the relevance of international cooperation in international law, global governance, interreligious dialogue, migration and economic free trade. *Patriotism* is an inflated form of nationalism whereby the ‘fatherland’ can become the caring and adored community as a civil religion.¹³⁴

Why and how is nationalism a threat to Globalance? Nationalism and globalism are two sides of the same coin. As globalism denies the importance of the local and national, nationalism denies the importance of global cooperation. It becomes an ideology if it selectively rewrites history in order to promote national identity, if it denies factual plurality in society and promotes the non-existing ethnic or language unity of a geographic entity called nation.

3.1.14 Populism

Populism is a style and strategy of political leaders who claim to be the true representatives of ‘the people’ against the political ‘elites’. Those who are against the populist leaders, are not the ‘true people’. It

¹³⁴ On civil religion see chapter 6.18.3.

includes a trend toward absolutism as these leaders claim to be the only true leaders of the people. Populism is more a style and strategy to gain power than a specific ideology. In the 21st century, right populism is more widespread than left populism.

Why and how is populism a threat to Globalance? Populism claims to be the only true worldview and therefore denies the openness for dialectic political processes. It despises democratic representation and institutions and separation of power by weakening the judiciary. It often also supports conspiracy theories which aggravates a rational political discourse and replaces it by emotional mass phenomena and disqualification of political opponents, leading to increased polarisation and a climate of fear.

3.1.15 Protectionism

Protectionism is mainly used as an economic term to describe an economic policy which restrains trade as the exchange of goods and services between countries, regions or other jurisdictions. Protectionist policies protect goods and services from imported goods and services by trade barriers such as tariffs on imported goods and services, quota restrictions or political sanctions.

Whereas economic globalisation promoted free-trade with proven positive impact on economic growth in general, the losers of globalisation who faced negative impacts on their national or local economy and loss of jobs promoted protectionism to reduce losses. Trade liberalisation and trade protectionism are two competing economic policies in world history.

Why and how is protectionism a threat to Globalance? For losers of globalisation, protectionism is not a threat but a benefit in making one's

own products and services more competitive, at least short-term. Nevertheless, protectionism is a threat to Globalance in the same way as globalism is a threat because both deny the connectivity between local and global, national and international free-trade and fair trade.

3.1.16 Absolutism

Absolutism is a system where one person, idea or value has all power without the balance with counter power. In political absolutism such as dictatorship or absolute monarchy the ruler rules without limitation by laws, constitutionally legalized opposition or media. In family absolutism one person of the family has absolute power over the others (the patriarch in the patriarchal system). In moral absolutism, one ethical value or moral principle rules over all other values are other moral principles.

Why and how is absolutism a threat to Globalance? Absolutism by its direct meaning of the word sets one side absolute and therefore is not dialectic and cannot allow opposites and opposition. Absolutism therefore is in its core the negation of Globalance as a system of allowing, promoting and reconciling opposites.

3.1.17 Imperialism

Imperialism is a policy and practice of states or other entities extending their own power and dominion by direct acquisition, occupation of territory or by gaining political, economic, cultural religious or ideological control of other areas. Imperialist activities can include military, political, economic, cultural, social and religious instruments. It is characterised by dominance and often exploitation. Pure power politics is often

the motivation for imperialism, and in some cases, it is justified as liberation of oppressed people, a missionary vocation to spread held values and worldview, eradication of evil or leading technological progress.

From an *ethical* Globalance perspective, imperialism, as the other -isms, imposes one's own interests on others by force and not by negotiation or consensus. This form of domination contradicts the value of equality (equal human rights of all human beings), peace and solidarity.

3.1.18 Sexism, Racism, Ethnicism

A category of '-isms' refer to the biological or societal characteristics of a human being or group: *Sexism* is the discrimination of one gender, often female; *racism* is the discrimination based on race and the claim of superiority of one race (sexism in this sense is linked to racism¹³⁵); *ethnicism* is privileging one ethnic group with discrimination of others and thus combined with ethnocentrism. *Egoism* is the one-sided focus on oneself; *altruism* is the one-sided focus on the other. They miss the balance of loving both.

3.1.19 Fascism, Conspirationism, Wokism

Another category of '-isms' refer to group ideologies, often linked with distorted historical justifications and stereotype images of 'the enemy': *Fascism*¹³⁶ is an ultranationalist, dictatorial and often racist form

¹³⁵ Trotman Reid, Pamela, *Racism and Sexism. Comparisons and Conflicts*, in Kath, P.A. et al (eds.), *Eliminating Racism*, New York: Springer, 1988, 203ff.

¹³⁶ The international 'Antifa-Movements' 2020, partly linked to the anti-racism demonstrations, show that the term fascism is used for many phenomena. It is a role of academics and of ethical efforts to be precise in terminology in order to sharpen the perception of an '-ism' and not to fog it.

of execution of power; *conspirationism*¹³⁷ (when conspiracy becomes a system and ideology) reduces a complex situation like a pandemic to one source for all evil, like the scapegoating of Chinese in the Covid-19 pandemic or the Jews during the medieval plague.

Wokism refers to the old term “stay woke”, which was used since the 1930s for awareness and staying alert, especially on issues of Afro-American injustices in the US.¹³⁸ *Wokism*¹³⁹, also called “cancel culture” as a new attitude since about 2020 to denounce individuals (mainly employees such as teachers) or (leaders of) institutions for a discriminatory attitude and demanding sanctions from the institution against the person. What was in the past more an act of emancipation and social justice from the left side, became now more a right-wing political force, especially among Trump-followers, for political correctness and to remove perceived leftist or democratic teachers.

In all of these ‘-isms’, the key element is to place one group of human beings or one ideology above the others in an absolute way, thus violating the fundamental dignity and equality of human beings as the centre of human rights.

3.1.20 Narcissism

Narcissism is a self-centered personality structure, expressed in selfishness, a lack of empathy, an exaggerated need for admiration and

¹³⁷ Anton, Andreas/Schetsche, Michael, Walter, Michael, *Konspiration: Soziologie des Verschwörungsdenkens*, Wiesbaden: Springer, 2013.

¹³⁸ Article Woke in <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woke>.

¹³⁹ Denis Cristol, *How ‘Wokism’ Affects Education*, 30 Oct 2021, <https://cursus.edu/en/23002/how-wokism-affects-education>. (Accessed 8 Aug 2022)

recognition and a lack of distinction between oneself and the other person or an object. Narcissism is not an ideology and worldview, but heavily influences the own worldview, as all is seen by the selfish lense. One consequence is the lack of solidarity, empathy and caring. Narcissism can lead to unpredictable behaviour and mental disorder. Sexual, parental, celebrity narcissisms can lead to disruptions in relations and society. With the social media, but also disruptions through the Covid pandemic, narcissism became a dominant personality structure – in weak and strong forms – of millions of people. Narcissism can be an underlying motive to join isms such as fascism, authoritarianism and extremism.

Reducing and overcoming narcissism is important for a balanced world of balanced values, ability for self-criticism instead of selfishness and caring instead of being self-centered (*incurvatus in se*).

3.2 Classical Empires, Cold War, New Cyber Empires

Globalance tries to find an answer on how to deal with power and energy in a constructive and not destructive, collaborative and not isolated, participatory and not oppressive way.

3.2.1 Classical Empires

In world history, empires played and will continue to play an important role (see also chapters 1.0.1 and 7.13.1). An empire can be defined as “an aggregate of nations or people ruled over by an emperor or other powerful sovereign or government, usually a territory of greater extent than a kingdom, as the former British Empire, French Empire,

Russian Empire, Byzantine Empire or Roman Empire.”¹⁴⁰ An empire therefore is more than a big country. It dominates an important part of the world.

World history in the last 5000 years has seen many large empires, appearing and disappearing. The definitions and sizes are controversial, but 49 empires are identified whose greatest expanse covered more than 2% of the total land area of the world.¹⁴¹ Few examples can show their size: The British Empire was the largest, covering 24% of the earth land mass and in 1922 with 458 million people representing 20% of the global population. The Mongol Empire in 1270 covered 16% of the earth land area; the Russian Empire in 1895, 15%; the Qing Dynasty in China from the 17th to the 20th century (with its peak in the 19th Century) covered in 1790, 10% of the earth land mass and in 1851, represented 432 million people or 30% of the world’s population. The Spanish empire covered 9% in 1810; the French Colonial Empire in 1920, 8%; the Umayyad Caliphate in 720, 7%. The Roman Empire, although one of the best known in Western history, covered “only” 3.36% of the earth’s land mass in the year 117, the same as the lesser known Maurya Empire 250 BC covering India, Pakistan, Afghanistan. The Macedonian Empire in 323 BC covered with 3.49% the same size as the Ottoman Empire in 1683.

¹⁴⁰ *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, New York: Portland House, 1989, 468.

¹⁴¹ Wikipedia, *List of Largest Empires*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_largest_empires; Abby Rogers, *The 10 Greatest Empires in the History of the World*, <http://www.businessinsider.com/the-10-greatest-empires-in-history-2011-9?IR=T>. (accessed 1 Aug 2017)

The list of empires in world history shows *three main centres of gravity*: The *West* with the ancient Roman, the Greek/Macedonian, the Byzantine and later the colonial British, Spanish, Portuguese and French empires. The *East* represented ancient Chinese, Mongol, Indian, modern Chinese, Japanese etc. empires. Crucial have been empires between East and West in the Near East: the Persian, Egyptian, Ottoman and Russian empires to mention only a selection. The competition between these three world regions influenced world history immensely.

This *summary* of the quoted list of 49 empires in world history shows that *size and population* are important, but that these are not the only or main criteria for influence in world history. ‘Smaller’ empires like the Roman Empire may have had deeper influence on culture, science and world order than larger ones such as the Mongolian Empire. The empires also differed in their *type and policy*: some are very *centralised* and tried to unify the different cultures and religions under their power, others respected the *diversity* of cultures, languages and religions and were mainly interested in collecting taxes as economic revenue.

All empires in history once came to an end! *Reasons for the* (sudden or slow) *collapse of an empire* are environmental changes, end of resources, indebtedness, increased inequalities, missing social cohesion, in large empires too complex systems to manage and also moral-ethical collapse, e.g. in leadership.¹⁴² The bestseller author and investor Ray Dalio analysed the rise and fall of empires and speaks about a Big

¹⁴² An enlightening analysis of 30 past empires: Richard Blanton, Gary Feinman, Stephen Kowalewski, Lane Fargher, *Moral Collapse and state Failure: A View from the Past*, Frontier Political Science 16 Oct 2020, Vol 2. <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpos.2020.568704/full>. (Accessed 8 Aug 2022)

Cycle: “All the empires and dynasties I studied rose and declined in a classic Big Cycle that has clear markers that allow us to see where we are in it. This Big Cycle produces swings between 1) peaceful and prosperous periods of great creativity and productivity that raise living standards a lot and 2) depression, revolution, and war periods when there is a lot of fighting over wealth and power and a lot of destruction of wealth, life, and other things we cherish.”¹⁴³ He observed that periods of wealth last about 5 times longer than periods of turbulences. In the financial sector, he observes long term debt cycles of about hundred years and short-term debt cycles of about eight years.

In the modern globalised economy, empires are not only states, but function like *multinational companies*. Their annual budget is often larger than the budget of states and their influence on politics and economy is sometimes enormous. Among the 50 largest institutional entities (*comparison governments and companies*), 26 are states and 24 are corporations, by revenues in 2015!¹⁴⁴ The 9 largest are governments like US, China, Germany to list the first three, but from rank 10-29, half of them (10) are companies, and apart from Walmart – all are multinationals from the oil and automobile sector.

In addition, the cyber space creates new forms of *digital empires*: Alexander the Great, at the age of 33, ruled with his Greek empire from

¹⁴³ Ray, Dalio, *Principles for Dealing with the Changing World Order: Why Nations Succeed and Fail*, Avid Reader Press / Simon & Schuster. Kindle Edition, 2021, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Figures: Annual revenue in USD by 2015. Sources: country data came from CIA World Factbook. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2056.html>; Corporation data from Fortune Global 500. <http://beta.fortune.com/global500>.

Greece to India, covering 3.8% of the worlds' land. But Mark Zuckerberg, at the age of 33, rules as CEO and President of Facebook with over 2.4 billion users (2019) represents more than 30 percent of the world population! He has no land, but direct digital access to the people.

Are empires a threat or a benefit for Globalance? This question is the reason why empires are mentioned in this chapter. The answer is yes and no: They are a threat as far as many of the above-mentioned empires developed policies of absolutism, nationalism and some with fundamentalist policies. From the perspective of the population under control, Empires often oppress the cultural diversity, the dignity of the people and disable and hinder balanced value systems. On the other hand, empires also contributed – to a great extent – cross-border trade, cultural exchange, religious and interreligious connectivity, technological progress and therefore cultural diversity and economic innovation. From a global perspective, the figures of the size of the empires also show that no empire dominated the whole world, even not the British as the geographically largest in world history. There have always been other powers and empires. Therefore, even with absolutism inside an empire, no empire had absolute power over the world.

3.2.2 The Bipolar World of the Cold War

The Cold War period from 1945 to 1989 was a bipolar world dominated by the two superpowers Soviet Union and United States of America. A great part of the rest of the world was divided by adhering to either of the two powers. Especially the so-called third world was a battlefield of deputy wars between the two superpowers and the ideological divide between communism and capitalism was very profound.

Was the bipolar world of the two superpowers a threat to Globalance? No and yes: it was not a threat in the sense that two systems had been competing with each other in a dialectic way and kept a balance of the two economically and politically opposite systems. It was a balance, but it was an ‘equilibrium of the horror’ as it was called. This equilibrium was mainly based on the military equilibrium and especially the equilibrium of nuclear weapons. Each superpower knew that it would be deadly to use nuclear weapons against the other. In this sense, the cold war was a threat to Globalance because the equilibrium was built on fear and threats and not on peaceful competition e.g. by trade. The ideologies on both sides were mutually exclusive: The two systems of communism and capitalism are viewed as incompatible opposites, not complementary. The efforts for a third way as in Chechen Slovakia was oppressed in 1968 and theoretical concepts for it remained marginal.¹⁴⁵ Only the Non-Aligned Movement under leadership of Yugoslavia together with India, Egypt, Ghana and others had some influence with the attempt to bridge communism and capitalism in a moderate socialism and being a third power between the superpowers. In present times, the Chinese model seems now to be a kind of ‘third way’. Its ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ means the combination of a strong communist party with capitalist market economy. Inside the country, the policy struggles are between a bit more free entrepreneurship or a bit more state control,

¹⁴⁵ E.g. former minister and economist Ota Šik, *The third Way: Marxist-Leninist theory and modern industrial society*, London: Wildwood House, 1976. Also the concepts of Arthur Rich, *Business and Economic Ethics: The Ethics of Economic Systems*, Leuven: Peeters 2006.

but always within the frame of a combination of private entrepreneurship and state control.

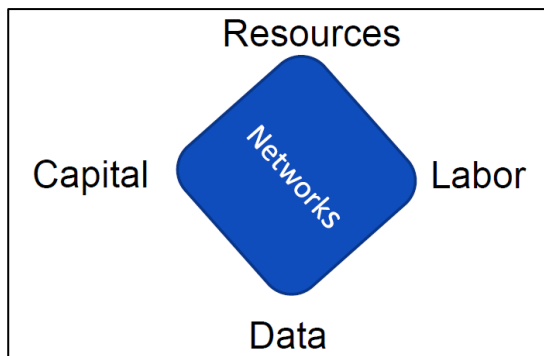
The big question for the future Globalance in terms of geopolitics is how the *shift of power between continents* in the last three centuries will enable or hinder the goal of Globalance: the 19th century is seen as the century of Europe, with the large colonial powers Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal and to some extent Italy and Germany. The 20th century is seen as the century of America with its large influence as superpower with global dominance. The 21st century is seen as the centre of Asia with China as the dominant power on the continent. This power shift and new superpowers will be extensively analysed in chapters 7.12-7.14.

3.2.3 Cyber Empires: USA and China as New Bi-Polar World

With the breakdown of the Berlin wall 1989 and the end of the Soviet Union in 1991, the bi-polar world of the Cold War was replaced by a globalised world, de facto a unipolar world with the dominance of the United States of America. This period since the 1990s is also marked by the fast expansion of the internet and the so-called cyber world, where a large part of production, distribution, sales, consumption, recycling of good and services, but also communication, political structures, military etc. depend on the virtual, internet-based cyber-technology. A new bi-polar, de facto quadro-polar world is in the making, as the key factors of power are cyber and technology-based.¹⁴⁶ Disruptions on the way to technological superpowers come from the cyber-based giant compa-

¹⁴⁶ See more also in chapter 7.3 and 7.13.

nies.¹⁴⁷ A key question is how to move from “digital disorder” and “cyber anarchy” to a “New Digital Order”?¹⁴⁸



The key production factors are no more only the three classical ones; natural resources, human labour and financial capital, but

now include two new key production factors, big data and networks. The main production factor of Google, Facebook, Baidu, Tencent etc. is neither oil nor land or masses of employees, but the immense wealth of data and the capacity to use them in networks. *Data and networks are the key production factors today.*

The *networking power* and *networked power* is among the most important powers in the cyber world. Access to Big Data allows making billions of connections between personal, economic, political and societal data. Data mining and processing is then the resource for the networked power. The typologies of networks can distinguish a high number of types: by aim and focus, degree of technological application, level

¹⁴⁷ The founders and entrepreneurs of the Chinese giants like Alibaba, Tencent and Baidu are featured in Tse, Edward, *China's Disruptors. How Alibaba, Xiaomi, Tencent and other companies are changing the rules of business*, UK: Penguin Random House, 2015. The conclusion of the author: “China’s future ... rests in the hands of its entrepreneurs.”(XIV)

¹⁴⁸ Nye, Joseph S., jr, *The End of Cyber-anarchy? How to build a New Digital Order?*, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2022, 32-42 (Title of the volume: *Digital Disorder. War and Peace in the Cyber Age*).

of integration with the state or other networks, geographical outreach, sources of funding, transparency in policies, functionalities, organizational stability, content, number of participants etc.

The internet, which was planned to be a global one, is in recent years more and more nationalised and controlled by national legislation, mainly justified by security reasons. At the same time, the big data giant companies are structured in a way, that two main political entities dominate the market: USA and China. Russia and EU also play a role, but to a lesser extent. USA and China can be seen as the new bi-polar world as they offer – like a mirror! – comparable social media, search engines etc., with the main difference, that access to the data is restricted to the respective states (US through backdoors in software and hardware as Snowden revealed in 2013, China through control of the companies).

Service	USA	China	Russia	EU
Search machine	Google	Baidu	Yandex, Moi Mir	(Bing, small)
Social Net	Facebook	Tencent	VK.com	-
E-commerce	Amazon	Alibaba	Bringly	Small, national
messenger	WhatsApp	Wechat	Quora	-
Short messenger	Twitter	Wechat	Twitter	-
videos	Youtube	Youku Tudou	Rutube	-
E-payment	Paypal	Alipay	Yandex.money	Banks, various
Data ownership	Companies	Companies	companies	companies
Data access	State	State	State	-
Data protection	National laws	National laws	National laws	EU GDPR 2018

Is the shift from westernisation to easternisation a threat to Globalance? Yes and no. Yes, if exclusivism, dominance of one superpower-behaviour continues. No, if easternisation means the integration of Eastern and Western culture, values, economic and political systems. More about it will be developed in chapter 7.12.

The biggest challenge arising in the megatrend of easternisation is the new bi-polar world of American GAFA (Google/Apple/Facebook/Amazon) and Chinese BAT (Baidu/Alibaba/Tencent) and Huawei stretched in between. More and more countries, companies and universities must decide with whom they work as more and more restrictions exclude each other. On my mobile phone apps, I see daily this divide as I use ‘both sides’: Whatsapp-Wechat, Facebook-Tencent, Amazon-Alibaba. We should urge governments to accept access to both worlds and not exclude each other. This divide becomes the decisive battlefield of a potential new Cold War. In the technological sector, there is already a Cold War between US and China.¹⁴⁹ UK, under pressure from US, already withdrew its engagement with Huawei, India banned end of June 2020 the China-based Tiktok application. Many more such examples could be listed and will follow. They are a direct expression of the current ongoing power struggle. More and more countries fear losing control and their sovereignty. Stricter regulations of companies by countries to regain some sovereignty is a global trend.¹⁵⁰

Europe must play the role of the bridge regulator by allowing access to both sides. But this becomes more and more difficult through pressure from the US.

The new power of these companies is their ability to influence behaviour thanks to their massive big data collection from billions of users

¹⁴⁹ “Technologisch sind die USA bereits in einem kalten Krieg mit China”. Interview of Gordana Mijuk with Ian Bremmer, NZZ am Sonntag, 19 July 2020.

¹⁵⁰ Marc Furrer (eds.), *Selbstbestimmt. Sind souveräne Kommunikationsnetze in der Schweiz möglich?* Bern: Stämpfli Verlag, 2022. *A balanced collection of diverse governmental, private sector and academic perspectives showing the dependency from digital technologies and space of partial sovereignty.*

of their devices and services. Shoshana Zuboff, bestseller author of *Surveillance Capitalism*, calls this new power “instrumentarianism, defined as the instrumentation and instrumenalization of behavior for the purposes of modification, prediction, monetization, and control.”¹⁵¹ This power is a surveilling and controlling power of potentially all human beings, or at least those with access to an electronic device such as a mobile phone. An estimated 5.2 billion people, about two third of all humans including newborn children, use mobile phones (2020). This is more power over human beings than ever, more than any empire in history had. It is part of the bipolar digital empire structure. In the West, big data are collected mainly through privately owned social media companies and digital consumer behavior; in the East, especially China, the same and in addition, data collection through the *social credit* system¹⁵² and advanced face recognition.

However, these internet giants depend on the trust and goodwill of consumers and advertisers. Facebook generates 99 percent of its income from adverts. Campaigns like “black lives matter” or election campaigns influence the income of them. Facebook lost within three weeks in June 2020 1.3 billion USD because large advertisers such as Unilever, Starbucks and Verizon stopped their marketing in Facebook due to the boycott campaign “Stop Hate for Profit” of American civil rights organizations.

¹⁵¹ Zuboff, Shoshana, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism. The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*, London: Profile Books, 2019, 352.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 388-394.

CONCEPTS OF GLOBALANCE: PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS

The question, of how to deal with opposites, is as old as human history, culture and religion. This chapter presents *29 concepts in four sections*: world religions, world philosophies, 15th-20th century thinkers and contemporary holistic and networked concepts of balance.

The need to find a constructive relation between opposites comes up in history especially in three circumstances, sometimes combined:

Times of public crises, polarisation, extremisms and war: When political, economic, ideological and militarily opposite forces fight and kill each other, the cry for overcoming such cruel impasses comes up.

Religious and philosophical search for truth are a second reason for searching concepts of balance in defining the relation between opposites and finding the religious, spiritual answer for unity behind opposites.

Personal physical and mental imbalances and crises with experiences of pain in the individual body, disturbed work-life balance or disruptions in relations let us discover how our body and mind is a complex system which needs constant balancing between opposites and dynamic movement of the parts of the one's existence.

4.1 World Religions

4.1.1 Ancient Egypt: Goddess Maat



In ancient Egypt, the balance was the symbol for the right measure, for fair dosage and for justice. Especially in the ancient time (2780-2260 BD) the balance was the symbol for the *Goddess Maat* which stood for a system of rules and principles which determined human society and nonhuman nature¹⁵³, a cosmological order which keeps alive the state, the world and the whole cosmos. She is the Goddess of justice, truth, harmony and the universe. Therefore, we can call Maat also the goddess

¹⁵³ Stolz, Fritz, *Gleichgewichts- und Ungleichgewichtskonzepte in der Wissenschaft*, Zürich: Verlag der Fachvereine, 1986, 1-4. See also Christoph Stückelberger, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozioethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997, 116f.

of moderation.¹⁵⁴ Her feathers of an ostrich are the symbol of harmony.¹⁵⁵ The Pharaoh and the public administration had the task of implementing this world order with their religious cults' legislations and decisions, where goddess Maat was a kind of political theology or theocracy. Later in their new reign of ancient Egypt, Maat became more a virtue of the heart, of inner piety and truthfulness. Maat was part of Egyptian wisdom literature and seems to have influenced Greek philosophy more than recognised in the past.¹⁵⁶ Even in the etymology of the term measure, Maat seems to be transferred: metron (Greek for measure), midah (Hebrew for the mass of buildings and the world order, Job 38:5), Mass (German for measure) and Mässigung (German for moderation), moderantia (Latin for moderation).

The concept of Globalance is visible in the characteristics of Maat as she represents harmony, balance, justice and reconciliation of opposites.

4.1.2 Buddhism: Balance through Mindfulness

Buddha sitting on balance stones: balance is key in Buddhism. As the stones show: if one trend goes right, the next stone must be more left in order to create balance. The image of a sitting and meditating Buddha is now everywhere visible, including in the Western world – in spa's, restaurants and homes, mainly as expression for harmony, balance and peace. This modern fashion is an expression of the need for individual inner balance in a hectic, loud, speedy, stressful and competitive

¹⁵⁴ More in Christoph Stückelberger, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozioethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997, 116f.

¹⁵⁵ Kom Ombo, Egypt. Image: <https://traveltoeat.com/ancient-egyptian-goddesses-2/>.

¹⁵⁶ J Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, München: C.H.Beck, 2017.

daily life. Behind is a profound Buddhist concept of balancing opposites, as an author expressed it: “Love, but let go. Set boundaries, but let others in. Spend time alone, but also with friends. Do things for others, but also take care of you.”¹⁵⁷

Mindfulness¹⁵⁸ is at the core of Buddhist ethics: caring for others in-



cluding the whole creation; overcoming greed, hate; and facing, replacing violence with compassion. The ultimate end of greed and passion is Nirvana. Ahimsa, respect, is the overall virtue in relation to oneself, the other human beings as well as animals and plants. Buddhist ethics is mainly ethics of conviction whereas the

right conviction leads to the right behaviour and action (whereas, according to Max Weber, the ethics of responsibility judges behaviour based on results and not on motivation or conviction).

¹⁵⁷ Fb, Buddhist teaching, poster.

¹⁵⁸ Mindfulness is not only an old concept, but applied by many contemporary authors for modern life and society. An example is Thomas Legrand: *Politics of Being. Wisdom and Science for a New Development Paradigm*, Ocean of Wisdom Press, 2021, 155-163 (Mindfulness). Influenced by the Vietnamese-European Zen Master Thich-Nhat Hanh, he applies mindfulness and other values to implement the UN SDG's.

The concept of Globalance is somehow deeply rooted in Buddhism: Two opposite movements belong together for Buddhists. One movement is to get free from greed and disconnect from passion and material needs, as passionless disconnection from the world is ideal. With this inner freedom, caring for the world with passion and in a selfless and non-violent way is possible and the ethical task of Buddhists. On this path, “neither extreme ascetism nor sensual pleasure in life bring the salvation from suffering, but only the middle way between these extremes leads us to this goal.”¹⁵⁹

Buddhist ethics looks at the whole of all beings and not only one’s own life and is therefore, an inclusive ethics. But it has a tendency to be mainly an individualistic ethics for the orientation of the individual and his/her salvation. In last decades, this is partly corrected by Buddhist movements which include social, environmental, economic and political activities and programmes¹⁶⁰, such as Eco-Buddhism, Socially Engaged Buddhists¹⁶¹, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, International Buddhist Women, Buddhist Economics¹⁶² (E.F. Schumacher), Buddhist Financial Services, Buddhist Artificial Intelligence etc.

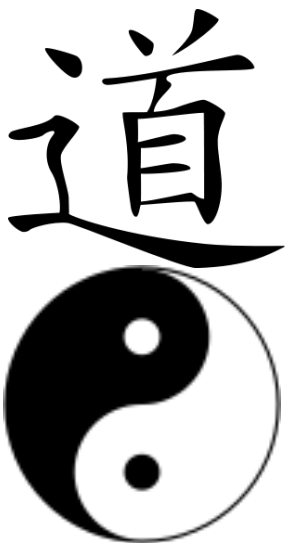
¹⁵⁹ Grabner-Haider, Anton, *Buddhistische Kultur*, in Anton Grabner-Haider (Ed.), *Ethos der Weltkulturen. Religion und Ethik*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2006, 75-102 (79). Translation from German by the author.

¹⁶⁰ Overview on https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Engaged_Buddhism (Accessed 15 July 2019).

¹⁶¹ International Network of Engaged Buddhists INEB, <http://inebnetwork.org>.

¹⁶² Last chapter in E.F. Schumacher, *Small is beautiful: economics as if people mattered*, New York: Harper, 1975.

4.1.3 Daoism: Yin and Yang



Taoism (also Daoism) is a Chinese philosophy and religion with its roots in the 4th century BC. Lao-tzu (Laozi) is widely recognized as the author of the fundamental text of Taoism, the *Tao Te Ching*, together with the later author Chuang-tzu (Zhuang-zi). Lao-tzu in the religious form of Taoism is also worshipped as God. The core teaching of Taoism is mentioned already in the first verse of the *Tao Te Ching*: “Tao (The Way) that can be trodden of is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and

unchanging name. Having no name, it is the Originator of Heaven and Earth; having a name, it is the mother of all things. Always without desire we must be found, if its deep mystery we would sound.”¹⁶³ The constant being enables one to see the outward manifestation. These two come paired from the same origin. The Tao is the unknown all-in-one. Ethically speaking, the Tao leads to modesty as human beings can never fully know and understand the Tao. Taoism also leads to asceticism and a life as hermit in order to find the Tao liberated from daily distractions, senses, passion and greed. Modern Taoism is also very much engaged in environmental protection. Taoist monasteries are re-

¹⁶³ Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, Translated from Chinese by James Legge, Sweden: Wisehouse Classics, 2016, chapter 1.

cently developing clear environmentally sustainable concepts and practices.¹⁶⁴

Yin and Yang are complementary opposites and symbolize the duality of all things: cold and hot, darkness and light, feminine and masculine etc. “The yin and yang symbol in actuality has very little to do with Western dualism; instead, it represents the philosophy of balance, where two opposites co-exist in harmony and are able to transmute into each other. In the yin-yang symbol there is a dot of yin in yang and a dot of yang in yin. In Taoism, this symbolizes the inter-connectedness of the opposite forces as different aspects of Tao, the First Principle. Contrast is needed to create a distinguishable reality without which we would experience nothingness. Therefore, the independent principles of yin and yang are actually dependent on one another for each other's distinguishable existence.”¹⁶⁵

The black dot in the white part and the white dot in the black part means in Taoism that in every part the opposite part is represented and present, visible or invisible. It means that the opposites have an inner connection. The reason is that all opposites are part of the single Tao and united in the Tao. And this single Tao connects and unites Heaven and Earth.¹⁶⁶ This unity and connectivity is true happiness.

¹⁶⁴ Stikker, Allerd, *Sacred Mountains. How the Revival of Daoism is turning China's ecological crisis around*, London: Bene Factum Publishing, 1988, especially 49-106.

¹⁶⁵ Article *Dualism*, section Ontological Dualism, Wikipedia, English. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dualism#In_Christianity.

¹⁶⁶ Robin R. Wang, *Yinyang. The Way of Heaven and Earth in Chinese Thought and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 2012 (Accessed 8 Aug 2022).

For Christians¹⁶⁷, the Tao is translated as *logos*, the Greek word in John 1 for “At the beginning was the *logos*/word” as hint on the cosmic Christ. The Tao is the eternal, ever being of all existing, the centre of all. Tao is also the way, similar to the Greek word *hodos*, which is used for Jesus Christ “I am the way, the truth and the life” (John 14:6). Christians also make the link between Taoism and Christian Trinity. The *Tao Te Ching*, chapter 42, says: “The Tao produced One. One produced Two, Two produced Three, Three produced All things.”¹⁶⁸ The yin and yang is also used as an Asian symbol for Christian trinity with black and white as one and two, and the dots as the three.¹⁶⁹

The concept of Globalance is deeply represented in Taoism, maybe most directly among all Asian philosophies and religions. Tao as the one centre of all opposites, unity in diversity of the opposites, the dialectic character of yin and yang where the opposite sides are mutually represented in the other by the dots, an inclusive and values-driven world view.

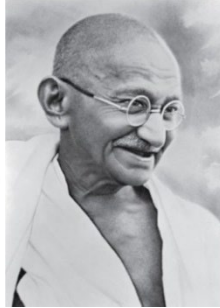
¹⁶⁷ For this paragraph see Julia Ching, *Taoist Naturalism: Philosophy and Religion. Chinese Perspective*, in Hans Küng/ Julia King/ Peter Beyer, *Christianity and Chinese Religions*, London: SCM Press, 1993, part III/1.

¹⁶⁸ Lao Tzu, *Tao Te Ching*, Translated from Chinese by James Legge, Sweden: Wisehouse Classics, 2016, chapter 42.

¹⁶⁹ Lee, Jung Young, *The Trinity in Asian Perspective*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996.

4.1.4 Hinduism: Exclusive or Inclusive

Hinduism as Buddhism and Jainism are deeply influenced in their ethics by the world view of reincarnation. Death is not the end nor the final salvation, but the beginning of numerous new lives/existences. The actions and behaviour in one's life (karma) define the quality of the next existence. Each action creates material footprint in the Self (atman), the identity, the soul of a person. Good, ethical behaviour therefore leads to a good existence, bad unethical behaviour to a bad existence.



Key in traditional Hindu behaviour is respecting the cast, class (varna) in which one is born and to respect the specific rules of the four stages of life (asrama): child/student, family-parents, hermit and ascetic life.

The Gods and Goddesses in Hinduism have a spiritual and ethical dimension. They represent specific values and virtues: the dancing Krishna stands for joy and love, Ganesh with the elephant head represents wisdom and is the remover of obstacles, Lakshmi means thriving for wealth, Siddhartha for compassion with the suffering creatures etc.

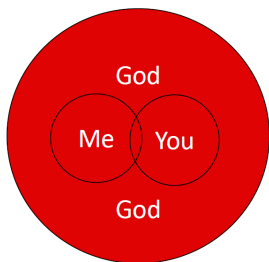
Reform movements influence ethics in modern Hinduism in India as reaction to Christianity during colonial time and the ethics of Mahatma Gandhi as the hero for independence of India. His way was shaped by key values such as truth (satya), non-violence (ahimsa), abstinence (brahmas Arya), non-possession/modesty, resistance against injustice,

harmony, respect of all religions etc.¹⁷⁰ Modern nationalist Hinduism, represented especially by PJP, the Indian Peoples Party, emphasizes the unity of the Indian nation as country of the Hindu and therefore not inclusive as Gandhi was, but exclusive with the result of dividing the Indian population and creating religious conflicts.

The concept of Globalance: Among the Dharmic religions (those who refer to dharma as the ultimate way), the idea of balancing opposites is strong. Nevertheless, in Hinduism it is much less obvious and present than in Daoism and Buddhism. Whereas Mahatma Gandhi taught and practiced an inclusive, non-violent, reconciling of opposite world views, modern nationalist Hindus teach and practice exclusion or forced inclusion in form of submission of others under their own religion and world view. Whereas Hinduism, for 2500 years was to some extent inclusive in belief, the cast system was always an obstacle to balance.

4.1.5 Judaism-Christianity: Threefold Love

Let us select only two topics on Globalance from a Jewish and a



Christian perspective: Monotheism and the commandment of love. Both are common to both religions. (There are of course differences in its understanding, but not the topic for this context.)

Monotheism is a key characteristic of

¹⁷⁰ Michael-Murmann, Heike, *Indische Kultur*, in Anton Grabner-Haider (Ed.), *Ethos der Weltkulturen. Religion und Ethik*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 2006, 55-74 (70ff).

Judaism and Christianity. *One God* is the creator, caring, liberator and saviour of the world, the all-encompassing reality (to avoid the abused and mis-interpreted word ‘almighty’). In Christianity, the one God is seen as trinity of God Father, God Son and God Holy Spirit. This is central for the Jewish and Christian understanding of Globalance: Human beings as all creatures can perceive reality only in opposites like day and night, woman and man, good and bad. This is part of being a creature and not the creator. But the creator is encompassing all opposites. They are not opposites for the creator, but are one. Two examples: God gave humans the invitation, freedom and mandate to “*cultivate and conserve*” the soil of the earth (Exodus 2:15). This mandate – by the way is the oldest and shortest definition of sustainability, namely to balance transformation and sustainment of the earth – in the eyes of the human, are two different, opposite and often conflicting actions. But for God these two actions are the same, are one. As Luther in his comment to Exodus 2:15 showed and the Hebrew language of the Old Testament expresses. The other example of an opposite is ‘Reflection and Action’ or ‘ora et labora’ (pray and work). Humans have an idea, vision, reflection and will then implement it in action (or do not implement). The division and gap between will and action is rooted in human existence. It is the original sin, as Paul expressed it: “For I do not do the good I want to do. But the evil I do not want to do” (Romans 7:19). But in God, thought and action, wanting and doing is immediately the same, there is no gap. Therefore, in Christian and Jewish faith, humans should not separate what God keeps together. This is the deepest theological reason for Globalance in my own theology and ethics. This view of God is directly linked to the core ethical commandment in the Bible.

The Triple Commandment of Love: ‘Love God and your neighbour as yourself’ is classically called the Double Commandment of Love. I call it Triple Commandment of Love since it in fact mentions three relations of love: Me-God, me-other, me-me. Jesus called it the highest, most important commandment, ethical rule: “Jesus replied: ‘Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.’ This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: ‘Love your neighbour as yourself’. All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments” (Math. 22:37-40). Similar in Mark 12:28-31; Luke 10:25-28. The first commandment is referenced in the Old Testament for Christians and the Torah for the Jewish in Deuteronomy (6:4-5; 11:13) and the second commandment, in Leviticus (19:18).

The double/triple commandment shows the inner, inseparable unity of the three. God, the other and myself. As we have seen in the Ubuntu humanism, we can say: I am because God is and because we are. The New Testament Greek word for love is agape. Agape is not the erotic love (eros) nor human friendship (philia), but the total, self-giving and receiving relation with the other. *Love to God* thereby means to come step by step closer to God’s view of and action in the world, to listen to God’s vision and wisdom, to trust his way and action even if we often do not understand it, to recognize God as the ultimate benchmark of orientation. Love is thereby seen as a holistic, total relationship “with all my heart, my soul and by reason” (verse). Love to God is then the model of love between human beings as *love to the other*: a holistic relation, with all parts of one’s own existence, in reciprocity and mutual respect, a relation giving more than expecting as well as a non-possessing and

non-oppressing treatment of the other. But love to others would lead to one-sided altruism if it is not balanced with love of oneself. Accepting, respecting, and caring for oneself is as important and even source of being able to love the other. How should we be able to love other's if we detest ourselves? One-sided love of oneself leads to *egoism* as one-sided love of the other leads to *altruism*. (Two additional 'isms' for the list in chapter 3.1).

As the Trinitarian God is the constant, dynamic, balancing movement between the three persons/aspects of God¹⁷¹, the triple love is a constant, dynamic act of balancing the three dimensions of love: in times of burnout, we need first to care for ourselves, our resourcing and energy before we can care for another. If we die or are sick, we cannot serve others. As it is expressed in the airplane emergency rule: first put the mask on your own head and then help the child beside you. In times of fullness of energy, we can care more for other's than ourselves; and in each case, believers need to be connected to God as the source of energy, life and orientation.

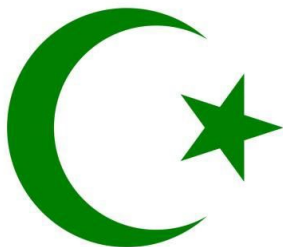
The concept of Globalance has clear theological and ethical connection with the Jewish and Christian worldview: in its monotheist God as the uniting and integrating centre of all opposites and in its relational triple commandment of love. Jewish and Christian believers. Jewish and Christian faith and theology can greatly contribute to Globalance with its dialectic, dynamic-relational approach. There are also clear differences between Judaism and Christianity: inclusivity is in Christianity as a global and universal religion much larger than in Judaism with its

¹⁷¹ Developed by Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom: The Doctrine of God*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

'ethnic' limitation of who can belong to Judaism. Love is expanded in Christianity in a radical way up to loving the enemy. The common basis is expressed here more than the differences since the focus of this book is to show the way of balanced thinking, which is very similar in Judaism and Christianity. Both faiths face the challenge that religious reality and behaviour of the believers and institutions are often not at all balanced, but one-sided and exclusive like in Jewish and Christian fundamentalisms.

4.1.6 Islam: Respecting God's Law by Al-Mizan the Balance

As a monotheist religion like Judaism and Christianity, one of the



three Abrahamic religions (which all refer to Abraham as a patriarch), Islam emphasizes the strict distinction between God/Allah and human beings; between the creator and the creation; and between the all-powerful and merciful and the humans in their diversity. The five pillars

of Islam for worship and ethical life give a clear, strict frame of ethical behaviour (called law/sharia). The theological methods of interpretation of the holy texts (hermeneutics) are in Islam much less developed and flexible than in Christianity. This is one reason why Islam today is more difficult to reform and adapt to modern societies. The Arab Spring was a political and religious reform movement. The Arab Reform Initiative ARI was founded in 2005 as a consortium of independent Arab research

and policy institutes.¹⁷² The current widespread perception is that Islam is a religion with extremism and many conflicts between its major schools, especially Sunnis and Shia. It is true, that conflicts between these schools have been present since the first generation of Muslims. But it is also true, that conflicts and wars between denominations have been reality in Christianity, between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox; in Buddhism between Mahayana and Theravada Buddhism; in Hinduism between manifold schools etc. Reconciling opposites within a religion is often more difficult than between religions, as the struggles with one's own siblings are often stronger than with friends. And cultural differences play a crucial role. I experience Indonesian Islam in my many visits to Indonesia as very peaceful and get the explanation that the Javanese culture is a very peaceful and integrative culture, whereas Islam in the Arab world is much more exclusive and violent.

Balance is a key concept also in Islam. All Islamic States publish a new document at the end of 2022, with UNEP: "Al-Mizan: A Covenant for the Earth", calling upon Muslims for the engagement for climate and environmental responsibility. Al-Mizan means balance, as rooted in the Qur'an: "The Most Merciful, Taught the Quran Created Humankind, Taught him Eloquence. The sun and the moon move in precise calculation and the stars and the trees prostrate and the heaven He raised and imposed the balance (Mizan). That you not transgress within the balance (Mizan) and establish weight in justice and do not make deficient the balance (Mizan)." (Quran 55:1-9) *Sufism* as the most well-known mysti-

¹⁷² The "Muslim Reform Movement" was founded in Dec 2015 in Washington DC. Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss Muslim, can be seen as conservative Reformist. See his book *Radikale Reform: Die Botschaft des Islam für die moderne Welt*, Berlin: Diederichs, 2009.

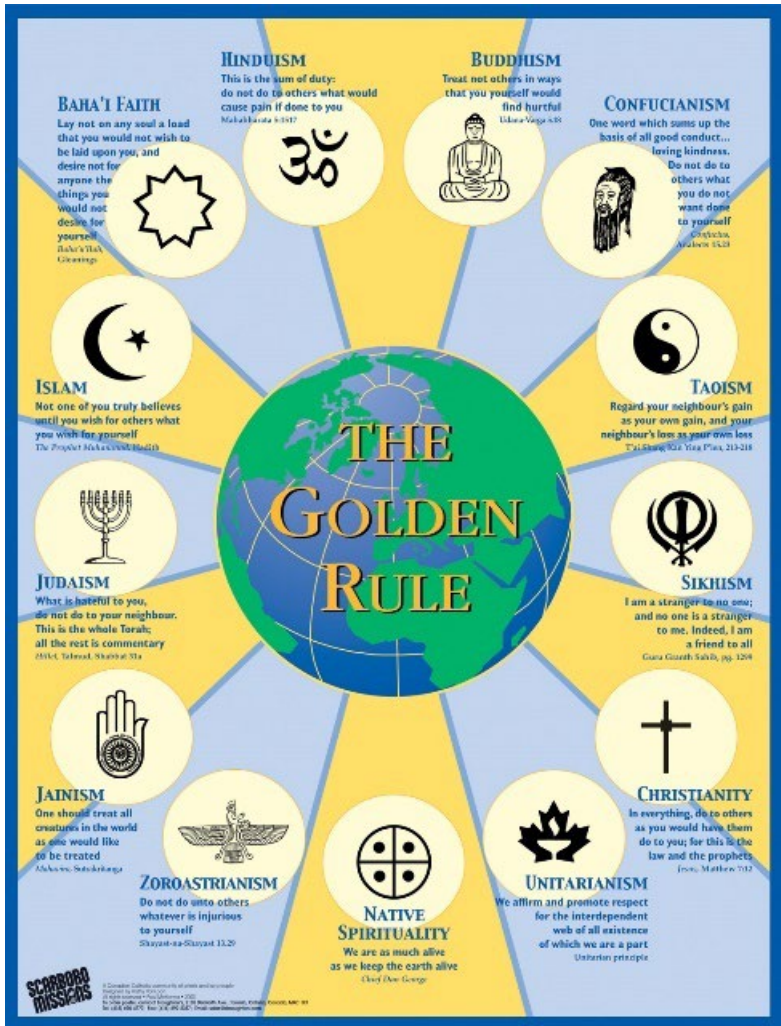
cal movement within Islam is, as all mystics in other religions, a worldview which seeks unity behind diversity, the common ground behind the different manifestations of reality, the unity of opposites.

The concept of Globalance is visible in the quoted texts. It is not so obviously visible in mainstream Islam as inclusivity and reformist dynamism are rather minority positions. Nevertheless, inclusiveness is visible e.g. Indonesian Islam and the Law of Love in Islam contains a central ethical obligation as Islam overall is very values-driven.

4.1.7 Across Religions: The Global Golden Rule

“Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself.”
(*Confucius, Analects 15:23*). “Do to others as you would have them do to you.” (*Jesus, Matthew 7:12*)

This Golden Rule of reciprocity is known and accepted in all world religions (poster left side) and most of the philosophical systems. It has slightly different formulations: In Confucianism (above) in its negative form “do not”, in Christianity in its positive form “do”. The core content is the same: the mutuality and reciprocity of human relations, based on the fundamental equality of human beings. It is human wisdom based on daily experience of human relations that peaceful, respectful and long-term relations are only possible with this reciprocity. The Golden Rule looks simple and obvious, but it is still very demanding in its implementation. The twelve ‘-isms’ mentioned above in chapter 2.3 violate all, in one or the other way, this Golden Rule!



4.1.8 Across Religions: Balancing Business with Values

While looking at concepts of balance of opposites in the tradition and holy texts of various world religions, we also observe a rich variety of books in all world religions who all look at how to implement the

values of the respective religions in modern daily business. We can only briefly mention some, without going into details of the analysis, but with some general observations.

Taoism: “Business Lessons from the Tao Te Ching”¹⁷³ is written by an American Manager and one of the best translators of the basic text of Taoism, the Tao Te Ching. A careful interpretation of Taoism with the goal of turning good managers, into wise leaders by integrating opposites in a Taoist way. “The Chinese Tao of Business”¹⁷⁴ looks at ‘a successful business strategy’ especially in business to business cooperation between the West and China. It concentrates on concrete winning business strategies. The link to Taoism is much less deep than the other book mentioned but it helps to make the bridge and respect the diversity of business approaches between East and West.

Hinduism: “The Difficulty of Being Good”¹⁷⁵, written by a former Indian manager who then started studying in depth the Hindu scriptures in Sanskrit, interprets Mahabharata, one of the core Hindu holy epics, for business use today. It is a profound book, not superficial but creative and innovative in its approach. *Entrepreneurship Formulas*¹⁷⁶ is based on the teaching of the Indian Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), an Indian Hindu monk, founder of Ramakrishna Mission who was one of the key promoters of Hinduism in the Western world. He is described as

¹⁷³ Autrey, James / Mitchell, Stephen, *Real Power. Business Lessons from the Tao Te Ching*, London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 1998.

¹⁷⁴ Haley, George / Haley, Usha / Tan, Chin Tiong, *The Chinese Tao of Business. The Logic of Successful Business Strategy*, Singapore: John Wiley, 2004.

¹⁷⁵ Das, Gurcharan, *The Difficulty of Being Good. On the Subtle Art of Dharma*, New Delhi, New Delhi: Penguin, 2009.

¹⁷⁶ Sarma, A.R.K., *Entrepreneurship Formulas (Based on Swami Vivekananda’s message)*, Ramakrishna Mission Ashrama, Bangalore: 2012.

“a role model for entrepreneurs” (7-36. 9). He tried to balance the Western Spirit with Hindu Vedanta and Karma Yoga, by servant leadership, ethical leadership and Corporate Social Responsibility. – “Business Sutra” calls itself “A Very Indian Approach to Management”¹⁷⁷ by first “Decoding Western, Chinese and Indian Beliefs” (25-68). It then deals in detail with the Business Sutra values (69-421). It translates issues of violence and peace, inner and material world, significance and meaning, greed and balance to modern business issues such as production, management, property, competition and growth.

: Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) was a Hindu, but is listed here as a category on his own as he crossed all religious and ideological borders as a global humanist. Gandhi was a great leader on all levels, starting with self-leadership and managing one’s own person.¹⁷⁸ Balancing opposites was a key element of his life and teaching: balancing body and mind (137-141), action and reflection (173-175), political and spiritual, global (‘Sarvodaya’, welfare for all) and national (the struggle for independence of India), freedom and responsibility (‘Swaraj’: the combination of political and economic freedom with inner rules, control and responsibility). – *Gandhi for Managers*¹⁷⁹. Gandhi, with his extreme self-discipline, asceticism, and self-sacrifice, seems to have been none other than a balanced personality. But it was him: personal asceticism could be combined with the commitment to fairer wages, i.e. more money for

¹⁷⁷ Pattanaik, Devdutt, *Business Sutra. A Very Indian Approach to Management*, New Delhi: Aleph, 2013.

¹⁷⁸ Kumarasamy, Anand, *Gandhi on Personal Leadership*, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing, 2014⁹.

¹⁷⁹ Zittlau, Jörg, *Gandhi für Manager. Der andere Weg zum Erfolg*, Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2003.

others. And non-violence ('Ahimsa') was for him anything but passivity or cowardice, but a stance more proactive and courageous than violence.

Buddhism: Buddhism as value-basis for leadership, business etc. is described in many newer publications. *Buddhism and Organizational Management* is "exploring the implications of Buddhist perspectives such as moderation, impermanency, the belief in no-self, five precepts, eightfold path, mindfulness and self-discipline, collectivistic view of team building, value of self-sacrifices for the common good, mutual respect, seven reconciliation rules and four bases of sympathy [which] could manifest themselves in a number of different aspects of modern organizational management."¹⁸⁰ *A Compass to Fulfillment*¹⁸¹ is a Japanese guide by a company leader based on humanistic philosophy and with reference to Buddhist values: "It is time that we explore how to base our way of life not on economic growth driven by selfish desire, but on considerations, love, affection and altruism" (IX).

Christianity: Many publications of Christian entrepreneurs look at practical implementation of biblical values in business. A part come of American evangelical company leaders, but the phenomenon is world-wide and across denominations. *Business for the Glory of God*¹⁸² shows ways how to implement biblical values in business decisions, *Faith into*

¹⁸⁰ Weerasinghe, T.D., Thisea, T.J.R., Kumara, R.H.: *Buddhism and Organizational Management. A Review*. URL=<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277964830_Buddhism_and_Organizational_Management_A_Review> [accessed Aug 5, 2017].

¹⁸¹ Inamori, Kazuo, *A Compass to Fulfillment. Passion, Spirituality in Life and Business*, New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill, 2010.

¹⁸² Grudem, Wayne, *Business for the Glory of God. The Bible's Teaching on the Moral Goodness of Business*, Weaton: Crossway, 2003.

*Abundance*¹⁸³ tells American stories about God's grace in business, *Management Devotional*¹⁸⁴ offers 52 topics written by 52 Indian Christians for a daily reflection on daily work life. "Jesus auf der Chefetage"¹⁸⁵ ("Jesus on the chef floor") describes 24 companies and how they try to implement Christian values as "kingdom company". Efforts to implement Christian values in business are as old as Christianity itself. John Chrysostomos¹⁸⁶ in early Christianity was one of the first to systematically develop it. – *Kingdom Ethics*¹⁸⁷ is a profound New Testament ethics. Key for the topic of Globalance is the chapter on "Doing, not Dualism. The Transforming Initiatives of the Sermon on the Mount"¹⁸⁸: It shows that the medieval ethical dualism, whereas a two-class ethics existed, the strong one for the monks and priests and a weaker one for the 'ordinary' lay people. But Jesus' Sermon on the Mount (Matth. 5-6) was meant as a transformative change of life for society as a whole.

Islam: 'Islamic finance' became a famous effort to reconcile modern financial industry with Islamic values and laws. There is a huge literature and many financial products in the market, but the efforts are also

¹⁸³ Horn, Brian Ainsley, *Faith into Abundance. 30 Stories of Faith from Successful Christian Entrepreneurs*, Newark, Delaware: Ainsley & Allen Publishing, 2016.

¹⁸⁴ Management Devotional 2012. Biblical Insights for Daily Work Life, Chennai: Christian Institute of Management, 2012, 52 authors.

¹⁸⁵ Knoblauch, Jörg /Opprecht, Jürg, *Jesus auf der Chefetage. Von Unternehmen weltweit lernen*, Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 2004².

¹⁸⁶ Acatrinei, Nicoleta, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et l'homo oeconomicus. Une enquête d'anthropologie économique dans les homélies sur l'Evangile de St. Matthieu*, Rollinsford: Orthodox Research Institute, 2008.

¹⁸⁷ Gishee, David/Stassen, Glen, *Kingdom Ethics. Following Jesus in Contemporary Context*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: 2016, 2.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 86-106.

contested whether they make a real ethical difference in the market or if some products are more a new labelling than a real economic difference.¹⁸⁹ - *The Corporate Sufi*¹⁹⁰ looks at Sufism (the Islamic mystical stream) as the spiritual guidance for business by “a principle-centred approach” (33ff). “The Sufis believe in the balance between the physical world and the spiritual world. Sufis consider the spirit and body to be the one whole. They believe in integration, not dichotomy” (123), they “look at life, people, and the environment as parts of the Oneness of Creation” (157).

Confucian entrepreneurship, Jain business ethics, Pentecostal entrepreneurship etc. could be added, but we limit ourselves here to these few examples.

Observations: Key topics of these books are a) the work-life balance, b) the relation and balance between the personal spiritual way and the successful business, c) the adaptation of the religious values in daily business decisions, d) management styles and wisdom influenced by the respective religious values, e) book written by authors who were successful managers but then turned to spirituality as the more profound perspective for business in order to be not only good managers, but leaders with wisdom and acting with spirituality leadership!¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ The global library catalogue www.worldcat.org lists under “Islamic finance” for 2016 alone 125 print books and 1263 articles! All in all over 5000 books and 11,000 articles.

¹⁹⁰ Jamal, Azim, *The Corporate Sufi*, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 20126.

¹⁹¹ Spiritual Leadership became a large topic in leadership theories. The online library of Globethics.net lists 95,000 entries on “Spiritual leadership”, 74 within the title.

Some of these contributions are spiritually very profound and practically convincing, others are rather superficial and written as fast food and quick fix recipes for busy managers who want to optimize their success. But most of them are impressive efforts to reconcile and balance faith and business. There are many similarities between religions, especially on the level of personal leadership virtues, as comparative religious studies show.¹⁹²

The concept of Globalance: The described concepts of responsible business are very diverse in their background. But they all have in common that they combine spiritual-religious values and practical business¹⁹³, what others would see as opposites which should be strictly separated and cannot be united. They avoid the extremism and other ‘-isms’ (as described in chapter 2.2) and try to implement a holistic, integrated approach.

4.2 World Philosophies

A main objective of this book *Globalance* is to show the beauty of the diversity of visions, thoughts and action throughout human history, to show how they influenced each other across cultures, religions and

¹⁹² E.g. Nutzinger, Hans G. (Eds.), *Christliche, jüdische und islamische Wirtschaftsethik. Über religiöse Grundlagen wirtschaftlichen Verhaltens in der säkularen Gesellschaft*, Marburg: Metropolis, 2003.

¹⁹³ Spirituality is understood here as based on religions, not as secular spirituality as the term is more and more used. This religious understanding of spirituality is also used by Donald W. McCormick, *Spirituality and Management*, *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol 9, No 6, 1994, 5-8 (5). A profound compilation of articles on spirituality, business ethics and sustainability in different world religions offers Laszlo, Zsolnai (Ed), *The Spiritual Dimension of Business Ethics and Sustainability Management*, Cham: Springer, 2015.

millennia; to admire also how in all diversity some common ground and unity as humans can be discovered. Philosophy is not just European classical philosophy nor only classical Confucianism. “Multicultural philosophy”¹⁹⁴, as shown in this chapter by a few examples, shall encourage to find common ground and celebrate the beauty of diversity.

4.2.1 China: Confucianism and Harmonious Society

Confucius (551-479 BC) is the most famous philosopher of China



and origin of Confucianism. Confucianism developed different schools, Menzius being the most famous beside Confucius. Confucianism overall remained the main state doctrine for many dynasties in

China, was then harshly criticised and opposed by Mao as being anti-revolutionary and reactionary and is now – as Neo Confucianism – revitalised as part of the state doctrine and values of modern China.

Confucianism is not a religion¹⁹⁵, but a practical virtue-ethics based on knowledge, similar to Stoa in ancient Greek philosophy.

¹⁹⁴ A strong plea for multicultural philosophy: Bryan W. van Norden, *Taking Back Philosophy. A Multicultural Manifesto*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2017, chapter 1. E-book (Accessed 26 Sept. 2022).

¹⁹⁵ Küng, Hans /Ching, Julia, call Confucianism “humanism as religion”. Küng, Hans/ Ching, Julia, *Christianity and Chinese religions*, New York: Doubleday,

The Analects¹⁹⁶, a collection of Confucius' wisdom, is the basic text of Confucianism. The analects begin with: Knowledge and constant learning is the basis for a life with virtues and leads to happiness (Book I). Constant learning includes self-criticism: "When you have erred, be not afraid to correct yourself" (I). Loyalty, sincerity, respect, especially towards elders, father and authorities are key virtues (I and II). The global Golden Rule of Reciprocity (see above chapter 4.1.7) is a key ethical principle (XII, XV). It is implemented by mutual respect, truthfulness, modesty. The 'superior man' (XII), meaning the ethical person, has social virtues such as self-control, is generous in philanthropy and caring for others (the superior man cares not only for his own family but beyond: "All within the four seas will be his brethren" XII).

Apart from individual virtues and family ethics, the Analects are to a large extent concerned about good governments and governance. In the feudal world of Confucius' time, he wanted to strengthen good governance and good public administration with various chapters on the Art of Governing (XIII), Bad Governments (XIV), Taking Office (XVII). It starts with the election process. A candidate should not look for a position at any price but rather if he/she is capable: "One should not be greatly concerned at not being in office; but rather about the requirements in one's self for such a standing. Neither should one be so much concerned a being unknown, but rather with seeking to become worthy of being known" (IV). Once in a governing position, the leader should

1989, part II. Hans Küng also offers a comparison of Confucius and Jesus in same chapter.

¹⁹⁶ Analects, here quoted from Chinese Literature comprising *The Analects of Confucius, the Sayings of Mencius, the Shi King, the Travels of Fa-Hien and the Sorrows of Han*, Hamburg: Tradition Classics, without year.

lead the way with his/her work ethics by hard work, efficiency, integrity and promoting those he/she trusts (XIII). A good leader provides “three essentials: sufficient food, sufficient armament, and the people’s confidence” (XII). And – asked the disciple – if a leader cannot provide all three, what should the good leader give up first? First the armament, then the food, but “without the people’s trust nothing can stand” (XII).

These few examples show that Confucian ethics is deeply an ethics of relations: reciprocity means caring, building friendship and trust, leading in responsibility and as good example and with modesty and honesty. However, all this is seen in the frame of a patriarchal, hierarchical system of the feudal time of Confucius. Respect and obedience to the father in the family and to the superior in politics is a central element. This leads to the two wings of interpretation: the legalist school which emphasises obedience, authority and respecting rules, whereas the school around Menzius emphasised more the participatory and reciprocity aspect of relations.

Can the five pillars of Confucian values (humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity, in other words benevolence, justice, order, knowledge and integrity) be global values? Tu Weiming, a world-leading scholar of Confucianism in Beijing, sees these five values as part of universal values¹⁹⁷ and works for it as Director of the World Ethics Institute at Peking University in Beijing.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ He published many studies on Confucianism. Weiming, Tu/Ikeda, Daisaku, *New Horizons in Eastern Humanism. Buddhism, Confucianism and the Quest for Global Peace*, London: Tauris, 2011. The authors promote ‘Confucian humanism’, a ‘culture of dialogues for change’ and Confucianism as ‘dialogical community’.

¹⁹⁸ <https://weibenglish.sinaapp.com>.

The concept of harmony in Confucianism was presented in different ‘schools’. The classical interpretation under Xunzi was a legalist version with autocratic tendencies. The school coming from Mencius developed more the egalitarian and participatory interpretation of classical Confucian philosophy. In modern China, the official state interpretation follows more the legalist interpretation.¹⁹⁹

*Harmonious Society*²⁰⁰: With the Open Door Policy, initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, foreign investments, privatisation and capitalist economic structures lead to immense economic growth. At the same time, the inequalities and social injustices within the country grew substantially. As a correction to it, the political leadership tried to balance economic growth with social harmony in order to reduce social tensions. Hu Jintao introduced the Scientific Development Concept with the element of harmony. The National People’s Congress in 2005, under Hu Wen, then introduced “the construction of a harmonious society” (hexie shehui jianshe) as lead motto for the five-year plan. This concept was not new in Chinese history, as we have seen above on Confucianism, but it was adapted to the modern challenges and therefore also seen as one expression of Neo-Confucianism. It was first used for social harmony inside China, but after 2011 by Hu Wen also applied it to the dimension for international cooperation and peace. Under Xi Jinping the concept is less used. “In establishing its legal and judicial system, the ancient Chinese society in which Confucian culture predominated laid stress upon the concepts of ‘applying rituality, respect for harmony and

¹⁹⁹ Rosker, Jana S., *The Concept of Harmony in Contemporary P.R. China and in Taiwanese Modern Confucianism*, Asian Studies I (XVII), 2 (2013, 3-20).

²⁰⁰ For a short overview: Wikipedia, article Harmonious Society, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harmonious_Society (accessed 1 Aug 2017).

consideration of the methods of ancient rulers.’ In its method of following ‘the middle way’ Confucianism strove for the consolidation of these concepts. The ‘respect for harmony’ represents the core of ancient Chinese culture and, at the same time, the basic value tendency on which rests the classical Chinese idea of a legal system. Nowadays, we have re-established this idea of ‘constructing harmonious society’ and emphasized the content of the notion “harmony. ... Thus, the foundation of modern societies is law, which is based upon regulations, the wisdom of the people, equality and justice. A harmonious society lays stress upon peace and order, sincerity, friendship, love and also upon a coherent development. It strives for the unification of man and nature and for a healthy sustainable development. Thus, if we want to establish a harmonious society, we must first establish the rule of law.”²⁰¹

In all diversity of values throughout 2500 years from Confucius to present day China, there is a certain continuity of main values, which are deeply rooted and present²⁰². With all deviations that also exist in China as in each society (and Mao opposed Confucianism in China because of such hierarchical-patriarchal structures), Confu-

²⁰¹ Zhou, Jiayi 周佳怡. 2010. “Zhongguo gudai hexie fazhiguande dangdai qi-anishi 中国古代和谐法制观的当代诠释 (A Modern Interpretation of the Classical Chinese legal System).” *Fazhi yu shehui 法治與社會*: 285., quoted in Jana Rosker, 2013, op. cit., 6f.

²⁰² More in Liu Baocheng, *Chinese Values: Conception and Practice*. Preface by Christoph Stückelberger, Geneva: Globethics.net, China Ethics Series Vol 10, 2022. In Chinese, with English Summary. A English version is in preparation. This is an excellent, detailed and profound analysis and synthesis of the development of Chinese values. The author is Professor of Business Ethics at the University of International Business and Economics in Beijing and my academic cooperation partner in China.

cianism offers a strong value-foundation in Chinese society. Chinese scholars now more and more link Confucian values to challenges in modern society, e.g. technological developments such as the Cyber world or Artificial Intelligence.²⁰³

The concept of Globalance can be seen and well represented in Confucianism. The virtues of reciprocity, mutual respect, caring and long-term relations with the goal of harmony is an expression of balancing interests and opposites. As economic growth has to be balanced with social equality in the strategy of the harmonious society, caring for the weaker has to be balanced with the order of the government. As in all philosophies and religions, also Confucianism can oppose Globalance when it is used to justify absolute obedience (the right to resist almost does not exist in Confucianism), patriarchal hierarchy or nepotism and clientelism under the aspect of “promote those, whom you do know” (XIII on Art of Governing). Confucianism, depending on the school, has some elements of a dialectical approach in its relationality. It can be interpreted in a dynamic, situational way or in a static, legalist way. Confucianism is certainly strongly driven by values and virtues.

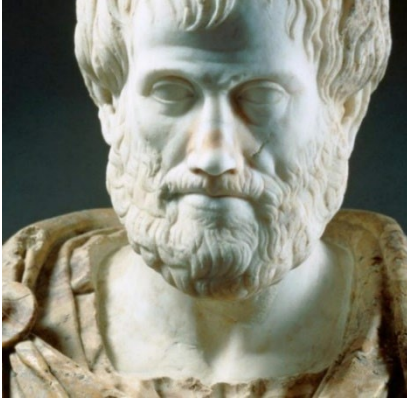
4.2.2 Ancient Greece: Aristotle

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322BC) developed the famous concept of *mesotes*, *the middle way*. He developed this concept of *mesotes* especially in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.²⁰⁴ The virtue is to find

²⁰³ Bing Song (Ed.), *Intelligence and Wisdom. Artificial Intelligence Meets Chinese Philosophers*, Berggruen Institute/Springer/Citic Press, Singapore 2021.

²⁰⁴ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II, chapter 6. See also Nicolai Hartmann, *Ethik*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1949³, 439 ff; also Christoph Stückelberger, *Umwelt und Entwicklung*, op.cit, 120-124.

the balance in the middle between vices as extremes: e.g. moderation is virtue between disorderliness and mindlessness.



Generosity is the virtue as middle way/*mesotes* between waste/luxury and stinginess. *Andreia* (courage, prowess) is the virtue between foolhardiness and cowardice. *Mesotes* is the middle way between ‘not enough’ and ‘too much’. Aristotle also calls it the virtue of *sophrosyne* (moderation and calm). “Virtue ... is a middle state between too faulty ones, in the way of excess on one side and of defect on the other: and it is so moreover, because the faulty states on one side fall short of, and those on the other exceed, what is right... Virtue is a mean state; but in reference to the chief good and to excellence it is the highest state.”²⁰⁵ Proportionality is at the centre of *mesotes*. *Sophrosyne* as prudence and moderation is an expression of wisdom. It is a key element of Globalance.

Mesotes as moderation is not once for all clearly defined. It depends on the situation and the ethical value judgment of the acting person. It is always the “*mesotes pros hemas*”, the “middle way for us”. In this sense, it is also situation ethics. The principle remains, but the application is dynamic. It therefore is a dynamic balance. As the early Greek philosopher Heraklit said: ‘*Panta rei*’, everything flows, is in constant dynamic

²⁰⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* II, 1107a.

movement like water in a river. In each moment, the right balance has to be found.

The concept of Globalance is deeply rooted in Aristotle's philosophical virtue ethics of mesotes/middle way and *sophrosyne/moderation*. It is not static, but a dynamic situation ethics that is dialectic in walking between the extremes, it is inclusive in taking the truth from both sides of the opposites and it is oriented towards a dynamic centre, called the *mesotes*.

It seems not Greek or Egyptian or Jewish values, but the Mediterranean cultural space as a whole was a culture where the balance and moderation had a high recognition throughout over two thousand years from the ancient Egypt to Mesopotamia and Ancient Greece. But this Mediterranean culture of moderation was lost and replaced by extremisms, empires, exclusion and world wars. The French philosopher and poet Albert Camus wrote, under the impression of the Second World War, in 1948, an impressive essay about the Mediterranean culture: "The Greek thinking was always related to the idea of limitation ... But our Europe is looking always for conquest and is a daughter of intemperance ... Which imagination would we have for this higher balance, where nature balanced the history, the beauty and the good? ... Our time wants to change the world before it understands it. It destroys this world. ... We only miss the pride of the human being, which consists in the loyalty to its limitations and in the lucid love to its determination."²⁰⁶

Balance and moderation were also deeply rooted in non-European cultures as we will see in the next chapters.

²⁰⁶ Camus, Albert *Exil d'Hélène*, in *Essays d'Albert Camus*, Paris, 1965, 851-857. Translation by CS; voir aussi son essay *La culture indigène. La nouvelle culture méditerranéenne*, *ibid*, 1321-1327.

4.2.3 African Cultural Values: Ubuntu, Community, Time

African cultural values in the past and present represent a broad diversity in the different regions, religions and ethnic groups. But they



have also much in common. We concentrate here on Sub-Saharan Africa and can only look at selected aspects: Ubuntu, community and time (left: the symbol for Ubuntu), a Bantu word, means:

“I am what I am because of who we all are.” It became a famous concept for

the whole of Africa through South Africa, where Archbishop Desmond Tutu promoted it as contribution to overcome apartheid and later for the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa.²⁰⁷

Ubuntu means togetherness and reciprocity of human beings. It is humanist concept that all human beings are connected and cannot exist without community. It has similarity with the dialogue principle of Martin Buber (below 4.3.4) even though Ubuntu emphasizes mainly the community aspect and Buber more the dialogue aspect.

A similar, yet different concept is *Harambee*, the Swahili word for community self-help. It became famous in Kenya by its first president Jomo Kenyatta who made it a national identity marker intended to pull

²⁰⁷ Tutu, Desmond, *Who we are: Human uniqueness and the African spirit of Ubuntu, speech for receiving the Templeton Prize 2013, as video* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0wZtfqZ271w#t=162>; Battle, Michael, *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu*. Pilgrim Press, 2007.

all people together to build the new independent nation. Compared to Ubuntu, Harambee is more about unity and community than reciprocity.

Community is a key aspect of traditional African culture and values. Community as family, clan, ethnic group and nation. It is still of importance today even though individualism especially with urbanisation, migration and consumerism increases rapidly also in Africa. The key challenge is the relation between individual freedom and community rules and boundaries, between submission to rules of the community and individual freedom. As the philosopher Kwame Gyekye from Ghana says: “The individual cannot develop outside the frame verdict of the community, but the welfare of the community as a whole cannot dispense the talents and initiative of its individual members either. The interaction between the individual and the community or group is therefore considered basic to the development of the individual personality as well as to the overall success and well-being of the community. Thus, the need to strike a balance between communal and individualistic values is most appropriate and important. To strike a balance, in this connection, is to recognize the claims of both community and individually as. It is to try to integrate individual desires and social ideals and demands.”²⁰⁸

Time: For non-Africans, Ubuntu and community issues are quite well understandable as they correspond to basic human experiences. More difficult is the understanding and feelings related to time, past, present and future, which is also related to ancestors.

²⁰⁸ Gyekye, Kwame, *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997, chapter 2.

I have very often been in Africa over the last four decades. Nevertheless, this part of African reality remains the most alien to me. “Revering their ancestors, to ensure favourable treatment from them, by virtue of their status as spirits.”²⁰⁹ Ubuntu and community therefore are extended in time: the past community is part of the present and future community and what ‘I am’. Ancestors represent tradition and cultural heritage.²¹⁰ They also stand for moral values of the community. The chain of generations is a continuum of time. As ancestors are not present physically, the unity is in spirit by the world of spirits. Even though the vast majority of Africans are Christians and Muslims, this notion of the spiritual world of the ancestors is very alive in Africa. This is in tension to Jesus’ sharp words that disciples should care about the coming of the Kingdom of God and not about the dead.

The concept of Globalance is clearly represented in Ubuntu is a relational and dialectical worldview which shows that nothing can exist without its opposite – you and me – and are represented in each other, over time and generations. Also, the opposites of community and individual are held together, even though the balance is more on the side of the community, compared to overstretched individualism in Europe and America.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 161-168 Ancestorship and Tradition (161).

²¹⁰ Ibid, 164.

4.3 15th-20th Century: Philosophy, Theology, Psychology

4.3.1 Reformer John Calvin

The Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) was one of the three major reformers of the protestant Reformation in Europe in the 16th century,



after Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland. Calvin lead the reformation in Geneva and had the largest worldwide influence of the three, mainly through Switzerland, the Netherlands, Great Britain, America and from there worldwide.

For Calvin, as for Luther and Zwingli, Christian freedom was the central value: as God liberates believers from sin, by grace only. These liberated persons are then free to not care for their salvation – because God already cared for it – and instead care for their neighbours, the needy and society. This freedom could be abused as licence to do whatever one wants, as unrestrained life. But for believers, this freedom is linked to the close relation, alliance, with God who guides in daily decisions.

Calvin's theology is based on a double dialectic: a) the vertical opposites of God and humans and b) the horizontal opposites of humans and nature (the natural cosmic world, all creatures). Freedom therefore means to live in this double relation a relational life. The two pairs of opposites cannot be separated, but are connected.

The concept of Globalance: With this holistic view, for Calvin – as for Luther and Zwingli – the perspective was never anthropocentric even though the salvation of human beings was central – but theocentric which included the environment as part of the whole creation.

Calvin's understanding of freedom led him to an ethics close to the one of the middle way proposed by Aristotle: humans are free to do what is appropriate which means what corresponds to the love of God. They do not have to follow strict rules and laws, but they have to find a way between 'not enough' and 'too much'. Calvin describes this need for balance in the chapter on freedom! "We must therefore observe a *mean*, that we may use them with a pure conscience, whether for necessity or for pleasure. This the Lord prescribes by his word, when he tells us that to his people the present life is a kind of pilgrimage by which they hasten to the heavenly kingdom. If we are only to pass through the earth, there can be no doubt that we are to use its blessings only in so far as they assist our progress, rather than retard it. Accordingly, Paul, not without cause, admonishes us to use this world without abusing it, and to buy possessions as if we were selling them (1 Cor. 7:30, 31). But as this is a slippery place, and there is great danger of falling on either side, let us fix our feet where we can stand safely."²¹¹ Calvin then describes how some people plead for strict abstention from wealth because if they have material goods, they cannot resist greed. They need strict rules, which easily leads to a new moral rigidity.

The ideal of a balanced ethics, based on freedom, is a slippery path, as Calvin calls it. It can easily be abused and people can fall. Calvin

²¹¹ In his main work: Calvin, John, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Geneva: III,10.1 (Osnova, Kindle Edition).

formulates a teleological ethical rule: find in all what exists the goal, the meaning for which use it exists: “Let this be our principle, that we err not in the use of the gifts of Providence when we refer them to the end for which their author made and destined them, since he created them for our good, and not for our destruction. No man will keep the true path better than he who shall have this end carefully in view. Now then, if we consider for what end he created food, we shall find that he consulted not only for our necessity, but also for our enjoyment and delight.”²¹² This text shows that Calvin was not at all a Puritan Protestant²¹³ living in scarcity; he rather underlines that food is for necessity and joy, clothes for protection and “comeliness and honour” etc. With the same arguments, he was – in difference to the official (Catholic) Church doctrine of his time, not against interests in lending money, but to limit it to maximum five percent in order to avoid usury. Again, it is the task to find the right balance in economy, in finance, in using goods from nature and in using science and technology.²¹⁴

²¹² Ibid, III,10.2.

²¹³ Max Weber in his famous book *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* described the Scottish Puritanism, but not Calvin and many wrongly claim. He quoted Calvin himself only once in this text with over 300 footnotes!

²¹⁴ See Stückelberger, Christoph, *No Interests from the Poor. Calvin's Economic and Banking Ethics*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Bernhardt, Reinhold, *Calvin Global. How Faith Influences Societies*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2009, 53-70.

4.3.2 G.W.F. Hegel: Balance through Dialectics

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1871) was a very influential German philosopher and key in developing the dialectical method. Dialectics is a method of philosophical argumentation using opposites and



combining them in a three-step process with thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis (syn-thesis). Whereas the Greek Philosopher Plato used it for opposing people and Aristotle for opposite virtues and vices, opposing sides vary for Hegel depending on the topic.²¹⁵ Hegel describes his method mainly in Part 1 of his Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences. The first moment is a stable

definition, a moment of fixity ('thesis'). The second moment (anti-thesis. Hegel calls it dialectical or negatively rational) is to sublimate the first moment by its opposite. The German word used by Hegel means, as he explained, to negate/cancel and at the same time to preserve it for potential future solutions. As the first moment was one-sided, it had to lead to its opposite, which is also one-sided. As moments one and two are both characterized by one-sidedness, they both sublimate themselves. And how? This leads to the third moment (synthesis. Hegel calls it speculative or positively rational: it leads to the unity of first and second

²¹⁵ A good summary in English of Hegel's dialectic method can be found in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, article *Hegel's Dialectics*, 2016, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics/#HegelDescHisDialMeth>.

moment and is the positive result of the transition of both into a new third moment and determination. This is the unity of two distinct determinants/moments (Encyclopaedia Logic, § 82). Other philosophical concepts say that if an argument leads to a contradiction, then both options are not valid, called reduction ad absurdum. Hegel rejects this view and shows that a thesis and an antithesis can still be valid by its integration in a higher synthesis.

The concept of Globalance can use the philosophical concept of Hegel as it helps to clarify the character and the non-exclusivity of opposites. It is not an applied virtue ethics, but a phenomenology which can be applied to all kind of phenomena. This is one reason why Hegel's dialectic method became so influential worldwide and in very diverse, even opposite interpretations such as the right-wing Hegelianism and the left-wing Hegelianism with the philosophy of Karl Marx, with the dialectic materialism and Marxism.

4.3.3 Karl Barth: Dialectical Theology

The Swiss Reformed Theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968) is seen as



the most prominent Protestant theologian of the 20th century. He was the leading theologian of the so-called dialectical theology and became famous as one of the founders of the Confessing Church in its resistance against Hitler.

Against the liberal theology on one side and the idealistic theology on the other, Barth emphasized

the radical difference between God and humans. God (as creator) is totally different from all creatures of his creation. We therefore cannot recognise ethical norms in nature through the “*analogia entis*”, the analogy of being, but only through the “*analogia relationis*”, relational analogy. Here again the word relational! In the constant relation between the believer and God, the believer can recognize the right decision to act ethically.²¹⁶ God and world, God and humans, creator and creation are totally different and separated and thus in relation and united. This paradox is dialectically answered.

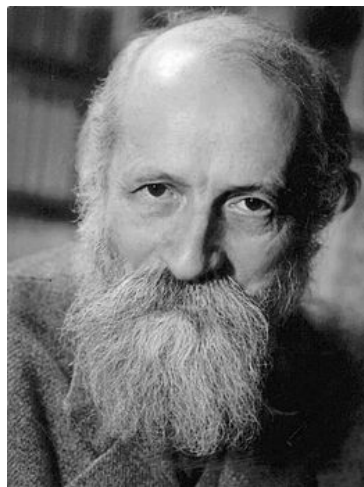
The concept of Globalance: Barth denies any norms fixed once for all. The right decision has to come from hearing God’s word and will, here and now. It is in this sense a kind of situation ethics. But the decision is always a relation between opposites which then leads to balance (even though Barth did not use the word in main texts): “Design of nature by the mind and fulfillment of the spirit with nature ... Inspiration of the physical and the embodiment of the soul.”²¹⁷ Dialectical theology means that God is not known, independent from relation to God. God cannot be recognized in nature, only in God’s word. Humans can think of God only in paradoxes. The centre of truth is love which keeps the paradoxes and dialectical opposites together (see below the graphs in chapter 4 with love at the centre of the circles).

²¹⁶ More in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozioethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997, 156-159.

²¹⁷ Barth, Karl, *Ethik*, Vol I, Zurich: 1973, 368f. Translation by the author.

4.3.4 Martin Buber: The Dialogical Principle

Martin Buber (1878-1965), probably the greatest Jewish philosopher of the 20th century and one of the best authors on Chassidim literature and values, developed his famous concept “The Dialogical Principle”²¹⁸



in 1905. “The question of the possibility and reality of a dialogical relation between man and God as a free partnership of man in dialogue between heaven and earth ... was a challenge since my young age.”²¹⁹ It was the mysticism of the Jewish Chassidim which led him to discover that “all real life is encounter”²²⁰ “Der Mensch wird nur am Du zum Ich” (A person only becomes a self

through encountering the other) is his sharp summary of the dialogical principle. We can recognize ourselves only by encountering the other. Encounter means to speak and to be addressed. Only in the encounter, human lives develop. Community means to be in relation to each other and to be in relation to a centre of the community.²²¹ The duality of ‘me and you’ is at the same time a unity, but the duality remains. Only God can overcome it. Humans stay in this dual world and must take their

²¹⁸ Buber, Martin, *Das dialogische Prinzip*, Heidelberg, Lambert Schneider, 1979; Idem, *Ich und Du*, (1923) Köln, Jacob Hegner, 1966; Idem, *Between man and man*. With an afterword by the author on the history of the dialogical principle, New York: Collier books, 1965.

²¹⁹ Buber, Martin *Das dialogische Prinzip*, op.cit, 307f, translation by CS.

²²⁰ Buber, Martin *Ich und Du*, op.cit, 18.

²²¹ Ibid, 56.

responsibility in this world, by living dynamically in it and acknowledging that opposites are fundamentally linked to each other.

It is also interesting that Buber wrote an essay on “Die Lehre vom Tao” (The doctrine of Tao)²²² as early as 1909, before his dialogical principle, but already with the similar intention: “The unity of the opposites which exist not in themselves but only in each other, the unity of things, which exist not in themselves, but only together.”²²³ Therefore, “in the doctrine [of Tao], all opposites are integrated in the One like the seven colours in the white light; in the religion, they are connected to a community like the seven colours in a rainbow.”²²⁴

The concept of Globalance of keeping opposites together is developed by Buber in a very profound philosophical, theological and mystical way. Inclusivity, dynamic constant interaction in encounter and deep listening dialogue with the other and the perspective of the diversity of a community with a uniting centre are elements, which correspond to Globalance characteristics.

4.3.5 Georg Picht: The Right Balance for Human Ecology

The German Philosopher Georg Picht was one of the early promoters of the “Human Ecology”, looking in the 1970es at the relation between human being and nature in order to overcome the environmental crisis and the alienation between human and non-human world. As Buber looked at the interaction and encounter between humans, Picht searched

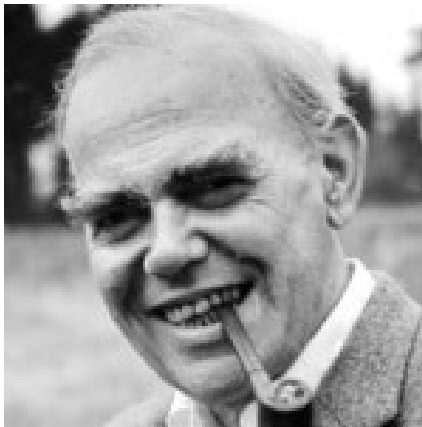
²²² Buber, Martin *Die Lehre vom Tao*, 1909, in Martin Buber. *Hinweise. Gesammelte Essays*, Zürich: Manesse, 1953, 44-83.

²²³ *Ibid*, 66. Translation from German by the author.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, 48. Translation from German by CS.

for the balance between humans and non-human nature. His main concept was the re-discovery of the right balance and measure. In line with this book on Globalance, Picht called for recognizing the limits of human activities as necessity for survival of humanity. “Das richtige Mass finden”²²⁵ (finding the right measure, moderation, dosage). The basis of this ethical call was his lifelong effort, in research and publications, to redefine nature and its interaction with the human being and to overcome the dualism of nature and culture.²²⁶

Picht refers to Greek philosophy whereas the right measurement as



the right proportions teach (*Proportionenlehre*) was not a static measure, but the dynamic relation between the whole and its parts. This is part of the cosmic order, which is not set by human beings, has been in existence for ever. The human being must respect this cosmic order. “We have to

²²⁵ Picht, Georg, *Das richtige Mass finden: der Weg des Menschen ins 21. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg: Herder, 2001. He published an early article in 1979: Georg Picht, *Zum Begriff des Masses*, in: Constanze Eisenbart (Ed.), *Humanökologie und Frieden*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979, 418-426. About Picht see also Stükelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997, 214.

²²⁶ Picht, Georg, *Der Begriff der Natur und seine Geschichte*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989.

learn today, that life is only possible in moderation.”²²⁷ Otherwise, we destroy the biosphere. Growth means then not maximum growth, but growth with a “relative optimum”.²²⁸ Growth is not a quantitative process, but a process, which brings to light the hidden cosmic order. This measure and moderation is not set by God as in the Jewish-Christian worldview, but expression of the natural world with its inherent logos.

The concept of Globalance is present in the works of Picht by focusing on the relation between humans and non-humans. Only if humans find the right balance and the original cosmic order, can the biosphere survive. Picht is a further example of how the concept of balance comes up in times of crisis, in his case the ecological crisis and trend to unlimited growth in the 1970s and following decades.

4.3.6 Paracelsus: Medicine of the Right Dosage

Paracelsus (1493-1541) was a Swiss physician, astrologer and alchemist. He was born close to Zurich, studied in Basel and Vienna and



worked throughout Europe. The Renaissance influenced him. He lived at the same time as the reformer Zwingli in Zürich. He became famous especially as ‘father of toxicology’. He wrote the famous principle “All things are poison, and nothing is without poison, the dosage alone makes it; so a thing is

²²⁷ Picht, Georg 1979, op. cit., 421.

²²⁸ Ibid, 424.

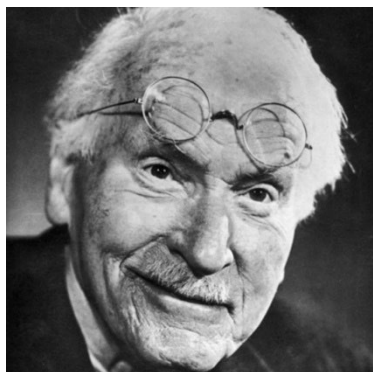
not a poison.”²²⁹ (*Sola dosis facit venenum* “Only the dose makes the poison”).

The concept of Globalance can be seen in this concept of ‘dosage’. Dosage means the right balance between too little and too much. Therefore, we cannot say that one chemical or biological substance is poison or not. It can heal and it can kill, depending on the dosage.

4.3.7 C.G. Jung: Opposites Complement Each Other

Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961), Swiss psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, founded the influential analytical psychology. For Jung, the main task of human development is the individuation. It is a process of unfolding the self in its diversity while including the conscious and the unconscious part of one’s own personality.

C.G. Jung describes persons and their psyche in manifold poles such as anima (feminine aspect in man’s psyche) and animus (the masculine aspect in woman’s psyche), extraversion and introversion, conscious and



unconscious, light and shadow, archetypical images uniting opposites in the psyche and others. The individuation process means to integrate those poles of the opposites, which are split off or not enough integrated. In this sense, his analytical psychology is much about balancing as process towards individu-

²²⁹ Paracelsus, *Die dritte Defension wegen des Schreibens der neuen Rezepte*, Septem Defensiones 1538. Werke Bd. 2, Darmstadt: 1965, 510.

ation.

Analytical psychology was – beyond C.G. Jung – further developed and is used not only for personal development, but for group dynamics, e.g. work teams where different team members represent different poles. People work more efficient and harmoniously as a group if they recognize the other types not as adversaries but complementary team members. An example is ‘insights analysis’, based on Jung’s typology with four colours of energy and eight types and roles in a team.²³⁰

4.3.8 Hans Küng: Global Ethic for Politics and Economics

Hans Küng (born 1928), the Swiss ecumenical theologian and philosopher who taught life-long in Tübingen, Germany, was a pioneer for



global ethic (he called it ethic, not ethics) since the 1990s, with his famous call that globalisation needs also a global ethic: “A world epoch unlike any previous one characterized by world politics, world technology, world economy and world civilization, requires a global ethic.”

The Declaration for Global Ethic of the Parliament of World Religions in 1993 (see introduction above), many interreligious publications and his foundation for Global Ethic contributed to efforts for a value-driven world order. He concretised his vision of *Global Ethic for Global Poli-*

²³⁰ More details e.g. on www.insights.com.

tics and Economics in 1998.²³¹ K ung's ethical concept²³² is based on two fundamental principles and four commitments, which he developed in his first works on global ethics and now implemented on world politics, economics and peace. The two principles are 1. Every human being must be treated as human being, 2. The Golden Rule of reciprocity (see chapter 4.1.7).

The *four commitments* are:

- for a culture of *non-violence* and *respect* for all life
- for a culture of *solidarity* and a *just* world economic order
- for a culture of *tolerance* and life in *truthfulness*
- for a culture of *equal rights* and *partnership* men-women.

The values and virtues in these commitments are related and insofar the concept is close to the Globalance concept of values and virtues (below chapter 5). He also claims that rights must always be related to responsibilities. In all his concretisations for politics and economics, K ung claims the priority of ethics over pure power interests and money interests.²³³

²³¹ K ung, Hans, *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

²³² *Ibid*, chapter A/IV/3.

²³³ *Ibid*, chapters A/III/3, B/IV/2.

4.4 Contemporary Holistic and Networked Concepts

4.4.1 Rosemary Radford Ruether: Feminism for Gender Balance

Rosemary Radford (born 1936) was a pioneer among the feminist scholars. She taught feminist theology in several American universities for decades. As a Catholic theologian with a long list of publications,



she was an advocate of women's ordination in the Catholic church (Protestant female theologians can be ordained as pastors) and was an early voice for ecofeminist theology.²³⁴

She was one of the prominent voices who opened the path for more gender balance since the 1980s.²³⁵ Feminist scholars have been criticised for being one-

sided and not balanced by defending the rights of women and attacking institutions like churches as sexist. I mention her as example of feminist theology to show that defending one pole of opposites does not contradict the objective of Globalance. On the contrary: like on a balance, which is not balanced, much weight must be put on the lighter side in order to counter-balance the weight on the other side. It contributes to

²³⁴ Radford Ruether, Rosemary, *Gaia and God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing*, Harper-Collins, 1994.

²³⁵ Radford Ruether, Rosemary, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology*, Beacon Press, 1983.

the balance – as long as it is recognized that this counter-power and counter-balance is needed for transforming imbalances towards more balance (more in chapter 6) and should not lead to more imbalance in long term, as it is regularly the case after revolutions when the revolutionary liberators become the new oppressors.

During the last fifty years of feminism, much has been reached in gender equality in education, political parliaments, science etc., but there is still a long way to go for reaching the SDG 5 on gender equality and gender balance, especially in the field of leadership positions at the workplace, not to speak of ordination of women as priests in Catholic and Orthodox churches.

4.4.2 Science: Material and Immaterial - all is Data

In everyday life we experience many opposites such as day and night, warm and cold. A fundamental one is material and immaterial or material and spiritual. Throughout millennia, they have been and are still seen as opposite. We also differentiate sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology and in each of them, look at the smallest particles in order to understand, possess, transform and manage them for the use (and abuse) of new material and technologies. But in this process, modern sciences discover more and more the unity behind the different types of particles and opposites. The distinction between material and immaterial, physical and spiritual becomes questionable. In modern information technologies, everything is more and more described as data and algorithm (Yuval Noah Harari). Everything is seen as data and a composition and connection of data through algorithms. Some scientists see it still in a ‘mechanical’ worldview even if they replace material with data. Others see it, as in deism, as a self-organising ‘spirit’ in the universe

(Erwin Laszlo). Others (such as Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, physics and philosophy) recognize that scientific and theological-philosophical perspectives have both their right but should not be merged. Others, in a theological pan-en-theist world view, see God the creator in material and immaterial entities as they are one at the end and in their depths (Moltmann, Hollenweger).²³⁶

The concept of Globalance is supported by the modern, holistic view in science and humanities that behind opposites like the physical and the spiritual phenomena there is a unity which we can describe with different concepts but cannot merge them in a simple way. This is due to the fact that the human brain – even if additional technological support of big data and algorithms of artificial intelligence are included – can never fully recognize the full complexity of what exists, neither with sophisticated epistemology nor with quantum computing. Modesty in science and epistemology remains a key virtue. As Daoism says, that the true Dao can never be seen, and as the Abrahamic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam confirm, we cannot see and recognize the full image and entity of God – except after death in unification with the Eternal.

²³⁶ Hollenweger, Walter J., *Geist und Materie. Interkulturelle Theologie III*, München: Kaiser, 1988, 271-299.

4.4.3 Frederic Vester: Cybernetics Networked Thinking

Network thinking means thinking in systems and connectivity of everything with everything. Bio-cybernetic systems approach looks at it specifically from biological systems then to society. One of the pioneers



and strong promoters of this systems thinking was the German best-selling author since the 1970s, Frederic Vester (1925-2003).²³⁷ His cybernetic and networked thinking influenced environmental science and movements. Interestingly and ironically, this thinking conquered the world mainly as virtual internet cyber world (see chapter 7.3). Big data is an extreme connectivity between data. Networked thinking as Vester promoted, became less powerful in environmental policies. Nevertheless, circular economy, recycling become slowly mainstream, which is based on Vester's systems approach. Systemic networks help to identify the impact of singular measures on other parts of a system and organism.

Within the cybernetic systems, there are opposites. Creation – the religious term for nature – is in all its entities based on opposites, as we have seen in chapter 1.2.1, summarized in a visionary way in the first of

Within the cybernetic systems, there are opposites. Creation – the religious term for nature – is in all its entities based on opposites, as we have seen in chapter 1.2.1, summarized in a visionary way in the first of

²³⁷ Vester, Frederic, *Das kybernetische Zeitalter*, Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1974; idem, *Neuland des Denkens. Vom technokratischen zum kybernetischen Zeitalter*, München: dtv, 1984; idem, *Leitmotiv vernetztes Denken*, München: Heyne, 1989²; idem, *The biocybernetic approach as a basis for planning our environment*, *Systems practice*, Vol 1, N 4, 1988, 399-413.

the two biblical creation stories: day and night, light and darkness, human and non-human, sea and land, male and female, positive and negative magnetic poles, life and death etc. Human life also, as it is part of nature – is basically part of binary reality with opposites. But biology and environmental sciences in the last fifty years showed in detail that opposites are not just binary realities, but embedded in highly complex ecosystems.²³⁸ An ecosystem is a community of interacting biological organisms and their physical (and spiritual) environment. In an ecosystem, opposites belong together and interact and build one system. The systemic approach became in the last decades much more relevant than before. And the more details we know about a tiny isolated part of the ecosystem, the more we need to see it as part of the whole.

The concept of Globalance must be linked to the notion of ecosystems as systems of constant dynamic balance, disruptions, evolution and rebalance over millions of years. The ecosystem approach adds the important dimension of time and very long-term perspective of Globalance. It should also make human beings modest in carefully listening to and understanding ecosystems and careful when modifying or destroying natural ‘capital’. With all overwhelming information and fast-growing knowledge about the ecosystems we need to be aware that we still know only a tiny part of it. Let us look at the stars: astronomy discovered immense numbers of solar systems and galaxies and speaks even of universes in plural. And physics, after discovering the tiny atoms are now researching smaller entities: from Nano (10^{-9} meter) down to Yocto (10^{-24} meter). This is already far beyond human imagination,

²³⁸ See e.g. Jorgensen, S.E., Müller, Felix (Eds.), *Handbook of Ecosystem Theories and Management*, London: CRC Press, 2019.

but still far from being the end of what exists and may be discovered in future.

4.4.4 Economic Theories: Equilibrium

In economics, theories of balancing economic factors have been developed in manifold forms. Economic equilibrium²³⁹ as market equilibrium means the constant, stable balance of supply and demand, without external influences. The goods produced by sellers correspond to the goods bought by consumers in perfect markets.

In competitive markets, where two or more actors offer the same or similar product, the so-called Nash equilibrium exists when each (of both or several) firm produces products with maximum profit considering the maximum profit of the competitor. The companies are interested in maintaining this equilibrium because they aim at maintaining maximum profit.

Economic realities normally are in dynamic equilibria where the amount of labor force, capital availability, wages, inflation, availability and prices of natural resources etc. are constantly changing. Dynamic equilibria can be compared – called comparative dynamics – in order to find a next level of equilibrium. A key ethical question in dynamic economic equilibria is the level of inequality of purchasing power and in terms of the poverty-wealth gap. How much inequality, measured in the Gini index, is economically needed and how much is ethically justifiable?

Another understanding of economic equilibrium came up in the late 1970s in environmental economics. Former World Bank chief economist

²³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_equilibrium.

Herman Daily was one of the first calling for an environmentally friendly equilibrium economy.²⁴⁰ Also in the 1970s, the economist Hans Georg Binswanger in St. Gallen, Switzerland; Bruno Fritsch in Zurich, Switzerland; Bob Goudzwaard in the Netherlands and others developed similar concepts of balancing economy and ecology.²⁴¹

The concept of Globalance in equilibrium theories, balancing economy and ecology, means²⁴²: 1. The rate of using renewable energy may not exceed the rate of regeneration; 2. The rate of using non-renewable energy may not exceed the rate of building new sources of renewable energy; 3. The rate of pollutant emissions may not be higher than the capacity of the environment to absorb these emissions. These are very clear and key criteria for an environmentally balanced green economy.

4.4.5 Concepts of Global Governance

Global governance means activities and structures of cooperation and decision making which transcend national boundaries, are relevant on a global, international, transnational, continental or regional level and include actors from governmental, non-governmental (civil society) and the private sector. Global governance includes different levels of binding character of rules, rights and obligations, including soft law, conven-

²⁴⁰ Daly, Herman, *Steady-State Economics*, San Francisco: 1977; Herman Daly (ed.), *Economics, Ecology, Ethics*, San Francisco: 1980.

²⁴¹ See extended literature references in Christoph Stückelberger, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozioethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: 1997, 215, footnote 287.

²⁴² As similarly formulated by Herman Daly, *Steady-State Economics*, Washington 1991.

tions, binding laws with sanctions, ethical values, economic incentives, military intervention etc.

Global governance is normally understood as a system or multiple systems of mutually and voluntarily agreed rules and regulations. In reality, entities and actors are also forced (through diplomatic, economic and military means) to agree on governance mechanisms due to the fact of power imbalances and dependencies (e.g. of weaker countries from superpowers).

The concept of global governance is not sharply defined but reflects the situation especially after 1989, the collapse of the bi-polar system, when new ways of global cooperation in a globalised world had to be developed. In 1989, an independent UN commission of former heads of states on initiative of Willy Brandt had been formed and published a report in 1995 under the title “Our Global Neighbourhood”.²⁴³

Global governance concepts and theories - mainly in political science, international law and sociology – are dealing with different sectors and actors:

Global governance on an ethical level is based on a set of values. The above-mentioned UN report on global governance in 1995 includes the long “Chapter Two: Values for the Global Neighbourhood”. It develops a ‘neighbourhood ethics’ and ‘neighbourhood values’ for humanity which start with the Golden Rule, “people should treat others as they would themselves wish to be treated”. It then unfolds as values: “Respect for Life, Liberty, Justice and Equity, Mutual Respect, Caring, Integrity, A Global Civic Ethic, Rights and Responsibilities, the Demo-

²⁴³ UN Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighborhood. Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Available: <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/global-neighbourhood>.

cratic Tide, Combating Corruption, Democracy and Legitimacy, Adapting Old Norms, Sovereignty and Self-Determination.”²⁴⁴

Global Governance on the political level after World War I was mainly dealing with building international structures such as the League of Nations 1919 or the International Labour Organisation (ILO) 1919 and after World Word II, the Bretton Woods Institutions; World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) 1944 and the United Nations (UN) 1948. The large UN-system with its manifold specialised organisations, but also the regional intergovernmental organisations such as European Union, African Union, ASEAN etc. are part of global governance. After the breakdown of the bipolar system in 1989, global governance was much concentrated on strengthening *democracy* globally, especially in former colonies in Africa and in former communist countries in Eastern Europe, South America and Asia. It was mainly an agenda of the Western countries. The concept and hope was, that neoliberal economic globalisation would (automatically) lead to more democracy and more fairness. But as this did not happen and protests against globalisation became stronger, corrections had to be proposed. *Globalisation* and economic liberalisation led to attempts to balance the negative impact of globalisation through social efforts for equality and fairness²⁴⁵, with

²⁴⁴ Ibid, chapter 2.

²⁴⁵ Two of the best examples, where I was involved, have been the UN World Summit for Social Development in Kopenhagen 1995 and the Report “A Fair Globalization. Creating Opportunities for all” of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, under leadership of the ILO.

limited success. Civil society claimed to also look at local effects of globalisation in terms of democracy, participation, jobs and identities.²⁴⁶

Global Governance on the economic level is visible in political regulatory bodies such as the World Trade Organisation, but also global business organisations such as chambers of commerce, World Business Council for Sustainable Development etc. Free trade led to manifold advantages, and economic growth. Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) became a key driver in economic growth and international connectivity. The cyber world as a parallel virtual world to the physical world became reality in all sectors of life, especially on the economic level with e-commerce. The concepts of global governance on economic level changed in the sense that globalisation and free trade combined with the cyber world is now driving global economy. But this led also to millions of people who lost their jobs due to competition mainly from Asia and questioned their identity due to migration. Political nationalism and populism, economic protectionism and cultural relativism are the reaction to it. Global Governance is more and more replaced by concepts of regional and national governance.

Global Governance on the cultural level is as complex as the economic level: fast growing private sector companies dominate the cultural market in films, music, literature, sport, leisure time, tourism etc. People enjoy the enormous decrease of costs for cultural products as regulatory governance mechanisms are almost non-existent. At the same time, a national and regional segmentation of the internet is now happening which means, that the global cultural governance is more and more

²⁴⁶ See case studies in Michael Berndt, Detlef Sack (eds.), *Glocal Governance? Voraussetzungen und formen demokratischer Beteiligung im Zeichen der Globalisierung*, Opladen: 2001

(again) replaced by national interests of superpowers such as US, China, EU and Russia.²⁴⁷

Global Governance on the religious level is as complex as the cultural, political and economic level. The religious sector can be divided into the spiritual, personal forms of religious beliefs and praxis and the institutional forms of the religious organisations. The World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva was established in 1948, in the same year as the United Nations, after WWII. But in 1920, only one year after the formation of the League of Nations, a council of churches was already planned. Christian churches also actively participated in forming the ILO²⁴⁸ and other UN organisations.

The conceptual frame behind all these efforts of global governance structures is to establish mechanisms for fair, stable and peaceful decisions for multilateral cooperation as an alternative to ‘conflict resolution’ with the means of pure power play and economic or military war. Global governance came up also as an effort to deal with global issues like climate change or cyber security and as an answer to the difficulties of states in dealing with the fast-growing civil society.²⁴⁹

The concept of Globalance – on the geopolitical and macroeconomic level as with the local level – is closely linked to concepts of global governance. Global governance is then seen as a set of ethical values, rules, regulations, decisions and actions with the goal to settle conflicts

²⁴⁷ See above the chapter 2.4.3 on the quadri-polar world.

²⁴⁸ Bureau International du Travail (BIT/ILO), *Les Eglises protestantes et la question sociale. Positions oecuméniques sur la justice sociale et le monde du travail*. Documents gathered by Louis Christiaens and François Dermange, Genève: 1996.

²⁴⁹ Roche, Jean-Jacques, *Relations Internationales*, Paris: 2009, 4th edition, 252f.

and find solutions with multilateral, mutually agreed and accountably monitored mechanisms. It is not a governance of like-minded people, but inclusive as a mechanism of governance with opposites. In this sense it is a demanding concept and in reality showed that the cooperation e.g. between governmental, non-governmental and private sector actors needs patience, trust and time.

4.4.6 Al Gore: Earth in the Balance. Ecology and Human Spirit

Al Gore (born 1948) is a well-known American environmentalist and politician, Vice-President of the USA (1992-2001) in the era of Presi-



dent Bill Clinton. In 1992 as candidate for vice-presidency he published the bestseller book *Earth in the Balance*²⁵⁰, which called for a global Marshall plan for the earth. Al Gore identifies threatening imbalances with climate change, water scarcity, food crisis, disasters, desertification, all in all focused on environmental imbalances.

Al Gore calls in this book, in part II, for a new global balance, based on 1. self-responsibility, 2. new economic indicators, which include the truth of environmental costs, 3. a new, more holistic understanding and use of technologies, 4. overcoming the addiction of consumption in dysfunctional societies

²⁵⁰ Gore, Al, *Earth in the Balance. Ecology and Human Spirit*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992.

and 5. developing the “Ecology of the Spirit”. In this part (chapter 13) Gore shows the “crisis of values” and calls for a new inner relation to creation. As a Baptist Christian, he underlines the importance of hope, respect, amazement about the beauty of creation, and the modesty for praising God as creator. Reaching the environmental earth balance can only be reached by this “Ecology of the Spirit”. In the final section, the author then calls for practical actions, especially a global new Marshall plan for the earth as a common goal of humanity as well as stabilizing world population and increasing environmental education.

The concept of Globalance is directly implemented in Al Gore’s search for a global balance. However, it is concentrated on the environmental aspect, which is justified, but our concept of Globalance looks, in addition, at the interdependences between the sectors. The Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015) and Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030) are a global concretisation of his call for a global Marshall plan for the earth.

4.4.7 Pope Francis: Love for all Humans and for Creation

Jorge Mario Bergoglio chose the name Francis when he was elected Pope of the Roman Catholic Church in the Vatican in 2013. He refers with this name to Francis of Assisi, the famous monk in Assisi/Italy (1182-1226). He was famous for his love for all creation. Pope Francis takes it up in his *Encyclical ‘Laudato Si. On Care for our Common Home’*,²⁵¹ where even the title refers to the famous ‘Canticle of the Sun’ of Francis of Assisi where he praises the whole creation as gift of the

²⁵¹ The Encyclicals of Pope Francis, each in 12-16 languages: <https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals.index.html#encyclicals>.

Creator. Care for creation was and is a strong concern of Pope Francis, e.g. on Climate Change. However, he combines it with care and love for humans.

He gave the *Encyclical ‘Fratelli Tutti. On Fraternity and Social*



Friendship’ to the public on 3 October 2020 in Assisi, in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic.²⁵² These two Encyclicals show the holistic perspective of caring for creation and caring for humans (as part of creation) as inseparable twins. In both texts, love is the key value and reference. This love travels near and far, to the known and unknown, to people

of same faith and other faiths. This love has to be engaged for environmental protection and peace across borders. He reminds us in ‘Fratelli Tutti’ (para 3) that he, without money but great efforts visited Sultan Malik-el-Kamil in Egypt, in order to show empathy and love for Muslims, in the midst of the deadly Crusades. Pope Francis himself published a joint declaration with the Grand Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb in Abu Dhabi and how he was influenced by ecumenical sisters and brothers such as the Pan-Orthodox Patriarch Bartholomew (para 5). Pope Francis in ‘Fratelli Tutti’. The Pope also reminds that Francis of Assisi “did not wage a war of words aimed at imposing doctrines; he simply

²⁵² In Italian, the word *fratelli* can be used for brothers and also for siblings. However, I wonder why a more gender-sensitive title would not have been possible. *Fratelli/sorelle* would be more inclusive, even more so as the content of the Encyclical tries to be gender-inclusive.

spread the love of God.” (para 4) *Globalance* needs argumentation, debate and intellectual concepts, but it can reach its goal only if words spoken are based on empathy and compassion as fruits of love.

4.4.8 Global Marshall Plan for a World in Balance

The Global Marshall Plan Initiative with its foundation launched in 2005 at the Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag (German Protestant Kirchentag/Congress)²⁵³ in Hannover. “Our goal is a world in balance” is its mission statement.²⁵⁴ This mission statement almost literally refers to the book title of Al Gore (chapter above) and its German edition refers to a Marshall plan for the Earth.²⁵⁵ In a 500 page book²⁵⁶, over 55 contributors developed the vision of a world in balance in globalisation, global awareness, global governance, global economy, environment, human security and development cooperation. The goal is a “global eco-social market economy” (ibid). The initiative has since been taken up by the German government, among others in its Marshall plan with Africa.

4.4.9 Human Rights: Political, Social, Economic, Peoples’

Human Rights define and describe the rights of human beings independent of their age, social status, gender, religious, racial or political background etc. Starting with the enlightenment and American and French bills of rights, the contemporary efforts started with the UN Hu-

²⁵³ <https://www.kirchentag.de/english/start/>.

²⁵⁴ Global Marshall Plan Foundation, Hamburg, www.globalmarshallplan.org.

²⁵⁵ Gore, Al, *Wege zum Gleichgewicht. Ein Marshallplan für die Erde*, Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992.

²⁵⁶ *Impulse für eine Welt in Balance*, Hamburg: Global Marshall Plan Foundation, 2005.

man Rights Declaration of 10 December 1948, hence why December 10th became the UN Human Rights Day. Often, three generations of rights are distinguished²⁵⁷, but a fourth generation should be added²⁵⁸: the first generation of *civil and political rights* (right to life, safety, non-discrimination, property etc.); the second generation with *social, economic and cultural rights* (right to work, to education, freedom of association etc.); the third generation with *solidarity rights* (rights of people for self-determination, right to peace, to development, environmental integrity, sexual minorities etc.); the fourth generation with *rights of future generations* (genetic engineering, data rights such as storage of personal data beyond death, frozen sperm, human genome etc.). There are manifold conflicts between human rights and especially these generations of human rights. They lead to ethical dilemmas if the implementation of one human right violates another, e.g. individual freedom versus the rights of people.

The concept of Globalance means a holistic and inclusive view of human rights by respecting all these four generations of rights and linking them with corresponding obligations. International conflicts are often perceived as one party violating human rights while de facto these are conflicts about priorities of rights. Example: When USA is critical of China for violating political rights such as the freedom of speech, but China on the other hand was the worldwide largest contributor to the right to food by bringing hundreds of millions of poor people out of

²⁵⁷ Domaradzki, Spasimir et al, *Karel Vasak's Generations of Rights and the Contemporary Human Rights Discourse*, Human Rights Review, Springer, Online 6 Sept 2019, doi.org.

²⁵⁸ As proposed by Cornescu, Adrian Vasile, *The Generations of Human's Rights*, Dny prava/ Days of law: The Conference Proceedings, Brno: Masaryk University, 2009.

poverty in only two decades, whereas in the USA 37 million of people are reported as suffering from hunger. Globalance offers the opportunity to strengthen all four generations of human rights.

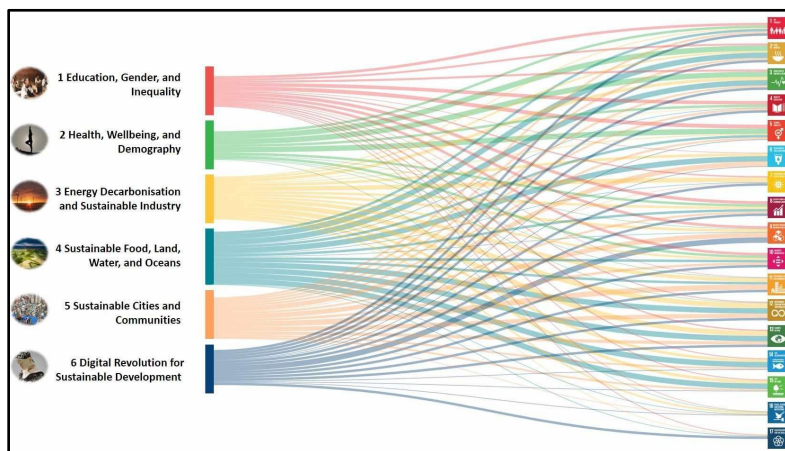
4.4.10 UN Sustainable Development Goals

The world community of states, united in the United Nations, approved on 15 September 2015, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the period 2015-2030. They followed the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2000-2015.

The topics of the 17 SDGs are: 1. End Poverty, 2. Zero Hunger, 3. Good Health and Well Being, 4. Quality Education, 5. Gender Equality, 6. Clean Water and Sanitation, 7. Affordable and Clean Energy, 8. Decent Work and Economic Growth, 9. Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure, 10. Reduced inequalities, 11. Sustainable Cities and Communities, 12. Reasonable Consumption and Production, 13. Climate Action, 14. Life below Water, 15. Life on land, 16. Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions, 17. Partnerships for the Goals.



The 17 SDG goals are all interrelated (see my graph in chapter 5.4: 17 SDGs as circle with lines between each of them). The complexity is not easy to understand. Therefore, efforts to regroup them in six clusters may help²⁵⁹:



The SDGs are based upon and promote manifold values which can be summarized as “values for life”²⁶⁰: the *value of life* by providing basic needs for survival such as food, water and healthcare; the *value of dignity* in equality, decent work and education; the *value of caring for the environment* by climate action, clean energy, land protection, re-

²⁵⁹ Graph received from Phoebe Koundouri, president SDSN Europe. The United Nations *Sustainable Development Solutions Network (UN SDSN)* is an international network to elaborate solutions for the UN SDGs. Jeffrey Sachs is its international President. It is organized on global, continental and regional levels. www.unsdsn.org. Its SDG Index monitors with the annual Sustainable Development Report the progress of the SDG implementation. www.sustainabledevelopment.report.

²⁶⁰ Obiora Ike, *Values for Life – in SDGs 2030* and *Globethics.net*, in Christoph Stückelberger, Walter Fust, Obiora Ike (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 43-53.

sponsible consumption and environmental protection; the *value of inclusiveness* by gender equality, sustainable communities and partnerships; the *value of justice* by fair economic development, fair access to land and other resources, and the value of *peace* by strong multilateral institutions and conflict resolution mechanisms.

The concept of Globalance is obvious within the Sustainable Development Goals by connecting all 17 goals to each other, most explicitly in goal 17 on partnerships. Global development can only be reached by cooperation of all actors, in multi-stakeholder partnerships and across ideological, political and economic opposites.

4.5 Observations and Conclusions

In this chapter on concepts of Globalance across history and continents, we looked at *28 concepts in four sections*: world religions, world philosophies, 15th-20th century thinkers and contemporary holistic and networked concepts of balance. We selected a broad range of disciplines from philosophy, theology, economics, psychology, political science to environmental sciences – from individuals to world religions.

These concepts aim at widening the perspective for the diversity of approaches. They also aim at inspiring and encouraging us not to give up but to reconfirm that a balanced society is possible and manifold recipes exist. I also find it fascinating to observe that this search for a bal-

anced, harmonious yet dynamic society exists throughout millennia, cultures²⁶¹, religions and, economic and political systems.

Balancing opposites in order to reach stability, peace, security, fairness, progress, dignity, empowerment and fullness of life seems a truly global thirst and vision of humanity. Psychologists may call it archetypical setting of human psyche, philosophers may call it the solution for rational discourse on conflicting realities, environmentalists may call it the inherent mechanism of ecosystems and believers may call it the expression of the divine world order.

²⁶¹ Many traditional cultures know the concept of relationality and balance as it is an evidence for human survival. An example from the Pacific Itulagi people: Luma Va'ai, Upolu/ Casimira, Aisake (eds.), *Relational Hermeneutics. Decolonising the mindset and the Pacific Itulagi*, Suva/Fidji: Pacific Theological College, 2017. The authors show the interconnectedness, multidimensionality and spirituality and aspects of relational existence.

VALUES AND VIRTUES FOR GLOBALANCE

Globalance is the concept of a values-driven world in balance. What then are these fundamental values and virtues? What is a balance of values and virtues? These are the questions for this chapter. It is the fundament for the house called Globalance because if the values and virtues are not strong, the building will not be stable and may fall.

Values are fundamental benchmarks of orientation for personal, professional and public life. Virtues are benchmarks of attitudes for personal behaviour. We present ten core values and ten core virtues, which in our global research and experience over four decades on all continents can be seen as global values and virtues, but with strong contextual colours. We do not elaborate all the philosophical and theological justifications for these benchmarks as we did in many other books. We neither elaborate on anti-values and vices as opposite to values and virtues. We concentrate on the method of pairing poles of values and virtues, which often are perceived as opposite, in order to reach a balance: freedom-security, empowerment-security, freedom-community, justice-peace, sustainability.

5.1 Cross Cultural Values Clusters

The different cultures in the world are an expression of complex clusters of values and virtues expressed in this chapter. There are various empirical data sets, which analyse the ethical values across cultures. The following span years and are supported by scientific credibility and public recognition:

*The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)*²⁶² is an annual cross-national survey programme on a wide range of social issues such as role of governments, social networks, social inequality, gender roles, religions, national identity, health, sport and citizenship.

*The Edelman Trust Barometer*²⁶³ focuses on trust in governments, business, media and civil society, with an annual barometer for over twenty years, the latest one from 28 markets.²⁶⁴ It includes values indicators such as transparency, integrity, ethics in general, innovation and reliability.

*Gallup World Poll*²⁶⁵ has collected data for over 80 years as global poll in targeted sectors such as the workplace and education. It is not specifically focused on values, but of course includes respective surveys.

The World Economic Forum (WEF) for years has offered interactive values clusters, which show the interdependency of values on five key

²⁶² www.issp.org.

²⁶³ www.edelman.com/trustbarometer.

²⁶⁴ Edelman Trust Barometer 2020. Global Report, 2.

²⁶⁵ www.gallup.com.

values: trust, human dignity, common good, environment and digital equity.²⁶⁶

Data from multinational companies: From the 1960s, multinational companies, acting in many countries on all continents, needed common company standards while adapting them to different contexts. Example of a pioneer: IBM collected 88,000 interviews of staff from 72 countries between 1967 and 1973. Geert Hofstede²⁶⁷ analysed the data and developed four axes of values along cultural differences: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism and masculinity versus femininity.

The *Centre for the Study of Global Christianity*²⁶⁸ has the worldwide largest database on demography of global Christianity. It presents detailed data on Christian denominations, their social contexts and interreligious environment and its development over the last hundred years.

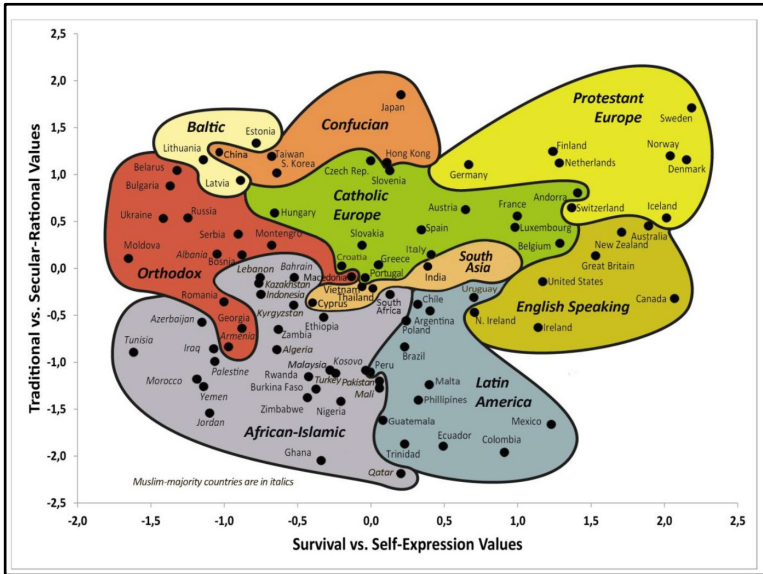
The *World Values Survey* (WVS)²⁶⁹ is as far as I see the most differentiated and largest empirical data set on values. It has analysed, since 1986, ethical values around the globe. Every five years, a new survey is published, with data from an increased number of countries. The newest one of 2020 collects data from 80 countries. The WVS 8 is in preparation for 2023-2027. Apart from in-depth country data, the following two graphs (2017 and 2022) show the development of values!

²⁶⁶ <https://intelligence.weforum.org/topics/a1Gb000000LGrDEAW?tab=publications>.

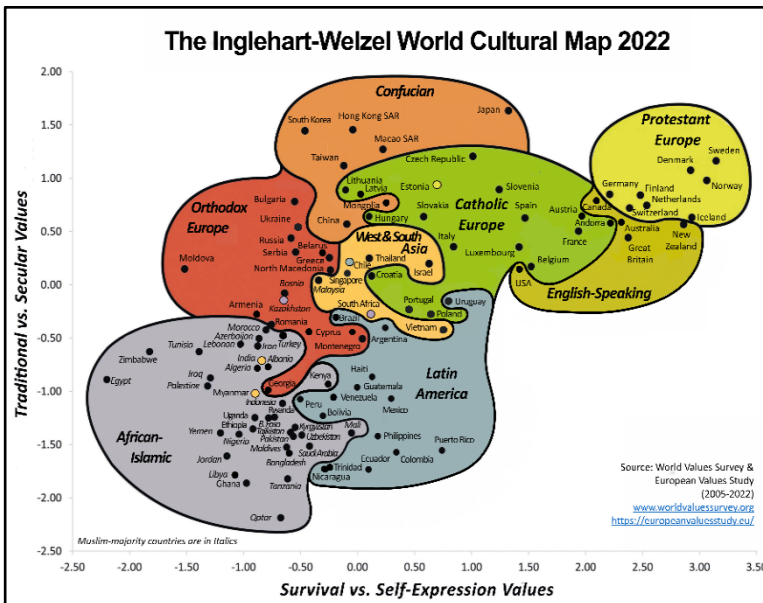
²⁶⁷ Hofstede, Geert, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2001, second edition (first edition 1980).

²⁶⁸ www.globalchristianity.org.

²⁶⁹ www.worldvaluessurvey.org.



Upper map from Survey 6, 2012-2017, below map from Survey 7, 2017-2022.



The graphs²⁷⁰ shows clusters, depicting cultures of value systems. On the horizontal line, survival values (basic human needs) versus self-expression values (individual empowerment and self-realisation) are shown.

On the vertical level, traditional versus secular-rational values. The graph also shows that the clusters have a geographic focus and a religious predominance, but the reality of pluralist societies is an overlap in many cases. Interesting is also the development of countries over the last 35 years, since the survey started. It shows e.g. the expansion of the rational-liberal-Protestant value cluster and a shrinking of the orthodox traditional-survival cluster.²⁷¹

Most of these value surveys, based on social science methodologies, are conducted by Western institutions, but try to be more and more inclusive in their research teams. The most global in its research teams around the globe seems to be ISSP and the World Values Survey, the latter being the most specific on values. A number of these value data collections are business-driven, looking at values as part of market analysis and values of employees and consumers. Continental and regional value surveys are developing, especially in Asia and Africa and in late 20th century, also in Latin America.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map - World Values Survey 7 (2022). Source: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>.

²⁷¹ A 30-second impressive video shows the development 1986-2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AiIpymGeGoo&feature=emb_rel_end

²⁷² E.g. <http://www.asianbarometer.org/survey>; Idang, Gabriel, *African Culture and Values*, Phronimon, Vol 16, 2, 2015, 97-111.

What is “the future of values”?, as Unesco asked²⁷³. Neither Unesco nor we with Globalance support the idea of a unified syncretistic monoculture of values. Even with globalisation and with localization, the human system needs the values-diversity and different clusters like the ecosystem needs biodiversity and a variety of biospheres.

5.2 Fundamental Values - in Relation and Pairs

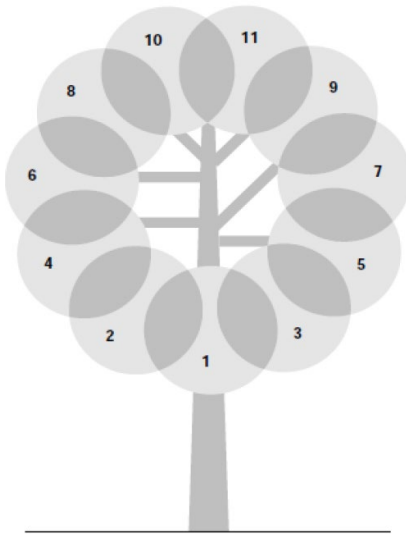
The key concept of Globalance in this book is the balance of opposites. We look at values and virtues, which are apparently opposites or contradictory, but can be balanced when put in relation. In the following chapter, we look first at the set of values and virtues and then specifically look at their opposites.

This concept has much in common with the Eastern concepts of balance as described in chapter two. It is also related to many concepts of Western Philosophers and Theologians, many of them referring to Aristotle and his concept of the middle way/*mesotes* (see chapter 3.4). In Eastern and Western concepts, the core lies in a fundamental human experience: something good turns into its opposite and becomes bad if it is exaggerated and excessive. The middle way between “not enough” and “too much” is not only valid for food, medicine or a new technology, but also for values and virtues.

²⁷³ Bindé, Jérôme (ed), *The Future of Values. 21st-Century Talks*, Paris: Unesco/Berghahn, 2004.

5.2.1 Ten Fundamental Values – in Relation

Fundamental values are not isolated stand-alone pillars. They are part of an ethical value-system. We can compare it with an organism such as a body where legs, arms and head build are one body. We can



compare it also with a tree, where the values represent the branches, the norms the sub-branches, the concrete decisions the thousands of leaves, but all together they build a tree.

Let us define as *fundamental values*²⁷⁴: *Sustainability, solidarity, community, justice, empowerment, responsibility, participation, freedom, security and peace*. This list can be enlarged or shortened or modi-

fied²⁷⁵, based on worldviews, spirituality, and continents. An example: Seven “Spiritual Values as the Foundation of the Politics of Being” are the benchmark for the French environmental scientist Thomas Legrand:

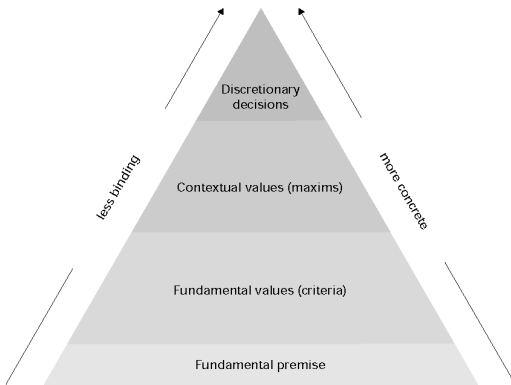
²⁷⁴ Articles on twelve values from authors from all continents can be found in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 57-214.

²⁷⁵ Also in my own publications I vary between 10 and 12 values. Example: forgiveness is in some of my publications an independent value, here it is part and condition of peace. For extended explanations of each value, in Christian perspective, see Stückelberger, Christoph/ Mathwig, Frank, *Grundwerte. Eine theologisch-ethische Orientierung*, Zürich: TVZ, 2007.

Understanding, Life, Happiness, Love, Peace, Mindfulness, Light.²⁷⁶ Even though the list is different from mine, important is the relational, interdependent character of these values and their practical application in his “Agenda for Action” for a sustainable world²⁷⁷. In the dialogue with the author, we confirmed that similar ethical conclusions from different and common spiritual values lead us to a global joint ethics and actions.

However, my list of values is not random, but based on my ethical research, international teaching on four continents and development project work on all continents over decades. I came to the conclusion, that these values are globally important, valid in all cultures and world religions and throughout history. The differences come from the weight of each value in a given time, culture and context and from the differ-

ence in how a value is related or not related to the others. It means that we can say there is a global ethics, as Hans Küng as a pioneer and others developed in an impres-



²⁷⁶ Thomas Legrand: *Politics of Being. Wisdom and Science for a New Development Paradigm*, Ocean of Wisdom Press, 2021, 173-178.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 182-369.

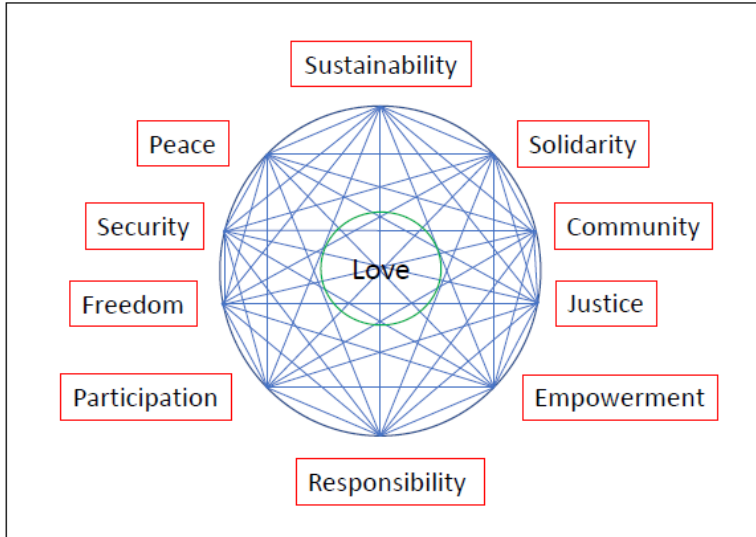
sive way.²⁷⁸ But there are also many contextual differences which have to be taken more seriously as he did (he did it for good reasons as his mission was to emphasize first what humanity has in common).

These values are fundamental values, which means they are general and not yet applied. When they are applied to concrete situations, they are often called norms or contextual values, also maxims (see graph). Even norms are to some extent still general, valid for a specific constituency. Example: The fundamental value ‘justice/equality’ can become a norm ‘equal salary for women and men for equal work’. The concrete decision of an entrepreneur is then, based on this norm, to develop the respective salary scale for the company and take respective decisions.

The systemic relations between the values can also be expressed with a circle the different value-relations as in the following graph. Love is added in the middle of the graph. It means that love is the holistic integration of all these ethical values. *Perfect love would be perfect balance between these values.* Perfect love is implemented – according to the Abrahamic religions – only by Yahwe/God/Allah. But human beings can live it partially, by God’s grace and benevolence. This divine love – Christians call it *agape*, the Greek word of the New Testament – is more than just a cloudy feeling or vague theological term. It is a precise ethical attitude as the holy texts of the Bible and the Qur’an show.

²⁷⁸ Parliament of World’s Religions, *Declaration Toward a Global Ethic*, Chicago 1993; Küng, Hans, *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; Küng, Hans, Leisinger, Klaus M., Wieland, Josef, *Manifesto Global Economic Ethic. Consequences and Challenges for Global Businesses*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2010 (English and German).

Love-agape is the centre, from which the right balancing decisions can be made²⁷⁹.



Also the Eastern, Dharmic religions share the conviction that there is a centre, from which all decisions should be guided. The “Dharma, the ultimate way” and the Tao, the ultimate reality behind the opposites, are the ultimate reference points for daily ethical decisions.²⁸⁰

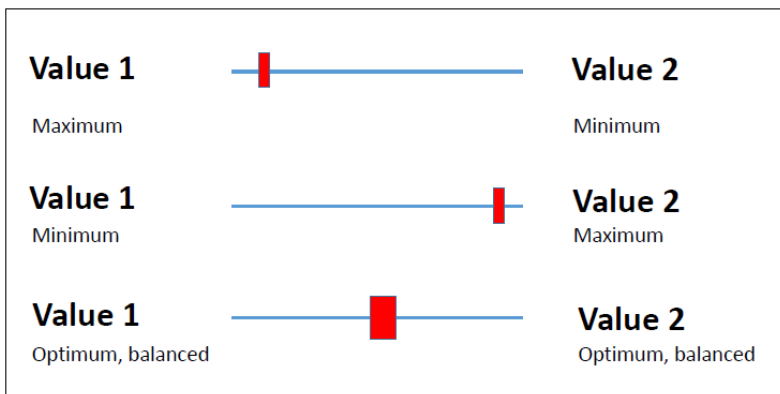
The relationality between values means to see them as part of a system. To use again the allegory of a tree: if one branch grows too fast, it may break, as it is not balanced with the others or – it may hinder other branches by creating a shadow. In normal circumstances, the light and sun enable the branches to grow in a harmonious way and to build a balanced crown of the tree according to its specific character. Sun and

²⁷⁹ See also chapters 2.2.2 and 8.3.

²⁸⁰ See chapters 4.1.2-4.1.4.

light can be an allegory of what we called the balancing and uniting power of love. The allegory of the tree can also be used to show the effect of non-values and vices. Imbalances, tree diseases, storms, human intervention or lack of light can lead to brittle, dying branches or animal infestation at the roots that kill the whole tree. It is an allegory for vices. One cannot balance virtues and vices. Vices affect the virtues negatively and must be kept away, as branches affected by a tree disease can destroy the healthy branches and must be removed.

The ten values represent all in all 45 pairs of values. In each pair of values, there are basically three options, as the graph shows:



Option 1 is to maximize value 1 (e.g. freedom above all) and minimize value 2 (e.g. no solidarity). Option 2 is to maximize value 2 (e.g. solidarity above all) and minimize value 1 (e.g. no freedom). Option 3 is to balance the two values (freedom with solidarity). Optimum in option 3 does not mean that the balance is always in the middle. Depending on the situation, value 1 or 2 can still be stronger in order to reach the dynamic balance, but all is about optimum of the two values and not maximum of one value.

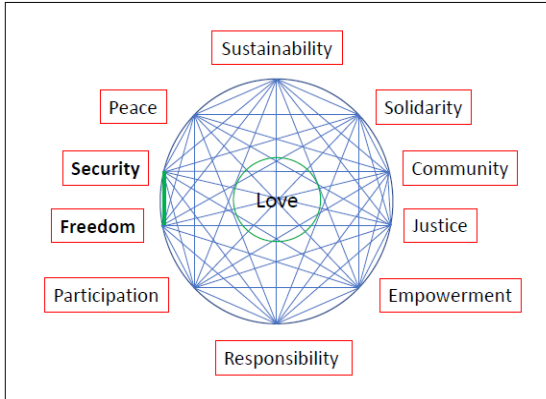
The concept of balancing opposite values has manifold pairs as mentioned. Each of the ten values can be paired with nine other values. In the following sub-chapters of chapter 5.2, we will look at a small selection of five such value-pairs as examples *pars pro toto*.²⁸¹ Then we look at one value (sustainability) in all its relations, which will be later (chapter 7.2) exemplified with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. In chapter 7 we look at thirty topics and select for each of them one values-pair.

5.2.2 Freedom and Security

Freedom is a key value for human beings. Having the freedom to take decisions and implement them is linked to human dignity and to be taken seriously. *Freedom from* dependency liberates to *freedom for* doing the right and righteous thing. But freedom is not easy, neither for individuals nor for communities: freedom includes risks to take the

²⁸¹ A first, much less developed concept of such value-pairs was developed by the author in Christoph Stückelberger/ Hella Hoppe, *Globalance, Christian perspectives on globalisation with a human face, Summary*, Bern: Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, 2005, 3f: “Globalance calls for five pairs of values: *Freedom and justice*: There is no freedom without justice and no justice without freedom. *Transformation and conservation of creation*: Transformation is necessary in order to enable all people to live in dignity but only as far as the integrity of creation is maintained. *Empowerment and responsibility*: Empowerment of the weak is a precondition for justice. Yet, all kind of power is inseparably linked to responsibility in its use. *Participation and solidarity*: Globalisation with a human face requires that all human beings are empowered to participate in decision-making processes and support each other in solidarity, *Unity in diversity*: The unity of the global village is only sustainable when it respects the beauty of its diversity of languages, cultures, economic and social systems and its religions.”

wrong decision, freedom means suffering from lack of certainty, freedom means high self-responsibility.²⁸²



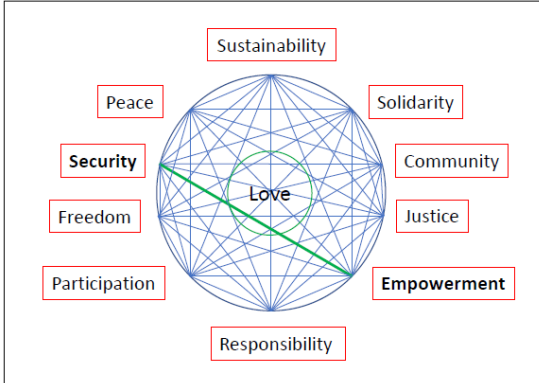
Therefore, many people – especially when they experience freedom and its difficulties – prefer to replace freedom with security: less

responsibility, others who decide for oneself, more (at least superficial) certainty and less risks. The *balance between freedom and security* means to accept limits of freedom in order to guarantee the community life and thus sufficient security. Freedom of speech is an example: It is a key human right. At the same time, freedom of speech must respect rules and other human rights. Hate speech is an abuse of freedom of speech, as it violates the respect and dignity of another person or group. Academic freedom, combined with academic honesty is crucially important, but again within rules. There is no absolute security possible as long as freedom exists.

²⁸² For more detail, see Stückelberger, Christoph, *Freedom as fundamental value. Freiheit als Grundwert*, in Stückelberger, Christoph Global Ethics Applied. Vol. 1 Global Ethics, Economic Ethics, Geneva: Globethics.net, 70-89.

5.2.2 Empowerment and Security

Empowerment²⁸³ means support for and strengthening of self-competence in order to take one’s life in his/her own hands. Raising a



child and educating people means to enable them to take their own decisions. This is especially important when (adult) persons are long term depend-

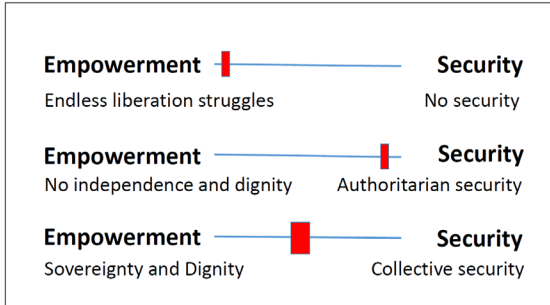
ent on, or even oppressed by others. Empowerment “creates the prospect of living a life in dignity.”²⁸⁴ Empowerment became a key value in civil rights and liberation movements, in gender equality, in general in development and transformation strategies. In Christian perspective, God radically changes the world order by empowering the weak and de-powering the rulers, as it is expressed in the famous Song of Mary: God “has brought down rulers from their thrones but has lifted up the humble. He has filled the hungry with good things and has sent the rich away empty” (Luke 1:52-53). It is not by chance that empowerment in this

²⁸³ See Stückelberger, Christoph, *Empowerment as fundamental value*, in Stückelberger, Christoph *Global Ethics Applied*. Vol. 1 *Global Ethics, Economic Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net 2016, 90-106.

²⁸⁴ Swiss Development and Cooperation SDC, *Creating the prospect of living a life in dignity: Principles guiding the SDC in its commitment to fighting poverty*, Berne: SDC 2004.

text is closely linked to acquiring access to basic human needs such as food.

Security is a situation where a person or community of people is free from threats and danger. It is a status of stability. The key question is



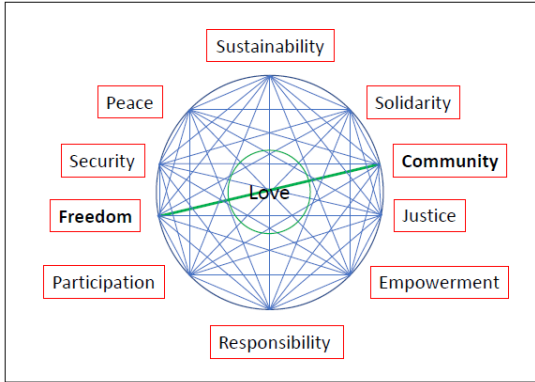
who secures/gives security and for whom. The private security service may protect a private house or a com-

pany building, the army a country, the guard of a president. Food security means to secure food for the hungry. This can be also by food aid, which keeps the hungry dependent. Therefore, in development cooperation food sovereignty was chosen as a term to combine security with empowerment: the hungry should be empowered to feed themselves with a piece of land, earn income from decent work and exercise political rights.

The balance between empowerment and security enables people to live in dignity and with their rights, but limited by the rights and freedom of the others. Such an empowerment includes short term imbalances but increases long term security as inclusive, collective security and not a security of the few against the insecurity of the many.

5.2.3 Freedom and Community

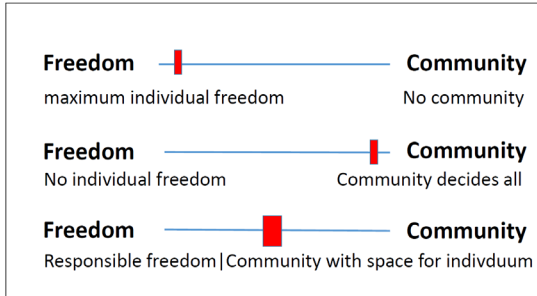
Freedom from dependency and freedom of the individual to take decisions and implement them in actions is a characteristic of modern,



open societies. In extreme individualistic societies, the tendency of liberal societies, this can lead to a loss of community life, to loneliness and lack of re-

sponsibility for the community. On the other side, in collectivistic societies, the community (and its ruler) takes decisions and defines norms, which are binding for every individual and with threat of exclusion if norms and rules are violated. This is the case in many traditional societies, today still mainly in Africa and Asia, in the past (until Reformation and the French revolution) to a great extent in Europe and in the 20th century, in communist countries and closed societies. Migration has its roots in economic needs, but also in the thirst for freedom by escaping the narrowness and force of communities, of families, tribes or political systems. On the other hand, new nationalism and ethnicism has its roots among others in the thirst for community and guiding leadership.

The balance between freedom and community means to respect space for individual freedom, but also support community life, which to some



extent makes individual freedom not limitless. Freedom does not mean ‘do what I want’ without limits. This would be an anar-

chist or libertarian understanding. Personal freedom is always limited by the freedom of the other, which is nothing else than balancing freedom and community. Freedom and responsibility are twins. If self-responsibility is not enough for responsible use of freedom, then responsibility must be imposed by regulations and laws.

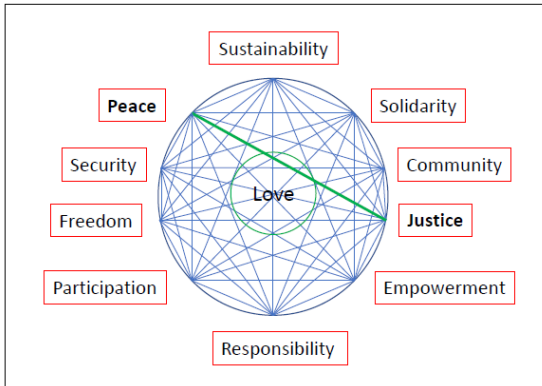
The last seventy years of debates around human rights is an expression of the efforts, and fights, to find the right balance between individual, social, economic and collective rights and responsibilities. Whereas the UN Human Rights Declaration of 1948 placed at its core the individual (political) rights, the “African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights”, which came into force in 1986²⁸⁵, known also as Banjul Charter, added the rights of people as collective community rights, even with its own “African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights”. The “Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam” of 1990 and the “Arab Charter on Human Rights” of 2004 expressed the specific Islamic perspective on human rights and declared the Sharia as the only source for human

²⁸⁵ The African Union AU elects the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights which supervises the Charter. <https://www.achpr.org>.

rights. All these ‘third generation human rights’ try to balance individual, collective as well as political, economic, social and cultural rights.²⁸⁶ An interesting balancing effort in international law which was and still is a long and dynamic political ongoing process where the balance between individual and collective rights is a constant political process.

5.2.4 Justice and Peace

Justice is a key value in all ethical systems, worldwide.²⁸⁷ Of course, the understanding of justice is very different, but at the core is again an act



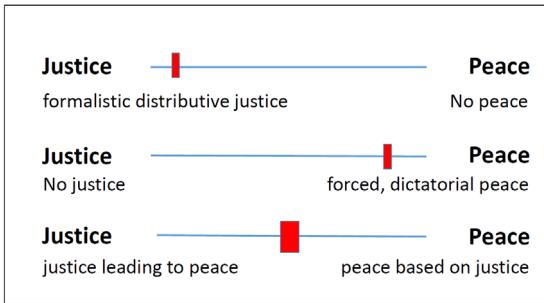
of balance, this time within the value of justice: between distributive justice (everybody gets the same) and corrective justice (everybody gets the

part which allows an equalization between inequalities).

²⁸⁶ With the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights already in 1966.

²⁸⁷ For more details, see Stückelberger, Christoph, *Justice as fundamental value. Gerechtigkeit als Grundwert*, in Stückelberger, Christoph *Global Ethics Applied*. Vol. 1 *Global Ethics, Economic Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net 2016, 39-69.

Distributive justice alone would be unfair because the starting conditions



are not the same for everyone, which means the disparity would continue to exist. Corrective justice, therefore,

attempts to correct imbalances caused by nature, heritage, capacities, fate etc. There are many examples in history and contemporary societies, from debt cancellation to social security for retired people.

Peace is often understood as a status of absence of conflicts and war. But conflicts are part of human life; therefore, peace is better defined as a situation where conflicts are settled in a fair, non-violent and sustainable way. Short term ‘peace’ can also be reached by unfair methods such as violence, power force, threats and oppression. Thus, history shows that such a peace – also called *pax romana* – an enforced peace, for example by the Roman Empire and its imperial power is not sustainable.

The balance between justice and peace is a question as old as humanity. “Justice and Peace kiss each other” says the psalm singer in the Old Testament of the Bible (*Psalm 85:10*). The famous German physicist and philosopher Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker echoed: “No peace without justice, no justice without peace. No justice without freedom, no freedom without justice.”²⁸⁸ He published this by proposing a world assembly of Christians for “Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation”

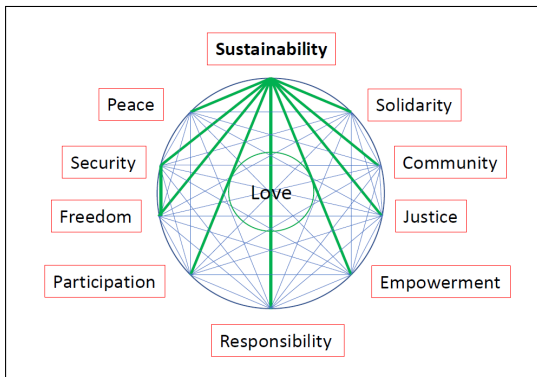
²⁸⁸ Weizsäcker, Carl Friedrich von, *Die Zeit drängt. Eine Weltversammlung der Christen für Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung* München: Hanser, 1986, 114-116.

which was established as an intense process and also reiterated his commitment to peace policy at the 1989 European Ecumenical Assembly in Basel, Switzerland. This perspective of Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker is relational thinking and acting at its best.

Only when peace is built on justice, is peace long term sustainable. Only when justice aims at and leads to peace, does justice reach its goal.

5.2.5 Sustainability connected to the nine other values

Let us take sustainability as last example of value, not as a value pair, but to exemplify connectivity of one value with the other nine values in the circle.



My own definition among the hundreds of definitions of sustainability is: *The value of sustainability means to meet the needs of*

*present and of future generations and non-human creation for long term life in dignity of living beings and the regenerative capacities of the biosphere and the earth.*²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ In own modification of the famous Brundtland definition of 1987. Broadly developed in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Global Ethics Applied. Vol. 2 Environmental Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net 2016.

Let us look at the nine value-connections of sustainability:

The relation between sustainability and *solidarity* is first of all the intergenerational solidarity of present and future generations. If we say ‘après moi le deluge’, ‘after me the flood’, the catastrophe, then we do not see the need to care for future generations. But if we care for future generations and appreciate the *community* with fellow human and non-human beings presently living, sustainability is a must. Sustainability is also strongly linked to *justice*: fair distribution of non-renewable energy must lead to a drastic reduction in its consumption by those whose footprint is larger than they – we – should have from a justice perspective. Sustainability cannot be reached by an eco-dictatorship where a world government punishes all living beyond the acceptable footprint. But *empowerment* can lead e.g. to business start-ups, to manifold self-responsible initiatives for a sustainable way of production and consumption. *Responsibility* is one of the most important pair-values to sustainability: responsibility means to care for oneself and others, to take decisions and actions, to respond to the calling of the time, neighbours and – for religious people – of God. *Participation* is linked to empowerment and community: sustainability cannot be reached by a few, it needs the efforts and participation of everyone, the partnerships (SDGs Goal 17) and networks across disciplines, sectors and continents. And *freedom*? Is it not the reason for the unsustainable lifestyles and irresponsible companies and governments? Yes, because of freedom of decision; the freedom not to do what we recognize we should do, sustainability is difficult to reach. Nevertheless, it is a value in this universe of values which means: sustainability without freedom does not last. It may lead to short-term results, but not long-term transformation. *Security* is a condition and at the same time a fruit for sustainability: without at least a mini-

imum of security, people do not have the space to think long term. If one lacks food-security and is close to dying from hunger, she/he cannot think of future generations or the environment. Cutting firewood to prepare a meal is then an immediate priority; security is also a fruit of sustainability and solidarity. Those who care for others, experience that others will also care for them. A non-sustainable world is a world of conflicts, struggle for resources such as energy and conflicts around mitigation of consequences from non-sustainable societies. On the other hand, *peace* is a fruit of sustainability, but again also a condition for it.

The balance of sustainability with all other values means to recognize the inseparable connections of sustainability with these other values, to discover the concrete aspects of sustainability and to increase the chance to reach a sustainable world.

In chapters 4.3 and 6.2.2, we will look at the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2015-2030 and its deeply relational character.

5.3 Fundamental Virtues in Pairs

5.3.1 Virtues for the 21st Century

*Virtues*²⁹⁰ are an ethical attitude in the behaviour of a person. Virtues are like benchmarks of orientation for high moral standards, but not in general as values, but for specific behaviour of an individual or a group. Honesty is a key virtue of a person; a company or a university is not called honest, only the staff can be, and the organisation can be de-

²⁹⁰ Articles on eleven virtues from authors from all continents can be found in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 215-328.

scribed as transparent, just etc. in its rules and regulations. Since the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, virtues have been seen as a striving for self-education in order to become a person of dignity and respect. Virtues play a key role in all world religions and specifically, Confucianism is in its core a virtue philosophy. In the Catholic church, the four cardinal (main) virtues have been emphasized, based on Plato and Aristotle: justice (*iustitia*), moderation (*temperantia*), courage (*fortitudo*) and wisdom (*sapientia*). Reformation agreed on the content of the virtues, but denied their meaning for salvation, which is seen only as God's grace and not a result of continues self-education and a virtuous life.

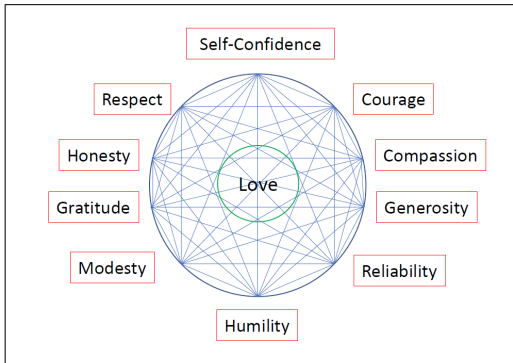
In history of humanity, some virtues are worldwide accepted in all cultures. They express human experience and wisdom of how to live together in a community and live a happy life. Virtues are embedded also in the holy scriptures of the world religions or in oral and written traditions such as proverbs and collections of wisdom. They are specifically interpreted and justified by the respective traditions, but at the core they are common to humankind. Honesty is praised as a virtue across continents and centuries because without honesty, human relations become complex and dangerous. Courage/bravery is globally mentioned as a virtue because it is needed to defend humans against dangers of nature or enemies and to resist evil and temptations. Humility is seen as a virtue which enables life in community and peace without exaggerated power struggles.

The opposite of virtues are the *vices*. Each virtue has a corresponding vice. They are the expression of unethical and destructive behaviour. The virtue of honesty and the vice of lie, the virtue of moderation and the vice of excess/greed, the virtue of courage/bravery and the vice of

cowardice, the virtue of wisdom and the vice of pride/haughtiness, the virtue of generosity and the vice of jealousy etc.²⁹¹

In the context of Globalance, we are not looking at the vices as they are clearly negative and what not to do. We concentrate on the virtues and the difficult aspect of how they are related to each other, again with the same concept that virtues, like values, must be relational to each other in order to contribute to Globalance.

I propose the following ten virtues of the 21st century. They are century old and rooted in the classical virtues, but some reformulated in new



terminology for the contemporary challenges. They are also influenced by West and East, the Western Greek-Judeo-Christian tradition, but also the Eastern Dharma-

Daoist-Confucian traditions. They do not claim to be a complete or closed list. Over decades, the list of virtues in my publications have been slightly modified, but the core of virtues for a human life in dignity, community and respect remains the same.

Self-confidence is a key virtue which allows one to decide and act out of the inner centre and not out of fear or dependency. It seems a

²⁹¹ Catalogues of virtues and vices are found e.g. in the Bible, New Testament in the letters of Paul (Gal 5:19-23; Eph 5:3-19), in the Confucian Analects in every part, in the Taoist Tao Te Ching etc.

modern virtue as a result of emancipation and empowerment, but it is rooted also in faith traditions: faith in God gives dignity and self-confidence to the believers, the ‘inner self’ in Yoga leads to this rootedness. But unrelated to other virtues, self-confidence can lead to overestimation and negative pride.

*Courage*²⁹², as mentioned, is a key virtue for survival, but also to be engaged for justice, to stand up for one’s own values and virtues, to resist pressure. The more self-confident one is, the more courageous he/she can be.

*Compassion*²⁹³ as empathy, sympathy is the emotional core virtue for caring for oneself, others and the creation. Rational analysis is good and much needed, but without compassion, the “fuel” of energy is missing. On the other hand, compassion without rational facts and figures tends to become pure sentimentalism.

Generosity has been a key virtue for millennia. It is the expression and result of compassion, caring and sharing. Greed and avarice are the opposite vices. Important is the reason and motivation for generosity. It can be out of pressure (‘All employees of my company should donate...’), hope for fame and reputation or just an expression of thankfulness, which is the best and longest lasting.

²⁹² Alagbada, Nichodeme, *Courage – Prophetic Moral Strength*, Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 243-252.

²⁹³ Nnagozie, Prince, *Compassion – the Mother of all Virtues*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 275-284.

*Reliability*²⁹⁴ means someone can rely on and count on someone else. Reliability is closely linked to the value of responsibility and accountability. Both regulate a relation: my decisions are not only my own, but I respond to others and I am accountable to others. Reliability means one keeps promises or communicates with reasons if it is not possible to keep the promise. Reliability is key in building trust between persons, institutions and countries. A personal virtue then translates into legal and political predictability e.g. by a state of law. Reliability and predictability are opposite to the vice of arbitrariness and unpredictability.

Humility is the virtue which was historically, probably the most abused, as mentioned above. It can be a decree of rulers to keep slaves quiet, to keep women at home, to keep children as servants. Humility is first a virtue for oneself, not to be imposed on others. Humility makes a human being human and modest. But this virtue also shows that some virtues – for reasons of historical abuse – must be set aside for some time or re-interpreted. The theologian Dorothee Sölle reinterpreted humility, in German ‘demut’, as ‘dienmut’, the courage to serve! An excellent effort to translate a virtue in a contemporary context of empowerment.

*Modesty*²⁹⁵ is the core virtue of balance between too much and too little, the ‘mesotes’ as the appropriate middle way as Aristotle, Thomas

²⁹⁴ Werner, Dietrich, *Reliability – Basis for Trust*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 215-222.

²⁹⁵ Kobia, Sam, *Modesty – in Leadership*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 295-302.

Aquinas, Calvin, Buddha, Confucius and many more said.²⁹⁶ It is the way to avoid greed and addiction, the way to inner freedom and less dependency from material or other goods. It is the virtue, which enables fair distribution and sustainability. As for humility, modesty is not primarily a virtue for the poor and vulnerable, but for the powerful, strong and successful people. It is also an important virtue for institutions and nations. A superpower with a supremacy ideology has to learn modesty as a gain and a strength and not a weakness and loss.

*Gratitude*²⁹⁷ is the source and at the same time the result of humility, and modesty. Gratitude is an expression of wisdom, that all what we have, is a gift and not a possession. Gratitude liberates from greed, increases happiness and – according to several scientific researches – extends life.

Honesty is a key virtue for building trust in relations. It is easy to acknowledge, but difficult to implement. It means the renouncement of double morality, hidden agendas. People admit to honesty, but at the same time support secret services, and accept lying as a ‘legitimate’ means in politics²⁹⁸, etc.

²⁹⁶ Mesotes, in German “das Mass”, is the core value in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozialetische Orientierung*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1997, 115-227.

²⁹⁷ Linsi, Walter/Astfálck, Rita, *Gratitude – the Basis for Ethics*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 285-294.

²⁹⁸ A former minister of the Swiss government describes honestly the dilemmas of a politician about lies and honesty: Leuenberger, Moritz, *Lies and Politics*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 215-222.

*Respect*²⁹⁹ means to acknowledge that the other is a human being with his/her dignity. Respect is an expression of the Golden Rule to treat the other as one wants to be treated in return, and of the double commandment to love others as oneself. Self-respect is condition and part of respecting others. In many cultures, the virtue of respect is mainly seen as respect of younger to elderly persons, of women to men, of subordinates to leaders. But respect in its core is always mutual: the elderly person to respect the younger, men and women to mutually respect each other and employers to respect employees.

The list of these ten virtues is open for modifications and contextualisation. The question can be raised if e.g. should trust not be listed under virtues? I decided not to add it because trust is a consequence and fruit of honesty and reliability, but one can also argue that trust is ‘a kind of virtue.’³⁰⁰ Trust can also be seen as a value.³⁰¹

5.3.2 Self-Confidence and Humility

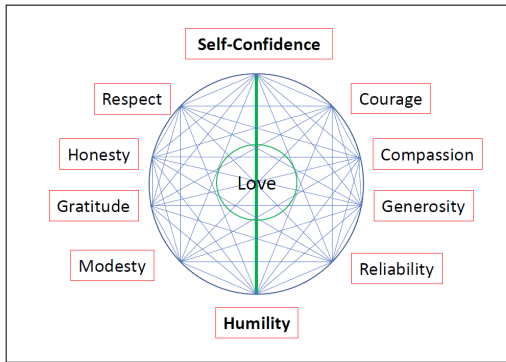
Self-confidence looks like a modern virtue as a result of emancipation and empowerment. It is mentioned opposite to humility. *Humility* for centuries, was seen as submission, patience and was in fact a means of oppression, especially of women by men.

²⁹⁹ Kochappilly, Paulachan, *Respect - from Family to World Family*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, Fust, Walter, Ike, Obiora (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 223-234.

³⁰⁰ Shionoya, Yuichi, *Trust as a Virtue*, Shinoya, Yuichi/ Ygi, Kichiro (eds.), *Competition, Trust and Cooperation*, Berlin: Springer, 2001, 3-19 (3).

³⁰¹ Rossouw, Deon, *Trust*, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Fust, Walter, /Ike, Obiora, *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 175-188.

Humility as opposite to the vice of arrogance and exaggerated pride.

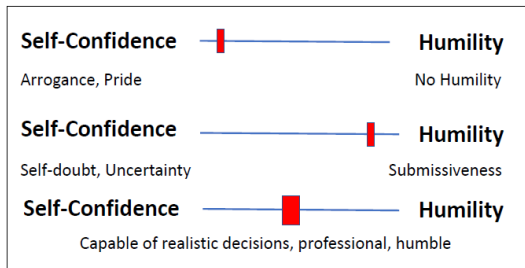


Humility is very important, as long as it is linked to self-confidence and the other virtues and is not an isolated virtue in itself.

Arrogance as exaggerated, negative

self-confidence leads to an attitude of making the other small and easily

leads to *humiliation*.



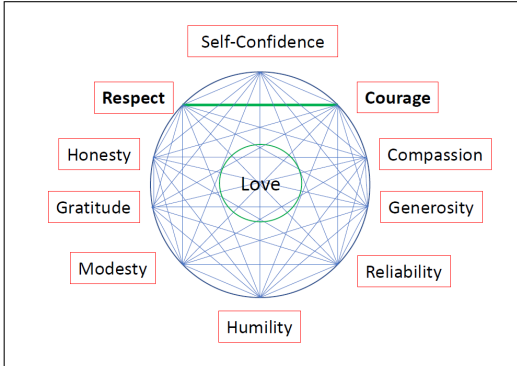
Humiliating the other is one of the most frequent roots of conflicts, from the family shouting in the kitchen to

wars such as World War I, where the winners humiliated the loser nation Germany, establishing roots for World War II (more in chapter 7.15).

Humility helps to avoid humiliation!

5.3.3 Courage and Respect

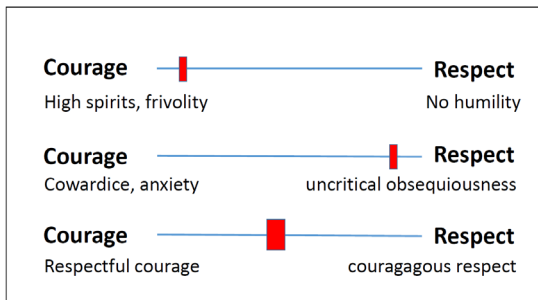
Courage is very important for a person with integrity in order to stand for their own values and swim against the masses if needed.



But exaggerated courage can become frivolity and high spirit attitude which then undermines the credibility of a person. Respect is very important for dignity in human rela-

tions.

Respect is an expression of love. Respect acknowledges the dignity



of the other person³⁰², as every human has dignity independent from status, wealth and qualities. However, respect as an

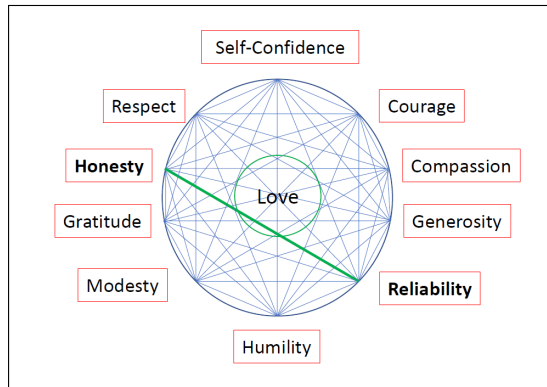
absolute principle would deny courage to resist violence of justice and other evil. Respect then becomes uncritical obsequiousness and courage is replaced by anxiety and cowardice. A balanced courage is realistic,

³⁰² On the connection of dignity, respect, love and ethics: Claudia Mehl, *Würde, Liebe und Moral. Liebe als Schlüsselement für moralisch motiviertes Handeln*, Mosaicstones Verlag, 2021.

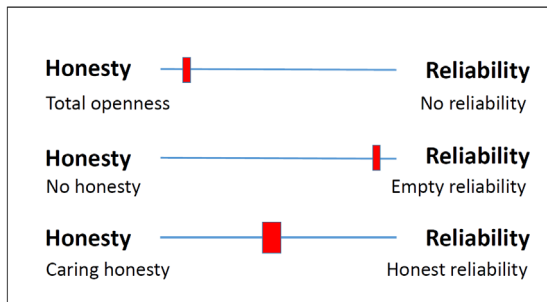
willing to pay a price (for ethical behaviour) and performs courageous actions usually done with others, alone. Balanced, courageous respect pays respect to authorities, but also ‘normal’ people bearing in mind that all human beings have their dignity. Courageous respect denies unethical respect where it would cement unfair power structures.

5.3.4 Honesty and Reliability

Honesty builds trust and as mentioned, is key for human relations. Can there be too much honesty and openness at the extreme? Yes, it can



be the case, when truth is honestly communicated, but at the wrong moment or in the wrong place. The medical doctor must carefully



choose the words and moment to communicate that the patient has cancer. Moreover, if a medical doctor were to disappear

on holiday without contact, leaving the patient alone and without a replacing doctor, the virtue of reliability is violated. The patient cannot count on the specialist when needed. Reliability also seems to be an un-

limited virtue. If it is not connected to honesty, it can become an empty promise or mechanical trustworthiness e.g., the husband who is always at home in time, does all the housework and is with the children as promised seems very reliable, but hides an extramarital relationship. Reliability becomes empty. The balance leads to caring honesty and honest reliability.

Honesty seems to be a key virtue across value-systems, cultures and religions. However, there are big differences. “Chinese do not have problems to lie”, was an expression of a European business person dealing since decades with Chinese. From an ethical perspective, the statement has to be refused as it is far too general and accuses a whole category of people. However, the sentence shows the difference in perception what truth and lie, honesty and dishonesty is in a specific cultural context means. The same is the case with reliability. In addition, some people would never cheat or say a lie towards own family/clan members or persons belonging to the same ethnic group or nation, but do it without hesitation towards ‘the others’ such as foreigners. Behind is the profound question, how universal or sectoral virtues like honesty and reliability are seen in the own ethical universe.

In praxis, honesty is often difficult to implement. Let us take the example of corruption in business. I developed six options on honesty for trainings of businesspeople confronted with corruption³⁰³:

Option 1: Justification: ‘We have no choice. Everybody has to play the game.’ *Option 2: Silence:* ‘Do not talk about corruption, just do what is needed and do not inform me as superior. I do not want to know.’

³⁰³ Cui, Wantian/ Stückelberger, Christoph, *The Better Sinner. A Practical Guide on Corruption*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2020, 25.

Option 3: Double moral: ‘We strongly support the governments’ anti-corruption efforts’ (silently: ‘but we have to continue to pay and receive bribes’). *Option 4: Radical:* ‘No corruption accepted in our company. Strong sanctions are needed if somebody violates this rule.’ *Option 5: Honesty:* ‘We will never ask for or accept bribes. We try by all means to avoid paying bribes and find creative solutions. But we honestly confess that we have not yet reached fully this goal.’ *Option 6: Position Change:* ‘I cannot change the company or institution I am working for. I have to quit being faithful to my values.’ – The six options show that in praxis the ethical honest decision often includes ethical dilemmas.

5.4 Relational Sustainable Development Goals

Despite many cultural and ethical differences and value clashes between and within countries, humanity, represented by the governments of almost all countries around the globe, agreed on common goals. The United Nations General Assembly in 2015 adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the period 2015-2030. They succeeded the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) for the period 2000-2015. Four characteristics distinguish MDGs and SDGs: First, the SDGs have been elaborated in a very participatory, extended process, second, the SDGs are concretised in 169 concrete sub-goals, third, a differentiated methodology of impact measurement indicators have been developed, fourth, most important for our topic is that the connectivity between the goals has been emphasized and concretized in goal 17 on partnerships, meaning that all sectors of society must cooperate in order to reach the goal. Therefore, the private, non-governmental, academic and religious sec-

tors are much more involved in the SDGs than in the MDGs.³⁰⁴ With SDG 17, the United Nations and many of their agencies explored or strengthened their cooperation with faith communities under the term *faith and development*. Voluntary partnerships, which are powerful but not forceful, are important.³⁰⁵ A specialised organisation is PaRD, the International Partnership on Religion and Sustainable Development.³⁰⁶



³⁰⁴ SDGs graphs from official UN website.

³⁰⁵ Karam, Azza, *Powerful versus Forceful Partnerships: Religion, Politics and Development*, in Larsen, Knut Edvard/ Jorgensen, Knud (Eds.), *Power and Partnership*, Oxford: Regnum, 2014, 5-22.

³⁰⁶ <https://www.partner-religion-development.org>.

The SDGs can also be shown in a circle as above. In this circle, the 17 SDGs are connected by 136 lines, representing bilateral relations!³⁰⁷ Two examples: SDG 6 on “Clean Water and Sanitation” can be connected to SDG 8 on “Decent Work and Economic Growth” by investments in job-creating water projects. SDG 4 on Quality Education supports all other SDGs as education and access to knowledge are a key condition for all other goals.



³⁰⁷ Composition of circle graph by the author, based on Swiss Federal Institute of Technology ETH in Zurich and support from Michael Stückelberger.

WAYS OF TRANSFORMATION TOWARDS GLOBALANCE

How can a status of imbalance be transformed to a status of balance? Where may the transition be needed from unfair balance to a period of imbalance in order to reach a new status of fair balance?

In this chapter, we develop a typology of options of transition. Theories of transformational change and strategies of conflict resolutions build the background, but it is not the place to refer to them explicitly.

Strategies of transformation towards a fair balance are key as they influence how violent or non-violent, how short term or long term sustainable and how participatory or dictatorial they are. How many victims, where and when in the process of transformation are at risk?

In chapter 7 we deal with thirty applied domains of Globalance. For each of them, the appropriate form of transformation and its consequences could be developed.

6.1 Forms of Transformation

6.1.1 Balanced Transformation in Nature

In nature, different types of transition between imbalance and balance exist in physical, chemical and biological perspective. A few examples:

- The equilibrium state is a status, which does not change as long as there is no influence from outside. A pendulum after a certain time stops moving if there is no impulse from outside. Different equilibrium states such as dynamic or thermodynamic equilibrium exist;
- The osmosis of liquid e.g. between two water ponds or cells leads to a balance with same level of density between two parts;
- The sense of balance (equilibrioception) in the body, led by eyes and ears prevents collapse;
- In biology, homeostasis is the steady internal, physical, chemical, biological conditions maintained in living systems, be it a plant, animal or human. It regulates variables such as fluid balance, sugar, temperature, concentration of minerals etc.

A static equilibrium normally exists only a short time, because life means that everything is always on the move (in Greek philosophy: *panta rei*, everything flows). Life is always in transition as long as it is alive (and even a dead entity such as a body or a tree is for a certain time in transformation by the decomposition process of the dead entity).

6.1.2 Transformation in Human Body

In human life, many processes of transition are influenced by biological, chemical and physical processes as human life is part of life in na-

ture. In the current hype about algorithms, scientists and philosophers say that all what exists is in fact only an algorithm (it means, the world formula for Globalance would be “only” an algorithm, to be developed). Nevertheless, it would be unacceptable social Darwinism to deduct human and societal transition and transformation processes just from natural processes.

6.1.3 Transformation in Society

In society, main forms of transformation are evolution/reform, revolution, counter-revolution and simple shift of power:

- *Reform* in an evolutionary process means a partial renewal and innovation of a status. It is the constant process of politics in parliaments with new legislations, financial regulations, taxation, incentives etc. Reform constantly happens in most sectors of society, be it education, science and technology, business, culture, sport, media etc.
- *Revolution* is a transition in a disruptive, radical way and in short time. For centuries, revolutions happened mainly as civil war within a nation or constituency; but revolutions also happen across countries, especially when we speak about the Industrial Revolutions 1-4 which have been and are technology driven.
- *Counter-Revolution* is a reaction to a revolution in order to re-install the status quo ante. Some are successful, some not, it often leads in fact to a partial re-installation of pre-revolutionary values and situation alongside reforms.
- *Power shift* from one person or party to another person or party can be a radical change, but is often a continuation of basically similar structures by maintaining and defending power structures. It can be

revolution, a reform, but is often rather ‘more of the same’ (e.g. a putsch). In this context it is mainly understood as change of power without fundamental shift of balances.

6.2 Driving Powers for Transformation. Overview

6.2.1 Driving Powers and their Roles

They are manifold driving forces. Each of them contributes and responds to value-imbances and balances in a different, positive (reducing imbalances) or negative (increasing imbalances) way. The distinction between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ powers, which I first thought to distinguish, is not helpful as the different driving powers are mixed. A military arms force is hard and soft at the same time as it depends to a large extent on data, software and communication skills. The so-called soft power of social media can become a very powerful instrument in hardware politics such as elections etc. Ethical values and ideologies which are seen as soft power, can suddenly become decisive factors of change. *All these driving forces for change can play a role in favour of balancing or replacing one imbalance just by another one.*

Main driving forces/powers³⁰⁸ for transition and change are the following, without claiming to present a complete list:

- *Economic/financial power*, in non-war, but also in war situations, is the most influential driver for power shifts, especially in soft and

³⁰⁸ On the ethical evaluation of the different forms of power and the translation into personal decisions see Stückelberger, Christoph, *Responsible Leadership Handbook. For Boards and Staff*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2014, 57-75.

long-term transitions. It includes the power of financial markets with investments, including policies of central banks and nowadays the whole hype around block chain and cryptocurrencies.

- *Innovation/technological power* is an important power especially for small entities. E.g. Switzerland is a small country but is regularly on top in innovation index and gains part of its economic power from it. Technological power is a key driver especially in the cyber world as we will see. It is linked to power of innovation, of power of data. The acceleration in speed of innovation and of transfer from scientific research to praxis is breath taking. In academic disciplines, the dominance of science over humanities represents one of the imbalances. Technologies lead to evolutionary and disruptive-revolutionary changes.
- *Data/information power* is today the most dynamic and profitable production factor. Those who collect, transform and own big data, are key drivers such as the big four in the USA (Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, called GAFA) and the big three in China (Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, called BAT).
- *Political/legal power* is key as most of the transitions happen in a given legal frame such as state of law and international conventions. Politics (legislative, executive and judicial power) means changing and developing laws towards new objectives and values. Transitional justice³⁰⁹ is an example, how special rules are needed in transition periods where old rules are no more applicable and new rules are not yet in place.

³⁰⁹ An excellent, in depth international analysis of transitional justice over five decades is presented by Pathak, Bishnu, *Generations of Transitional Justice in the World*, *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 6 (7), 18-83.

- *Military power* through violent occupation of foreign land, power shift inside a country, or cyber-attacks, a transition is imposed by violent force. In most cases it does not lead to a more balanced system but moves the pendulum to the other extreme and has high costs in victims and disruptions.
- *Natural resources power.* Owners of natural resources, especially non-renewable energy resources such as oil and gas, and minerals, especially rare minerals vital for modern technology, have an enormous power. Unfortunately, it is very often not the governments of the respective countries such as DR Congo that have the power, but the owners of the mining operations.
- *Workforce power* is traditionally one of the most important and influential. In agricultural societies without mechanised agriculture, all depends on human work force. In the digital and robotised world, mainly highly education specialists are the required work force.
- *Consumer power:* human beings can bring change not only as workforce, but also as consumers with the consumer choices. Even though the consumer behaviour is mainly influenced by economic pricing, the consumer trends can influence.
- *Knowledge/education power:* in modern society, information, knowledge and critical thinking through education are of course more important than ever for change. Different challenges are linked to it: the overwhelming flood of information, fake information, critical thinking and digestion of information in order to transform it to action-oriented knowledge and growing censorship of information.

- *Communication/networking power* was always an important force but is becoming of vital significance in the globally interconnected world. “Tell me, with whom your work and I tell you how successful you *will* be” is also true for transition strategies. Networking has also negative connotations in the past when it is practiced as ‘vitamin B’, nepotism, favouritism, ethnicism etc.; for ethically positive and balanced impact, networking has to fulfil criteria of transparency, honesty, fairness etc.
- *Peoples’ movements* arise mainly as countermovement against inequalities and other imbalances. Some are very successful by developing the power to impose their views and values on society, others do not have sustainable impact or are in an early stage oppressed by the ruling power.
- *Ethical power* is the power coming from values and virtues. Personalities with integrity such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King or Dietrich Bonhoeffer had no economic, formal political or military power, but had the enormous power of credibility in their values for justice and the common good which brought transformation.
- *Religious/spiritual power* is often perceived as power of a leader of a religious institution with moral authority such as a church leader or the head of a Buddhist monastery. But religious-spiritual power is not necessarily linked to an institutional role, but the convincing content of the message and values. It then is close to ethical power.
- *Ideological/historical power* can be strong drivers for change, or they can be strong obstacles for change. Power with reference to historical events and national identity often have restorative tendencies, which contribute more to imbalances than balances.

- *Natural disasters* are often a key driver and trigger for change, by opening eyes for threats and developments such as measures on climate. Natural disasters do not automatically lead to change and more balance. Much depends on whether the awareness and information about reasons for the disaster already exists; how the leaders interpret the natural disasters and whether the population is receptive to learn from disasters or stick their heads in the sand.
- *Human disasters/war* can lead to fundamental changes in the structure of society. Wars – such as World War I and II – lead to a new world order, unfortunately not more balanced, but more polarised with the b. Human disasters and war are not automatically an eye-opener for change towards balance but depend – as natural disasters, much on political-ideological interpretation and instrumentalisation and of the populations receptiveness to learn from the human disaster or to deny and repress it, as it is often the case after wars.
- *Unintended and unexpected events* can be the trigger for a revolution or transformation. The Tunisian Revolution started with a young man who burnt himself and enflamed the Arab spring. ‘Revolution is impossible until it is inevitable’, said the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Often quoted, but original source of Trotsky works not found. www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/65974.Leon_Trotsky?page=3.

6.2.2 Driving Powers from Reform to Revolution

Types of change	Reform (Ref)	Revolution (Rev)	Counter-Revolution (CRev)	Power Shift (PSh)
Powers of change				
Economic/ Financial power	Key in any reform agenda	Economic collapse can lead to Rev.	Economic control can lead to CRev	Key is control of financial power
Innovation/ Technol. Power	Continuous innovation	Disruptive technologies' revolution	Resistance/refusal of new technologies	Shift to owners of new technologies
Data/ Information power	Main driver in current changes	Main driver in 4 th Industrial Revolution	Can also be used for CRev	Shift from public to private companies
Political/ Legal power	State of law is key for balanced changes	Correct imbalance by new imbalance	Restore pre-revol. Imbalance	Continuity with other rulers
Military/ Violent power	Normally not reform, but disruptive	One means for Rev, but often only Psh	Often the means for CRev	Often the means for a power shift/putsch
Natural Resources Power	Availability and Ownership is key	Availability and Ownership is key	Availability and Ownership is key	Availability and Ownership is key
Workforce/ Labour Power	Unions as force for capital-labor-balance	Revolutionary potential of labor force	Counter Revol potential of labor force	Less relevant in pure power shift
Consumer Power	Can be partial driver in reforms	influence on rev mainly when famine	Minor influence on CRev	Minor influence on PSh

Types of change	Reform (Ref)	Revolution (Rev)	Counter-Revolution (CRev)	Power Shift (PSh)
Powers of change				
Knowledge/ Education power	Key driver for reforms	Can be important driver for Rev	Education seen as obstacle to CRev	Limited influence of education on PSh
Communication/ Networking power	Key driver for reforms	Can be important driver (social media)	Important driver in CRev	Partial driver in Psh
Alliances/ Negotiation Power	Diplomatic multilat. negotiations	Overthrow current institutions	Establish new internat. order	From old to new multilat. Institutions
Peoples' Movements power	Driver for sensitisation and reforms	Key driver for revolution	Can be driver for CRev	Can contribute to PSh
Ethics/ Value power	Strengthen values balance	Often dominance of counter-value	Restore pre-revolutionary imbalance	Often no values change
Religious/ Spiritual power	Can be a driver for reform	Can lead to Rev (e.g. Reformation)	Can be a driver for CRev	Rather exceptionally a driver for Psh
Ideological/ Historical Power	Can be strong driver for reform	Can be one driver for Rev	Restorative justification of nationalism	Can be one driver for PSh
Natural Disasters Power	Accelerate awareness for Ref (Climate	Disruptions can lead to instability/Rev	Disruptions can lead to instability/CRev	
Human disasters/ War power	Often hinders or stops reforms	Leads often to human disasters	Leads often to human disasters	Can happen by war, then leads to disasters

6.3 Hard and Soft Powers of Transformation

Transformation needs power, decision-making power and implementing instruments. To transform societies into sustainable Globalance includes tough power struggles. Societal, economic and political transformation is on one hand driven by soft powers (ideas, visions, education, spirituality etc.), on the other hand by hard powers like capital, military, political and institutional powers. *Soft power* is the ability to win the other and thus defends the own interests by motivating, convincing and coopting the other. *Hard power* wins over the other and defends its interest by coercing and forcing the other against his will. We briefly look at ten of these powers in this chapter. Our interest is to check the transformational capacity of these powers towards Globalance. We will deepen then a good number of them in chapter 7.

Strategies and means of transformation also depend on the type of ‘goods’ people are struggling for. Nye/Welch distinguish four types of ‘goods’³¹¹: 1. “Private goods are excludable”: they can be owned by a person or a group and others are excluded. 2. “Public goods are nonexcludable and nonrivalrous”: they belong to all and can be used by all. 3. “Club goods are excludable and nonrivalrous”: club members, e.g. those who pay for a service have equal right to access and they are not in rivalry as long as enough exists for the club members. 4. “Common goods are nonexcludable and rivalrous”: everyone can have access, but competition and conflicts around accessibility can arise.

Power struggles especially in transition periods are often linked to a desire to change access: to transform a common good like a river to a

³¹¹ Joseph Nye/ David Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: Intro to Theory and History*, Pearson: 9th Edition, 2014, e-book, 204 (ch.7).

private good for one country or village; to restrict club membership to a selected few, e.g. in cold war, or to expand the ‘club’ of likeminded countries by new alliances.

6.3.1 Hard Power: Economic Instruments, Investments, Sanctions

Money is still one of the most powerful instruments for change. Even a war without money is lost. Financial power is capital in cash and reserves, especially capital for investments and innovation. Also, the political power to set economic and financial rules and regulations is enormous. The power of the US Federal Reserve to influence the value of the USD as the lead global currency cannot be overestimated, as it has an impact on all sectors in the whole world as all central banks have a good part of their reserves in USD. Therefore, whatever we think about a balanced New World Order, capital is a key driver and green investments is a key to a sustainable future.

With the US-China trade war and the Ukraine war, economic *sanctions* became again a very visible hard power instrument to put pressure on the adversary. Trade tariffs, import and export restrictions, pipeline blockage, freezing bank accounts and many more instruments are used as part of sanctions. They are imposed bilaterally by governments, can be voluntarily decided by private actors or as decided by multilateral or regional organizations as international sanctions against a country or group of countries violating agreed international law or threaten vital interests of countries.

US President Biden stated on 26 Feb 2022, only two days after invasion of Russia to Ukraine, in defending sanctions against Russia, the alternative to sanctions would be the Third World War. Sanctions are in fact an effort of pressure without going to war. It often is also a step in the escalation ladder towards war.

In most of the cases in the last hundred years, sanctions have been controversial in their effects. Those in favor argue that it is an impactful, non-military instrument to put pressure on the adversary to change its strategy and behavior. Others argue that the population and not the leadership suffers under sanctions, even the population of the countries who decide sanctions and that sanctions have limited influence on governments. Historic and current examples show that some evidence exists for both arguments. In a number of cases, sanctions also lead to a sectoral innovation push. In the case of the Ukraine war, the energy crisis in Europe due to less Russian oil and gas accelerates diversification and greening of energy supply in Europe. Boycotted countries accelerate to build their own industrial, intellectual or other production capacities. However, in most of the cases, sanctions include the risk of escalation of the conflict.³¹² *In ethical perspective*, here a few criteria on sanctions:

1. Sanctions should save lives by stopping and correcting injustice and bringing a conflict to an end faster.
2. However, if sanctions put many lives of the civil population in danger (e.g. food and energy crises), they are ethically questionable.

³¹² As two peace researchers show: Tobis Debiel/ Herbert Wulf, *Eskalation und Deeskalation im Ukraine Krieg*, University Duisburg/Essen, Blog, 13 March 2022. <https://www.uni-due.de/inef/blog/eskalation-und-deeskalation-im-ukraine-krieg.php>. (Accessed 10 Aug 2022).

3. ‘Hunger as weapon’ is unethical! 2600 years ago, as reported in the Old Testament of the Bible, God’s war legislation for the Israelites was already that soldiers are not allowed to cut fruit trees of the enemy! “These trees are not the enemy, so do not make war against them.” (Deuteronomy 20:19).
4. Not only the short-term immediate impact such as shortage of oil, gas or food should be considered, but also the long-term impact on economy, cooperation and human lives beyond the immediate short term impact of a war.
5. Sanctions need to put strong pressure on an adversary but should not aim at destroying this other nation as this would definitely escalate the conflict to a very dangerous level. Nor should sanctions aim at exchanging a government or leader (like Putin in the Ukraine case). Experience shows that sanctions cannot reach this goal.³¹³

6.3.2 Hard Power: Wars in different Forms

War in its common understanding is an armed conflict with violence, aggression, killing of lives and destruction. Such military war happens between states, alliances of states, societies, but also free militants such as mercenaries or terrorist groups, without legitimization by states.

In the modern world, weapons are not only guns, tankers and air-planes, which are hard ware military equipment in a *military war*.

³¹³ For evidence see Friedrich Glasl, *Konfliktmanagement*, in Berthold Meyer (Hg.), *Konfliktregelung und Friedensstrategien: Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2011, 125-145 (128). https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_downloads/Glasl_fertig.PDF (Accessed 10 Aug. 2022)

As important in modern warfare is information, cyberspace, ideologies, sanctions, trade restrictions etc. We therefore speak for good reasons about *information war, cyber war, trade war, food war, hybrid war* (on the battlefield and in cyber space) etc. information, internet, data, water, food etc. are as important weapons in a war as classical military equipment.

The *types of wars* can also be differentiated by *strategies and tactics*. If one party in a war has much less military power and high tech arms than the other, it may compensate this weakness by innovative methods of cyber war (as the case in Ukraine) and by tactics as it was the case in many liberation movements wars in the 1960s and 1970s, in the guerilla tactic in the Vietnam war against US and in the terrorist attacks and wars of Al Qaida and others. A centralized hierarchical strategy and tactic is more likely to be successful in stable situation or a classical war, but in revolutionary disruptions, a decentralized network-based tactic may be more successful.³¹⁴

In our context of examining powers of transformation, the question is: What are the *motivations* and key drivers for war and *if wars can contribute constructively or destructively to transformation towards Globalance*.

From a pacifist perspective, war can never contribute to improve societies. From a social science, historical and empirical perspective, war is seen through many facets, contradicting theories and historical examples as disaster or as factual means of transformation in power, since humanity exists.

³¹⁴ This is a conclusion of the detailed analysis of Niall Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower. Networks and Power from the Freemasons to Facebook*, Penguin Random House, 2016.

Motivations for armed wars (and unarmed wars. See above) are decisive for the question if the outcome increases Globalance or decreases it. Theories of motivations³¹⁵ for armed wars include psychological, evolutionary, economic, technological, demographic, cultural, religious and sociological and in all of them values-driven elements. The motivation of an empire/superpower to defend its top position and influence is different from the motivation to secure resources such as land, water, energy for its own population or from the motivation of revenge for past humiliation and reestablishing the dignity and pride of a nation.

From an ethical perspective, wars where the oppressed overthrow and oust dictatorial oppressors can be ethically better justified, as such a war is defending justice, freedom, dignity etc. However, it could ethically only be justified as last option, after trying all non-violent instruments that we describe below. Only then, in such rare cases, could we talk of a “just war”. Too often, a war was and is justified as just war without this condition (see chapter 7.15 on the Russia-Ukraine war). Wars are often brutal power struggles in a Machiavellian sense and reasons of defending values, people and environment are just ideological justifications. The virtue of honesty would request from powers to declare a war by its true main reason: just to defend and enlarge one’s own power. As this is not happening, ideological justifications of wars have to be dismantled by academics, multilateral (UN) institutions, civil society and religious organisations.

³¹⁵ A helpful short overview of theories of motivations for wars in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War#Theories_of_motivation. (Accessed 10 Aug 2022)

6.3.3 Soft Power: Building Trust

Polarisation and imbalanced policies are often rooted in or a result of mistrust. Mistrust against other parties, values or cultures are often rooted in prejudices, but are also fueled by targeted misinformation, fake news and deliberate historical biased accounts.

What are obstacles to trust? In order to build trust, we have first to recognize what undermines trust:

- Greed (dependency from material needs)
- Egoism (own interests before common good)
- Powergame (increase own power as ultimate goal)
- Addiction (fun first, gambling, violation, alcoholism)
- Narcissism (lack of ability for compassion)
- Destruction (criminal or destructive energy)
- Nepotism (favoritism, ethnicism, racism, sexism)
- Mistrust (caused by/linked to corruption, intransparency)

What builds trust?

- The relations and environment of persons and institutions
- The ability to recognize and deal with risks
- The ability to think ahead and long term
- The ability to build majorities and find political coalitions
- Standards and their regular monitoring
- Legal supervision of processes
- Separation of power for mutual control
- Agreement on core values
- Direct human contact and interaction

- Accepting a certain level of uncertainty
- Trustworthy are persons and institutions with:
 - Competence (professional, social, communicative)
 - Reliability, faithfulness
 - Integrity, honesty
 - Openness (information policy)
 - Caring attitude (respect, common good, loyalty).

When is mistrust justified and needed?

- Control is the enemy of trust. Many people repeat this wrong view, suggesting that trust is blind. But blind trust can easily be abused. It is not a stable foundation for a sustainable personal or institutional relation. Control is an important step in building trust!
- Trust does not come out of nothing. Trust is built step by step and grows by experience of reliable interactions.
- Mistrust is not the enemy of trust, but a necessary component in establishing trust.
- Trust is neither in opposition to contracts nor control. On the contrary: contracts need trust to be signed and they strengthen trust while being respected and implemented.
- Trust is also strengthened by control as well as by criticism. Democratic criticism builds trust. IT companies ask clients for “zero trust” and to control their systems in order to gain trust.³¹⁶ An interesting approach.

³¹⁶ IT companies like Cisco and Huawei have been criticized for potentially accepting backdoors in their hardware and software for governments to control. As a reaction, Huawei decided a zero trust strategy and opened a tech center in Brussels for clients to examine their products back to the source code. See Christoph Hugenschmidt, *How Huawei Practices Cybersecurity and How Transparent it Really is. A Visit in the Cyber Security Transparency Center in Brussels*, in Christoph Stückelberger/ Pavan Duggal, *Data Ethics. Gaining Trust*, Geneva: Globethics.net, Nov 2022.

6.3.4 Soft Power: Mediation Services

Transition from a situation of imbalance to either new imbalance or more balance is in most cases, a conflict situation with clear or less obvious power struggles which are – as we have seen – also conflicts about value priorities.

In conflict resolution theory and praxis, intermediaries often play an important role. The same is the case for conflicts related to transition in value systems and priorities and also for multi-stakeholder cooperation³¹⁷, where trust has to be built, often by intermediary mechanisms: mediation, formalized dialogues, negotiations with compromise, small middle parties (which mediate between the pole parties or help to balance left and right), charismatic individual leaders (such as Desmond Tutu for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa), technological tools (such as online social networks, accountability and reporting tools to build trust etc.). The list is not at all exhaustive.

Let us look at three of these intermediary mechanisms: mediation, dialogue and compromises as mechanisms for Globalance in order to build bridges between poles and balance unbalanced polarisation.

Mediation services between conflict parties such as countries, companies, different faith groups or ideologies are offered by neutral countries, specialised peace services, professional mediators, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms³¹⁸ e.g. by African chiefs etc. They can play

³¹⁷ Parts of chapter 5.4 have also been developed for a mediation tool: Stückelberger, Christoph/Jagodzinska, Kasia, *SUN Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration: Building Trust through Working Together. A Practical Tool*. (unpublished manuscript, Geneva: 2019).

³¹⁸ Edeh, Anayo N., *Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) in Nigeria*, Enugu: CIDJAP, 2018

an important role in building (at least some) trust, in bringing the necessary actors to the table and supervising and monitoring agreements. Detailed mediation trainings, handbooks and experts are available worldwide.³¹⁹

6.3.5 Soft Power: Dialogue. Types and their Roles towards Balance

In order to overcome polarised, unbalanced situations without violence, dialogue is an important first step on all levels of conflict resolution, for convincing the other party or explore compromises. “Dialogue is the mother of life. ... Dialogue is the key to happiness and harmony ... Education is basically a dialogue ... Ecology presupposes the dialogue of interconnectedness ... Dialogue is the way to the celebration of life.”³²⁰ And “for life together”³²¹.

A key foundation and condition of each dialogue is the will to listen, combined with – at least a minimum - of empathy for the situation of the other. For a successful dialogue, the “anticipation of the mind of the

³¹⁹ Alexander, Nadja et al (eds), *EU Mediation Law Handbook. Regulatory Robustness Rating for Mediation Regimes*, Kluwer Law International, 2017; My modules of the *master course on mediation for election experts* of the Ecole de Formation Electorale en Afrique Centrale EFEAC in DR Congo can be downloaded: https://www.globethics.net/network/globethics.net-forum/-/message_boards/category/22003491.

³²⁰ Kochappilly, Paulachan, *Dialogue as the Way of life, Happiness and Harmony*, in Nandhikkara, Jose (Ed), *Nurturing Dialogue. Perspectives and Prospects*, Bengaluru: Dharmaram Publications, 2017, VI-XIV.

³²¹ Near East School of Theology (Ed.), *Dialogue of Truth for Life Together*, Forum for Christian-Muslim Thought 2002-2012, Beirut: NEST, Vol 1 2006, Vol 2 2008, Vol 3 2013. Honest, profound Christian-Muslim theological dialogues.

other” (Alexander Kluge) is needed. Prejudices, where we already seem to know what the other thinks, will say and do, are strong obstacles for successful dialogues.

It is important to clarify the type of dialogue that is envisaged as the objectives differ. A dialogue is more likely successful when expectations are clarified in advance.

<i>Types of Dialogue</i>	Role in balancing
1. <i>Explorative dialogue</i>	explore options/solutions
2. <i>Learning dialogue</i>	learn from each other
3. <i>Testimonial dialogue</i>	share own experience, suffering
4. <i>Revealing dialogue</i>	make unknown facts known
5. <i>Dialectic dialogue</i>	respect contradictory positions
6. <i>Confrontational dialogue</i>	truth before peace
7. <i>Negotiation dialogue</i>	achieve common positions
8. <i>Action-oriented dialogue</i>	plan joint actions
9. <i>Public-relations dialogue</i>	dialogue used solely for own public relations.

Conditions for Successful Dialogues

- to reflect and respect fundamental *values* mentioned
- to reflect and respect human *virtues* such as truthfulness, transparency, respecting rules and agreements
- to allow the participants of a dialogue to *define themselves*
- to clarify, at the beginning, the *objectives* of the dialogue
- to clarify the *perception of the problem*, linked to the *limitation or de-limitation of the themes* to be negotiated

- to accept that *confrontation* can be an instrument of communication and conflict resolution and to distinguish between creative and destructive confrontation.
- to refuse the idea (ideology) that each dialogue is per se positive.
- to analyse the *power structure* (political, financial, moral, knowledge power) of a dialogue and its participants and to expose this analysis where necessary
- to be aware of the *limitations of each dialogue* and reflect the combination with other instruments of conflict resolution.
- to agree on an ethical *information policy* about the dialogue which respects the fundamental values, allows the building of trust by confidentiality where needed and allows public participation and progress by transparency.

Eleven Principles for a Transformative Dialogue

- *Reciprocity* (Golden Rule): Do to others what you expect them to do to you. This ‘Golden Rule’ is shared across all cultures and religions in the world.
- *Confidentiality* (Chatham House Rule): “When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.”
- *Honesty*: The ability of participants to be honest with each other, express their fears, motivations and perceptions of the other.
- *Deep listening*: To listen not just to the words that are spoken but to emotions that are communicated non-verbally and implicit values that are not expressed; be aware of the emotional triggers in one’s

own mind and have strong handles to keep from being swayed by them.

- *Walking in the other's shoes:* To put oneself in someone else's place and to listen in some depth to the motivations and values of the other by walking in the other's shoes for a while.
- *Suspending judgment:* Unless one has walked in another's shoes or at least listened in some depth, one cannot judge. Proper judgments are necessary for transformative dialogue. Until the dialogue matures to the stage of deeper understanding of the other, it is necessary to suspend judgment
- *Appreciating others' beliefs and values:* It is necessary to come to a dialogue with a curiosity to appreciate and learn the beliefs and values of the dialogue partners, without a motivation to debunk the beliefs and values of others. An important hallmark of transformative dialogue is that one participates hoping to learn and be enriched by the beliefs and values of the other.
- *Being self-critical of one's own convictions:* Readiness to be critical of one's own beliefs, values and tradition. The real strength of the dialogue and its transformative nature is largely based on the ability and willingness to be self-critical of one's own convictions, values, experiences and traditions in the presence of those from other traditions.
- *Acting in openness and transparency:* Establish trust, openness, transparency; have no hidden agenda or consciously cheat and mislead.
- *Accountability* in sharing and not hiding information and experiences and in searching for common solutions of the problems identified.

- *Cooperative action*: Transformative dialogue, meaningful conversation that hopefully leads to cooperative action: from dialogue to diapraxis.

6.3.6 Soft Power: Compromises. Ethical Criteria

A situation of balance can be defined as a compromise. Therefore, compromises and a positive view of compromises are key for transformation towards balance. A compromise is a form of relationality and proportionality. “When individual rights, especially constitutional rights, compete with other rights or with a public good, judges and politicians involved in the legislative process or jurisdictional process are expected to balance their decision in such a way that the gain from achieving the goal mitigates the costs of the resulting loss for the parties. Jurists speak of the doctrine of proportionality in connection with this process of balancing. The procedure of proportionality is similar to the procedure of reaching a compromise.”³²²

However, not every compromise is ethical and a true contribution to balance. The following criteria aim at distinguishing ethical from unethical compromises.

Definition of a compromise: A compromise is a process whereby, voluntarily or under pressure, interests are balanced so as to achieve parts of clashing interests while both parties agree not to achieve their respective aims in full. Is a compromise ethical or not and under which conditions?

³²² Zanetti, Veronique, *Proportionality and Compromises*, *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 17, April 2020, 75-97 (75).

Types of Compromises

1. Two areas: social and ethical compromise
2. Three levels: intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional compromise
3. Two qualities: false and genuine compromise
4. Two intensities: democratic (legal) and amicable compromise
5. Two schedules: provisional and final compromise.

Ten Compromise Guidelines

1. A compromise can be *justified* if it constitutes a means in the process towards ethical values and aims. It thus corresponds to possibilism, which always strives for the best possible solution. It is constantly dynamised by ethical aims.
2. A compromise must be *rejected* if it is seen as a definite state of value in itself. An ethically acceptable compromise is thus distinct from pragmatism, which refrains from the realisation of wide-ranging aims.
3. No compromise is ethically *acceptable* with regard to the recognition of and basic aspiration to fundamental values (cf. Ch. 4) and human rights. However, compromises are admissible and necessary when it comes to value judgements and to the social implementation of fundamental values.
4. As a rule, ethically acceptable compromises are *provisional* compromises made with the intention of replacing them with ethically better compromises at a later state.
5. As a rule, a compromise should bring *win-win result*, be of advantage to the various parties involved. However, it should provide the weaker parties with more advantages than the stronger parties, in the sense of the fundamental value of commutative justice.

6. A compromise is good if it helps to *settle conflicts*. It should not be made when it covers up conflicts. The time of the conclusion of a compromise is at its ethical best when, in relative terms, the conflict can be carried out best.
7. Exceptionally, a compromise that works *faster* but is worse with regard to the attainment of the aims involved must be preferred to a better compromise *if* this serves to prevent the sacrifice of human or animal life.
8. Because a compromise that has been established in *public* enjoys a democratic basis, it is usually ethically better than a compromise that has been worked out at the exclusion of the public. Nevertheless, compromises kept confidential, may be justified for a certain period to guarantee its success.
9. The *rejection of a compromise* can be justified if a compromise which must be regarded as ethically unacceptable would only serve the reinforcement of misanthropic power, such as the legitimisation of a dictatorial government through trade agreements.
10. Not all areas of conflict allow of compromise. The *rejection of compromise is ethically imperative if* a compromise destroys life and basic necessities, or does not lessen the danger with which they are threatened.

6.3.7 Soft Power: Balancing Mechanisms

Types of Change	Reform (Ref)	Revolution (Rev)	Counter-Revolution (CRev)	Power Shift (PSh)
Balancing Mechanisms				
Mediation Services	Core mechanism for reform	Rarely used except in stalemate	Rarely used except in stalemate	Rarely used in pure power shift
Dialogue Mechanisms	Core mechanism for reform	Rarely used except in stalemate	Rarely used except in stalemate	If used, then often unfair/as PR
Compromise/ Negotiation	Core mechanism for reform	Rarely used except in stalemate		
Small Middle Parties	Often role of tipping the scales	Are forced to join one of the poles	Are forced to join one of the poles	Often role of tipping the scales
Charismatic Individual Leader	Can lead as mediator	Often lead the revol. transformation	Often lead the CRev transformation	He/she may win the power shift
Technological Communication Tools	Often influential, e.g. social media	Short term relevant; not sufficient for Rev	Short term relevant; not sufficient for CRe	Often influential, even fake news
Power of Power Sharing	Sharing power for peace	Power sharing only under pressure	Reestablish former power sharing	Modified power balance

6.3.8 Soft Power: Solving Ethical Dilemmas. How to Deal with

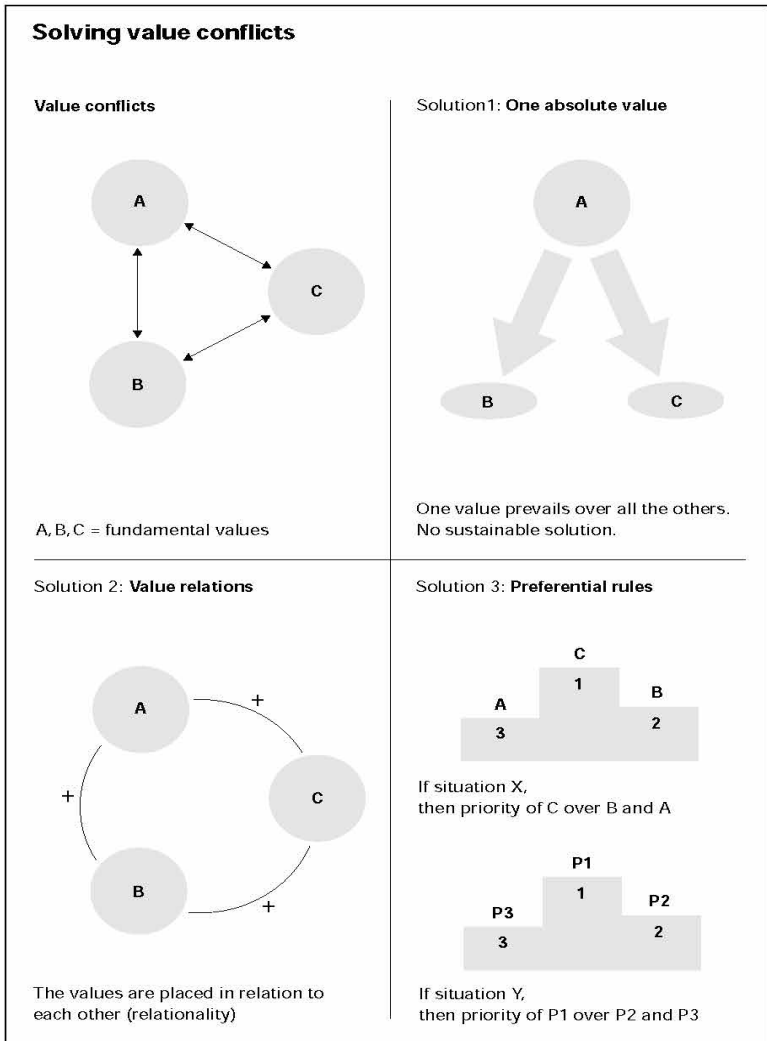
Most difficult are situations of an ethical dilemma³²³: one has to decide between two or more bad options and must prioritize the best option, where each case violates the others' value.

The word dilemma means that two propositions/values are in conflict to each other. Example: An emergency relief organisation wants to deliver a truck full of food, but bandits stop it and request money to let them pass. If the organisation does not pay, people may die of hunger; but if they accept paying bribes, they have accepted corruption and become even more vulnerable for other terrorist pressures and all kind of corruption in the future. If they do not pay, the food may rot and people die but the bandits are weakened and political action to overcome their actions may follow.

A dilemma often comes up between different stakeholders of an organisation with their conflicting interests. The organisation wants to satisfy the clients, the Board, the donors or investors, the community etc.³²⁴ A dilemma is a conflict of values. There are at least three different solutions to deal with a dilemma as a conflict of values.

³²³ For the following see Stückelberger, Christoph, *Responsible Leadership Handbook for Staff and Boards*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2014, 110-112. Also Nnamani, Tobe /Stückelberger, Christoph, *Resolving Ethical Dilemmas in Professional and Private Life. 50 Cases from Africa for Teaching and Training*, Geneva: Globethics.net August 2019, introduction.

³²⁴On stakeholder dilemmas see Schraa-Liu, Tong/ Trompenaars, Fons, "Towards responsible leadership through reconciling dilemmas", in: Maak, Thomas/Pless, Nicola M. (eds.), *Responsible Leadership*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, 138-154.



© Stuckelberger: Global Trade Ethics

One absolute value: one value prevails over all the others. Saving a human life at all costs, by any means would be such an answer in the above case. Graph from Stuckelberger, Christoph, *Global Trade Ethics*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002, 30.

Value relations: The values are placed in relation to each other and one tries to respect them, even if only partially. In the above case, the values of saving lives, security, peace, efficiency may be balanced. One may decide not to pay the bandits, who may use the money to buy weapons, but rather give them some of the food on the truck. Even this decision poses the danger of making one vulnerable for future intimidation and extortion.

Preferential rules: preferential rules ‘if – then’ look for a case by case solution: in case X, value C gets priority over value B and A. In case Y, another value may get priority. It is the combination of principles and flexibility, but ethical flexibility not unstructured, but according to rules (otherwise, everything can be justified). In the above case it would mean that refusing to pay bribes still remains the strong principle, but in the extreme case of life and death, life would have priority.

The following six steps can help to work on solutions of dilemmas:

1. What exactly is the problem? Description
2. What is the ethical conflict/dilemma? Which values are involved?
3. What are in principle possible options/scenarios for solutions (at this point without giving an ethical value judgment)?
4. What would be the preferential rule: which value has priority and how can the violation of other values be minimised?
5. What is the proposed solution (decision) on the basis of step 1-4?
6. What kind of consequences must be considered?

6.3.9 Soft Power: Reconciliation, not Humiliation and Revenge

Violated and humiliated self-esteem, self-respect and dignity (Greek *thymos*) is one key motivation for aggression and fights on a personal and group level, and for war on national and international level. Humiliation, endangered reputation, honor of a person, family and clan or major reasons and roots for revenge. Cultural differences are obvious and large. In some Arabic or some African traditions, revenge of injured honor of a family by killing the one suspected of this crime, is not only allowed, but even a must. In other countries, it is legally forbidden and would lead to jail as a murder. The answer is then rather to find a way of mourning, legal justice, financial compensation and spiritual-ethical forgiving and reconciliation, as it is envisaged in a Christian value-system (more on this in chapter 8.3.4).

This hot topic is not only important on individual level, but also on geopolitical level. Emmanuel Macron, President of France, made a clear statement in 2022 on the future of Europe after the onset of the Ukraine war: “We will need to build new security balances and we will need, together, to never give in to the temptation of humiliation, nor the spirit of revenge, because these have already in the past wreaked enough havoc on the roads to peace.”³²⁵ Indeed, the humiliation and revenge of the winners of the First World War (WW1) against Germany became one of the reasons for the Second World War (WW2). Europeans learnt the

³²⁵ Emmanuel Macron, Speech at the Closing Ceremony of the Conference on the Future of Europe, held 9 May 2022. <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/news/speech-by-emmanuel-macron-at-the-closing-ceremony-of-the-conference-on-the-future-of-europe/> (Accessed 6 Aug 2022)

lesson. After WW2, reconstruction of instead of revenge against Germany with the Marshall plan was the successful solution. Willi Brandt asked Poland for pardon for the Nazi-cruelties, as a way to reconciliation. This happened in 1970, 25 years after the end of WW2, combined with signing the Treaty of Warsaw, recognising the Borders of Poland by Germany. It took 25 years to ask for pardon and reconciliation, but better late than never! It was a historic, courageous political act which opened the way for the future. The act was even one of the conditions and foundations for Poland becoming a member of the EU in 2004, 49 years after the war!

One serious worry I have with the shift of values from West to East, is that the Christian tradition of repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation is not rooted in Asian traditions. Conflicts between China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and others have been ongoing for over seventy years! A word of pardon and a gesture of reconciliation still remains to be done. It would be a significant contribution to a New World Order in Asia!³²⁶

6.3.10 Soft Power: DiploEthics. Diplomacy with Values

A core, traditional and yet still important soft power is diplomacy, in both forms as silent, confidential and public diplomacy. Diplomacy mainly uses the instruments of information, dialogue, proposals, projects, cooperation and dialogue, on bilateral and multilateral channels. Diplomacy is much more than confidential negotiations, defending and enlarging the power of one's own country and repeating mechanisms of the past. Diplomacy is key for conflict management, preventing escala-

³²⁶ See also chapter 8.3.4

tion and trying to de-escalate conflicts, which are escalating Diplomacy is an art, it has to be creative, innovative, surprising, holistic. “The Art of Diplomacy”³²⁷ is a very insightful collection of over 75 articles of politicians and diplomats, published by the Munich Security Conference in 2022. It covers ‘Elements of Diplomacy’ like the role of language, personal connections or law. It analyses ‘challenges of diplomacy’ like ‘preparing for a world without order’, keeping communication channels open or choosing the right perspective of historical analogies. Diplomacy as soft power is key to prevent hard wars. “If war is the failure of diplomacy, then the absence of war is diplomacy’s success”³²⁸, said Jens Stoltenberg, Secretary General of NATO at the Munich Security Conference in 2018, only four years before the outbreak of the Ukraine war.

DiploEthics is values-driven diplomacy. Even though diplomacy always involves power struggles, shifts and balance, the role of diplomacy is not ‘just’ to play power games, but to reach an understanding of values at stake, reconcile competing values and reach a dynamic balance. I hope that this book gives some argumentative and methodological support for DiploEthics.

6.3.11 Soft Power: Science Diplomacy. Science as Common Good

Science has a huge influence on all sectors of society. The largest part of scientific research is controlled by the private sector and thus

³²⁷ Tobias Bunde/ Benedikt Franke (Eds.), *The Art of Diplomacy. 75+ Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics*. In Cooperation with the Munich Security Conference msc, Berlin: Ullstein, 2022.

³²⁸ Jens Stoltenberg, *Has Diplomacy Had Its Day?*, in Tobias Bunde/ Benedikt Franke (Eds.), *The Art of Diplomacy. 75+ Views Behind the Scenes of World Politics*. In Cooperation with the Munich Security Conference msc, Berlin: Ullstein, 2022, 361.

first serving private interests. It is a strong driver for progress, but science needs to serve as much as possible all people. Therefore, important research institutions are owned by consortia of governments and international institutions. The Geneva-based CERN is an excellent example. In order to strengthen this multi-sectoral and inclusive research, a new soft power of *Science Diplomacy* was established in Geneva in 2019. The *Geneva Science and Diplomacy Anticipator, GESDA*, has the vision to “jointly anticipate scientific and technological advancements and, based on them, develop inclusive and global solutions for a sustainable future.”³²⁹

6.3.12 Soft-Hard Power: Multilateral Institutions and Alliances

Another import power for transformation in a globalized world are multilateral institutions such as the multilateral UN system (more in chapter 7.2.4) and multilateral alliances (7.2.5). they are on one hand *soft powers* as they can often recommend, but with limited binding law enforcement mechanisms. However, the international trend was since WW2 to make the instruments stronger and thus transforming such soft power in a number of institutions to *hard power*. The EU is much stronger in its binding character than at the beginning 50 years ago, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has strong legal dispute mechanisms, stronger than the predecessor GATT. The UN Security Council is more binding than UNCTAD recommendations etc.

Alliances have very different levels of binding character. Whereas the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) is little binding in its decision, the NATO as military Alliance is very binding.

³²⁹ GESDA, *Vision*, <https://gesda.global>.

Transformation towards a New World Order will shake and transform many of these multilateral institutions and alliances. New alliances e.g. in the Indo-Pacific are already in the making and the *UN Reform* will be either blocked by the power struggles towards a New World Order or accelerated by the need for adaptation (more in chapter 7.14.3.3).

6.4 Resistance against Transformation

“Why is there a lack of will to do the reasonable?” asks the German Ethicist and Ecumenist Geiko Müller-Fahrenholz³³⁰ Not to be reasonable is part of human existence, of the *conditio humanae*. Human decisions are often unpredictable and called irrational. One would also say humans then follow their own, higher ‘rationality’. Neuroscience, risk and uncertainty research as well as big data analyses are newer fields, which contribute to an understanding of how humans decide. The motivation for such research is often market research for predicting decisions and increasing sales. However, it can also be useful for overcoming resistance against and innovation. Let us list some reasons of passive or active resistance against transformation:

- *Gap between will and action*: In most of the cases of non-implementing change is just the inability to do what is recognised as good and correct and ‘logical’. Paul in the New Testament knew the same reality: we know what is good and right, but we do the bad and wrong: “For what I do is not the good that I want to do; no, the

³³⁰ Müller-Fahrenholz, Geiko, *Globaler Marshallplan: Warum fehlt der Wille, das Vernünftige zu tun?*, Impulse für eine Welt in Balance, Hamburg: Global Marshall Plan Foundation, 2005, 195-203.

evil I do not want to do, this I keep on doing.” (Romans 7:19). This observation is a core experience of human existence, an expression of inconsistency, human weakness, being not perfect, in religious terms the core meaning of sin in the Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and of the disconnect to the Dharma in the Dharmic Religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Daoism, Sikhism).

- *Fear of change*: Change includes uncertainty. If one’s own life situation is already uncertain, additional risks are avoided.
- *Experiences with past transformations*: Positive experiences with change makes one open for change, negative experiences make one cautious.
- *Fundamentalist resistance*: The personal worldview is absolute. It is often a form of fear of change for same reason of uncertainty mentioned.
- *Overwhelming complexity*: Complexity of reality leads to uncertainty where capacities to understand complexity are limited. Simplification by no-change, rigid systems or following a leader look then like a way out.
- *Limited personal capacities*: Situations of burnout, depression, speed of change or overload of time or moral pressure lead to defensive, conservative-conserving attitudes.
- *Fatalism*: A belief of not being able to change the world and giving up can be an expression of mental fatigue, but also religious justification that all is in God’s hand anyway.

- *Vague memory*: A ‘memory bias’ in neuroscience means that memory of a situation is vague or can deceive. This leads again to uncertainty and resistance of innovation and change.
- *Greed*: In a situation of wealth or power, transformation could mean a loss and therefore the resistance against change can be massive.
- *Revenge*: If winners of transformation are my enemies, then resist the change in order to retaliate even if in principle, the transformation is seen as desirable.
- *Learning from experience, not from anticipation*: Change is only done when no longer a choice; means under pressure of a disaster.
- *Being forced instead of taking action by free will*: Maintaining resistance as long as possible until a government or an event in the own biography forces for change.
- *Limited long-term thinking*: Humans with a life span of 60 to 90 years have difficulties imagining what will be in 300 years. Life and history are too dynamic and unpredictable.
- *Comfortable present situation*: In average middle-class happiness, the suffering from the present situation is too small to risk a change.
- *Difficult risk and impact assessment*: We do not want transformation as long as there is not enough evidence for its risks and impacts.³³¹
- *Fear of unintended side effects*: Societal transformation can be like efforts to heal a cancer. Shall I risk the surgery while the result is uncertain and unintended side effects may be severe?

³³¹ Fleischer, Friedrich, *Folgenabschätzung und –bewertung (Impact assessment)*, in Kruse/ Graumann/Lantermann (eds.), *Ökologische Psychologie. Ein Handbuch in Schlüsselbegriffen*, München: Psychologie Verlags Union, 1990, 245-252.

- *Lack of direct concern*: The effect of climate change on a small island in the Pacific is too abstract, only the storm damaging the roof of one's own house may lead to actions of transformation.
- *Evil online*³³²: on the nature, motives and consequences of doing evil, as the TV series *Evil Online* shows.
- *Ethical dilemmas*: *We want to do the right thing, but do not know which one is right and therefore decide not to act.*

6.5 Motivations for Transformation

The motivations for decisions and actions strongly influence how balanced and holistic they are. Some of the following twelve motivations exclude each other, others can be combined.

“I am motivated to act because ...”

1. *“We act for our children.”* We received life from our parents/ ancestors and wish to bequeath to future generations the same opportunities we enjoy.
2. *“We learnt from the crisis”*: The Covid-19 pandemic increased self-confidence that survival is possible with self-discipline and creativity.
3. *“We act for self-interest.”* Favourable climate conditions are a prerequisite to our survival. Lockdown in the Covid-19 pandemic was needed for self-protection. Self-interest is legitimate because everybody has the right and obligation to care for their own well-being.

³³² Cocking, Dean/Van den Hoven, Jeroen, *Evil Online*, Oxford: Wiley/Blackwell 2018, 59ff..

4. *"We act for others."* Do not visit upon others what you would not wish visited upon yourself. The ethic of reciprocity – according to which one has a right to just treatment and a responsibility to ensure justice for others – balances self-interest with the interest of others.
5. *"Now we know, now we must act."* We cannot say we did not know.
6. *"We act for Human Rights."* Fundamental human rights represent a major accomplishment of humanity and we wish to maintain and protect them.
7. *"We act to observe a legal duty."* We take seriously the responsibility to fulfil the legal obligations.
8. *"We act under the blessing of divine authority."* Life and creation emanate from this divine authority. We respond to this gift with responsible behaviour and good stewardship.
9. *"We act for the moral imperative of equity and solidarity."* All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
10. *"We act because the losses by non-action are higher than the risks from action."* It is like in gambling, weighing up potential losses and gains.
11. *"We act for new business opportunities."* We act with creative solutions that will enable us to advance scientific research, generate new business opportunities and create employment in a sustainable environment.
12. *"We act for the planet."* Earth is a gift to humanity. We act to preserve life and diversity for the well-being of the human community.

APPLIED DOMAINS OF GLOBALANCE

How can the concept and vision of Globalance, as described in this book, be applied to concrete current and future topics? In this chapter, thirty areas of society are analysed, in the following *main domains*:

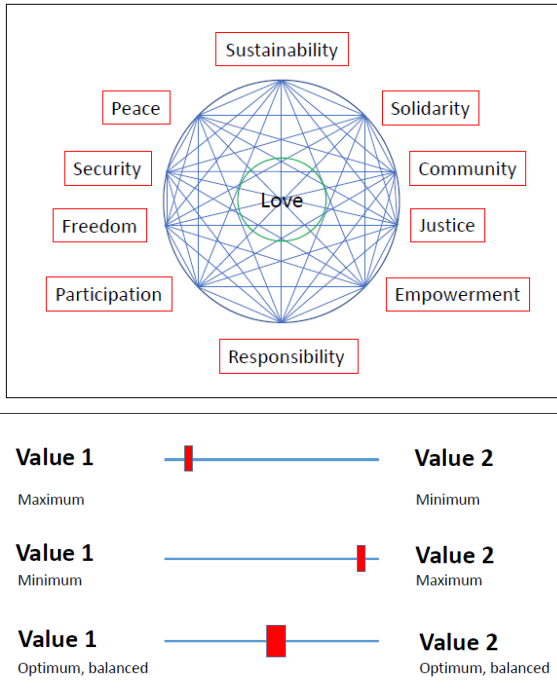
- A) Global: Globalisation, Regionalisation, New World Order
- B) Planet: Technology, Energy, Environment, Health
- C) Economy: Systems, Agriculture, Business, Jobs, Finance
- D) Politics: Geopolitics, Nation States, Army, Leadership, Religions
- E) Culture: Religions, Gender, Education, Media
- F) People: Demography, Migration, Generations

In order to reach Globalance, the relationality and interdependence of all these topics need to be considered. Many additional topics would have to be included, such as sport, philanthropy, water and energy, but went beyond one volume. Each chapter is short and cannot by far cover the complexity of a topic. The goal is to exemplify how core values are in conflict and need to be balanced for overcoming polarisation and moving towards a balanced world order.

Each of the thirty topics has *three parts*:

1. Current Developments (analysis of trends, descriptive)
2. Value-Poles (examination of norms, normative)
3. Towards Globalance (conclusions for actions).

These three steps correspond to the classical process of ethical decision making³³³ as well as the three steps of Christian social ethics (seeing, judging, acting).³³⁴ In part 2 of each chapter, we refer to the concept of relationality of values and the opposites of values.



³³³ See Bibliography in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997, 60-62.

³³⁴ In the catholic social doctrine/ liberation theology, revived by Pope Francis.

7A GLOBAL: GLOBALISED NEW WORLD ORDER?

Globalisation as a process of trans-border trade and this exchange has happened for almost three thousand years, within the then known worlds. The current term globalisation came up after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 when the bi-polar world was replaced by global interactions, the opening and liberalisation of markets and global interconnectivity especially with modern information and communication technologies (ICTs). The globalisation of the last three decades included or at least affected almost all countries on the globe. The World Trade Organization with global rules for free trade and the reduction of taxes and import duties became one of the symbols of globalisation. The membership of China in the WTO since 2001 (promoted by Switzerland) was a peak success of WTO.

This section 7A includes chapter 7.1 on globalisation, de-globalisation, re-globalisation, fragmentation and a New World Order. Globalisation as liberalisation of markets was contested by the call for fair and just globalisation or de-globalisation. How to balance freedom and solidarity? Chapter 7.2 shows that the UN Sustainable Development Goals offer a global value-frame for a globalised world with global balance.

7.1 Globalisation, De-Globalisation, New World Order?

7.1.1 Developments: Three Decades and Ten Globalization Terms

7.1.1.1 Ten Globalization Terms

Globalisation in the broad sense of reaching out to the ends of the known world is as old as humanity.³³⁵ We focus here on the phase of globalisation during the last three decades, since the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991.³³⁶

The term “*Globalisation*” stands for the global integration of systems in all sectors of society by opening markets, trade liberalisation, global competition, cooperation and interaction. Since the break-down of the bipolar world of the Cold War, this integration was possible and accelerated. This process of the last three decades included or at least affected all countries on the globe. It led to enormous economic growth and poverty reduction, but also exploding environmental challenges and inequalities.

Early in 1990, globalisation was criticized as unfair with fear of losses of jobs, price dumping, environmental damages, the domination of multinational companies and the undermining of democratic deci-

³³⁵ Jeffrey Sachs, *The Ages of Globalization. Geography, Technology and Institutions*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2020. The author describes in an excellent way “Seven Ages of Globalization”, with the Digital Age of the Twenty First Century as the latest.

³³⁶ For my own various publications on globalisation see my Bibliography: Christoph Stückelberger, *50 Years of Publishing. Bibliography 1972-2022*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2022. Free download: www.globethics.net/readers-series.

sions and sovereignty of nation-states. It led to sharp and violent controversies. Free trade and fair trade were perceived as opposite.

“*De-globalisation*”³³⁷, a term of anti-globalisation movements, was promoted by dismantling multilateral organisations such as WTO, IMF and World Bank. Promoters of globalisation through maximum free trade called the anti-globalisation movements ‘ideology’ and themselves ‘fact-based’ science.³³⁸ At the same time, a balanced, reformist concept was presented by former World Bank chief economist and Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz. He showed negative impacts of a one-sided globalisation for the losers and the deficiencies of the Bretton Woods institutions. According to him, globalisation could not be stopped, but he developed a reform agenda for WTO, IMF and World Bank.³³⁹

“*Fair Globalization*”, in a similar reform agenda, then came on the world agenda through ILO³⁴⁰ and other UN agencies, civil society and open-minded businesses and companies. Many churches and religious movements criticized neoliberal globalisation from the perspective of the poor as its victims. Christian academic ethicists in their mainstream analyzed in a differentiated way the pros and cons.³⁴¹ Many ethics-

³³⁷ Walden Bello, *Deglobalization. Ideas for a New World Economy*, Zed Books, London, 2002; Hans-Peter Martin/ Harald Schumann, *Die Globalisierungsfalle. Der Angriff auf Demokratie und Wohlstand*, Rowohlt, Reinbek bei Hamburg: 1997.

³³⁸ Basler, Markus /Bauchmüller, Michael *Die 10 Irrtümer der Globalisierungsgegner – wie man Ideologie mit Fakten widerlegt*, Eichborn: Frankfurt 2003.

³³⁹ Stiglitz, Joseph, *Globalization and its discontents*, W.W. Norton & Company: New York: 2002, chapters 7-9.

³⁴⁰ World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for all*, Geneva: ILO, 2004.

³⁴¹ For an evaluation of two decades of ecumenical controversies of globalization: Stückelberger, Christoph, *Globalisierung in ökumenischen Kontroversen*

related positions called for a globalisation with a human face, driven by global values and a “globalisation of the conscience”³⁴².

Disrupted globalisation started with the financial crisis in 2008/2009. After almost two decades of private sector priority and expansion of multinational companies, combined with weakening the regulatory role of nation-states, governments and central banks had to jump in to save large banks with systemic relevance from collapse, those which have been called ‘too big to fail’. In a shockwave, the private sector became aware how much they still depend on the public sector and the international economic system showed the vulnerability of very globalised, very interdependent economies.

“*Re-Globalisation*” can be observed since about 2010 in parallel to regionalisation: Globalisation in terms of interconnectivity continued to grow if we look at the growth in airplane passengers, e-commerce, global social media etc. However, at the same time, populism, protectionism and nationalism grew substantially, especially since the mid-1990s with economic winners and losers.³⁴³ The financial crisis was, in my analysis, was one of the key factors – apart from migration. At the beginning of the 2020 decade, the WTO was in its deepest crisis while it celebrated its 25th anniversary on 1 Jan 2020. The WTO dispute settlement mecha-

1989-2009, in *Globalisierung. Jahrbuch Sozialer Protestantismus*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009, 34-57.

³⁴² Herran, Guillermo Leon Escobar, *Ethisches Regieren. Über den Einfluss von Wissen und ethischen werten auf politische Entscheidungsfindungsprozesse*, in Jelenic, Josip/ Vogel, Bernhard (eds.), *Werte schaffen. Vom Zweck der Politik in Zeiten der Globalisierung*, Freiburg: Herder, 2007, 102-119 (117).

³⁴³ *Going It Alone? Trade Policy After Three Years of Populism. The 25th Global Trade Alert Report*, by Simon J. Evenett, Johannes Fritz, Global Trade Alert, Max Schmidheiny Foundation, London: CEPR Press, 2019.

nism, an important multilateral process for peaceful conflict resolution in trade matters is almost dead since new judges were not appointed by the US government. Trade bilateralism and regionalism (within EU, etc.) becomes more and more dominant.

The Unctad Investment Policy Monitor of April 2020³⁴⁴ shows changes in national investment policies between 2003 and February 2020. From the global total investment policy measures, the percent of liberalisation/promotion measures decreased from 90 to 75 percent, the percent of restriction/regulation measures increased from 10 to 25 percent. Two third of the measures are still in favour of globalised liberalisation!

Re-Globalisation has also a geopolitical dimension of power-shift. It is no more the globalisation dominated by the only remaining superpower, the USA after 1990, but it is a re-globalisation with strong powers such as China, Russia, and India. China with its – finally global – Belt-and-Road initiative; Russia, once again reaching out to Africa (prior to the Ukraine war), India with its outreach to the West, Russia and Asia. Oil and rare metals exporting countries are showing that they are indispensable partners for all who need non-renewable energy and rare elements. Further, fast developing and globally used technologies such as AI-driven devices, the much increased use of social media, internet connectivity and very fast communication channels lead to what I would call a *re-globalisation from below* – decentralised, tech-driven and people-driven. “Re-globalisation in good parts consists of (and is driven by) a new battle between democracies and non-democracies about the principles and value that shape the global order, accompanied

³⁴⁴ Unctad Investment Policy Monitor, Issue 23, April 2020, 6.

by cracks within that very order”, says the Polish political analyst Roland Benedikter³⁴⁵ This re-globalisation is also a shift in content and driver:

Functional Globalisation was the globalisation 1990-2010, where pragmatically economic interests of cheapest supply of goods and services, and access to new markets was a main driver.

Ideological Re-Globalisation became strong again latest since the occupation of the Crimea by Russia in 2014. Ideological interests of the political order and of nationalist pride and power became key drivers, even if it lead to economic costs and losses.

Fragmented Globalisation is the result of these cracks and struggles for a New World Order and for dominance of powers. The vulnerability of supply chains, experienced during the pandemic – at the same time as the US-China trade war, the Ukraine war and Taiwan crisis – lead to the re-organisation and de-centralisation of supply chains which, in many industries, will take years to fully implement.

Two additional characteristics of current globalisation must be added:

The *Space Globalisation* means that not only countries, territories and populations are globally connected, but the Outer space outside our earth and its atmosphere, and underwater space is part of the struggle for dominance. The UN Outer Space Treaty was signed as early as 1967 by the Russian Federation, US and UK.³⁴⁶ But new dimensions with mis-

³⁴⁵ Roland Benedikter, *what is Re-Globalization? A Key Term in the Making that Characterizes our Epoch*, Global Policy, Post 8 Dec 2020, <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog>. (Accessed 11 Aug 2022).

³⁴⁶ United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA) deals with it. www.unoosa.org.

sions not only to the moon, but to mars and underwater explorations in deep parts of the oceans lead to a space-race and outer-space race with military, economic and prestige interests. The UN-specialised agency UNOOSA and its “Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space” (COPUOS) looks at peaceful use³⁴⁷ and benefits of the Outer Space for the SDG’s (Space4SDGs).³⁴⁸

Feudalist Globalisation of the Outer-Space can be observed. Imagine that one human being, Elon Musk, has the majority rights over 12,000 satellites of his Space-X. He can – potentially, even if would not abuse it – create an Outer-Space Empire, making the whole world depending on him, as these satellites have the potential to ‘govern’ the world and set the rules, even if he would not abuse it and has to observe international rules of the UN-Treaty.

7.1.1.1.2 The Impact of the 4C’s on globalisation / de-globalisation

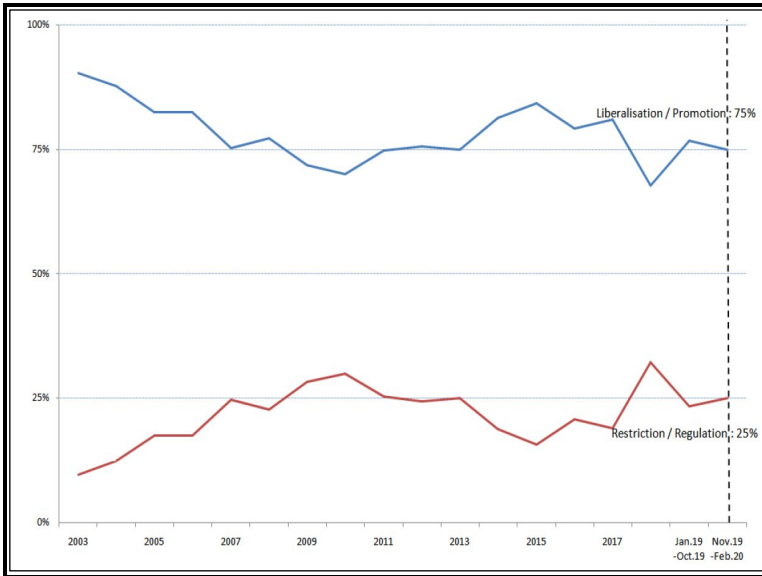
What is the influence of the 4C’s (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on globalisation or de-globalisation? The experience of high dependency for key goods and services like medical equipment from global supply chains during Covid-19 or new trade barriers will lead specific sectors to diversify production, increase storage or bring production back home (see also chapters 1.1.4 and 7.10). However, the globalisation process is much less influenced by the pandemic than by national protectionist policies already in place before the pandemic, especially from USA, and new technological developments will allow a return of home production even if salary costs are higher. E-commerce, social media, migration, tourism, studies abroad and cultural

³⁴⁷ <https://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/copuos/2022/index.html>.

³⁴⁸ <https://www.unoosa.org/oosa/en/ourwork/space4sdgs/index.html>

exchange may slow down or decrease but are still much higher than in former centuries. All kind of transport systems and technological innovation for it, especially for sustainable transport, plays a key role in all forms of globalization and its limitation.³⁴⁹

Overheated globalisation may cool down, but will ultimately remain warm. International trade with the new polarisation and increasing geopolitical mistrust may slow down, but even “trade without trust”³⁵⁰ will continue, as the graph shows:

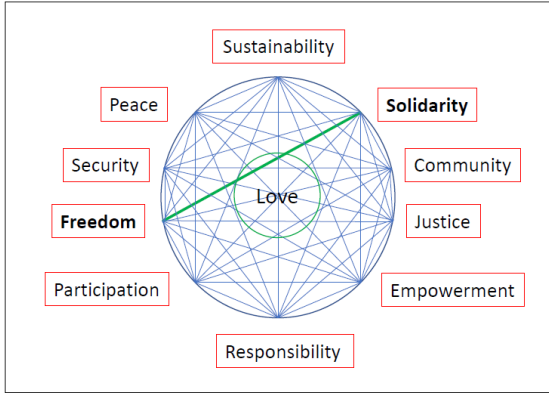


³⁴⁹ A comprehensive, detailed analysis of the different transport systems, globally, regionally and locally offers Jean-Paul Rodrigue, *The Geography of Transport Systems*, 5th Edition, Taylor and Francis Group, 2020. (Accessed Aug 2022)

³⁵⁰ *Trade without Trust. How the West should do business with China*, The Economist, July 18th-24th 2020, Cover story, especially 7.

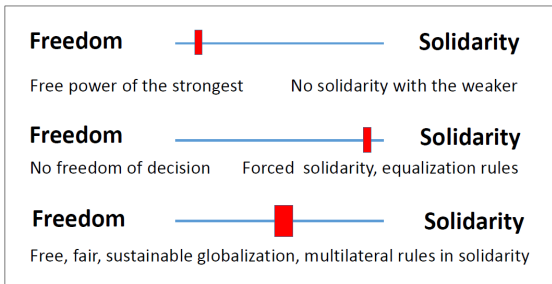
7.1.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Solidarity

What is the ethical value conflict behind globalisation, exemplified by trade war and new bilateralism? It is, among other things, a conflict



between freedom and solidarity: absolute freedom without binding multilateral rules serves first the interests of the strong, powerful

actors. They can impose their rules on others. This is the main interest of the current US government, as it feels bound by multilateral agreements



and hindered in its freedom to execute its superpower. Multilateral agreements are in ethical terms

agreements of solidarity where each actor has the same rights and obligations and the result should ideally be a win-win situation. Absolute solidarity on the other hand leads to a forced equalization where freedom of decision and competition is almost impossible, as it is the case in egalitarian systems such as the former Soviet Union. The solution is balancing *freedom* and *solidarity*.

7.1.3 Towards Globalance: Globalisation and Regionalisation

7.1.3.1 *For a free, fair and sustainable globalisation*

Balancing Freedom and Solidarity means a free, fair and sustainable globalisation. It includes fair multilateral rules and within them enough space for decisions by nation-states, the private sector and civil society, based on the subsidiarity principle. Subsidiarity as a concept is in itself a balanced concept, where sovereignty and dependency, freedom and co-operation are balanced bottom-up in order to have the most efficient, participatory and peaceful way of development. Balancing freedom and solidarity further includes refraining from domination and oppression by economic, political or military unilateral power. This is the most difficult part. The current shift of the superpower from US to China is a geopolitical shift. It can only be done without disastrous losses on all sides if those with power realize that the losses will be much higher than the gains with uncontrolled war and disorder, and the gains will be higher with tough negotiations and compromises.

The neoliberal way of globalisation with one-sided economic liberalisation at all costs is one of the reasons for the backlash against globalisation in past years. One did not have to be a prophet to see what is needed for globalisation: “Globalisation needs a global ethic.”³⁵¹ This was a key motivation of Hans Küng to develop a global ethic and also

³⁵¹ Küng, Hans, *The Global Economic Crisis Requires a Global Ethic*, in Küng, Hans, Leisinger, Klaus M., Wieland, Josef, *Manifesto Global Economic Ethic. Consequences and Challenges for Global Businesses*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2010 (English and German), 167-175 (173).

concretize it for global politics and global economy.³⁵² Myself, I also work since four decades for global values and it was my motivation to create in 2004 the global network on ethics called Globethics.net in order to strengthen the global interaction and dialogue for implementing common values while respecting contextual diversity.³⁵³ After the first decade of modern globalisation, I wrote in 2001: “The very different rates [of speed] of globalization generates tensions. Economically, globalisation is highly developed; politically, far less so; ethically, the evolution of global ethics takes a very long time. However, a globalized economy can only be sustained with globalised politics and ethics and efforts to close the time gap.”³⁵⁴

Globalance therefore means a better synchronization in speed between technological, economic, political and cultural-ethical globalisation. Political regulations and international conventions (on climate change, on Artificial Intelligence, on cyber security etc.) must speed up. Common values must be strengthened by value-education and mutual understanding, while respecting the diversity of contextual norms. Protectionism, nationalism, the Covid-1 pandemic and social unrest are ways to slow down the speed of one-sided globalisation. A voluntary synchronization of the different speeds would have been more harmonious than the now forced, and sometimes violent, slowdown of economic globalisation.

³⁵² Küng, Hans, *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

³⁵³ www.globethics.net.

³⁵⁴ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Global Trade Ethics. An Illustrated Overview*, Geneva: WCC, 2002, 18 (German edition: Berne 2001).

7.1.3.2 Re-orientation of globalisation due to the 4C

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on future globalisation, regionalisation and values-balance?

Globalisation was and is revisited during all 4C's. The pandemic made the positive and negative side of globalisation a daily experience for billions of people. It shows our vulnerability through interconnectivity. The travel and trade restrictions show that we cannot depend only on a global economy, but need also local and regional supply chains. The pandemic, the new Cold War, including trade war, and the Ukraine war have a profound impact on future supply chains and will modify the way of globalisation; optimised transportation and storage for risk mitigation, influential digitisation of business models and expanded e-commerce. The trend to less dependency on local production conditions and workforce started many years back due to automation, digitisation. E-commerce accelerated during the pandemic. Consumer habits that are being formed during the pandemic in 2020 are likely to continue to some extent.

The cyber world and internet connectivity offer fast adaptation to the new restrictions, e.g. by distant education, online conferences, tele-medicine etc. Let us learn from this pandemic to achieve a healthier balance between the globalised and localised economy.

7.1.3.3 Globalance needs strong multilateral cooperation

Lessons for other threats: The pandemic shows, that humanity is able to stand together and act with speed and determination, characteristics that are often missing when facing other global threats. Climate

change is a process as dramatic as the pandemic, but it is happening at a slower rate and therefore the political will to act in time is missing. Millions of children die every year of hunger due to lack of clean water – why not act with the same determination and speed that is being used to tackle this pandemic to slow down climate change and manage other global threats?

The Multilateral (UN-) System will be profoundly influenced by the 4C's, in a complex and not yet fully predictable way: the pandemic strengthened the awareness of the need of multilateral cooperation, the trade war has opposite effects, the financial crisis weakens all institutions including the Sustainable Development Goals and many new alliances are in the making, thus leading to shifts of balances.

Multilateral UN institutions need careful reforms in the frame of continued global cooperation and regional/ sub-regional decentralization in a pluri-polar world (more details in chapter 7.13-7.16).

Globalance as value-balance needs the openness for cooperation with different values-priorities in different countries. It needs a profound sense of mutual respect even if feelings of humiliations and emotions for revenge come up.

What about *Leadership in this transition*? “*Who will shape the New World Order?*”³⁵⁵ Will it be Europe, as the author asking this question, considers: “Europe can play a much stronger role in the new world order”³⁵⁶? The US president Biden still claims dominance: “There’s going

³⁵⁵ Karl Aiginger, *Who Will Shape the New World Order?*, *Intereconomics*, 2022, 57 (3), 171-174.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 174.

to be a new world order out there, and we've got to lead it."³⁵⁷ Will China the new Superpower and soon largest economy in the world? Will it be one of the political alliances? From a Globalance perspective, we envisage a multipolar world, as it better allows to balance powers in a dynamic way than a unipolar or bipolar world. The vision, who will lead the new world order, should then be a multilateral solution in a multipolar world and each pole can lead in specific sectors. The UN must be strengthened as the platform for negotiating and jointly develop the New World Order.

Power-poles can contribute and lead specific parts of this transition: Europe is already trendsetter in global standards re technologies, ESG etc. *China and USA* will remain leaders in technological innovation, *India* is an economic powerhouse as the third largest economy in the world. *Africa* may play a leading role in the new Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), as almost all African countries already are NAM members and constitute the majority of it. Parts of *South East Asia* can play a key role in NAM together with Africa, as these countries are equally disinterested in being split between the poles China, US and Europe. The *Middle East* may play an increasing role as a bridge and mediator in a polarised world, between East and West. *South America* may claim, as Africa does, a new phase of sovereignty with less dependency from US and with Brazil not only bringing economic power to the table, but also environmental assets as lung of the globe.

³⁵⁷ Joe Biden at a business Round Table, 25 Mar 2022, <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/factcheck/2022/03/25/fact-check-biden-did-not-admit-new-world-order-conspiracy/7156937001/> Accessed 5 Aug 2022.

In any case, the sustainability agenda of the SDGs must remain and be strengthened as the common denominator and link between all poles. There is only a future for humanity if the countries in a multipolar and multilateral world cooperate towards the SDGs and drastic measures to limit and mitigate climate warming.



7.2 Global Value Frame: Sustainable Development Goals

7.2.1 Developments: SDGs 2015-2030

7.2.1.1 Interconnected SDGs

The perception of more and more people and institutions about the world at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century is that

the world is in disorder and that the ‘global order decays.’³⁵⁸ At the same time, humanity never had such a strong and detailed common framework of goals as the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2015-2030, adopted by practically all nations of the world through the United Nations General Assembly in 2015.³⁵⁹ The 17 SDGs in a circle show 272 docking points (17x[17-1]) which means 136 connection lines.³⁶⁰

It shows the complexity, but also the beauty and holistic perspective of the SDGs.

We may take it for granted, but it is a huge success that all nations – even with all weaknesses of the UN system – try to work together for joint solutions of common problems. Of course, bilateralism instead of multilateralism, nationalism instead of international conventions, cutting budgets of UN and other multilateral and intergovernmental organisations weakens the SDGs and the chance of their implementation. Nevertheless, the SDGs remain a global reference frame and deniers must justify their disagreement compared to this frame.

7.2.1.2 SDG challenged by the 4C's

In the following chart³⁶¹, the 17 SDGs are re-grouped in six thematic clusters: it reduces complexity and facilitates monitoring. At the same time the graph shows the links of each theme to those of the 17 SDGs

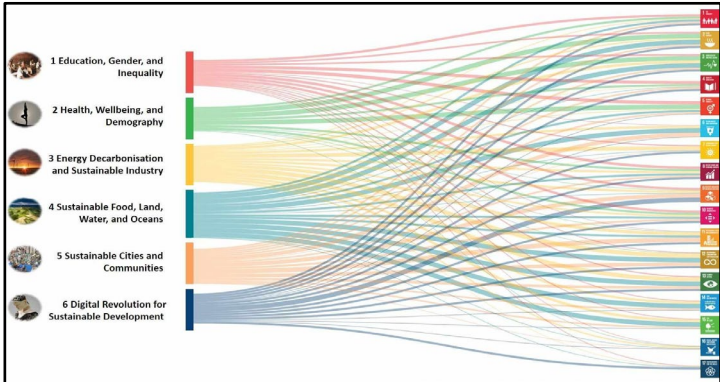
³⁵⁸ Diem Meier, Markus, *Davos hat gezeigt, wie die globale Ordnung gerade zerfällt*, *Sonntagszeitung*, 27 January 2019, 19. An article about the World Economic Forum 2019 in Davos.

³⁵⁹ See also chapters 3.23 and 4.3 for the description and values of the SDGs.

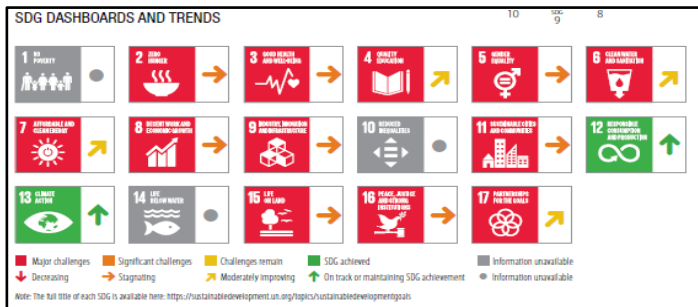
³⁶⁰ Graph composition by Christoph Stückelberger, based on Citizen Science Center Zurich (ETH and University of Zurich) and Michael Stückelberger.

³⁶¹ Sustainable Development Solutions Network SDSN.

most relevant for it. It is another way of handling the relationality of the goals. Monitoring the implementation and impact of the SDGs is important for reliability and accountability of the actors. An important monitoring instrument is the annual Sustainable Development Report under leadership of the economist Jeffrey Sachs.³⁶²



Monitoring means to regularly analyze progress and implementing challenges. The following graph shows in an easy understandable way the status 2022 of the 17 SDGs *by country*, here the example of Afghanistan:³⁶³



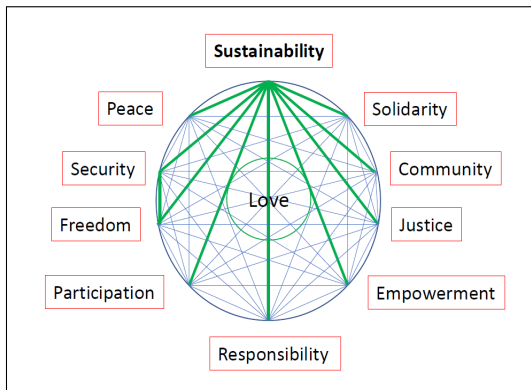
³⁶² Sustainable Development Report 2022, by Jeffrey Sachs et al, SDSN, Bertelsmann Foundation and Cambridge University Press, New York, 2022. (Accessed 10 August 2022).

³⁶³ Idem, 83.

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on the SDG's? The cumulated crises lead to the fear, that the SDGs cannot be reached in the ambitious time frame until 2030. After a successful decade of poverty reduction, millions of people are again back to absolute poverty. More in following chapters.

7.2.2 Value-Pole: Sustainability

The Sustainable Development Goals place sustainability as the core value at the center and even in the name of the 17 SDGs. The graph shows that sustainability can only be reached by considering all other values. The ethical dilemma is, that very often one value is violated while another one is strengthened. Economic growth and creating jobs (SDG 8) in order to reduce poverty and hunger (SDGs 1 and 2) is often still polluting water or emitting CO₂ and therefore conflicting with SDGs 6 or 13.



The 17 SDGs include 169 precise (mainly quantitative) targets³⁶⁴. Example: Goal 3 “Good Health and Well-Being” includes 13 targets, among them target

3.1: “By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births.” Precisely 232 indicators have been developed

³⁶⁴ <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/topics/sustainabledevelopmentgoals>.

to measure the implementation of the 169 targets with an internationally standardized methodology.³⁶⁵ Starting with data for 115 indicators in 2016, in 2021 already for 211 of the 232 indicators exist data in the global SDG database!³⁶⁶ Even if we consider the difficulties of reliable data in some countries, we can recognize the serious effort of the international community to work for these goals. The SDG mechanism 2015-2030 is much more monitored and measured than the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2000-2015.

7.2.3 Towards Globalance: SDGs First!

7.2.3.1 Simple ethical principle for SDGs

All decisions and actions in all sectors of society can be ethically measured against these 17 goals and 169 targets. The *ethical principle* therefore is simple: *If a decision and action contributes to one or more of the SDGs, it is ethically positive; if it hinders, violates or does harm to one or more of the SDGs it is ethically negative.*

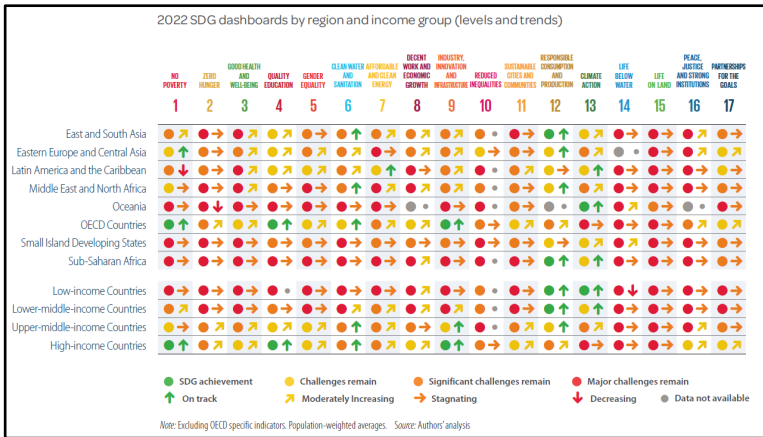
Considering the connectivity of the 17 goals as mentioned above, it means that many of the decisions and actions may be ambiguous as they promote one goal or target but may do some harm for another goal or target. For such frequent dilemmas, *the ethical principle of minor harm* may be applied: *If a decision and action contributes to one or more of the SDGs and at the same time harms one or more of the SDGs, it can be ethically justified if the benefit outweighs the harm and if all efforts have been undertaken to minimize the harm.*

³⁶⁵ <https://unstats.un.org/SDGs/indicators/indicators-list/>.

³⁶⁶ <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2021/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2021.pdf>. (Accessed 12 Aug 2022)

7.2.3.2 *Holistic implementation of interlinked SDGs*

These principles should be applied across sectors of society. The following table shows the implementation by region and income group³⁶⁷:



Companies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academic institutions, schools, cities, religious organisations, lobby organisations, special interest groups, research centers or armies are then measured against the principle of how much they contribute to the SDGs and where they do harm!

This leads to a new perspective and contributes to overcoming ideologi-

³⁶⁷ Jeffrey Sachs et al, *Sustainable Development Report 2022. From Crisis to Sustainable Development: The SDGs as Roadmap to 2030 and Beyond*, 20 (figure 2.8). <https://www.sdindex.org/reports/sustainable-development-report-2022/> (Accessed 9 Aug 2022)

cal barriers and prejudices. The first question is no more about whether a person or institution belongs to the same political party, is right or left-wing, is a state-owned or private enterprise, is well-recognized or an unknown research institution, or is a Buddhist temple or a Christian Church. The first question then becomes how and to what degree, does a person or institution contributes to the SDGs! All companies, all religions (graph), all research institutions etc. can and must contribute to the SDGs!

The topics in the following chapters 7.3-7.30 deal all with specific aspects related to the SDGs. Here is the overview. All are interlinked:

<i>SDG</i>	<i>Globalance Chapters</i>	<i>SDG</i>	<i>Globalance Chapters</i>
1	7.7, 7.8	10	7.3, 7.14, 7.23
2	7.7, 7.8, 7.10	11	7.28
3	7.6, 7.26, 7.28, 7.29	12	7.8, 7.9, 7.10
4	7.21, 7.24, 7.25	13	7.4, 7.5
5	7.23, 7.24	14	7.4,
6	7.6, 7.8	15	7.4, 7.8
7	7.5, 7.28	16	7.12 to 7.20
8	7.7-7.11	17	7.14, 7.19, 7.27, 7.230
9	7.3, 7.4, 7.7		

7B PLANET: TECHNOLOGY, CLIMATE, ENERGY HEALTH

This section 7B deals with the application of the concept of Globalance in Cyberspace, Science and Technology, Climate/Energy and Health. The cyber world is the omnipresent virtual reality, which influences all sectors of life and society. Science and technology are main drivers of global development and main contributors to solutions of environmental challenges. The shift from non-renewable to renewable energies is a key element for climate and CO2-reduction. The global Coronavirus pandemic shows the crucial importance of health.

We deal with these aspects even before economics and politics because they have massive influence. Of course, economics, politics, culture and people (sections 7C-F) also influence science, climate, energy and health in our perspective of relationality.

7.3 Cyber World: Chips, Internet, Satellites, REE

7.3.1 Developments: Cyber World is Everywhere

Cyberspace is the entire global space of virtual reality, a parallel world to the physical reality. The virtual reality seems intangible, the physical tangible. Both are real and today interwoven in all sectors through internet, satellites, robots, software in cars, machines and thousands of daily devices, social media, military, health systems, education etc.

The specificities of Cyberspace are³⁶⁸:

- *Time*: Cyberspace is anytime: fast, speedy, unbound time.
Challenge: time differences are often underestimated.
- *Space*: Cyberspace is everywhere: global, unbound space.
Challenge: The human body is still bound to space.
- *Size*: Cyberspace is mass produced. Reaches great numbers.
Challenge: Overwhelming information. Infobesity.
- *Virtual*: Cyberspace is virtual: digital, not material and physical.
Challenge: The distinction between real-virtual becomes difficult.
- *Anonymous*: Cyberspace facilitates multiple identities.
Challenge: Freedom versus dishonesty. Darknet as illegal space.
- *Money*: Cyberspace seems to be to a large extent for free.
Challenge: Cost and capital structures are often not transparent.
- *Networks*: Cyberspace enables immense opportunities of networks.
Challenge: transparency and vulnerability of cyber networks.
- *Power*: Cyberspace seems to be democratic, participatory, open.
Challenge: Existing power structures are often hidden.

³⁶⁸ See Stückelberger, Christoph, *Cyber Society: Core Values and Virtues*, in Christoph Stückelberger/Pavan Duggal (eds.), *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2018, 23-54 (25f).

The cyber world is an enormous revolution, called the 4th Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, it is good to remember, that the brave new world is based on very old discoveries of former cultures. It should make us humble and modest: the modern cyber world is inconceivable without a computer and to this day these are based on the reduction of complex reality to 0 and 1, so that every text and image can be coded with 0 and 1 (quantum computers work differently). The basic requirement for this is the invention of the number zero. The oldest zero was used by the Sumerian culture in Mesopotamia 3000 BC, by the Mayans 400 AD, Indians at a similar time, China 8th century, Europe 12th century. The predecessor of the mathematical figure zero was the religious wisdom of nothingness, emptiness, which exists in many creation stories around the world (Example in the Bible Genesis 1:2: God created creation out of nothing, in Christian theology called ‘creatio ex nihilo’). Only God can create something out of nothing, humans can only create something out of something.

Another key requirement of computer language is that letters can be recorded in numerical values (ASCII Code: American Standard Code for Information Interchange, today replaced and supplemented by the ISO 8859 standard). In the ASCII Code, the letter A corresponds to the number 65. Entering letters as numerical values already existed in ancient Greece in Ephesus in the so-called ‘number puzzle of Ephesus’. ASCII is therefore not an invention of the 20th century, but ‘only’ a new adaptation from ancient Greece. Even the new Quantum computer, which is in the making and will replace the 0-1 methodology by mechanisms known from biological-neurological systems, is bio-inspired technology, called bionic. It does not hinder the admiration for the immense performance of human researchers, but it should make researchers and all of us mod-

est as we all stand on the shoulders of former generations and cultures and on the immense wisdom of creation (coming from the creator, as believers would add).

The cyber world influences all sectors of society and dominates many. The cyber world is not only about clouds and software, but also about access to decisive hardware. A New World Order depends – to a large extent – on the answers to eight questions about ownership of key technologies, infrastructure and raw material related to the cyber world. The word ownership includes “who finances” and the word control includes “who governs” the respective technologies and mechanisms.

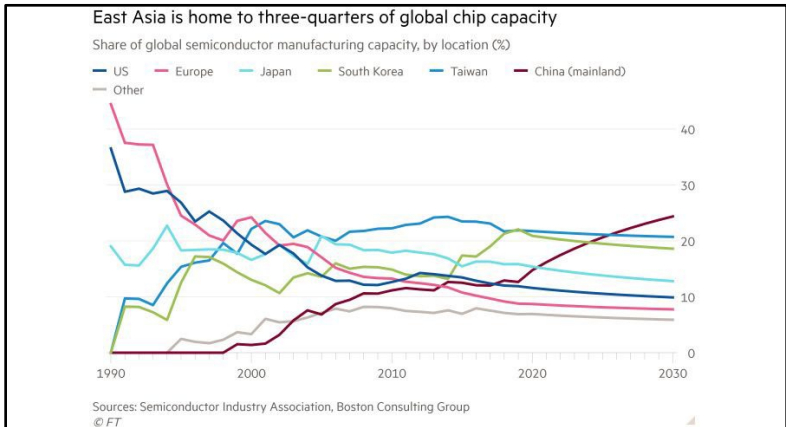
The answers to these questions show the economic and political powers, the dependencies and the potentials for peace, conflicts and war:

1. Who owns and controls the semiconductor chips production?
2. Who owns and controls the Rare Earth Elements (REE)?
3. Who owns and controls renewable and non-renewable energies?
4. Who owns and controls the Satellites
5. Who owns and controls the Sea Cables?
6. Who owns and controls the internet
7. Who owns and controls the online data?
8. Who owns and controls online media?

Let us look at each of them in a global overview.

7.3.1.1 Who owns and controls the semiconductor chips production?

During the last three decades, a dramatic shift in semiconductor production from USA and Europe to East Asia happened and it will continue in the current decade, as the graph shows³⁶⁹



Overall, the five foundries with the highest sales in the chip production have a market share of around 90 percent. With global foundries from the USA, there is only one manufacturer not based in East Asia in the top 8, in the first quarter of 2022 its market share was around six percent. In order to expand the market position of US chip producers, the US Congress passed the *CHIPS for America* Act on 27 July 2022. The Senate passed the huge budget of USD 280 billion (!) as *Industrial Policy Bill* - of which 52 billion for the semiconductor/chip industry in the US – in order to counter China. Some months earlier, the EU ap-

³⁶⁹ Global chip and semiconductor industry heavily reliant on Asia. <https://www.consultancy.asia/news/4074/global-chip-and-semiconductor-industry-heavily-reliant-on-asia>. (Accessed 13 Aug 2022)

proved in February 2022 a *European Chips Act*³⁷⁰ with the goal to decrease global dependency of the semiconductor/chip industry and increase the own EU production from 9 to 20 percent of the global production by 2030. The US and EU example show that the geopolitical New Cold War polarization leads to state intervention with massive support for specific industries. From an *ethical point of view*, it can be justified in order to decrease dependency from few providers of goods and services, which creates vulnerabilities and leads to economic obstacles with impact on all sectors of society. The chip industry production and access in today's world is as vital as the food production and access. However, the amount of state support should be critically put in relation to the comparably low availability of state support for some social, environmental and development programmes.

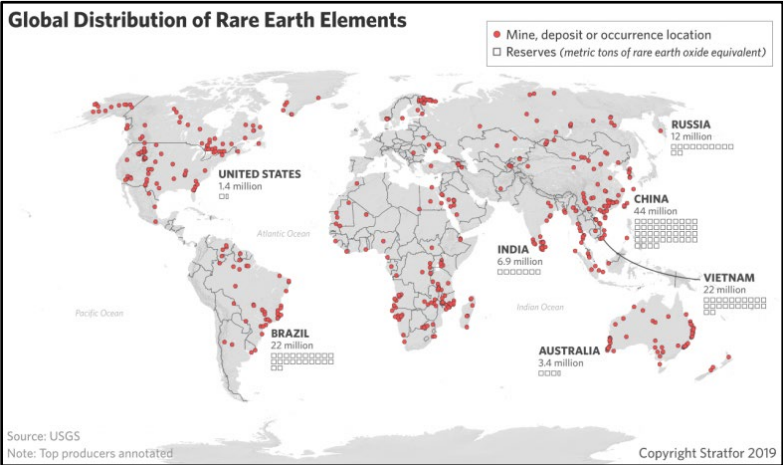
7.3.1.2 *Who owns and controls the Rare Earth Elements (REE)?*

Rare Earth elements (REE) are indispensable for the cyber world and all sectors of society today. For Mobile phones, all kind of batteries, data storage technologies, artificial intelligence, cars, households and much more.

The following map shows a pretty decentralised location of REEs around the globe.³⁷¹

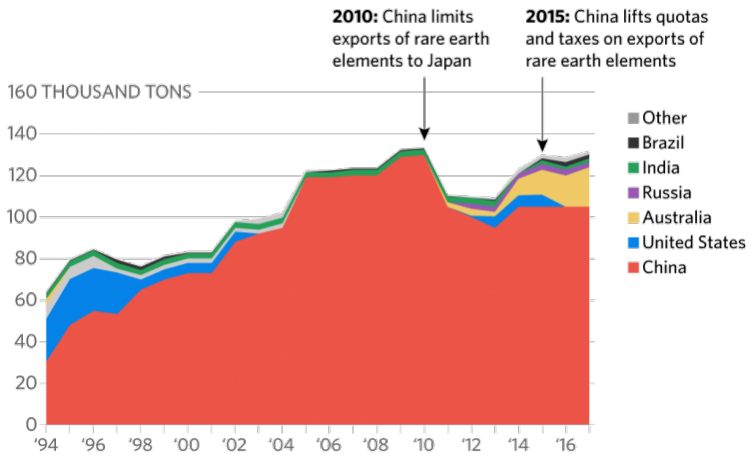
³⁷⁰ <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/library/european-chips-act-communication-regulation-joint-undertaking-and-recommendation>.

³⁷¹ *The Geopolitics of Rare Earth Elements*, RANE Worldview, 8 April 2019, www.ranenetwork.com. (Accessed 13 Aug 2022)

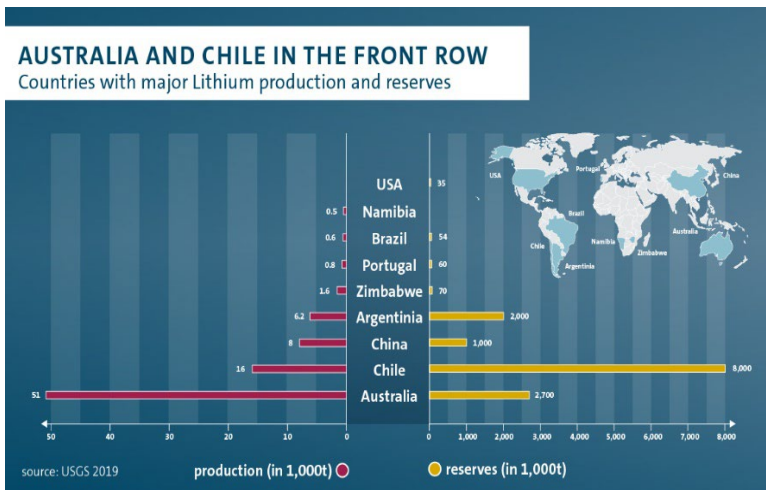


Rare Earth Elements Mines Production

Over the last 30 years, China has solidified its dominance over the global rare earth sector. Looking to move up the value chain and with domestic electric vehicle and renewable consumption increasing, China's domestic consumption of rare earths will only grow. This threatens to reduce China's total exports, but could also tie China more closely to the global market as it seeks more imports, slowly diversifying the market.



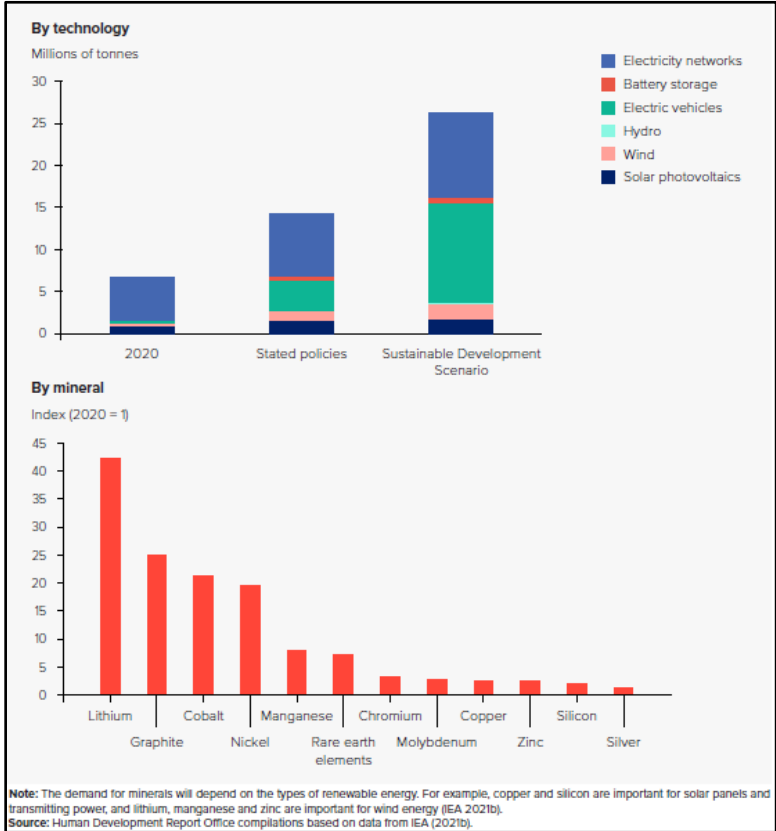
However, when we look at quantities in terms of tons produced, we see the extreme dominance of China in REE production³⁷²: If we look at specific metals, we see the very high dependency from few countries, even locations. Example: *Lithium* is essential for batteries and mainly used in electric cars, but also cell phones, laptops and much more. Only two countries are in the forefront: Australia and Chile. The following graph shows, that not only the current production, but also the reserves for the future should be considered. Nasty question: when will be the next war about lithium from Chile?³⁷³ However, the good news in this case: Huge reserves mean, that the flow rate of 2018 of 14 million tonnes would last 158 years globally.



³⁷² Idem.

³⁷³ Info from the car company Volkswagen. <https://www.volkswagenag.com/en/news/stories/2020/03/lithium-mining-what-you-should-know-about-the-contentious-issue.html#> (Accessed 14 Aug 2022)

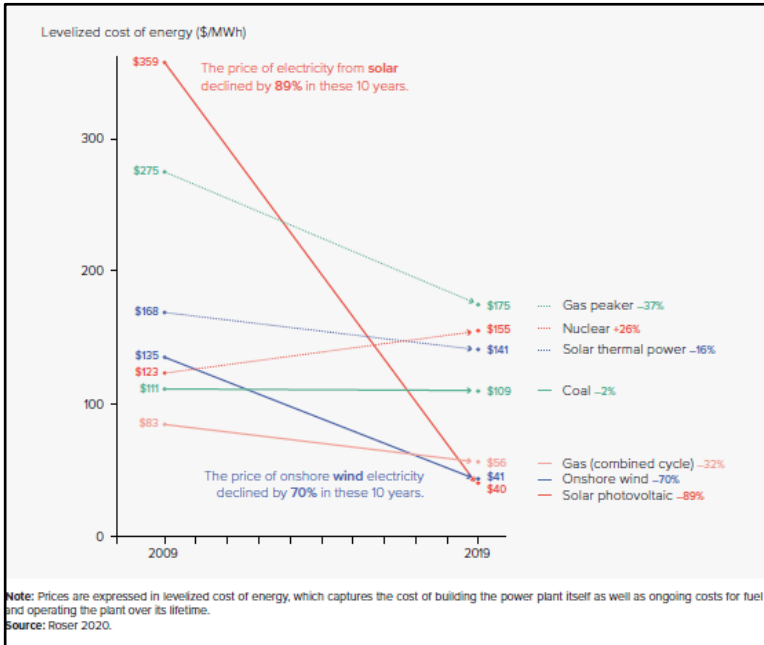
The following graph shows: the energy transition from non-renewable to renewable energy needs substantial increase in minerals and materials, combined with respective conflicts.³⁷⁴



The good news for the transition from non-renewable to renewable energy sources is:

The cost of renewable energy has declined dramatically!³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2021/2022. Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives: Shaping our future in a Transforming World*, New York 2022, 42.



The following map shows the major producers of Copper Ore, Cobalt, Bauxite, Lithium and Nickel.³⁷⁶ On local level, the claim of ownership of regions with REE has already led to heavy conflicts. The border war between China and India in Himalaya (Lhunze County) is about REE, lithium and others! China wants Indian Territory back, which is rich in REE, worth 60 billion USD!³⁷⁷ Western countries built

³⁷⁵ UNDP, Human Development Report 2021/2022. Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives: Shaping our future in a Transforming World, New York 2022, 163.

³⁷⁶ Constantin Bittner, *Rohstoff für grüne Energie*, Welt-Sichten 7/8-2022, 12-17 (16).

³⁷⁷ Chinese mining in the Himalayas could lead to a military conflict with India, Institut für seltene Erden und strategische Metalle, Metal news, 18 July 2019, <https://en.institut-seltene-erden.de/der-chinesische-bergbau-im-himalaya->

in June 2022, a new alliance to coordinate investments in countries with REE in order to secure their share and create a counter-weight to China. The Minerals Security Partnership (MSP)³⁷⁸ includes US, EU, Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Sweden, Japan and South Korea. The REE countries include Argentina, Brazil, Chile, DR Congo, Indonesia, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Philippines, Tanzania and Zambia.

A key factor for conflict studies: Tell me where Rare Earth Elements are located and I will tell you, where the next violent conflicts can explode and which alliances will be built!

7.3.1.3 *Who owns and controls non-renewable and renewable energies?*

For *oil production*, the top twelve countries by volume (barrel, 2020) are USA, 2. Russia, 3. Saudi Arabia, 4. Iraq, 5. Canada, 6. Iran, 7. China, 8. United Arab Emirates, 10. Kuwait, 11. Brazil, 12 Nigeria. However, 84 additional countries produce oil, even though some little.³⁷⁹

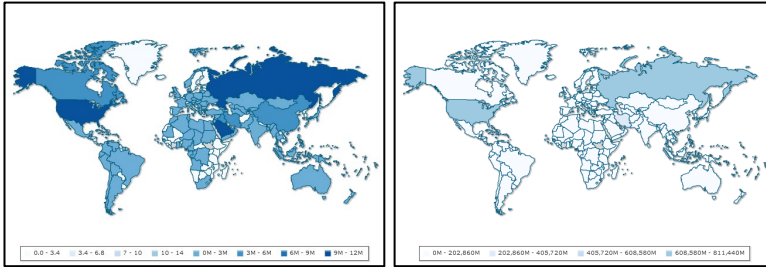
For *Gas Production (2020)*, a similar twelve are on top as for oil: USA, Russia, Iran, Qatar, Canada, China, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Algeria, Turkmenistan, Indonesia. 80 additional countries produce natural gas!³⁸⁰

koennte-zu-einen-militaerischen-konflikt-mit-indien-fuehren/ Accessed 15 Aug 2022)

³⁷⁸ See also below chapter 7.13.17.

³⁷⁹ <https://www.indexmundi.com/map/?v=88&r=xx&l=en>. (Accessed 14 Aug 2022)

³⁸⁰ Idem.



The European Commission presented – on 8 March 2022, only two weeks after invasion of Ukraine by Russia – a plan for Europe to become independent from Russian Oil and Gas by 2030.³⁸¹

The international sanctions against import of oil and gas from Russia reduced in a short time dramatically the exports to the West. However, in increase of exports to Asia compensated it. This shows the limited effect of sanctions, at least short-term. In long term, EU wants to become more independent from Russian fossil fuel imports, at the same time Russia successfully reduced in the last decade its dependency from income from oil and gas. The total revenue of Russia from oil and gas in 2012 was 50%, in 2021 only about one third, with much increased revenues from other sectors.³⁸²

³⁸¹ European Commission, *RePowerEU. Joint European Action for more affordable, secure and sustainable energy*, Strassbourg 8 March 2022. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_1511. (Accessed 13 Aug 2022)

³⁸² Source: Russian Ministry of Finance. www.minfin.gov.ru.

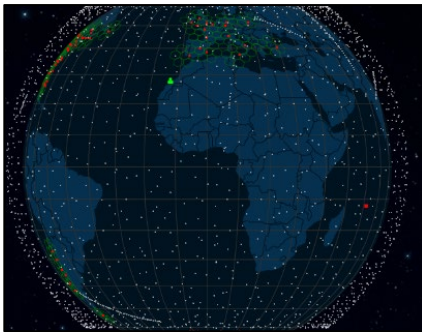
7.3.1.4 Who owns and controls the Satellites

Satellites: Ownership Countries 1966 and 2020³⁸³



The number of countries who own satellites increased substantially in the last five decades. Only between January and end April 2022 the number of satellites increased from 4,852 to 5,465! The number by

country is hugely different³⁸⁴:



From the total of 5,465 satellites operating by mid-2022, 3,433 are from US, 172 from Russia, 541 from China, 1,319 from others. From the 3,434 US satellites, 31 are civil, 2,992 commercial, 172 gov-

ernment and 237 military.³⁸⁵ Elon Musk, a private entrepreneur from USA and wealthiest person in the world in 2022, with his Starlink com-

³⁸³ Source: Union of Concerned Scientists. <https://www.ucsusa.org/nuclear-weapons/space-weapons/satellite-database>. Status 30 April 2022: 5465 Satellites.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ A personal experience: in July 2022, during a very clear night with the sky full of stars, I saw three stars moving fast. Faster than airplanes and continuously, not like falling shooting stars. Our son explained: "These three fast moving 'stars' are satellites. The sky is already very populated." Everybody can follow the satellites in real time positions on the interactive map: <http://satellitemap.space> (foto below).

pany and SpaceX satellite program plans 42,000 satellites around the globe, 2,900 are already in orbit (July 2022). For better internet connection? For other commercial purposes? For military dominance? The reaction from China is clear: the Asian country is alarmed as SpaceX and Starlink options of assisting US military are likely to end by providing the Western country space dominance.

“Chinese military observers have been increasingly concerned about the potential of SpaceX’s Starlink satellite network in helping the US military dominate space, especially so, in the wake of the Ukraine war, where Elon Musk activated Starlink satellites to restore communications that had stopped because of shelling by the Russian troops.”³⁸⁶

From February to October 2022 Musk donated, in his own words, at least 20 million USD per month to enable satellite communication from mobile antennas in Ukraine via Starlink satellites. 25000 antenna-terminals have been installed in Ukraine, sponsored by Musk and many paid by EU, Poland, USAID and others. But in October 2022, Musk asked the US government for his 20 mio USD/month.³⁸⁷ The US government already reflects, if Starlink should be nationalised. Musk obviously in some aspects becomes more powerful than a superpower.

The next step in the space-race escalation was the warning from a military researcher in China, also in May 2022:

³⁸⁶ Tanmay Kadam, China ‘Deeply Alarmed’ By SpaceX’s Starlink Capabilities That Is Helping US Military Achieve Total Space Dominance, *EurAsian Times*, May 9, 2022, <https://eurasianimes.com>. (Accessed 10 May 2022)

³⁸⁷ Lukas Mäder, *Die ukrainische Armee ist von Elon Musks Satelliten abhängig, doch jetzt hat sich Musk mit der Ukraine zerstritten*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 14 Oct 2022.

“China must be able to destroy Musk’s Starlink if it poses threats.”³⁸⁸ He calls “for development of anti-satellite capabilities including ability to track, monitor and disable each craft.”

7.3.1.5 *Who owns and controls the Sea Cables?*

The following map shows the submarine communication cables³⁸⁹.



Details about each cable, its capacity, ownership etc. are available online.³⁹⁰ The number and capacity of cables mainly depends on commercial interests, why the connections North America-Europe, North America-Asia and connections within South East Asia are more numerous than to other continents. In the past decades, the owners and implementors of sea cables have been mainly consortia of the large telecom companies such as AT&T, Deutsche Telecom etc. but during the last ten years, Google and Facebook became the major new investors in undersea

³⁸⁸ South China Morning Post, 25 May 2022. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/science/article/3178939/china-military-needs-defence-against-potential-starlink-threat> (Accessed 26 Sept 2022)

³⁸⁹ An interactive map with detailed locations and owners by cable offers: <https://www.submarinecablemap.com/>

³⁹⁰ Source: www.cablemap.info.

cables.³⁹¹ Sea cables are also part of the US-China race: as reaction on China's new 'Peace cables' in Africa, the US government decided in 2022 six new submarine lines/cables in South-East-Asia-Middle and East-Africa-Western Europe.³⁹²

7.3.1.6 *Who owns and controls the internet*

The internet is not owned by a country or group of persons. Different parts are run by different parties: internet service providers to enable access, cable and satellite providers (see above) and those who define the global protocol and standard: ICANN, the private non-profit organisation, set up by the US Ministry of Commerce in 1998, still sets the rule, after a major reform in 2016. Many proposals have been discussed in the last two decades to transfer it to a UN agency like the international Telecommunication Union ITU.

The *internet governance* is of high international relevance, as the whole world depends on it. The danger of four internets by geopolitical spheres of influence is not yet fully settled. The one internet would then become a 'splinternet' and a 'balkanisation of the internet', a split of the internet as a danger, as outlined in the report of the Global Commission on Internet Governance. This international commission, which worked 2014-2016, was "promoting a safe, open and secure internet" as one

³⁹¹ Dan O'Shea, *Facebook, Google lead latest undersea cable boom*, Fierce Telecom, 12 April 2021 www.fiercetelecom.com (Accessed 14 Aug 2022)

³⁹² As announced by US Secretary of State Antony Blinken in South Africa, 9 Aug 2022. Jevans Nyabiage, *US Takes China Rivalry over African influence underwater, with high-speed internet cable spanning continents*, South China Morning Post, 14 Aug 2022. (Accessed 14 Aug 2022).

internet.³⁹³ The “splinternet” could be, along the new bipolar world with US and China, leading to two internets, or could be multipolar or a “digital Silk Road”.³⁹⁴ It is a key part of the Tech War or Tech Cold War. Russia already has a law for a Russian parallel internet (RU.net), China is working on it.

The interest of China in international standard since some years is certainly to a large extent focussed on standards of internet and related areas. The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) with Telecommunication Standardization Bureau (TSB) is the global internet regulation entity. 2015-2022, the Chinese Houlin Zhao was the Secretary General of the organisation. The fact, that a Russian and an American candidate are the top candidates for the position of the Secretary General for the term 2023-2026 shows the political relevance!

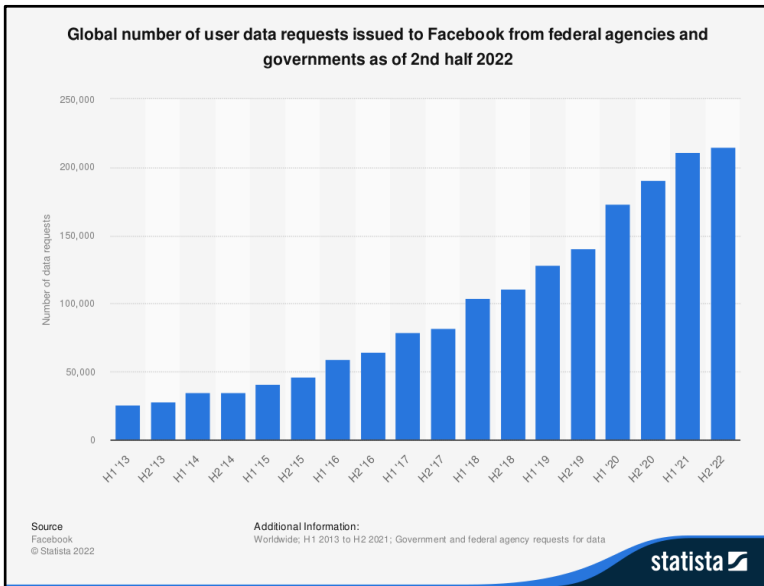
7.3.1.7 Who owns and controls online media?

The harsh controversies about data ownership are linked to the fast development of the power of the media giants Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon (GAFA) in the western world and BATH (Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, Huawei) in the Chinese world. We have seen that these media giants are far from offering “social media” as friend meeting platforms or offering some products for sale. They are decisive conglomerates, with increasing ownership of critical infrastructure, influencing politics, elections, parliaments in a global way and thus provoking more and

³⁹³ *Global Commission on Internet Governance. One Internet. Final Report*, published by Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Chatham House, Canada 2016, 5-14. (Accessed 13 Aug 2022).

³⁹⁴ Kohler, Kevin, *One, Two or Two Hundred Internets? The Politics of Future Internet Architectures*, Cyberdefense Report, CSS/ETH Zurich, Aug 2022 (Accessed 26 Sept 2022).

more efforts of governments and parliaments to regulate, control or split these giants. One indicator of the power of these giants is the explosion of the number of requests of governments to access data of Facebook.



More in chapter 7.25 on media.

7.3.1.8 *Who owns and controls the online data?*

The hardware enables internet connectivity and the governing entity provides free and sustainable access by agreed protocols, but the question remains: who owns the content – the data. This highly complex and controversial question cannot be answered briefly. Each legal constituency like nations and companies have now their own rules and regulations. The most famous and globally implemented on privacy of data is the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) since 2016, which has been implemented far beyond EU. The many legal cases especially of the US and EU regulators against the GAFA large companies

(Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon) show the high commercial, legal and geopolitical implications of the data ownership. *More in chapter 1.2.3.*

The cyber world is immensely influenced by the almost unlimited production of data by every virtual transaction of information. The core of the business of the internet giants is Big Data harvesting, collection, analysis, targeted use and sales. The most important production factor in the cyber world are not natural resources, capital or human resources, but Big Data.

The current developments in the cyber world are dominated by three main topics: *artificial intelligence, cyber security and freedom in the internet*. Artificial Intelligence (AI) entered almost all sectors of life, mainly industrial production with robots, but also from e-health to e-government, from education to autonomous weapons. AI creates huge expectations of progress, realistic fears of losing jobs and vague fears that machines will become more powerful than human beings. In cyber security, it is obvious that the breaches reach a never seen high level of damages with an estimated trillions of dollar economic damage per year, with an increase by 100% from 3 trillion in 2015 to an estimated 6 trillion USD cybercrime damage in 2021!³⁹⁵ The freedom of internet is a hot political issue. On one hand, the control of internet for reasons of cyber security and reducing abuse in child pornography, violence and terrorism is broadly accepted. On the other hand, restrictions on the internet is used for political control by a growing number of autocratic regimes. A number of new national legislations (China 2018 and 2019, Russia 2019, smaller countries) claiming national sovereignty and pro-

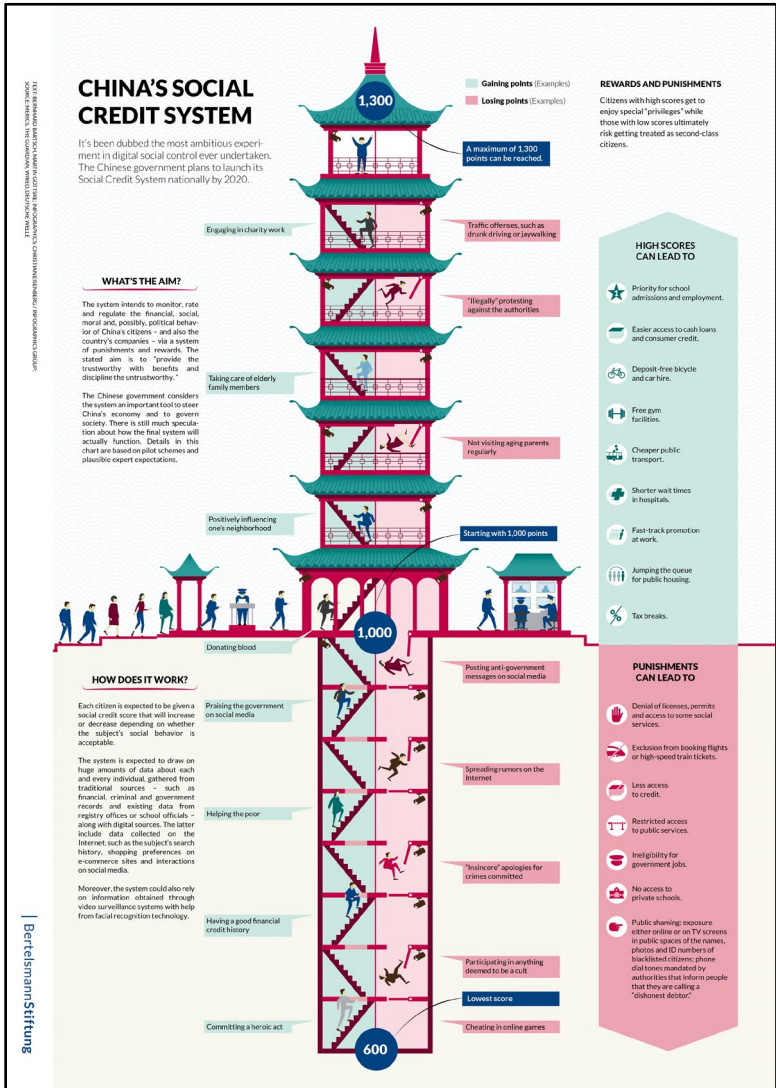
³⁹⁵ <https://cybersecurityventures.com/cybercrime-damages-6-trillion-by-2021>.

tection of their citizens not only in the physical, but in the virtual space, leads to a de facto fragmentation of the internet so that sovereign states can define for their whole space the rules and content.³⁹⁶ The control of internet has also economic reasons in terms of tax legislations. The European Union makes efforts to get a part of the tax cake of the large companies such as Google, Facebook and Amazon for their activities in Europe by defining new rules of taxation. OECD examines a whole new global system of company taxation with the same goal to distribute revenue from the cyber space more fairly amongst the countries in which the citizens use internet and social media.³⁹⁷ Geopolitical and macroeconomic power struggles occur in the cyber space. How can Globalance, based on ethics, be reached in this space?

The Chinese government has tested its *Social Credit System* since 2014, launched it nationally in 2020 and integrated it in June 2022 in its new five-year plan as part of rule of law. It is a detailed reward and punishment system based on extended and AI-based data collection and behavioural surveillance of the citizens. It wants to encourage correct ethical behaviour and deter wrongdoing, be it in crossing a road when the traffic light is red or stealing or rewarding voluntary services for society.

³⁹⁶ See a series of books on national cyber laws of China, Russia, Vietnam, Belarus and others by Pavan Duggal, a world leading cyber law specialist, all available on Amazon. E.g. Pavan Duggal, *Russia Data Localization Law and Cybersecurity*, New Delhi 2015; idem, *Cybersecurity Law – the China Approach*, New Delhi: 2019.

³⁹⁷ OECD/G20 Inclusive Framework on Base Erosion and Profit Sharing BEPS, <http://www.oecd.org/tax/beps>.



Source: Bertelsmann Foundation Germany, MERICS, The Guardian.

It seems quite broadly accepted in China. A key ethical question is whether ethical behaviour should in any minute be related to a punishment-award system and if a component of forgetting and forgiving (chapter 8.3.4) can be included. The graph shows the mechanism of China's Social Credit System.

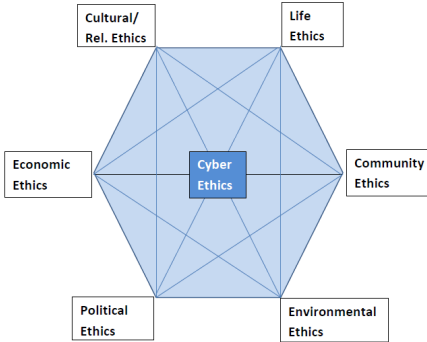
The conflict about access of governments to private data exists also in Western countries. The FBI in the US wants to force giants like Apple, Google and Facebook to allow access to data through a backdoor on devices in order to catch criminals. Until now the companies resist, supported by cyber specialists, with the argument that such a backdoor undermines trust of consumers and weakens data security since such a backdoor can also be used by hackers.

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on the cyber world and these eight aspects?

Covid-19 substantially accelerated online communication and the virtual world, especially during the long lock-down period of billions of people. The Cold War accelerates technological innovations and investments in the virtual sphere, now to a large extent as part of the bipolar and multipolar race between the superpowers. The rocket-increase of some ICT-titles in the stock-market shows the over-estimation of the sector and corrections followed.

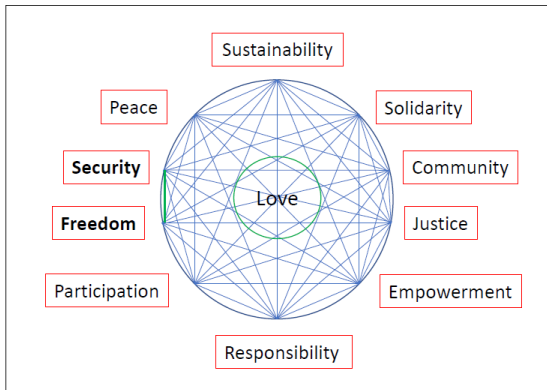
7.3.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Security

Cyber Ethics³⁹⁸ and Data Ethics³⁹⁹ aim at contributing orientation about good and bad, right and wrong in the cyber space. As the cyber space includes all sectors of society as cyber society, cyber ethics today



also includes all domains of applied ethics!⁴⁰⁰ All thirty topics in this chapter 7 on applied Globalance include aspects of cyber ethics. In this chapter 7.3 we concentrate on one pair of values which are to some extent in

conflict to each other and build a dilemma for many decisions from personal behaviour up to political regulations: the value of freedom and the



the value of security.

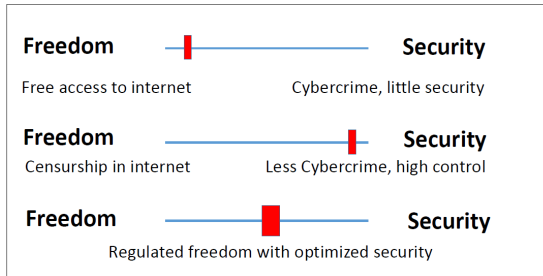
Free access to internet and its content was and still is a key driver of globalisation, global integration,

³⁹⁸ See 25 articles on the topic in Christoph Stückelberger/ Pavan Duggal (Eds.), *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2018.

³⁹⁹ Over 30 articles on the topic in Christoph Stückelberger/Pavan Duggal (Eds.), *Data Ethics*. Geneva: Globethics.net, Nov. 2022.

⁴⁰⁰ Graph Christoph Stückelberger *Cyber Ethics*, 26.

global communication and democratic movements such as the Arab Spring, Hong Kong or US protests, or the climate movement.



But the interconnectivity also increases the vulnerability. A cybercriminal attack can block the infrastructure of

whole cities and regions as it happens in South Africa or with electricity fall out in South America. The financial sector is under serious threat by the fact that a large part of financial transactions already happen on the anonymous darknet. Maximization of free access to internet leads to little security. The opposite is now happening through governments and cyber security actors: high control leads to more security but limits more and more the freedom of use. The ‘Ethics of Cybersecurity’⁴⁰¹ is needed.

Other pairs of values represent a dilemma in the cyberspace, but will be further developed in other chapters: Freedom (of trade, e-commerce, tech-giants) and justice (of taxation, fair distribution of benefits) need to be balanced. Individual freedom of internet (with its phenomenon of addiction and isolation of young people) is in tension to the value of community and community building. How can a family balance the use

⁴⁰¹ Christen, Markus/ Gordijn, Bert/ Loi, Michele (Eds.), *The Ethics of Cybersecurity*, Berlin: Springer Nature, Switzerland, 2020. Ethical values examined are Privacy versus security, human rights, ethical hacking, freedom of political communication, cyber peace, ethical cyber-defense of companies, digital health care and more.

of mobile phone devices by their children with community life in the family?

7.3.3 Towards Globalance: From Data Ethics to the Global Digital Compact

7.3.3.1 Freedom and security in surface web and dark web

Globalance in cyberspace means, as related to freedom and security, to optimize security and balance it at the same time with freedom in the cyberspace.

Freedom can never be absolute but needs regulation and limitation e.g. on fake news or abuse of vulnerable users through cyber bullying. The current political pressure to limit freedom with the justification of security is often a political instrumentalisation by autocratic regimes and is ethically not justified. On the other hand, unlimited freedom is also unethical as it is the rule of the stronger and does not protect weaker people.

The confusion and ambiguity in current cyber developments is visible in titles like “Elon Musk: Genius or Demon? The Dictator of Freedom”⁴⁰² is this development a blessing or a curse? As with most technologies, it is most probably both.

A serious contradiction between freedom and security exists in the distinction between the *surface web* and the *deep web*. The surface web is accessible to everyone using the internet, the deep web only through special access passwords and is without indexation by search engines. The deep web has, in addition, a deeper level called *darknet*. The dark-

⁴⁰² Elon Musk: Génie ou démon? Le dictateur de la liberté. Cover title *L'illustré*, 25 Mai 2022. Article, 18-24: Philippe Clot, Bienfaiteur de l'(in)humanité.

net is invisible like the deep web and not indexed by search engines. It is an anonymous peer-to-peer network. Because of its anonymity and relative higher security than in the surface web, the darknet is the favorite playground for all kind of illegal and criminal activity. It was developed by the FBI and now used by intelligence services as by criminals – a further example of the collusion between intelligence services and criminals.

The freedom in the surface web is more and more regulated by rules, standards and laws. They cannot be implemented in the darknet, which is by definition anonymous. Also, transparency required by all kind of standards like General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and in the finance sector, the ‘know your customer’ are ignored and violated on the darknet where one cannot know the customer’s identity. The defenders of the darknet argue, that it protects not only criminals, but whistleblowers, human rights activists and all those who cannot freely express their opinion because of internet censorship. “The Darknet is one of the last bastions of freedom of speech ... The Darknet is a network without censorship and surveillance – with all its advantages and disadvantages.”⁴⁰³ The darknet is praised as the last resort for free expression of opinions and at the same time dangerous: “Just don’t believe or trust anyone when surfing Darknet.”⁴⁰⁴

From an ethical perspective, this double morality related to freedom, security, transparency and trust cannot be accepted. A free space without any control – and no trust – leads rather to anarchy than full democracy.

⁴⁰³ *Deep Web: How to access the darknet?* <https://engelmann.com/en/security/deep-web-how-to-access-the-darknet/>.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

The struggle for human rights cannot be won by a rule-less and ruthless darknet. The balance between freedom and security is not respected in the darknet. Therefore, I came to the conclusion⁴⁰⁵ that the only ethical solution would be to dismantle the darknet and declare it as illegal. But as almost every country has a secret service and may use the darknet, the double ethical standards are broadly accepted and the political will to overcome the schizophrenia does not exist.

7.3.3.2 Tracing and trust in cyber data

The cyber world with the global connectivity of data, which produce big data, combined with analytical tools based on artificial intelligence, create huge opportunities for higher quality of precision of data thanks to the mass of data integrated. However, a serious topic remains, *trust in cyber data*: Who programs the algorithms? With open or hidden interests? How can the data protection be guaranteed, with all fast increase of hacking and continues stories of backdoors for government access to data? Can we rely on such data when it comes to life and death such as with surgeries, health in general or military use? Do we lose experience and wisdom of the human brain by outsourcing it to machines and algorithms? What do we do in moments of shutdowns of access to these data? Do we have backup solutions, which are not linked to technologies? Such questions will increase with increased dependency on cyber-related data collection.

The Covid-19 pandemic also made visible the enormous support by internet in the sharing of information and data in real time, in communication during and after lockdown across borders via audio and video

⁴⁰⁵ Article Stueckelberger, Christoph /Siddavatam, Irfan, *Darknet Ethics*, India: 2021, in preparation.

conferencing platforms such as Zoom, and other telecommunication devices and apps. The pandemic also showed the political, cultural and ethical differences in handling cyber-related data. Let us take the efforts for a *contact tracing app* as example.

Contact tracing apps on mobile devices are used to trace whether a person had contact with a covid-infected person. If it is the case, the info is sent to authorities to warn the person, invite or mandate them to test or go into quarantine in order to avoid further spread of the virus. Among virologists and politicians there is almost unanimity that contact tracing is an important step to control and limit new infections. But there are many questions about data protection: Which data are needed? Who has access to it? Who can store them and for how long? Can they be hacked? Is the app compulsory or voluntary? If a person is identified as infected, can the person be forced to quarantine? If so, who pays the economic cost through reduced income or social damage? Can the app also be used beyond the pandemic for all kind of tracing and surveillance?

There are basically two options (with sub-options)⁴⁰⁶: a centralised tracing model with governmental access to data and a decentralised model with no personal data to governments. The centralised model already exists in Asia from the MERS epidemic in 2015, including respective legislations as in South Korea and China. In both countries, the tracing app was used relatively fast after the outbreak and especially

⁴⁰⁶ BBC News, *Coronavirus contact-tracing: world split between two types of app*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-52355028>; Reuters, *Factbox: the Race to deploy Covid-19 contact tracing apps*, 14 May 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-apps-factbox/factbox-the-race-to-deploy-covid-19-contact-tracing-apps-idUSKBN22Q2KU>.

after ending lockdown in cities. It is called the traffic light system where people can enter a location when their mobile phone shows green, otherwise cannot pass. In these countries – in China also due to the social credit system – the acceptance by the population is high (see more in chapter 7.6.2).

In Western countries, the big concern is data protection and the freedom of citizens to move in public without being registered for each step. Each country therefore looked at its own solutions between March and May 2020. In June 2020, a solution developed by the famous technical university ETH/EPFL in Lausanne, Switzerland was accepted by Google and Apple and can be used by more than a billion users on their apple and android-based handy. It is rigorous in data protection: data are not collected via GPS, but Bluetooth from nearby persons, are stored only on the device of the person and not in any cloud or central server, can anytime be deleted by the user, are automatically deleted after two weeks and the data in the case of an infected person are transferred only by number and are encrypted.⁴⁰⁷ As the mistrust against companies such as Google and Apple about their data collection is widespread, it is a success that researchers, state authorities and private companies agreed on a global standard. It is an example of a balanced solution combining freedom, security and solidarity in health by multi-stakeholder and international cooperation.

7.3.3.3 Ownership and governance of internet and cyber data

A key topic for Globalance in the cyber world remains *Internet Governance*. Multilateral solutions of internet governance are discussed

⁴⁰⁷ *Eine Schweizer Corona App wird zum Weltstandard*, *Sonntagszeitung*, 7 June 2020, 2-4.

since decades, but little progress is made due to contradicting national interests and ideological differences especially between two models: The ‘Californian Internet’, dominated by the actors in the Silicon Valley, defends a libertarian world view with free access to internet, but de facto heavily dominated by private companies and pushing back state controls even though these companies are more and more confronted with state regulations. The other model is the ‘Chinese Internet’ with a strong state control and promotion of the internet. The third model is a ‘Multi-stakeholder Internet’ Governance with a coalition of governments, non-governmental organisations, academics, media govern the internet with international, multilaterally agreed regulations in a cooperative way. This model was proposed among others by President Macron of France at the UNESCO Forum on Internet Governance in Paris on 12 November 2018.⁴⁰⁸ From a Globalance perspective, a multi-stakeholder internet governance enables a constant dynamic balancing of interests in view of new technological developments and hinders a one-sided dominance with the result of polarization and national compartmentalisation of the internet as we can observe nowadays.

The *ownership and governance of the cyber world*, as shown in the eight aspects in chapter 7.3.1 above, indicates who can influence and decide on freedom and security, on profitability and innovation. Ownership includes social, environmental and political *responsibility*. “Properly obliges” is a classical core criterion in economic ethics and classical social teaching of the Christian churches from the second century up to today. Only the object is now different, as it is not primarily about the

⁴⁰⁸ More in Tréguer, Félix, *L’Utopie déçue. Une contre-histoire d’internet, XVI^e-XXI^e siècle*, Paris : Fayard, 2019.

property of a piece of land or a machine, but of complex cyber-related properties.

Different levels of cyber governance are needed. The multilateral standardization and monitoring level (see chapter 7.1.3.6), national legislations, but also voluntary commitments. The new *Global Digital Compact*⁴⁰⁹, proposed by UN SC Antònio Gutterez and to be launched in September 2023 at the Summit for the Future, is “a technology track involving all stakeholders: governments, the United Nations system, the private sector (including tech companies), civil society, grass-roots organizations, academia, and individuals, including youth. The Global Digital Compact is expected to outline shared principles for an open, free and secure digital future for all.” In addition to such standard settings and voluntary commitments, *Digital Diplomacy*, also called e-Diplomacy or Digiplomacy, is a new area of diplomacy, which then promotes and negotiates such instruments on political level and uses communication technologies to achieve diplomatic goals. Geneva (the origin of the Internet at CERN), undertakes steps to place itself again as an innovative hub for multilateral solutions in the digital age.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ <https://www.un.org/techenvoy/global-digital-compact>. (Accessed 26 Sept 2022)

⁴¹⁰ The Diplo Foundation in Geneva with its Director Jovan Kurbalija is the inventor and leader in promoting Digital Diplomacy. <https://www.diplomacy.edu/topics/digital-diplomacy/> (Accessed 15 Oct 2022)

7.4 Science and Technology

7.4.1 Developments: Disruptions?

7.4.1.1 *Disruptive Technologies*

Science and technology are key drivers in development, more than ever. The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4.0), based on digitalisation of all sectors with computer up to quantum computers, artificial intelligence, new logistics and transport options, new forms of renewable energy, prolongation of the use of non-renewable/fossil energies by new explorations and extraction technologies, new material through nanotechnologies and the possible transition from the silicon-based era to the multiferroics-era.⁴¹¹ Metamaterials - new materials, which do not exist in nature – can be both hard and elastic, signals can be transported in soft materials, sound and light develop new characteristics⁴¹², physics, biology and chemistry become more and more three perspectives of one reality.

Many of these developments are called disruptive technologies, a buzzword meaning a jump in technological innovation, which can lead to a break with former technologies. This leads to manifold new opportunities for solutions of current challenges such as environmental pollution, waste of material etc., but it also leads to manifold uncertainties and imbalances. Technological revolutions – be it the agricultural revolution, the arrival of electricity or the computer – influence the structure

⁴¹¹ *Eigentlich unmöglich*. Interview with Nicola Spaldin on multiferroics material, in *Neue Materialien*, ETH Zürich Globe 4/2019, 20-21.

⁴¹² Walther, Michael, *Die Macht der inneren Struktur* (about metamaterials) in *Neue Materialien*, ETH Zürich Globe 4/2019, 17-19.

of a society as a whole, the working methods, the jobs needed, new forms of abuse of new technologies and economic, political and military power shifts. Unforeseen unintended consequences often occur, such as new diseases and health risks (currently discussed e.g. on cosmetic with Nano technological elements) or genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and its effects on biodiversity, environment and health. Difficult ethical questions occur as the borders between mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics and artificial intelligence in all of it, makes former ethical criteria much more complex. 'Patenting life' by patenting a gene was ethically and legally not possible in the past. However, if a specific gene sequence is digitised (which means a virtual, digitised copy of the gene sequence), who owns it and can it be patented?⁴¹³ The European Commission developed a number of helpful policy papers with guidelines for ethical responsibility in research and innovation.⁴¹⁴ Especially important is, to integrate ethical aspects at the very beginning in the research design and not only at the end of implementation.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Schäfer, Otto, *Digitale Sequenzinformationen. Ethische Fragen der Patentierung genetischer Ressourcen und des Eigentums an digitalisierten Sequenzinformationen*, ed. by Federal Ethics Committee on Non-Human biotechnology ECNH, Bern: 2020. Free download: <https://www.ekah.admin.ch/en/homepage>. The author, biologist and theologian, developed criteria such as capability approach, free access and benefit sharing.

⁴¹⁴ European Commission, *Indicators for promoting and monitoring Responsible Research and Innovation. Report from the Expert Group on Policy Indicators for Responsible Research and Innovation*, Brussels 2015; *Rome Declaration on Responsible Research and Innovation in Europe*, Brussels 2014; *The Lund Declaration 2009 on cooperation in Europe on Grand Challenges in Research and innovation*, Brussels 2009.

⁴¹⁵ Van den Hoven, Jeroen/ Miller, Seumas/ Pogge, Thomas (Eds.) *Designing in Ethics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017, chapter 1.4: Value-Sensitive Design (VSD) means design for values and values for design. Integrating values into the design of (information) technology.

An example is quantum computing. Experts estimate that quantum computing is a fundamental change with many opportunities and threats in the computing/data world. Quantum ethics is only at the very beginning. Risk managers and auditing companies are among the first to call for quantum ethics, as they need to recognize and reduce quantum risks at an early stage. Audit and insurance firms have strong instruments for risk analyses. For this reason Ernst &Young calls for quantum ethics: “Why innovation leaders must consider quantum ethics.”⁴¹⁶

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on future science and technology development and a New World Order? Climate change may provoke much additional research on solutions for climate change mitigation. New scientific knowledge may lead to new solutions. However, speed matters: research and political decisions need time whereas climate warming accelerates faster than expected.

7.4.1.2 *The Tech Polarisation*

A geopolitical issue is the recent development of a bipolar or quadripolar technological world⁴¹⁷: The trade war between US and China makes visible that two main technology spheres are developing: the American tech-giants versus the Chinese tech-giants. With the American economic sanctions and expected retaliation of China it is not excluded that individuals, companies and governments must decide between com-

⁴¹⁶ Mira Pijselman, *Why innovation leaders must consider quantum ethics*, EY insights, 18 May 2022. https://www.ey.com/en_uk/emerging-technologies/why-innovation-leaders-must-consider-quantum-ethics. Accessed 15 Aug 2022)

⁴¹⁷ More in chapter 7.13 about the bi-polar and quadripolar world (having four poles: US, China, Europe, Russia).

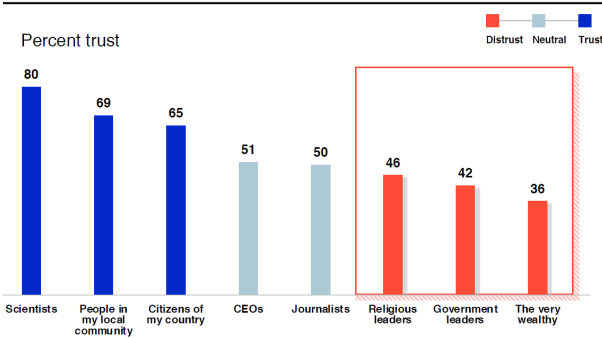
panies belonging to the American or the Chinese hemisphere. Currently, I must choose Baidu search machine in China as Google search is not available. And WhatsApp and WeChat are mutually excluding competitors, not to speak about the uncertain future of the market of Huawei and its technologies.

Let us briefly look at the *Huawei case as a typical example* for the link between science, technology, military and geopolitics: Components have been produced by China Huawei, but with chips produced in Taiwan TSMC company (98 percent of Huawei's semiconductors come from TSMC, based on technology from the US). The Huawei US company came under pressure. SMIC company in mainland China is considered as alternative to Taiwan's TSMC, but takes time. The US work with accusations of backdoors in software without delivery of proof whilst using same methods of backdoors themselves. Chinese could not prove that they stopped industry espionage. The ownership structure of Huawei shows that even though officially the majority owners are the employees, de facto the union which is controlled by the communist party has the decision-making power, therefore to some extent it seems a kind of state-owned company. The conflict shows that international business requires solid international political governance. The conflict is a form of sanction of US against China. However, sanctions mainly provoke a push for more diversification and homemade production (Iran and Russia sanction the same), affect consumers but at the end often strengthen the sanctioned country and leads to the opposite outcome intended. China has means for retribution.

US depends much on pharmaceuticals and hardware from China. As Huawei delivers components of tech on 5G and to 170 countries, the whole world is affected. Due to the US ban of Huawei technology, many

companies must decide if they should still use Huawei and risk US sanctions or work with China or both.⁴¹⁸ Is the ethical answer to slow down interdependency and digitisation? Or can Globalance be reached by convincing the competing superpowers that cooperation is still a better win-win than sanctions and exclusions?

In the 2020 Edelman Trust survey⁴¹⁹, “confidence that our current leaders will be able to successfully address our country’s challenges” showed that trust in scientists is very high with 80 percent, independent on all the (necessary) controversies between them. In addition, proximity creates trust. Neighbours and city governments are more trusted than national governments. Less than half of the population according to this



survey have trust in religious leaders, national governments and wealthy people. The poor trust in religious leaders

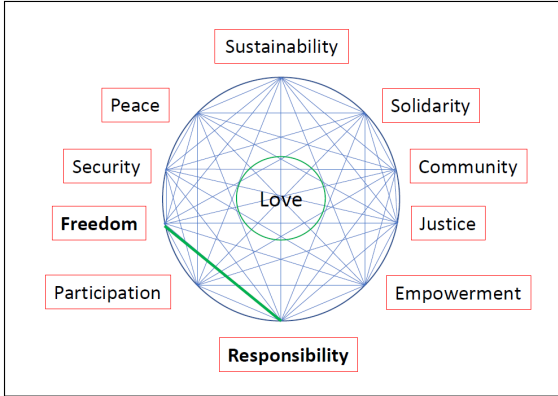
may have been influenced by the ongoing scandals of sexual abuse of children in the Catholic church and various corruption cases.

⁴¹⁸ Under pressure of the USA, the leadership of the famous Swiss Federal Institute of Technology ETH has forbidden to all staff and researchers to use Huawei technology which created strong reactions on academic freedom. 5G: *USA warnen nachdrücklich vor Huawei*, Sonntagszeitung 2 Feb 2020, 9.

⁴¹⁹ *Edelman Trust Barometer 2020*, January 2020, 17.

7.4.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Responsibility

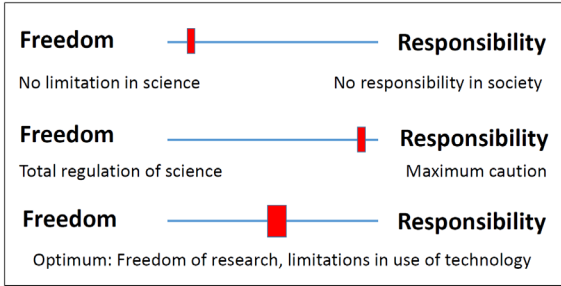
Fundamental research often does not know the results and needs to be curious, open and free as much as possible in order to gain new



knowledge which leads to innovation. Ethically speaking, freedom is therefore a fundamental value in science. But of late when it

comes to implementation of new scientific insights in applied science and technology, freedom is not enough as it would lead to extremes, to ‘anything goes and is allowed.’ Therefore, freedom must be balanced with responsibility. Total responsibility without freedom would mean maximum caution with no risk, but would in fact lead to non-action, which is irresponsible. Balancing freedom and responsibility mean, related to science and technology, the proactive innovative research and development of new products and at the same time doing it always with the goal to serve society, do no harm, reduce suffering and improve lives in dignity.

Responsibility is seen in many worldviews as a ‘response’ (included in the word) to the author of the mandate for action. For humanists it can be one’s own conscience, for religious people it is the superior power,



often called God. Religious ethics asks about the relation of faith and science and faith-driven

answers to the scientific developments. Natural science, technology and religions have been interacting throughout history mainly in four ways: 1. In conflict and confrontation mode, 2. in contrast and coexistence mode, 3. in dialogue mode and 4. in integration mode. Hinduism and Hindu philosophy was in general open to scientific research, Islam over centuries also, whereas the Catholic church until the 16th century promoted scientific research as long as it was done by monks in monasteries, but clearly claimed superiority of church over science and therefore domesticated or excommunicated scientists who disagreed with the official church doctrine, as the famous case of Galileo Galilei showed. Protestant churches, influenced by Renaissance and especially the Reformer Calvin⁴²⁰, supported science and technology as form of glorifying God in the wonderful creation.

⁴²⁰ Rohls, Jan, *Creation and Science in the Theology of John Calvin*, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Bernhardt, Reinhold (Eds.), *Calvin Global. How Faith Influences Societies*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2009, 71-94.

7.4.3 Towards Globalance: Ethics of Technologies

7.4.3.1 Religions, Science and Ethics

Today, most religions and religious movements welcome science and technology (apart from Pentecostal creationists) and are engaged in ethical inputs on their positive and negative sides. They also raise their voice when science or technology become a religion⁴²¹ or want to replace religion as an absolute ideology. In many cases, conflicts between science and religions are not so much linked to wisdom and knowledge, but rather who has, loses or gains power in society.

Science and technology are among the most powerful means to support a globally balanced development, but also to destroy it. A key factor is, to develop science and technology embedded in a broad cultural, political and economic debate about the kind of society we want. Without it, resistance against new technologies can rapidly grow as the history of technological revolutions shows. If the benefit is only for a minority or if new technologies become instruments of oppression, of killing jobs and of concentration of power, the resistance turns into restorative

⁴²¹ Anthony Levandowski, the inventor of the self-driving car, founded in Silicon Valley in 2017 the new religion “Way of the Future”, called also worshipping the AI God, based on Artificial Intelligence and Dataism (www.wayofthefuture.church). It is unclear, if it is serious (the website is extremely poor) or more an attempt of tax evasion (as religious, non-profit organizations can be), but in each case the fact is that he was in the same year 2017 accused of having stolen intellectual property from Google and Uber as their former employee. On 27 August 2019 he was indicted on 33 federal charges on alleged theft of self-driving car trade secrets. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_Levandowski.

revolutions.⁴²² Nano-ethics⁴²³, bioethics, cyber ethics, ethics of quantum computing, ethics of artificial intelligence and drones have to be measured against the criteria mentioned above (chapter 7.2), how much they contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals and where they hinder it. The pandemic also demonstrated that the relation between religions and science is crucial. Faith communities have a large influence on believers. Religious leaders who declared medical research and science as irrelevant and only promoted their message as relevant for healing, provoke massive damage (see more in chapter 7.6.3).

Kai Fu Lee, one of the best experts, developers and promoters of *artificial intelligence* realised the importance of social responsibility when he got sick with cancer and wrote:

“We are already witnessing the way that stagnant wages and growing inequality can lead to political instability and even violence. As AI rolls out across our economies and societies, we risk aggravating and quickening these trends. Labor markets have a way of balancing themselves out in the long run, but getting to that promised long run requires we first pass through a trial by fire of job losses and growing inequality that threaten to derail the process. Meeting these challenges means we cannot afford to passively react. We must proactively seize the opportunity that

⁴²² Stückelberger, Christoph, *Cyber Society: Core Values and Virtues*, in Christoph Stückelberger/ Pavan Duggal (eds.), *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2018, 23-54 (27-31).

⁴²³ Jeswani, Gunjan / Van de Voorde, Marcel (eds.), *Nanoethics*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020 (forthcoming).

the material wealth of AI will grant us and use it to reconstruct our economies and rewrite our *social contracts*.”⁴²⁴

A social contract needs regulatory frameworks.

There is another crucial technology where very high responsibility and regulations are needed: in the cyber world, all countries and societies depend on *satellites*, from hospitals to energy infrastructure, mobility, agriculture and military. *Satellite-guided drones* can save lives and can kill and provoke wars.⁴²⁵ Google stops cooperation on drone technology with the Pentagon. Cyberattacks against satellites, as they already happened, show the extreme vulnerability of the globalised world. In addition, the competition on ownership and control of satellites is part of the current geopolitical power struggle. SpaceX, the space company of Elon Musk, plans to place 12,000 satellites in the orbit. His satellite internet, called Starlink, aims at connecting the whole globe by 2030. The current privatisation of satellites may mobilise the necessary capital and knowhow and implement projects faster than intergovernmental space agencies. But privatisation of satellites and thus dominating the outer space will create manifold geostrategic conflicts as the satellite race is already going on. Globalance needs international regulatory agreements for the security, ownership and use of satellites!

The race for technological dominance is huge. The Silicon Valley in the US and the Shenzhen area in China seem to be in the forefront, but others need and want to advance their positions. India, parts of South

⁴²⁴ Lee, Kai-Fu. *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*, HMH Books. Kindle Edition, 2018, 200.

⁴²⁵ Today, 2 January 2020, while writing this chapter, US killed extremely precisely Soleimani, the highest General of Iran, with a drone, at the airport of Baghdad. The next phase of escalation in the use of autonomous weapons.

East Asia, parts of Europe and Middle East are also running, others such as Africa, South America, Central Asia and the Pacific do not have the means to run among the best and are to some extent more dependent. However, many innovative examples exist also in these regions and continents. The potential for brains and innovations are there⁴²⁶, but innovation capital for research and production has to flow more to the global South, which then also reduces the brain drain from South to North.

7.4.3 Error-friendly Technologies

Science and technology contribute much for human development and is essential for a world in balance. Science and technology also cause a lot of harm and can hinder global balance as we have seen. In both, the ‘human factor’ is decisive. Humans are extremely innovative, but humans are never perfect. It means, technology must be ‘error-friendly’; it must be developed in a way that human mistakes in using the technology – by wrong manipulation, negligence, lack of knowledge, unforeseen events or criminal energy – are planned as part of risk management. Technologies are more ethical if they are error-friendly⁴²⁷, which means that incorrect usage leads to limited harm and

⁴²⁶ An encouraging example is the book of Solomon Nwaka, *Social and Technological Innovation in Africa. Sustaining a Post Covid-19 Research for Development*, Palgrave/Springer, Singapore 2021. He shows the potential for research and innovation within Africa and owned by Africa and related to (higher) education.

⁴²⁷ The term error-friendly technologies was first used in 1977 by Christine Weizsäcker and more broadly developed in Weizsäcker, Christine/ von Weizsäcker, Ernst Ulrich: *Fehlerfreundlichkeit*. In: Kornwachs, Klaus, (Ed.): *Offenheit – Zeitlichkeit – Komplexität. Zur Theorie der Offenen Systeme*. Campus, Frankfurt/ New York 1984, 167–201.

disaster and corrections are possible with limited or no harm. A technology is less ethical if it is not error-friendly and does not allow human mistakes or leads to much harm and enormous disaster. A solar cell on the roof of a house can damage little, a nuclear power plant or broken offshore oil pipeline or virus can be devastating. The distinction between accident and human failure in case of a disaster may be legally relevant for liability, but from an ethical point of view both is human failure with ethical responsibility not only of the user, but to some extent also the developer if human weakness and failure is not adequately considered. With the very fast technological developments especially in AI, developers, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, theologians and ethicists need to cooperate⁴²⁸, especially on the question what is and should be the human beings relationship to machine and which society we want.

7.5 Environment: Climate and Energy

7.5.1 Developments: Climate First

7.5.1.1 Five decades struggle for the environment

In the last fifty years, environmental issues developed substantially. We can distinguish five decades as five phases: 1. In the early 1970s, environmental awareness was raised by shocking books like *The Limits to Growth* of the Club of Rome in 1972 and the oil price crisis in

⁴²⁸ Rees, Tobias, *Why tech companies need philosophers – and how I convinced Google to hire them*, Quartz Online, 22 Nov 2019.

1975.⁴²⁹ 2. In the 1980s, the environment was seen as a problem of the developed, industrialized countries and developing countries criticized it as being the Northern agenda, which would sideline the development agenda and cut development cooperation. 3. Since the early 1990s, there has been consensus that environment and development are two sides of the same coin and that global efforts are needed to solve the problems. The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) 1992 in Rio de Janeiro was a milestone for this.⁴³⁰ At the same time, after the breakdown of the Berlin wall, the Soviet Union and the bipolar world, the decade 1990-2000 was the decade of fast globalisation and enormous growth, especially in South East Asia. 4. The decade of 2010-2020 is characterized by continued globalisation especially with the internet and cyber world with its boom of devices and connectivity; on the other hand, after the financial crisis of 2008, new waves of regulations, protectionism, populism and new trade barriers arose. Globalisation is challenged by growing nationalism. The struggle for financial resources to mitigate environmental challenges lead to the question of climate justice and climate victims.⁴³¹ 5. The decade starting with 2020 is marked by the climate issues on top of the global agendas. Flood and storms, droughts and water scarcity, plastic bottles in the sea and heavy air pol-

⁴²⁹ Stueckelberger, Christoph, Die Wachstumsdiskussion der 70er Jahre, in: idem *Aufbruch zu einem menschengerechten Wachstum. Sozialethische Ansätze für einen neuen Lebensstil*, Zurich: TVZ, 1979, 1-5.

⁴³⁰ The title and content of my habilitation was an effort of balancing development and environment. Christoph Stueckelberger, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozialethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997.

⁴³¹ Christoph Stueckelberger, Climate Justice: Who dies First? Who is Sacrificed First? In *God, Creation and Climate Change. Spiritual and Ethical Perspectives*, Geneva: Lutheran World Federation LWF studies 02/09, 2009, 47-62.

lution in cities are experienced in many parts of the world. Environmental care is no more ‘nice to have’, but a clear necessity, especially with the pressure of young adults below 20 years old. The Coronavirus in 2020 shows the health vulnerability with this global connectivity, may slow down travel and diversify product chains and may have an impact on reorganizing global trade.

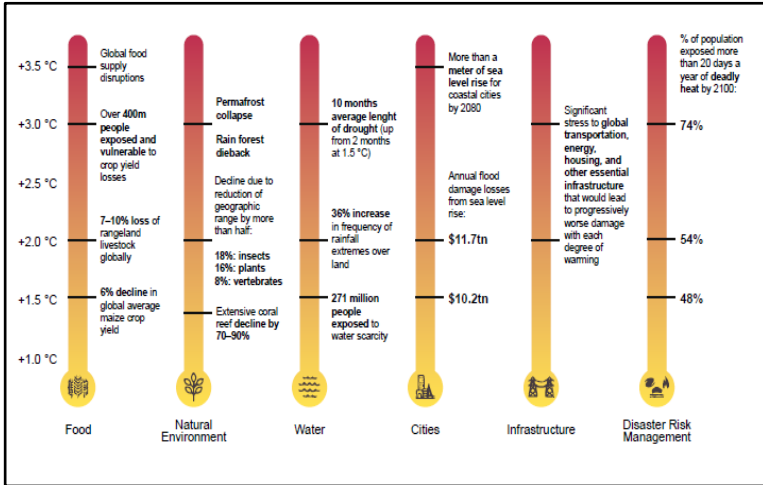
7.5.1.2 Do we learn from catastrophies?

Environmental protection is no more ‘only’ about clean air, clean water and caring about biodiversity. The major concern is now climate warming. It effects everyone on all continents, although in different ways. Globalance is only possible with climate balance. Not “my country first” or “my political party, my family, my club, my religion first” but “Climate first” is the slogan of the so-called climate youth. I attended the first conference on climate warming in 1989 in Washington D.C., over three decades ago! Scientists already made the prognosis of almost all what we experience now. It remains the tragedy of humans that we learn mainly by personal experience and suffering.

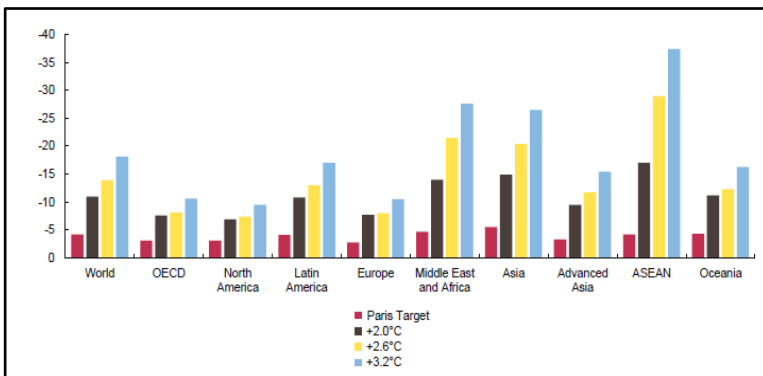
The vast majority of climate experts and decision-makers in all sectors of society agree, that climate warming should be limited by an increasing of 1.5 degrees Celsius compared to 1990. However, there are great doubts if this is reachable and worse scenarios must be envisaged. The following graph shows catastrophic scenarios of warming up to 3.5 degrees by 2100.

Also, we learn often only when a development has an impact on our finances, be it strongly increased prices, losses of jobs or loss of pur-

chasing power. The following graph shows that the impact varies substantially by continent and level of increase in temperature.⁴³²



*The risk of catastrophic events with increased temperature*⁴³³



Mid-century GDP losses by region generated by global warming (%)

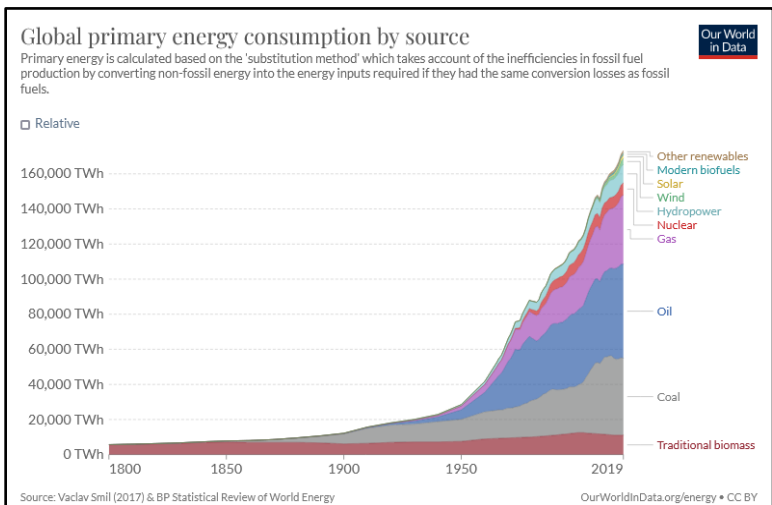
⁴³² Ibid, 87, Swiss Re 2021.

⁴³³ Unctad, *Trade and Development Report 2021*, Geneva 2021, 86. Figure 3.2. Accessed 13 Aug 2022.

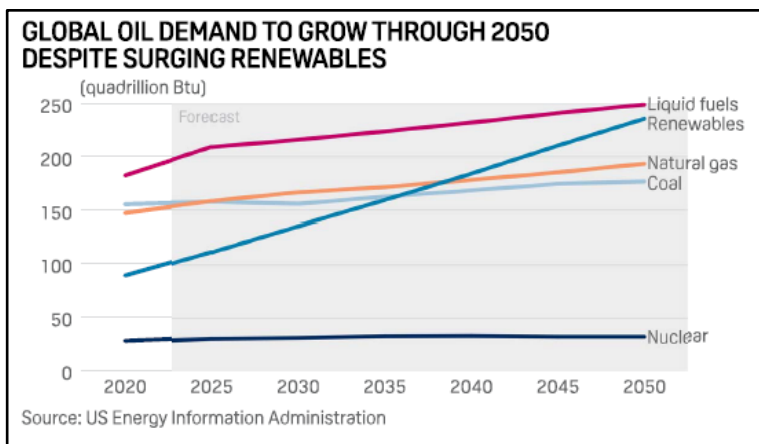
The *energy mix* used by humanity is still a main factor for climate warming. CO₂ emissions from the use of non-renewable fossil energy (coal, oil, gas) must be replaced by renewable forms of energy like solar wind and biomass. In the 1970s-1990s, limited availability of non-renewable energy was the biggest fear. Since then, so many new locations and reserves of non-renewable energy have been found, making availability less of a concern. More important is the ethically and psychologically difficult task of implementing a change to renewable energy even as non-renewable energy is still available.

7.5.1.3 Climate Dilemma: Non-renewable energy still long-term used

Non-renewable, fossil energy plays still a major role, alongside commitments to shifting to renewable energy. Even in the digital world, the dependency from fossil energy with related geopolitical tensions and wars is a reality! The graph shows the mix of energy consumption over time:



In the US-market, the expectation is that the share of renewables will increase from 21 to 44% from 2022 to 2050 and the use of fossil fuels will reduce from 60 to 44% in the same period⁴³⁴. However, according to the absolute figures, the use of fossil energy will still increase by almost 50% by 2050, and oil will remain (also by 2050) the largest energy source, just ahead of renewables! The global energy demand is expected to increase by 47% in the next three decades.⁴³⁵ With these perspectives, the climate warming would certainly be much higher than the Paris target of 1.5% in the chart above! Also, geopolitical conflicts of access to oil and gas will remain on the agenda!

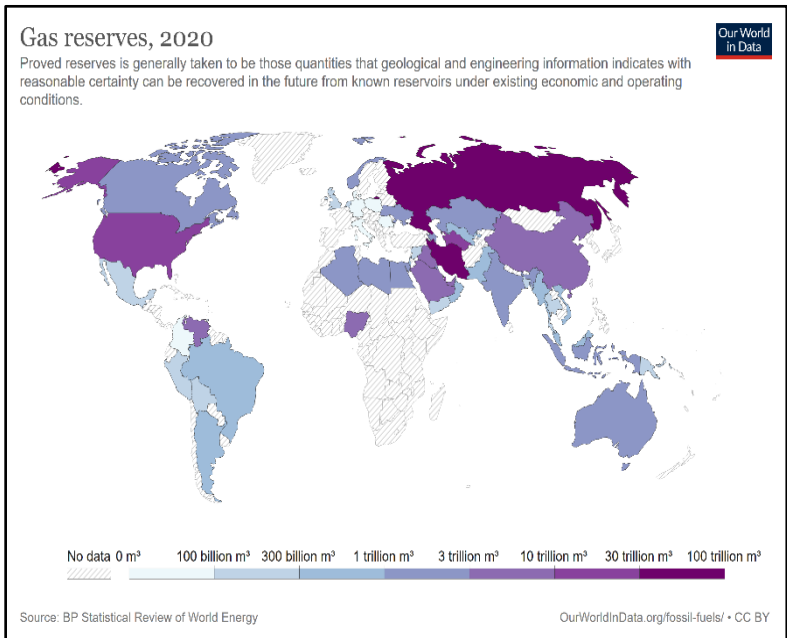


The *energy reserves*—especially the non-renewable, fossil energy—are even more important to consider than the current consumption as the

⁴³⁴ US Energy Information Administration EIA, *Annual Energy Outlook 2022*. www.eia.gov/aeo. (Accessed 16 Aug 2022)

⁴³⁵ Source of two graphs below: EIA, in: <https://www.spglobal.com/commodityinsights/en/market-insights/latest-news/oil/100621-global-energy-demand-to-grow-47-by-2050-with-oil-still-top-source-us-eia>.

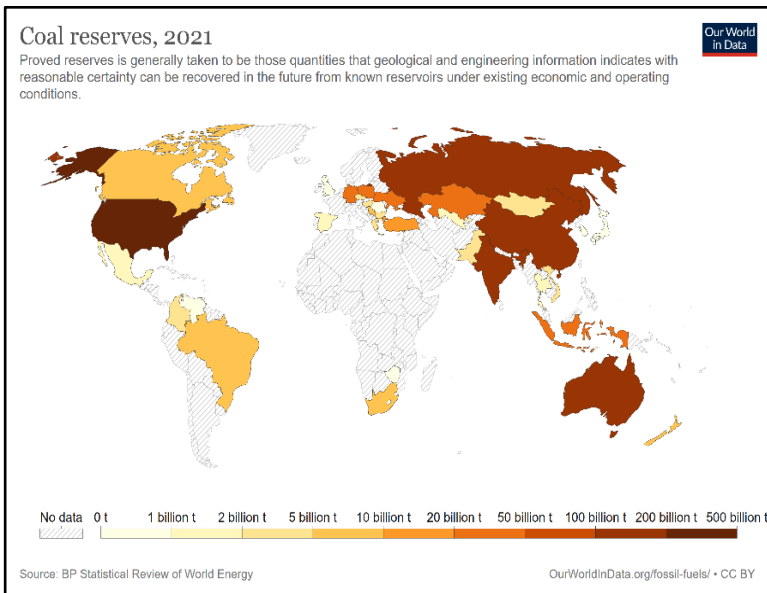
reserves show potential geopolitical conflicts. In order to reduce dependency from one country, diversification is on the geopolitical agenda. It needs long term investments in pipelines and liquid gas transport capacities. A dynamic Globalance can only be reached in geostrategic careful and cooperative negotiations, not by imperialist occupation or possession.



A solution for reuse of gas instead of the current method of gas flaring in gas extraction would also contribute substantially to reduction of CO₂ emissions.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ Details in the *2022 Global Gas Flaring Tracker Report*, published by World Bank and GGFR (Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership). (Accessed 1 Nov 2022)

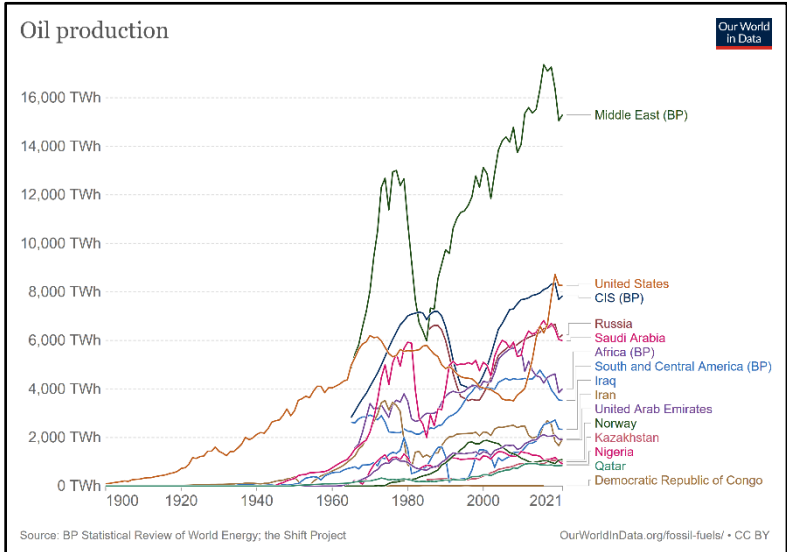
Financing the energy shift to renewable energy is another major challenge. According to a new study⁴³⁷, 100 trillion USD in green investments are needed in order to reach the zero carbon emissions by 2050! It represents 15 per cent of total global investments in the next 30 years, representing 3% of global GDP. China alone needs to invest 25 trillion USD in green investments in coming 30 years, almost 1 trillion USD per year.



It seems impossible, but remember: Alone the total foreign exchange reserves of China are 3 trillion as of Sept 2022! The tiny country Swit-

⁴³⁷ Shamik Dhar/ Brian Davidson, *An investor’s guide to net zero by 2050*, BNY Mellon Investment Management and Fathom, released 5 Oct 2022. Download from www.bnymellonim.com.

zerland has roughly 1 Trillion USD foreign exchange reserves (rank 3 in global ranking)!⁴³⁸



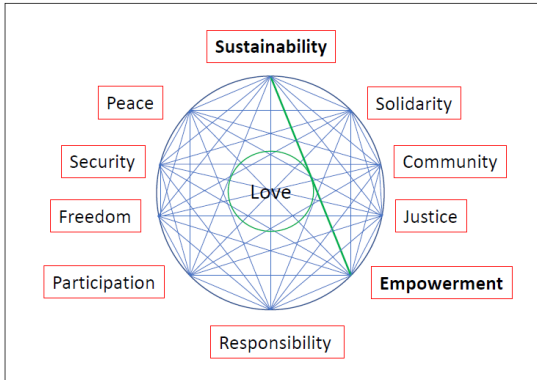
The graph shows the oil production of selected countries⁴³⁹. The regions (BP) include the individual countries listed. The world production is 50,000 TWh. It means about one third is from the Middle East, about 16% each from US and from CIS (more or less former Soviet countries incl. Russia), 12% each from Russia and Saudi Arabia, 8% each from Africa and South/Central America.

⁴³⁸ List of countries by foreign-exchange reserves, Wikipedia. (Acc. 30 Oct 22)

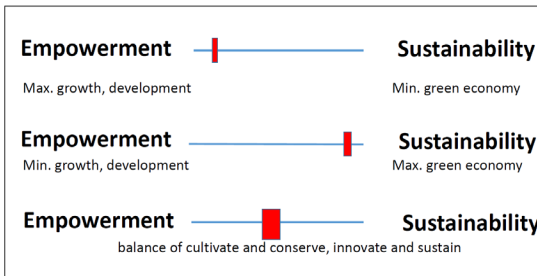
⁴³⁹ The graphs of Our World in Data are interactive: one can select the countries, regions etc. this one on OurWorldInData.org/fossil-fuels. (Accessed 26 Sept 2022)

7.5.2 Value-Poles: Sustainability and Empowerment

Development stands for progress, transformation, growth and innovation.



Environment stands for caring, conservation, sustainability and respect for non-human creation. Almost by definition, the two terms are in tension to each other.



How much transformation and how much conservation is possible and needed? Sustainable development as

a term tries to reconcile these opponents. Poor and vulnerable people and countries should be empowered to take their lives and national development in their own hands with economic growth and technological progress. At the same time, the world needs the Amazon and Congo tropical forests as lungs of humanity. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2015-2030 are the expression of the global acceptance that this reconciliation has to happen. Nevertheless, in most decisions the two poles are in a certain conflict to each other.

Other value poles in sustainable development are freedom and sustainability: a free market with voluntary environmental measures may no longer be sufficient to stop destruction. Freedom and peace are in conflict as free trade increased the conflicts around natural resources and minerals, threatening peace here and there.

7.5.3 Towards Globalance: Cultivate and Conserve

7.5.3.1 Sustainability: Balancing innovation and conservation

The shortest and oldest definition of sustainability is over 2500 years old and can be found in the creation story of the Bible: “The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it” (Genesis 2:15). *To cultivate and to conserve the earth* is the divine commandment. It includes the permission, even obligation, to work and transform with agriculture, technologies and innovation in order to enable a life in dignity for all – and this under the condition that this work does not destroy, but maintains and conserves the living conditions for future generations including non-human beings and ecosystems. Christian churches of all denominations have been involved in ecotheology and ecopraxis for fifty years.⁴⁴⁰ Other religions such as Daoism, Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism also have very long-standing traditions on protecting creation.⁴⁴¹

We are in the midst of this promising and painful transition from one-sided exploitation and destruction to balanced sustainable develop-

⁴⁴⁰ Example: *Kairos for Creation. Confessing Hope for the Earth. The ‘Wuppertal Call’*. Internat. Conference on Eco-theology and Ethics of Sustainability, published by BfdW, WCC, EKD, EMW, UEM. Solingen: foedus Verlag, 2019.

⁴⁴¹ Summary and extended literature e.g. in Stueckelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1997.

ment. It needs a strong focus on renewable energies, with many promising new technologies already developed and to be further developed. It needs at the same time clear disinvestments in non-renewable energies, especially oil, gas and coal. This shift has started but will only happen in the necessary scale and in due time with economic pressure from regulatory authorities and market mechanisms from stock market and insurances. Example: if banks and insurance companies are no more willing to invest in and insure investments in fossil fuel extraction as the economic or political risks become too high, the related investments will be reduced. If citizens bring their pension funds to court for their investments in non-renewable energies thus endangering the future generations and low return on investments, pension funds may have to disinvest. Climate-friendly investment markets are a key driver.⁴⁴²

7.5.3.2 Ethics of incentives and sanctions

Technological innovation and economic and political incentives and sanctions are the most powerful drivers of transition towards a balanced sustainable development. In order to overcome poverty, the emphasis is first given to economic growth. Once the middle class is stronger and basic human needs met, environmental concerns and needs like clean air and clean water become more important. A Chinese study on urbanization shows that environmental charges first increase, reach a peak and

⁴⁴² The Swiss Federal Office of the Environment is involved in climate friendly investments as a key instrument to reach the Paris Agreement. <https://www.bafu.admin.ch/bafu/en/home/topics/climate/info-specialists/climate-and-financial-markets.html>.

then fall.⁴⁴³ All these factors are not without ethics as some argue; they are institutionalized ethics, also called structural ethics. Ethical values are embedded in institutions, rules and regulations.

Unfortunately, even incentives and sanctions are not enough for a transformation. History shows that humans often come to reason when they are confronted with catastrophes. The global pandemic of the Coronavirus, at its peak whilst writing this chapter, suddenly lead to a drastic reduction of international flights, transport of goods and movements which could not be reached by an ethical environmental call to reduce mobility. Wars suddenly slow down economy, a huge cyber-attack leads to decentralization of the internet etc.

Nevertheless, transformation needs also the personal ethical conviction and inner spiritual motivation (see chapter 6.5 on motivations to act).

7.6 Health: A Pandemic Shakes the World

7.6.1 Developments: Health First, People First

7.6.1.1 What is health?

Health in normal circumstances is seen as an individual condition to safeguard, and more a concern for elderly people than for young people. However, with the Covid-19 pandemic, within six weeks from January to beginning of February 2020, it became the top priority in all sectors

⁴⁴³ Nature Sustainability, online edition, 19 July 2019. Ota, Tatsuyuki, *Economic growth, income inequality and environment: assessing the applicability of the Kusnets hypotheses to Asia*, Palgrave Communications 3, open access, 25 July 2017.

of life and in all countries of the world. A tiny virus shows the vulnerability and global interdependence of the whole biosphere. For a few weeks, economy, politics, environment, culture, religion, sport and all other issues disappeared behind the emergency to protect and save lives from the new coronavirus. It shows that preparation for pandemics and all kind of disasters is needed; public health policies, health insurance schemes, medical infrastructure and storage of equipment are crucial for societies. Health is not only influenced by the pandemic as the most obvious global health threat in the last decades. What is the influence on health of all the 4C's we refer in this book (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets)? To find answers, we must consider some fundamental aspects: *Definitions of health*

What is health? When is a person or a group of persons healthy? This simple question leads to a very complex debate. It touches most fundamental questions of our understanding of life. A simple answer based on daily life is: health is the absence of sickness. Then, the same question remains: What is sickness? When is a person sick?

The classical definition of the World Health Organization (WHO) in the preamble of its constitution, is unchanged since 1946: "Health is the state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." The WHO definition is tricky as the understanding of well-being varies by economic status, culture, religion, education and subjective perception and the 'complete' could indicate, that nobody in fact is healthy. Johannes Bircher, Swiss medical doctor and professor emeritus of pharmacology, offers as definition: "Health is

the ability of an individual to meet the demands of life.”⁴⁴⁴ His enlarged definition is: “Health is a dynamic state of well-being that results from favorable interactions between an individual's potential, life's requirements, and social and environmental determinants. Health arises during the entire development of life if the potential of an individual, supported by social and environmental factors, is sufficient to respond satisfactorily to the demands of life. Life's requirements can be biological, psychosocial, or environmental, and vary among individuals and in context, but in any case, an inadequate response leads to disease.”⁴⁴⁵ This definition is holistic by including biological, psychosocial, societal and environmental factors. Health in this definition is a constant dynamic process as the health-balance must be established in each moment of life. In a similar direction looks salutogenesis as a medical approach which focusses on health rather than on the factors causing sickness (pathogenesis).

These understandings of health are closer to the concept of Global-balance than the WHO definition (which cannot go beyond a global minimal consensus) or more mechanistic understandings. To become and remain healthy depends, to a great extent, on the factor if one finds meaning in life and daily activities. It contributes to resistance and ‘the capacity to meet the demands of life’ also under very extreme situations such as war, isolation in prison, losses, deceptions or pandemics.

⁴⁴⁴ Bircher, Johannes, *Die verlorene Hälfte der Medizin. Das Meikirch-Modell als Vision für ein menschengerechtes Gesundheitswesen*, Berlin: Springer, 2019, 9. Translations of the quotes by CS

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 11.

7.6.1.2 Health, social security and SDG 3

However, with the strong ageing of many societies, especially in Europe and East Asia, the question of intergenerational solidarity through social security schemes (chapter 7.24) became stronger. More and more people ask themselves, and governments and public health planners calculate if it is economically feasible and sustainable “to spend over one third of the health costs for people above the age of 75 whereas they represent only 8 percent of the population”, for medical “interventions, which should expand extend life, but are often only expensive, senseless and unsuccessful.”⁴⁴⁶ Continued exploding health costs and rocketing expenses of the pandemic will further fuel this sensitive debate with its philosophical and theological ethical perspectives.⁴⁴⁷

The UN Sustainable Development Goal 3 is to “ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages”. The goal includes 13 measurable, quantitative targets such as “3.1: By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births”, end preventable death of newborns and children, end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, reduce by one third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases, prevent abuse of narcotic drug and alcohol abuse, traffic accidents, reduce death from pollution and contamination, substantially increase health financing etc.

The main values behind these targets are saving lives wherever human efforts can do it and second, equality of human beings as health

⁴⁴⁶ *Idem*, 98.

⁴⁴⁷ Emmerich, Nathan/ Mallia, Pierre/ Gordijn, Bert, Pistoia, Francesca (eds.), *Contemporary European Perspectives on the Ethics of End of Life Care*, Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2020, eight articles on different religious ethical perspectives in part one.

should be ensured for all people, all ages, all continents and independent from their economic situation. “Promote well-being” as mentioned in the goal is not explicitly elaborated in the targets and depends on many subjective factors as we will see later when we deal with death, longevity and happiness (chapters 8.1.1 and 8.2.2).

7.6.3.3 AI for Good, Digital health, health data and trust

“AI for Good” is an initiative of the International Telecommunication Union ITU, in partnership with other UN agencies, in order to support innovative initiatives for the use of artificial intelligence for the benefit of societies and the SDGs through an annual summit in Geneva.⁴⁴⁸ A substantial part of innovations is about AI for health, from diagnostic software with big data to telemedicine, from online health education to emergency health apps. These efforts can substantially contribute to health services and the SDGs.

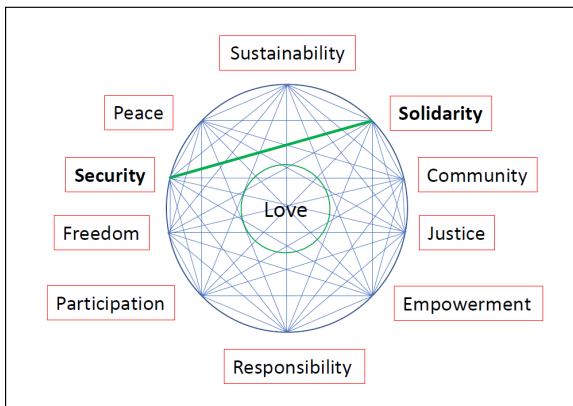
Digital Health is an economic race. In the cyber world (chapter 7.3), cyber health is a key topic. The pandemic became a speedy and accelerated economic race between leading big data and AI companies and a political race of domination between superpowers. This global competition in developing contact tracing apps, vaccine medicine, virological research on the roots of the Covid-19 virus, telemedicine and much more stimulates and accelerates scientific and technological progress. On the other hand, a trend for exclusion and governmental restrictions in sharing knowledge and technology becomes a real threat to this progress. The economic competition turns into an economic war, already before the pandemic, but accelerated by it. As Alibaba may be kicked

⁴⁴⁸ <https://aiforgood.itu.int/>.

out of USA and Huawei can no longer get software components from American companies, the retaliation from China against US may do as much harm to the US and the rest of the world as the US policy does. Health cyber-based technologies (which is often linked to big data and AI) can substantially contribute to the SDG 3, but too much dependence on these technologies may lead to the opposite, an increased vulnerability and reduced security.

7.6.2 Value-Poles: Security and Solidarity

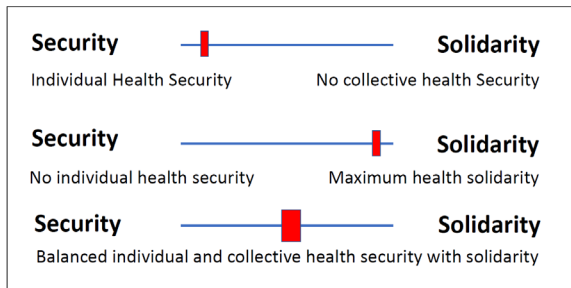
Health is, first of all, a personal task to care for one’s own body, mind and soul.



It is one of the core responsibilities of an adult person to care for one-self. Health is a key element of personal security. An un-

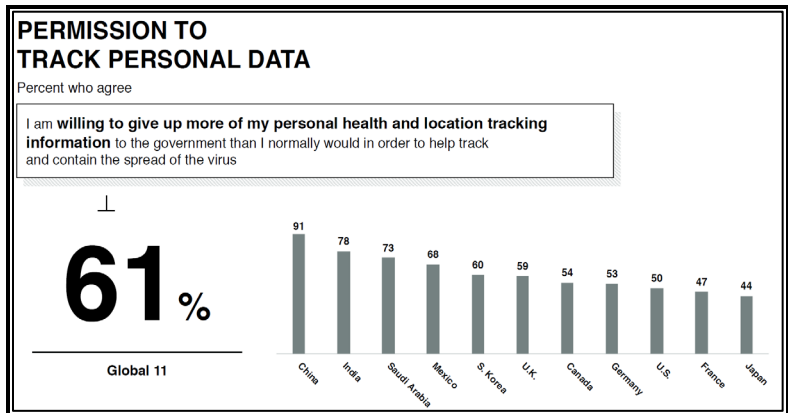
healthy person is much more vulnerable and insecure than a healthy

person. An unhealthy person lives in fear, needs to protect herself/himself and



cannot unfold their full potential. Caring for one's own health security is not egoism, but a responsibility of self-love. However, this cannot be separated from the 'love of the other' as caring for the health of the other. The pandemic shows in a dramatic and impressive way how humans are interconnected and also depend on each other. Personal health depends on the health of others and their responsible care of not spreading the virus and vice versa. The same is true for health and sickness: the sick need the solidarity of the healthy. Equally in intergenerational solidarity (see chapter 7.24).

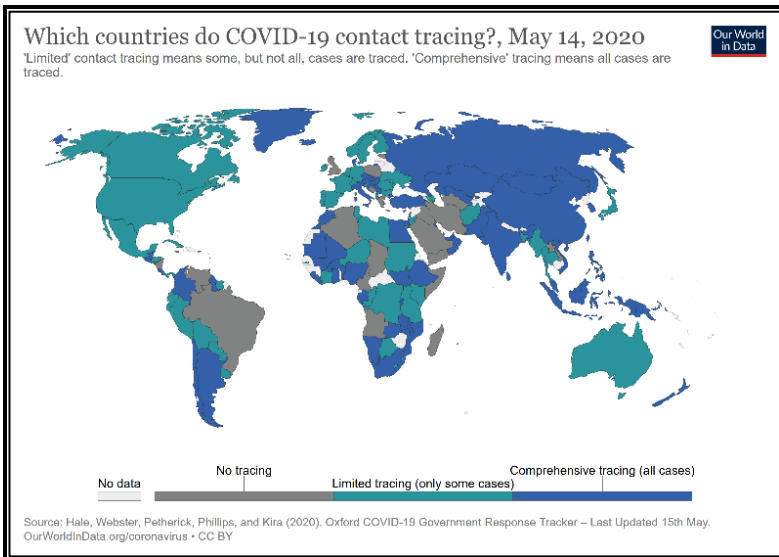
A growing concern of people around the world is the privacy of health data which is a value issue. Who guarantees that my health data are not shared with my employer or my government?



The contact tracing app during the coronavirus pandemic is welcomed by a majority of people, as the graph above⁴⁴⁹ shows, but there are profound cultural differences. Whereas in many of the Asian countries, contact tracing apps are supported by a vast majority of people such as 91 percent in China, 78 percent in India, but much less in West-

⁴⁴⁹ Edelman Trust Barometer, Update May 2020.

ern countries such as France with 47 percent, only half of the percentage compared to China. Trust in collecting personal health data shows clear cultural, political and ethical differences. Whereas in Western countries, people still allow the four GAF A companies (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon) to collect data to a very large extent, however the same people are sceptical when the government, with much more restrictions and democratic control, would do it. In Asian countries such as South Korea and China, trust in and submission to government directives as an expression of discipline and respect to authorities. The graph shows that this is the case independent of political system of democracy or non-democracy. The hypothesis would be that cultural value-factors are in this case stronger than political governance structure.



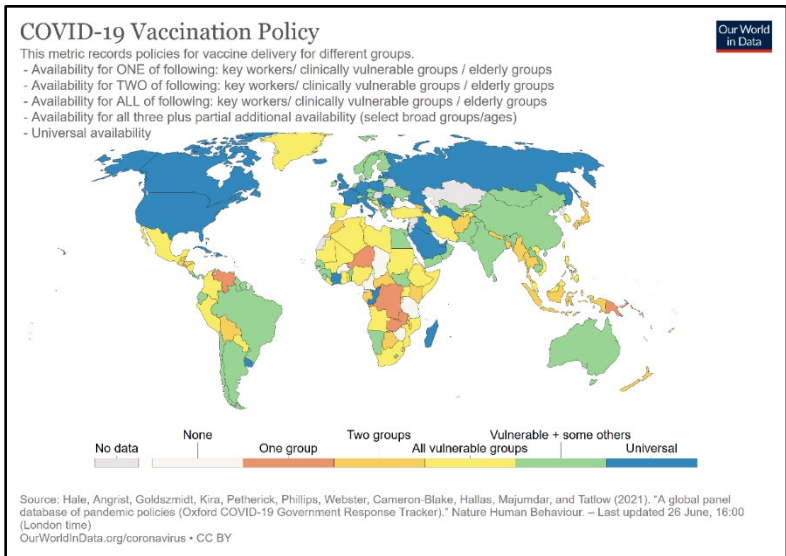
7.6.3 Towards Globalance: Balanced Healthcare

Let us look at the 4C's (Covid-19, Climate, Cold War and financial crisis) on health from a Globalance perspective:

7.6.3.1 Covid-19 Balanced Healthcare

a) Whom to vaccinate first?

Should elderly people, vulnerable groups, health workers first get the vaccine? The vaccination policies around the world reflected different answers on this ethically sensitive question:



b) Responsibility to Protect and Precautionary Principle

The Responsibility to Protect is a responsibility of the individual to protect oneself and others from disease, avoiding exposure to potential infection. It is also the responsibility of all those in decision-making and leadership positions - be it in government, private, educational or reli-

gious sector – to protect those entrusted to the leader. The responsibility to protect is an expression of the ethical Precautionary Principle which means to be cautious in advance as preventive measures normally save more lives and are less expensive than curative measures (as we also experience in climate mitigation). Two extremes must be avoided: panic and trivialization. ‘Facts, not fear’ enables the right balance of calm and reason in protection and at the same time tough and courageous decisions where and when necessary. Opportunistic or utilitarian attitudes should be avoided as they often do not correspond to the mentioned responsibility to protect.

c) Cooperative action and Effectiveness Principle

Solidarity in times of a pandemic means the need for strong cooperation. The World Health Organization (WHO), in its General Assembly on 20 May 2020, decided that a vaccine against the virus should be available to all countries. WHO in its strategy also underlined the crucial importance of common and coordinated actions based on solidarity, with follow elements: “Coordination and Monitoring of country preparedness and response; Epidemiological analysis and risk assessment; Risk communication and community engagement; Coordinated global supply chain management; Technical expertise and health emergency workforce; Accelerating research, innovation and knowledge sharing; Strengthening pandemic preparedness for the future.”⁴⁵⁰ Cooperation in a pandemic (as in many other situations) fulfills better the ethical *Effectiveness Principle* than competition, power struggle, mistrust, blaming and shaming. Pharmaceutical companies, which are tough competitors

⁴⁵⁰ WHO COVID-19 Strategy Update, April 2020, 12-15.

in the market, found ways to cooperate in developing a vaccine as fast as possible.

d) Mental Health needs more Attention

Mental illness increased in the first year of Covid-19 globally by 25%, according to WHO. Mental health is a special challenge for the post-covid period world and post-war situations, as increased prevalence of mental illness in the population also increases political instability and vulnerability.

7.6.3.2 Balanced Healthcare with Climate Warming

“Climate change is the biggest health threat facing humanity”, says the World Health Organisation WHO.⁴⁵¹ Between 2030 and 2050, additional 250,000 deaths per year related to climate warming are expected. The direct cost (excluding indirect cost of agriculture, water etc.) are estimated to be between 2-4 billion USD per year by 2030. These are additional arguments for decisive climate actions for Globalance. Health is an even more convincing argument for reduction of CO₂-emissions than other scientific arguments.

7.6.3.3 Balanced Health Research in the New Cold War

Disease and health as weapons: Fake information and hunger are not only used as weapons, the health sector is also abused as a weapon. An example: In May 2022 the issue of the *origin of the Sars-Cov-2* virus came up again. Jeffrey Sachs, US economist and chair of the Covid-19 commission of the famous Lancet medical journal, called for an inde-

⁴⁵¹ WHO, factsheet, 30 Oct 2021. <https://www.who.int/news-room/factsheets/detail/climate-change-and-health>. (Accessed 16 Aug 2022)

pendent inquiry.⁴⁵² With his detailed insights as commission chair, he came to the conclusion that there is enough evidence to prove that the market of Wuhan in China is not the origin of the pandemic virus, but instead a confidential research project from the US in cooperation with the Wuhan research lab is the origin. For this reason, he again asked for an independent inquiry over two years after the outbreak. One of his main concerns is that such highly dangerous biological research and experiments are carried out confidentially and without public control and approval. However, it can kill millions of people as the pandemic shows and new ‘accidents’ could provoke.

The example shows: careful and non-biased research on roots of diseases matter. Cold wars and hot wars can massively hinder the objectivity of health research! *Globalance requires balanced, objective health research*, courage and political independence of the researchers, and the global perspective of national ministries of health, commerce and defense.

7.6.3.4 Balanced Healthcare in the financial crisis

Periods of economic recession and financial crisis always lead to increased health problems of vulnerable people. Health insurances and social security policies become then more important than ever.

⁴⁵² Neil L. Harrison/ Jeffrey D. Sachs, *A call for an independent inquiry into the origin of the SARS-COV-2 virus*, PNAS, 119(21)1-5. <https://www.pnas.org/doi/epdf/10.1073/pnas.2202769119>; Jeffrey Sachs, *Why the Chair of the Lancet’s Covid-19 Commission Thinks the US Government is Preventing a Real Investigation Into the Pandemic*. Interview, Current Affairs. A Magazine of Politics and Culture, 2 Aug 2022.

Globalance needs robust national and international health policies which resist such crises.

7.6.3.5 Holistic Health

The WHO as global organization of 194 member states needs to focus in its health definition and instruments on the common denominator of its members. This is one reason why quantitative measurable indicators are easier accepted than a holistic understanding of health as quoted above. However, from an ethical perspective the deeper question of meaning of life and wellbeing as linked to the fulfilling, meaningful life must be included. "Health is the ability of an individual to meet the demands of life", as we quoted Johannes Bircher above. Mental health becomes more and more important (as also WHO underlines) as an increasing number of people are physically okay thanks to medicine, but mentally sick which then has repercussions on their physical health. The balance of personal security and collective solidarity can only be reached when humans understand their life as embedded in a community. The immune system of a person is more than a biological or chemical mechanism. The social, mental, religious, economic and cultural balance of a society supports the immune system, fear and insecurity weaken it. Therefore, Globalance is not just an ethical imperative, but it is a gain in health and resistance of the immune system.

Telemedicine (e-health services) is a great opportunity to increase access to medical services, especially in remote rural areas in developing countries. It can also reduce costs. On the other hand, e-health needs the personal, social and spiritual contact and exchange in order to provide holistic healing.

7.6.3.6 *Bridge the Gap between Health and Healing, Science and Religion*

“Beating coronavirus requires faith leaders to bridge gap between religion and science”⁴⁵³ titled Katherine Marshall, a leading researcher on religions in society. Many people are sceptical against classical medicine and treatment methods, for manifold reasons such as despair that classical medicine did not help, or fundamental religious scepticism against science or false promises for supranatural healing and miracles (chapter 7.23 on miracles). From a theological-ethical perspective, “God acts through human brains, hands, and feet. If God is almighty, how can God be seen as opposed to science, which is part of His creation? John Calvin, the Reformer in Geneva in the 16th century, had a weak body and was often in poor health conditions. He was often dependent on medicine. The believers in Geneva wanted to test him; they asked him to stop taking medication and instead of trusting in God. But he believed that medicine was sent by God. Doctors, nursing staff, medication and vaccinations are talents and instruments of God and not of the devil, was his answer. ‘If the Lord wants to give us support through the help and service of the impious in natural science, the science of thinking or mathematics or other sciences, we should make use of it. Otherwise, we would be scorning God’s gifts, which are offered to us in them, and rightly be punished for our sluggishness.’⁴⁵⁴ Those who refuse the services of medicine, which is a result of science, may refuse the help of

⁴⁵³ Marshall, Katherine, *Beating coronavirus requires faith leaders have to bridge gap between religion and science*, Theconversation.com, 22 April 2020.

⁴⁵⁴ Calvin, John, *Instruction in the Christian Religion (Institutes)*, 1559/2007, II, 2.26.

God. This does not mean that there cannot be unethical outcomes in the implementation of science since human beings are able to use science for good and bad. Science cannot replace God and faith does not replace science; these are complementary approaches and perspectives on the one world made by the creator, liberator, and reconciler (in the Christian understanding of Trinity).”⁴⁵⁵

Balanced Healthcare Allocation

Health in a holistic approach includes medical, biological, psychological, spiritual, social and also economic-political dimensions. Healthcare allocation is politically and ethically very controversial and complex, as it includes the tough reality of limited financial resources for increased healthcare costs. This comes from increased needs with ageing of the population, increased possibilities with medical progress and leads to political allocation struggles. The Covid pandemic increases this tension as astronomical sums had to be spent for the pandemic and its economic effects such as unemployment, which will be missing from other healthcare allocations. Ethics committees, churches, governments, health economists and scholars elaborated manifold criteria to solve the health allocation problem.⁴⁵⁶ In the Globalance perspective, I concentrate on a few ethical principles based on the Globalance values: dignity

⁴⁵⁵ Stückelberger, Christoph/ Ciocan, Cosmin-Tudor, *Religious Controversies in Covid-19. Restrictions, State, Science, Conspiracies: Four Topics with Theological-Ethical Responses*, Dialogo, 1/20, Open Access Journal, June 2020, 168-186 (179).

⁴⁵⁶ E.g. Swiss Academy of Medical Sciences, Covid-19 pandemic: Triage for intensive-care treatment under resource scarcity, Bern: SAMW, updated 24 March 2020; Fisher, Anthony/ Gormally, Luke (Eds.), *Healthcare Allocation: an ethical framework for public policy*, London: The Linacre Center, 2001, 23-106; Gately, Paul et al, *Healthcare Allocation and Justice. Applying Catholic Social Teaching*, London: Anscombe Bioethics Center, 2011, 41-54.

of life for all human beings, security, solidarity, participation of the patients and their relatives in decision making, balancing freedom and justice (free market for those who can pay, regulated market as access to treatment for those who cannot afford). Globalance means to try to find a politically balanced answer in the allocation, which needs compromises and also open discussion on burden sharing. It means to reduce the maximum expectations on health services, which have been developed in the growth and welfare economy (see also 7.24 on intergenerational. Solidarity, 7.28 on life expectancy).

7C ECONOMICS: ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AGRICULTURE BUSINESS, JOBS, FINANCE

The economy is a crucial driver in each society. Agriculture is the oldest and still vital part of the economy to cover the basic needs of food while preserving the environment. Business in its broad differentiation, with millions of companies with their relations to society, build the mainstream of the economy. Work by human beings and income-generating jobs (in the formal and informal sector) is a vital goal of the economy as jobless growth creates unrest and cannot overcome poverty. The financial markets are like blood in the body. They provide the economy with the necessary capital. All these elements of the economy are embedded in economic systems. In the form of capitalism, socialism and all kinds of combination and third ways, politics sets the frame for the economy. The importance of the macro-economic framework is the reason why we start this section with economic systems. However, technology, economics and politics are not one-way roads. They influence each other in manifold ways. New technologies create economic opportunities and disruptions; politics influence technological and business developments; capital markets heavily influence technological developments and political decisions. *The fundamental ethical question in this*

section remains the same as in the other sections: how to balance value-poles?

7.7 Economic Systems: Capitalism, Socialism, Sustainism

7.7.1 Developments: Drifting Apart or Merging?

The First Industrial Revolution in the second half of the 19th century with the steam machine, the railway, the beginning of electricity brought urbanization, wealth and poverty. The capital owners dominated the rules, capitalism grew, and many workers were left in poverty. Christian diaconal institutions tried to reduce suffering, without changing the system. Marx and Engels then aimed at the radical change by developing socialism as the alternative to capitalism. The bipolar economic system was born.

This polarisation becomes even stronger with the Second Industrial Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century with automation. The automation assembly lines for cars by Henry Ford in 1913 became the symbol and the general strikes of workers in many industrial cities was the reaction.

With the Russian Revolution in 1917 and following revolutions, the economic struggle between capital owners and working class has been cemented as political bipolar system of capitalist and communist countries. The two systems have been characterized by free market economy and the dominance of the capital shareholders in capitalist countries, whereas planned economy and the dominance of the workers, represent-

ed by the communist party, was the characteristic of the communist countries. This was the ideological overall structure.

Nevertheless, manifold mixed structures have been developed already between World War I and II, e.g. with cooperatives, social institutions in capitalism, small markets in communist countries. After World War II, initiatives for alternatives and third ways have been developed: The Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in capitalist countries such as Germany and Switzerland agreed on a *social market economy* with social security systems, participation rights for employees in companies and – in Switzerland – the peace agreement between employers and employees since 1937 for dispute settlements by negotiations and not by strikes which led to a stable social partnership until today.⁴⁵⁷

A global third way initiative between communism and capitalism was the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)⁴⁵⁸, which started with the famous Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955 and was launched in 1961. India, Egypt, Ghana and Indonesia have been leading NAM countries. NAM became a major global third force between the capitalist ‘West’ and the communist ‘East’ during the Cold War. As of 2020, NAM has 125 members (states) and 25 observers, which means 60 percent of all UN members are NAM members! More in chapter 7.14.

Within the communist bloc, attempts for a ‘third way’ as in Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia 1968 have been bloodily suppressed by the Soviet Union. A famous representative was Ota Sik, member of the gov-

⁴⁵⁷ Art. *Arbeitsfrieden*, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arbeitsfrieden>; Rénatus Gallati, *Der Arbeitsfriede in der Schweiz und seine wohlstandspolitische Bedeutung im Vergleich mit der Entwicklung in einigen andern Staaten*, Bern: Peter Lang, 1976.

⁴⁵⁸ NAM Official website: <https://mnoal.org>.

ernment of Czechoslovakia until 1968, who wrote from exile in Switzerland his famous concept of “The Third Way.”⁴⁵⁹

In spite of these efforts of overcoming the bi-polar world, the confrontation existed until the breakdown of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Apart from economic and military reasons, a main reason of the collapse may have been the catastrophe of the nuclear power plant Chernobyl. The President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, who enabled the end of the Cold war with his Perestroika and Glasnost policy and allowed the breakdown of the Berlin wall, declared in the famous documentary film about Chernobyl and in an interview in 2006, twenty years after the disaster: “The nuclear meltdown at Chernobyl 20 years ago this month, even more than my launch of Perestroika, was perhaps the real cause of the collapse of the Soviet Union five years later. ... The Chernobyl disaster, more than anything else, opened the possibility of much greater freedom of expression, to the point that the system as we knew it could no longer continue. It made absolutely clear how important it was to continue the policy of glasnost.”⁴⁶⁰

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, private sector and governments celebrated the victory of capitalism over communism. Neoliberalism with its one-sided emphasis on economic freedom with as little regulations as possible and undermining social equality dominated globalisation in the 1990s. International trade and internet connectivity

⁴⁵⁹ Sik, Ota, *The Third Way: Marxist-Leninist Theory and Modern Industrial Society*, London: Wildwood House, 1976.

Ota Sik, *The Third Way: Marxist-Leninist Theory and Modern Industrial Society*, Wildwood House: London 1976. See: https://economistsview.typepad.com/economistsview/2006/04/gorbachev_chern.html.

boomed, regulations and multilateral institutions were weakened and inequality (Gini index) increased. China as the largest remaining socialist country opened substantially for the private sector. Capitalism seemed to be without alternative.

Nevertheless, the environmental concerns with air pollution, water scarcity, biodiversity reduction, climate warming continued. Many concepts of 'hyphen-capitalism' and 'capitalism+' have been presented, knowing that neoliberal capitalism could not solve essential problems. Let us look at a few of these 'modified' forms of capitalism, just those on my bookshelf, in chronological order for the last two decades. They are proposed by promoters of capitalism, not their enemies:

One of the early pioneers of a socially and ecologically regulated market economy was Arthur Rich, professor of social ethics in Zurich, Switzerland⁴⁶¹. He developed since 1975 his *Economic Ethics*⁴⁶² as a new economic order, as a third way.

*Beyond Growth*⁴⁶³ is the concept of Herman E. Daly, former Senior Economist at the World Bank. Sustainable development must be at the centre of economics. *Natural Capitalism*⁴⁶⁴ by the futurists Hawken and Lovins promotes technical innovation to solve environmental problems. The famous former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz looked

⁴⁶¹ The late Arthur Rich was my respected teacher as he developed his work when I was his student 1975-1978. He deeply influenced my relational ethical methodology.

⁴⁶² Rich, Arthur, *Business and economic ethics: the ethics of economic systems*, Leuven: Peeters, 2006 (Original German edition *Wirtschaftsethik*, Vol I 1984, Vol II 1990).

⁴⁶³ Daly, Herman E., *Beyond Growth. The Economics of Sustainable Development*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.

⁴⁶⁴ Hawken, Paul/ Lovins, Amory/ Lovins, L.Hunter, *Natural Capitalism. Creating the next industrial revolution*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1999.

at *Globalisation and its Discontents*⁴⁶⁵ in order to promote a globalisation with a human face. *Compassionate Capitalism*⁴⁶⁶ of two entrepreneurs promotes capitalism in combination with philanthropy, doing well and doing good. The sociologist Richard Sennett calls for *The Culture of the New Capitalism*⁴⁶⁷ as social capitalism. The topic in all these proposals is to re-combine social responsibility with free market.

The titles and tone became harsher with the financial global crisis of 2007/2008. After two decades of weakening the states, suddenly the call for a strong state came back in order to save the global banks which are called 'too big to fail' as they are relevant for the whole system. *Ist der Markt noch zu retten? Warum wir jetzt einen starken Staat brauchen*⁴⁶⁸ was the call of the German lead economist for a strong state after the financial crisis. The Swiss editor and journalist Roger de Weck called in the same year for *another capitalism after the crisis*⁴⁶⁹, the eco-social market economy. The French entrepreneur Patrick d'Humières called in the same way for the eco-capitalism⁴⁷⁰ and the Swiss professor of eco-

⁴⁶⁵ Stiglitz, Joseph, *Globalization and its Discontents*, London: Penguin, 2002 and *Globalization and its discontents revisited: anti-globalization in the era of Trump*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2018.

⁴⁶⁶ Benioff, Mark/ Southwick, Karen, *Compassionate Capitalism. How Corporations can make doing good an integral part of doing well*, Franklin Lakes NJ: Career Press, 2004.

⁴⁶⁷ Sennett, Richard, *The Culture of New Capitalism*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006.

⁴⁶⁸ Bofinger, Peter, *Ist der Markt noch zu retten? Warum wir jetzt einen starken Staat brauchen*, Berlin: Ullstein, 2009.

⁴⁶⁹ De Weck, Roger, *Nach der Krise. Gibt es einen anderen Kapitalismus?*, München: Nagel und Kimche, 2009.

⁴⁷⁰ D'Humières, *Le développement durable va-t-il tuer le capitalisme? Les réponses de l'éco-capitalisme*, Paris: Maxima, 2010.

nomics Beat Bürgenmeier develops *L'économie au pluriel*⁴⁷¹ including the social and environmental deficits of current economic theories. Crisis is also at the heart of *Crisis Economics. A Crash Course in the future of Finance*⁴⁷² by Nouriel Roubini and Stephan Mihm which became a bestseller. Nouriel Roubini has prophesized the financial collapse of 2007. *Healing Capitalism*⁴⁷³ of the innovative economists Jem Bendell and Ian Doyle analyze the Corporate Responsibility (CR) movement and conclude that capitalism must go beyond CR with a new role of the governments and new rules.

Apart from reform of capitalism by 'capitalism+' concepts, more radical criticisms of capitalism continue to be expressed; they will increase with increased volatility of the financial markets and more left-behind people.⁴⁷⁴ A radical *no* to free social market economy comes from the German economist and famous politician of the Left/die Linke in Germany, Sahra Wagenknecht. She pleads for overcoming capitalism with a new order of property and capital as a public good. This would lead to *Reichtum ohne Gier*⁴⁷⁵, wealth without greed.

As these studies show, the two decades between 1989 and 2008 have been dominated by de-regulation of the markets and entrepreneurial

⁴⁷¹ Bürgenmeier, Beat, *L'économie au pluriel. Les théories économiques face aux défis environnementaux et sociaux*, Bruxelles: Editions Margada, 2019.

⁴⁷² Roubini, Nouriel/ Mihm, Stephen, *Crisis Economics. A Crash Course in the future of Finance*, New York: The Penguin Press, 2010.

⁴⁷³ Bendell, Jem/ Doyle, Ian, *Healing Capitalism*, Sheffield UK: Greenleaf Publishing, 2014.

⁴⁷⁴ Examples of publications suggesting alternatives to capitalism: Duchrow, Ulrich, *Alternatives to Global Capitalism. Drawn from Biblical History, Designed for Political Action*, Heidelberg/Utrecht, Kairos, 1995; Gomez, Pierre-Yves, *L'esprit malin du Capitalisme*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2019.

⁴⁷⁵ Wagenknecht, Sahra, *Reichtum ohne Gier. Wie wir uns vor dem Kapitalismus retten*, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2016.

social responsibility; the years after 2008 have been marked by the call for re-regulating the market and more fundamental changes in capitalism.

Since the 1970s, the call for limits to growth and for de-growth and since the 1990s the call for de-globalisation was seen by the mainstream as leftist and anti-market economy positions. Now, decades later, it finally is taken up by the mainstream in business, economic theories and marketing. An example: the famous ‘father of modern marketing’ Philip Kotler and promoter of economic growth and “Growth Marketing” wrote now in 2022 on “Degrowth: The case for Constraining Consumption”⁴⁷⁶. However, he writes there “Only in recent years have criticism arisen about the pursuit of endless economic growth”. Have these experts - same generation as myself - been sleeping during the 50 years of discussion since limits to growth of the Club of Rome? We can only add: join better late than never!

During the last years, the cyber world, internet freedom and control, cyber security and artificial intelligence dominated the public discourse. What is the answer of the economic systems to it? *Digital Capitalism*⁴⁷⁷ is a key characteristic of capitalism in the cyber world. Telecommunication systems, satellites, digital education, e-commerce and consumerism by targeted algorithms have a dominant influence on the market.

⁴⁷⁶ Philip Kotler, *Degrowth: The Case for Constraining Consumption*, BBF Digital, Expert Series, 6 July 2022. <https://bbf.digital/degrowth-the-case-for-constraining-consumption-by-philip-kotler> (Accessed 1 Nov 2022).

⁴⁷⁷ Schiller, Dan, *Digital Capitalism. Networking the Global Market System*, Boston: MIT Press, 1999

*The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*⁴⁷⁸ is an international bestseller of the Harvard Business School professor Shoshana Zuboff. Big Data are the most powerful resource in the digital age, even more important than the other three traditional production factors people, capital and natural resources incl. land.⁴⁷⁹ Therefore, the traditional conflict between capitalism with capital as first production factor and socialism with people as first production factor is overthrown by the power game of control of data resources. This is the current fight between company giants such as Google and Tencent, Amazon and Alibaba. Example: Amazon already controls 50 percent of the whole online commerce in the USA and destroys two jobs in order to create one. Since Amazon opened its headquarters in Seattle, the number of homeless people in the city increased by 600 percent and 20 percent of the centre of the city of Seattle is owned by the company. Amazon and the other online giants in their heart have a libertarian ideology - to serve humanity as they say, but in the end they thrive towards monopolistic, minimally controlled global superpowers. Governments try to regulate, to tax and to control data, with mixed success and always behind new developments.

The debate about justice, freedom and equality in the economic systems was also very engaged in Christian churches and the Ecumenical movement. Since the 19th century, social and diaconal institutions have been built to respond to the social inequalities of capitalism, religious socialism combined Christian faith and socialist values of justice and manifold statements and action of the ecumenical movement, especially

⁴⁷⁸ Zuboff, Shoshana, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism. The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*, London: Profile Books, 2019.

⁴⁷⁹ See above chapter 2.4.3.

since 1948 with the formation of the World Council of Churches⁴⁸⁰, and on catholic side with numerous encyclical⁴⁸¹ and other documents influenced the debate up to sustainable economy.

The Coronavirus crisis, spreading all over the world in great speed as I write this chapter, shows the vulnerability by *pandemics* in the globalized world. Health may become another key factor to decide which economic systems and political mechanisms are best positioned to solve global challenges.

Another current key factor are the Sustainable Development Goals *SDGs*: Which economic system is better equipped to shift economy in due time to a green economy with sustainable consumption? At this point, the Chinese economic and political model of *Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*⁴⁸² must be analyzed; in environmental terms, China is still a large polluter and already the largest CO₂-emitter (in absolute figures, not per capita with the 1.4 billion inhabitants). At the same time, China is the fastest growing economy in solar and other renewable energy with an impressive increase in green econ-

⁴⁸⁰ From the wealth of literature, only one overview is selected: Taylor, Michael, *Christ and Capital. A Family Debate [Ecumenical positions]*, Geneva: WCC, 2015.

⁴⁸¹ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, Rome: Vatican, 2004.

⁴⁸² *Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*, first presented by Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Communist party of China at the 19th National Congress of the Communist party of China in 2012, then elaborated in his books *The Governance of China*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, Vol I 2014, Vol II 2017. Key points of the 14 characteristics are people-centered, rule of law centered, 12 socialist core values, overcoming poverty, green economy, national security, peaceful international cooperation, party discipline.

omy, thanks to centralised decisions of the party. The socialism with Chinese characteristics is de facto a combination of state ownership and free market, also called state capitalism. Depending on economic conjuncture and political waves, state control or market freedom is stronger or weaker. In any case, the current Chinese economic model is globally and historically the largest experiment of the combination of state-controlled plan and private sector market.

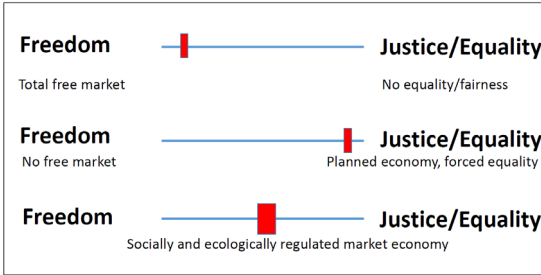
In the new Cold War, the competition between the economic systems capitalism and communism is not as relevant as it was in the old cold war. One reason is that capitalism in the meantime had to transform partly to social and especially ESG-related and SDG-related capitalism. China with its “Socialism with Chinese characteristics” is a mixture of state-controlled and free market economy.

The new ideological wording calls it a *struggle between democratic and autocratic systems*, as expressed especially by the US and NATO related to the Ukraine war and the trade conflict. In daily economy it is not very relevant and more of an ideological umbrella argument. Chinese, Russian, European, and American business works de facto across ideological systems with partners who offer good quality and low prices. The struggle is therefore not so much an ideological, but a purely political for dominance, access to resources, control and economic alliances.

7.7.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Justice

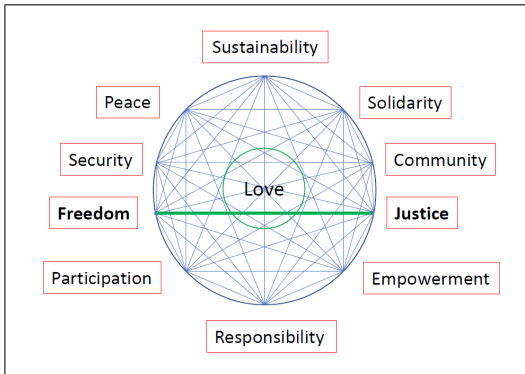
The core value in the capitalist market economy is freedom in terms of free entrepreneurship, allocation of resources and people, pricing etc. the core value in the socialist planned economy is justice/equality in terms of work for all, fair and equal distribution of resources, wealth and participation in decisions.

In reality, these extremes hardly exist, but are combined, especially in the socially and ecologically regulated market economy, where state



regulations for taxes, financial markets, penalties and incentives for CO₂ emissions, social security etc. enable a certain

fairness and sustainability where the unregulated or self-regulated market is not able to do it sufficiently.



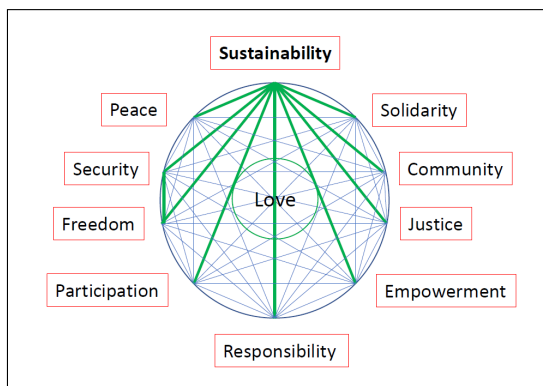
The example shows, that often more than two values are opposite to each other and need to be balanced. In this case, the ethical dilemma in economic

decisions is often between freedom, justice, and sustainability. Fast and consequent measures for a green economy would need centralised state decisions, which restrict free entrepreneurship.

7.7.3 Towards Globalance: Sustainism as Third Way

Globalance is not a static concept, but dynamic.⁴⁸³ It means that value A may have to be prioritized in situation X and value B in situation Y. For the current economic challenges in times of fast climate change and environmental destruction, it means to give priority to sustainability over freedom and even equality. At the same time, environmental concerns have to remain balanced with freedom, equality/ justice and all other values. This fact shows that politics is a true art, the art of balancing conflicting interests.

In conclusion: the old bipolar world of capitalism and socialism is replaced by the new challenges: who innovates and controls digital data and how? Private, public or mixed entities? Who solves health issues

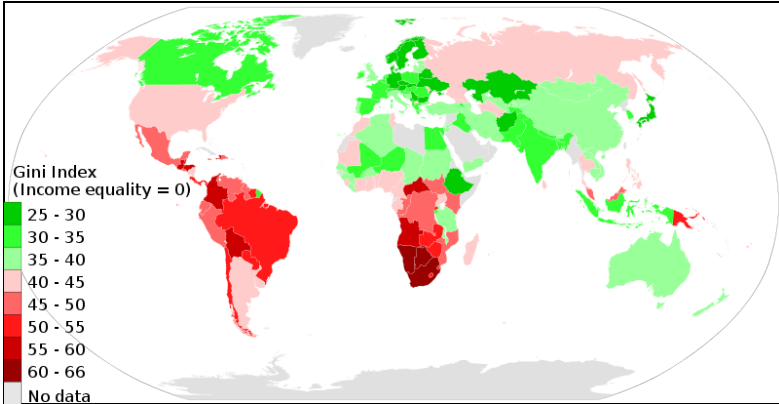


best and how?
Private, public or mixed entities?
Who contributes most efficiently to the SDGs?
Private, public or mixed entities?
The question is

no more capitalism or socialism. Both systems are on the way to some forms (in plural) of convergence. The *capitalism+* options as summarized above integrate manifold regulations, social and environmental balances in the market mechanism. The *socialism+* (with Chinese characteristics) has manifold market elements within a state-controlled

⁴⁸³ See chapter 1.2.5.

frame. Which system is better able to reduce inequalities in a country and worldwide?⁴⁸⁴



Is *Sustainism*⁴⁸⁵ the *new third way* beyond Capitalism and Socialism? Is it the new cultural era from modernity to sustainability? From the perspective of Globalance, the reconciliation and unification of freedom, equality/justice and sustainability and balancing private and public actors in a multi-stakeholder perspective is the new economic model, which is needed.

⁴⁸⁴ 2014 Gini Index World Map, income inequality distribution by country. Source M. Tracy Hunter, Wikipedia Gini Index.

⁴⁸⁵ After I created the word Sustainism, I searched for it on internet and found the publication Schwarz, Michiel/ Elffers, Joost, *Sustainism is the New Modernism. A Cultural Manifesto for the Sustainist Era*, New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2010. www.sustainism.com.

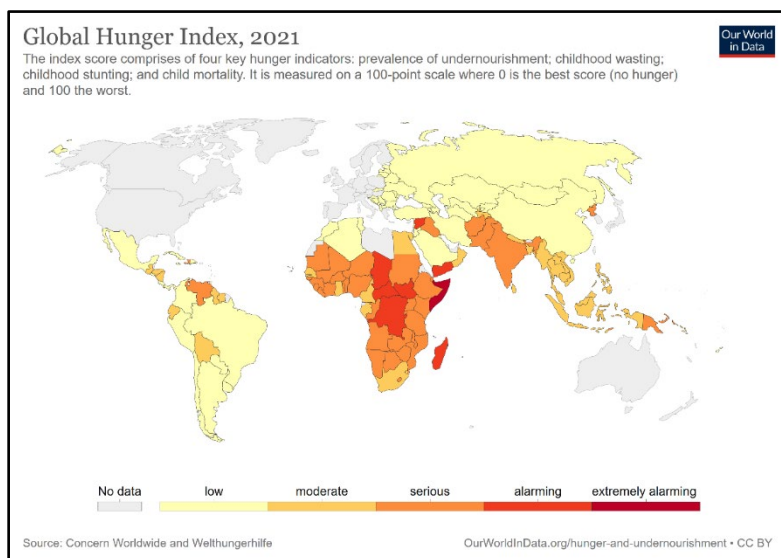
7.8 Agriculture: Still the Basis of Humanity

7.8.1 Developments: Agricultural Divide

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on Agriculture and food production?

All four aspects have a key influence on agriculture. Climate warming has the most direct and dramatic influence on agriculture. The Cold War and hot wars with 'hunger as weapon' limit the access to grains, fertilizers, agriculture data and drones, as the Ukraine war showed. Covid limited the agricultural labor force and each financial crisis increased food prices.

The Global Hunger Index in the graph below shows that especially Subsaharan Africa and South Asia were affected.



Access to water and food is still the basis of human life as of all life. Agriculture as production of nutrition is crucial. Pandemics like Covid-

19 or wars shows the importance of accessibility in case of interrupted supply chains due to closed borders. Many of the domestic and international conflicts are related to water scarcity, low income of farmers or natural or human-made environmental disasters affecting food production. Therefore, caring for the food and water sector is key for a balanced world even the awareness of this importance is decreasing due to the high level of urbanisation with its detachment from agriculture. Let us select five aspects among the many, which are a challenge for global balance:

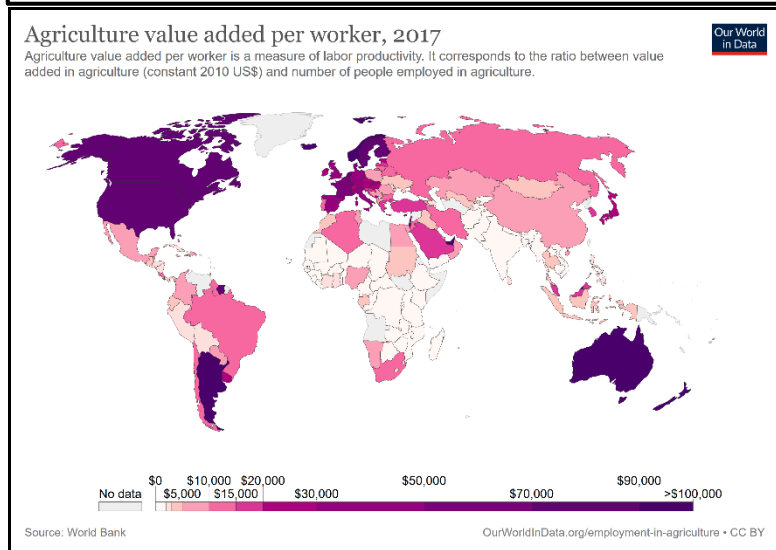
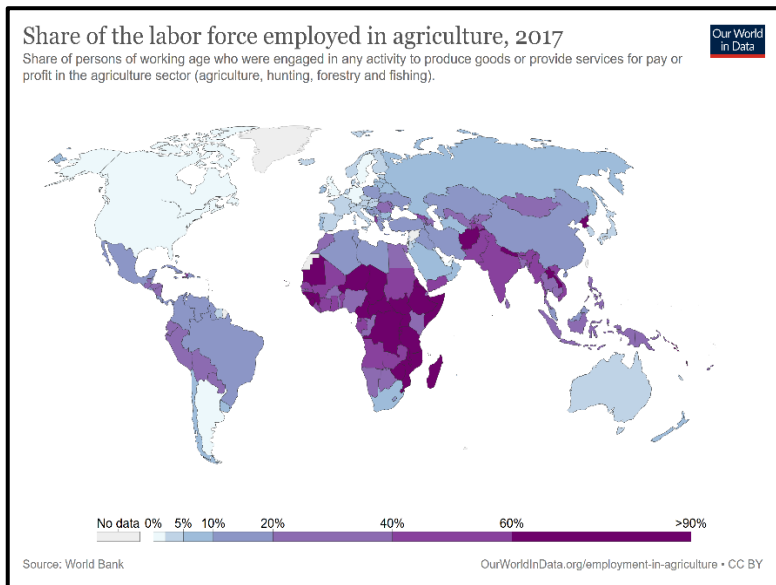
Vulnerable Sub-Saharan Africa: in Sub-Saharan Africa, almost half of the population live below the poverty line and depend on rain-fed agriculture, fishing and herding to survive. The Covid-19 pandemic with lockdown, border closures and climate shocks aggravated the situation of food insecurity even more in 2020.⁴⁸⁶

Employment in agriculture: Between 1991 and 2018, the number of people employed in agriculture of the global working population decreased from 44 percent to 28 percent, which corresponds still to about 1 billion people!⁴⁸⁷ The proportion of people working in agriculture as fraction of people employed, differs from 2-10 percent in industrialised countries to 10-40 percent in China and parts of South America to 60-90 percent in good parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. In Europe, 60-80 percent of the population worked in agriculture until 1800, when it dramatically dropped within two centuries to 2-5 percent in the 21st century.

⁴⁸⁶ IMF, *Regional Economic Outlook. Sub-Saharan Africa: Covid-19: an Unprecedented Threat to Development*, April 2020.

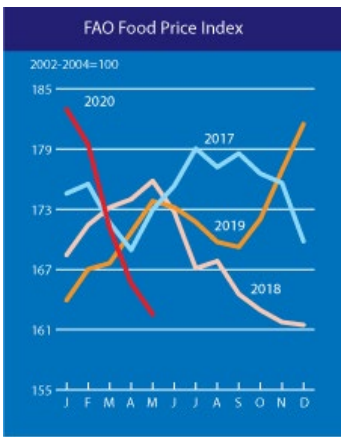
⁴⁸⁷ *OECD-FAO Agricultural Outlook 2019-2028*, Paris OECD, Rome FAO, 2019. Also www.resourcewatch.org of the World Resource Institute, based on World Bank data.

Labour productivity in agriculture in the following chart shows the opposite of the first chart:



Productivity is much higher in industrialised countries with capital-intensive mechanised agriculture than in developing countries. Part of it is due to the fact, that a good part of food processing, which generates more economic value than the food production, is done in the Global North. Correction is needed for a balanced world.

The FAO *Food Price Index* (graph)⁴⁸⁸, composed of a basket of food



commodities (100=2002-2004),

shows the high volatility of food prices. The red line from January-May 2020 shows a sharp drop due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This volatility makes the predictability of income of farmers so difficult. It decreases food security and increases the danger of hunger crises and poverty if we remember the figures above, whereas in

many countries a majority of the population still depend on food production and sales.

Land ownership and agrarian policies influence substantially food security, food sovereignty and food productivity as well as urbanisation. The corona pandemic may accelerate agrarian reforms under the economic pressure as result of the pandemic. Three examples: In *India*, nearly half of the population depend on farm-based income. With the corona pandemic and lockdown, this population came under additional

⁴⁸⁸ FAO, Data release 4 June 2020. <http://www.fao.org/worldfoodsituation/foodpricesindex/en/>. (Accessed 10 June 2020)

economic pressure. The Indian government in May 2020 began plans to implement long pending substantial agrarian reform by cutting down archaic regulations, raising farm-gate prices, integrating the farm economy into the global value chain and others.⁴⁸⁹ *China's* development was heavily influenced by major land reforms. The coronavirus could accelerate in 2020 *China's* planned new land reform⁴⁹⁰ in order to stimulate economic growth, which is hit by the pandemic. For decades, government authorities seized rural land for urban and infrastructure development; much of the agricultural land remained in the hands of the government. It was one reason for fast urbanisation in *China*. About 291 million rural residents, representing 38 percent of the national workforce, migrated to cities for better paid jobs. Now, with economic crisis in cities and need for resettlement, land reform could bring a better balance and better income for farmers in rural areas. Income of urban residents in *China* is 2.5 times higher than that of rural residents. *Zimbabwe* began plans in 2019 to return land to white farmers, which was confiscated under former president Mugabe two decades ago to overcome colonial imbalances, but this may be accelerated in 2020 due further worsened economy of the country with the pandemic.⁴⁹¹

7.8.2 Value-Poles: Security and Justice

Food security is the state of having reliable access to a sufficient quantity of affordable, nutritious food. Food security is the most im-

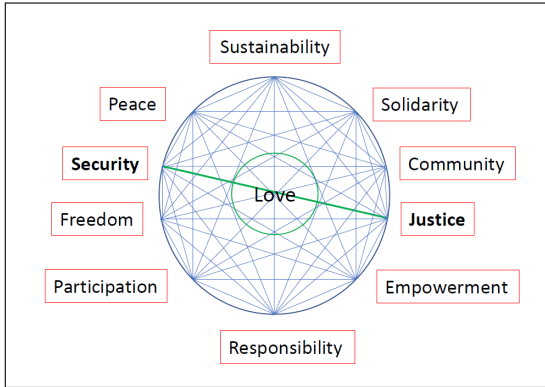
⁴⁸⁹ Haq, Zia, Govt plans major agricultural reforms post-coronavirus, *Hindustan times*, 3 May 2020.

⁴⁹⁰ Tang, Frank, Coronavirus: could *China's* rural land reform plan unleash a new round of economic growth?, *South China Morning Post* 16 May 2020.

⁴⁹¹ Emi, Ishioma, *Zimbabwe* plans to return land to white farmers two decades after Mugabe reform, *Ventures Africa*, 18 March 2020.

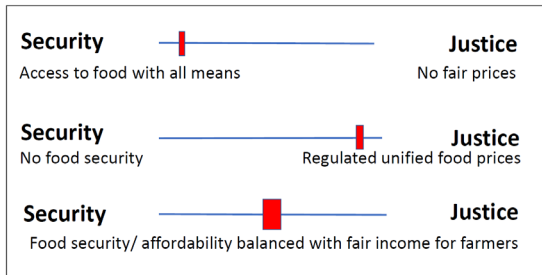
portant aspect of security. Military or cyber security is meaningless if we die from hunger.

However, *justice as fair prices* is a constant challenge in food production with the low income of farmers compared to high income in other sectors or even in food processing industries. This low income of



farmers especially in developing countries with often subsistence agriculture with low productivity is often a reason for moving to cities. On the

other hand, cheap food makes it affordable for urban poor. But cheap food also often means un-healthy junk food or food coming from agri-



cultural production that harms environment.

How to balance food security and food fairness?

Food security for

the consumers must be balanced with fair income for the food producers and sustainable agriculture protecting the soil quality and reducing CO₂-emissions. This balance is possible, and many examples and strategies

exist. It needs the political and personal will to pay more for food and to replace profit maximization by benefit-optimisation.

7.8.2 Towards Globalance: Balanced Agrarian Reforms

Some conclusions of above analyses and values-balance:

- The right to food and water is the first human right.⁴⁹² If we die from hunger or thirst, all other human rights are meaningless. Therefore, food security has highest priority over all other forms of security for life.
- More food processing in the countries of origin, especially Africa, is needed in order to create revenues and jobs.
- Reduced water conflicts by new production methods in agriculture with less water use. Replacing rice by maize, finger millet, pearl millet and sorghum in India could reduce water demand by a third and increase iron and zinc production!⁴⁹³
- Food and peace: Increased food prices and lack of food is always in human history one major root cause for unrest and conflicts. The number of hungry people increased from 2021 to 2022 by 47 million to the new record of 323 million people! At the same time, the number of unrests around the world increased substantially. Food sovereignty and food security should always be envisaged as part of peace efforts.

⁴⁹² For the ethical justification see Stückelberger, Christoph, *Das Menschenrecht auf Nahrung und Wasser. Eine ethische Priorität*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2009.

⁴⁹³ Davis, Kyle Frankel et al, Alternative cereals can improve water use and nutrient supply in India, *Sciences Advances* Vol. 4, no. 7, 4 July 2018.

- The 2022 food crisis, partly linked to the Ukraine war and related export difficulties leads to the need to strengthen the balance between food sovereignty and international food trade and solidarity.
- Increase food production for a still increasing world population (+394 million by 2050 in India only) with sustainable methods of bio- or at least integrated production, new water-resistant and heat-tolerant seeds, thus reconciling food security and food sustainability.
- Increase wages of farmers through increased food prices especially in high income countries and reduced food price volatility, in order to increase food justice and food sovereignty.
- Fiscal stimulus for agricultural sector to counter pandemic losses.
- Increase access to internet through mobile devices for better access to weather forecast, market prices and other data relevant for farming.

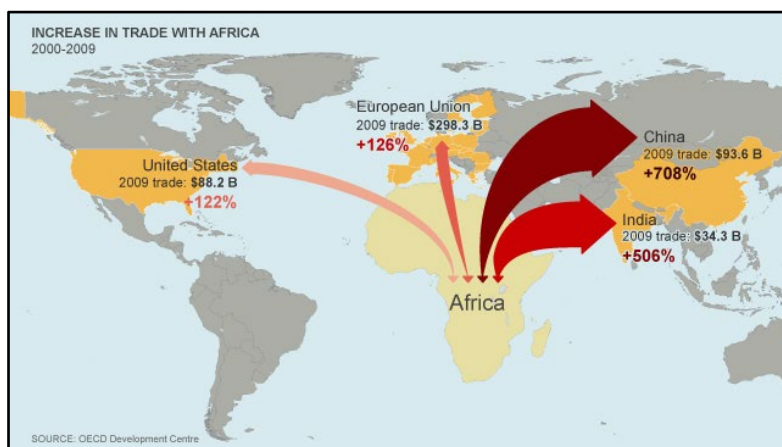
7.9 Business: Trade and Stakeholder Relationships

7.9.1 Developments: Trade Shifts and Corporate Responsibility

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on business (Productivity, access to material, trade, management, shareholder and stakeholder relations)? We can look only at a few selected aspects *pars pro toto*. Access to raw material and data as a main business source we already assembled in chapter 7.3.1.

7.9.1.1 Trade Shifts. Example Africa

Globalisation led to a substantial increase in trade. If we only select Africa, we see in the below graph the increase (2000-2009) especially between China/India and Africa. It included a boom of large infrastructure projects especially of China in Africa. Nowadays, in addition to continued investments, indebtedness and some failing projects, there is more caution and respective slower growth of Asia-Africa trade.



In Africa, there are also many efforts to increase intra-African regional economic cooperation and trade opportunities and African export diversification to more countries outside Africa. African household food imports increased from 2009 to 2019 by 33%, from 24 to 32 billion USD! However, there is still an increase of food dependency from outside Africa, despite the fact that Africa could almost feed the world.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ AUC/OECD, *Africa's Development Dynamics 2022. Regional Value Chains for a Sustainable Recovery*, Addis Ababa/Paris: May 2022, 35. <https://doi.org/10.1787/2e3b97fd-en>. (Accessed 10 Aug 2022)



The diversification matters for recovery of Africa. This is important for reducing dependencies and absorbing shocks, building production networks, increasing availability of inputs and services, especially with the experience of disrupted supply chains due to Covid-19, wars and climate related disruptions.⁴⁹⁵

7.9.1.2 Trade Shifts: New Trade Blocks and Supply Chains

There are also substantial changes in trading blocks, partly as a result of the New Cold War and geopolitical interests (more in chapter 7.13). The new *Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)* is a free trade agreement of 15 member countries in Asia-Pacific incl. China, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, representing 30% of global GDP. It was signed in 2020.

The new *Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF)*, was launched in May 2022 by US President Biden. It includes 14 member countries incl. US, India, Australia, South Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore and represents 40% of the

⁴⁹⁵ UNCTAD, *Rethinking the Foundations of Export Diversification in Africa. The Catalytic Role of Business and Financial Services*, New York: UN, 2022, 14 (Accessed 17 Aug 2022)

World GDP. It aims at strengthening trade cooperation and defending political-military interests.

The comparison of RCEP and IPEF shows, a) the competition between Chinas (RCEP) and US (IPEF) as expression of competition on influence in South-East Asia and b) the substantial overlap of countries being members in both trade blocks⁴⁹⁶, which signals a desire to have trade with China and US as multi-aligned states (more in chapter 7.13).

The *Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)* has the focus on transpacific cooperation, as the name expresses. It has been signed in 2018 with 8 members⁴⁹⁷, under leadership of Japan, as US withdrew its membership under President Trump. Pending applications for membership (per mid 2022) are UK, China, Taiwan, and Ecuador.

These three examples of new trade blocks shows: a) the focus is on East Asia, b) there is a large overlap of countries who want to have preferential trade with as many countries as possible, c) the blossoming of such agreements reflects the weakness of global trade agreements such as World Trade Organization (WTO) as reflex of the transition from globalisation to regionalisation and – last but not least – shows the old saying I learnt in Swiss federalism: *Everybody wants to coordinate and nobody wants to be coordinated*. Three trade blocs with three countries claiming leadership: China in RCEP, Japan in CPTPP and US in IPEF.

⁴⁹⁶ 11 Member countries are in RCEP and IPEF: Australia, Brunei, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam! 4 are only in RCEP: China, Myanmar Laos, Cambodia. 3 are only in IPEF: US, India, Fiji.

⁴⁹⁷ 5 member countries are in RCEP, IPEF and CPTPP: Japan, Singapore, New Zealand, Australia, Vietnam. 3 are not in RCEP and IPEF: Mexico, Canada, Peru.

The Covid pandemic, the Ukraine war, droughts, conflicts about REE all influence the supply chains in a globalized economy and made them vulnerable. This is one reason for new trade blocks and new decentralised supply chains. An example: “The war in Ukraine throws back the global car industry more than Corona did.”⁴⁹⁸ The German car company Audi has 16,000 suppliers worldwide, among others in Ukraine and China. Together with the microchip problems, global car production will be reduced by over 5 million cars in 2022 and 2023. Perhaps disrupted supply chains will reduce not only car production, but mobility in general, as Covid did, and thus will help to improve the environmental situation? Another example of a vulnerable supply chain is cotton. 15% of the world market of cotton is produced in the USA, but 20% only in the province of the Uighurs in China! The Human Rights criticism of the UN against this province of China may also have hand tight economic interests as background.

The vulnerability of supply chains of a globalized interdependent world is visible in almost all sectors, from food to clothes, from machines to entertainment, from medicine to raw material, from banking to insurances.

7.9.1.2 Stakeholders

A *shareholder* invests shares in a public company and therefore owns part of it. The company has a binding fiduciary duty towards the shareholders. A *stakeholder* has a stake, a legitimate interest in the performance, behavior and societal impact of a company and the company

⁴⁹⁸ Herbie Schmidt: Der Krieg in der Ukraine wirft die globale Automobilindustrie weiter zurück als Corona, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* NZZ Pro, 21 March 2022.

has a (rather moral) duty towards stakeholders, in various aspects also legal duties (e.g. to pay tax to the state). Stakeholders are a broad range of interest groups: employees, management and owners (as internal stakeholders), suppliers, consumers, neighbors, community, state, media and researchers (as external stakeholders) – even non-human beings can be seen as stakeholders in the holistic ecosystem perspective.

In capitalism, the shareholders have been seen for a long time as the only legitimate owner of a company and the only group of persons and institutions to whom the leadership of the company is responsible. With increased industrialization and the workers movements, the employer-employee relation then became important and institutionalized in trade unions and union representatives. Employees become the most important ‘stakeholder’ group. Now, this polarised employer-employee-relation became much broader with the stakeholder concept.

In human history, the stakeholder concept is not new as society always held business actors to some extent responsible towards society. A company could not survive without acceptance by society. Many entrepreneurs – especially in family enterprises, felt responsible for the community e.g. by building schools, infrastructure and other philanthropic activities in the village where the company was located. In recent times, the stakeholder theory was developed. One of the first was in 1971 the later founder of the World Economic Forum (WEF), Klaus Schwab.⁴⁹⁹ The concept became worldwide known by R. Edward Freeman in 1984.⁵⁰⁰ It addresses values in managing an organization and is therefore

⁴⁹⁹ Kroos, Hein/ Schwab, Klaus, *Modern Enterprise Management in Mechanical Engineering*, Frankfurt: VDMA, 1971).

⁵⁰⁰ Freeman, R. Edward, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, Harpercollins College, 1984.

part of business ethics. it deals with corporate governance and the relation between a company and the society. *Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)* became then in the last decades more and more an important and accepted part of company responsibility; but it was often too limited in scope and understood as the philanthropy arm of a company. The stakeholder concept is much broader in scope and more holistic than CSR.

The stakeholder concept is mainly about *relationships* and therefore per se a relational approach. The classical (wrong) definition of Freedman ‘the business of business is business’ is replaced by ‘the business of business is relationship’. Relational economics is based on the value of relationships. The authors of the book *Relational Lens*⁵⁰¹ list the “value and importance of relationships”:

- ‘Relationships are a fundamental reality
- Relationships create value
- Relationships are a source of competitive advantage
- Relationships are key to better risk management
- Relationships are a goal as well as a means
- Relationships are a skillset
- Relationships are the cornerstone of wellbeing
- Relationships impact third parties.’

Therefore, stakeholder relationships are not an annoying requirement just for the public relations unit of the company, but an integrated and key part for the values and success of an institution. The relational lens

⁵⁰¹ Ashcroft, John, Childs, Roy, Myers Alison, Schluter, Michael, *The Relational Lens. Understanding, Managing and Measuring Stakeholder Relationships*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 4-16.

is a holistic, integrated approach. It is also expressed in the International Integrated Reporting (IIR), where I for some years represented Globethics.net in its council IIRC. Its founder and chairman Mervin King states: “Bringing the reality of these resources and relationships into the active awareness of the board and management leads to a better and better managed company. The resources and relationships should be built into the company’s business model, strategy risks and opportunities. They should be measured and monitored and their performance reported internally and externally.”⁵⁰²

A special and widespread form of business relationships are the *clans*, also called *tribes*⁵⁰³: families, ethnic groups, emigrants with same background of origins build strong ties as they trust each other, which facilitates business enormously. In addition to blood relationships or ethnic background, business clans are also built through common religious ties: The Jain (Jainism) in India in the gold and jewelry industry represent one percent of the population of India, but produce ten percent of the GDP of India, the Tata empire with a Zoroastrian Parsi background, the Aga Khan empire as an Ismaili family, Christian, Islamic or Hindu Entrepreneurs’ associations⁵⁰⁴ to facilitate business between them

⁵⁰² King, Mervin E./, Roberts, L., *Integrate: Doing Business in the 21st Century*, Johannesburg: Juta & Co., 2013, 55.

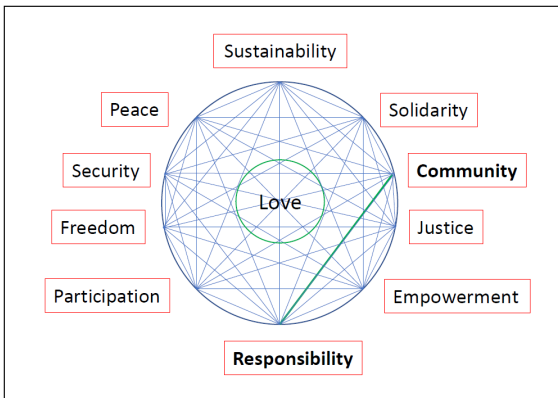
⁵⁰³ An excellent analysis of global business tribes offers Kotkin, Joel, *Tribes. How Race, Religion and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy*, New York: Random House, 1993. He describes as five large “tribes of power” the British, Jews, Indian, Japanese, and Chinese.

⁵⁰⁴ Stückelberger, Christoph/ Yuli Wang, Vanessa, Bui, Hong, *Faith at Work. Directory of Associations of Faith-driven Entrepreneurs and workers*, 2nd enlarged edition, 2018, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2018.

or even secret, closed societies such as Freemasons and Rosicrucian⁵⁰⁵ up to Mafia⁵⁰⁶ in different cultures. Such business ‘tribes’ facilitate international trade and are key actors of globalisation, some of them with very high ethical transparent standards and others with the dark, hidden and violent mafia practice.

7.9.2 Value-Poles: Responsibility and Community

What are the value poles and potential dilemmas in the relational and



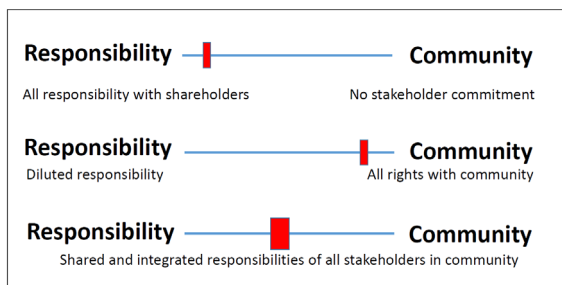
integrated stakeholder approach for companies or other institutions? There are different values at stake but let us concentrate on one selected

pair: community and responsibility. Stakeholders build a stakeholder community; they are not in isolated bilateral relations with the company, as we have seen above. In order to be fully mutually beneficial, interactions also among the stakeholders are welcome.

⁵⁰⁵ Ellis, Stephen/Ter Haar, Gerrie, *World of Power. Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, London: Hurst and Company, 2004, 75-83 on secret societies.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g. Italian, Japanese and Chinese Mafia clans. E.g. Faligot, Roger, *La Mafia Chinoise en Europe*, Paris : Calman-Lévy, 2001.

Stakeholders contribute skills, insights, ideas, innovation, feedback, finance and commitment and in return get higher stakeholder satisfaction, trust, reliability, growth etc.⁵⁰⁷ But



tion, trust, reliability, growth etc.⁵⁰⁷ But

where lies now the responsibility and liability?

In the share-

holder relation, the management is liable to the shareholders and they have fiduciary obligations and rights. This means, that in stakeholder relations, the question of responsibility becomes more complex than in 'simple' shareholder relations. New forms of participatory ownership – as they have existed for a long time e.g. in cooperatives – regain more attention. The separation of owners and managers with the construct of limited liabilities creates distance and, in many cases, a lack of long-term responsibility of management.⁵⁰⁸ Stakeholders have not only rights, but also obligations as part of their responsibility, e.g. the obligation to be informed and share information.

An increased responsibility lies with the board of directors of a company. They – with the stakeholder concept – not only represent the shareholders, but have to integrate the stakeholders in their vision and strategy. The board composition then must be adapted accordingly in order to represent stakeholders which leads to a *New Corporate Gov-*

⁵⁰⁷ Ashcroft et al, *ibid*, 162.

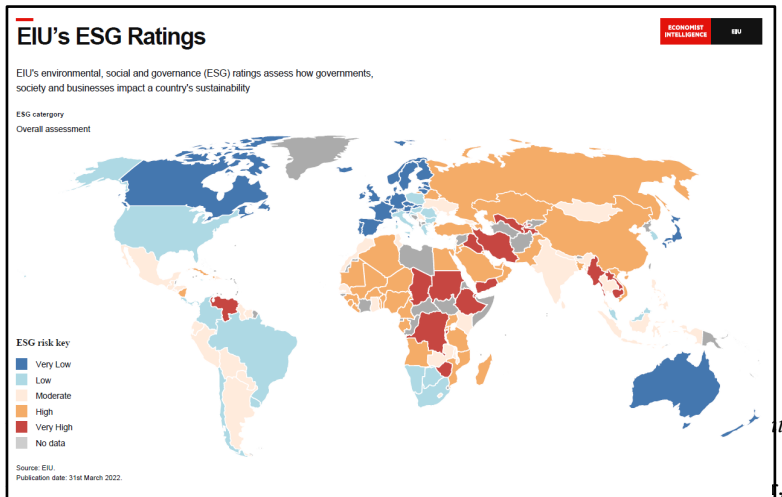
⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 165ff.

ernance⁵⁰⁹, as the famous concept of the Swiss Corporate Governance ‘guru’ Martin Hilb describes.

7.9.3 Towards Globalance: Fair Trade, Fair Stakeholders

7.9.3.1 Fair Trade

Ethical, fair, responsible trade has been a topic for half a century a major concern still are growing imports from cheap labor countries to the so-called developed countries and environmental impacts.⁵¹⁰ In the last two decades, much progress was made in Fair Trade and Sustainable Trade, from niche products to mainstream developments within the large supply chains. However, ethically, much needs to be remedied; badly paid labor, human exploitation, environmental destruction, corruption, and recurrent violence.



Global Trade Ethics. An Illustrated Overview, Geneva: WCC Publications, 2003; More in Christoph Stückelberger, *Bibliography 50 Years of Publishing*, Geneva: *Globethics.net* 2022. Free download www.globethics.net/ readers-series.

The current mainstream methods to measure the ethical impact of economic activities including trade is *ESG: Environmental, Social and Governance Criteria*. This became more and more binding, measurable standard and legal obligation to respect (.e.g. new EU legislation 2022). The global ESG rating of countries is shown in the graph below. It influences the decisions of investors, traders, on where to do business and where the ESG conditions are too risky.

In the context of this chapter, we focus on the geo-economic context of trade agreements and power shifts, as our main interest here is to recognize the trends towards a new world order and to reflect it ethically. The value-pair of responsibility and community means for global trade, that trade alliances for more efficiency, lower costs and better qualified are certainly ethically positive for the different participating communities, companies and countries. They are then ethically negative, if they are mainly geopolitical instruments for dominance and power as they then are not best serving the communities, but serving those in power. Competition between trade blocs are not per se negative. They are positive as long as they create a positive spiral towards higher ESG standards, they are negative if they create a negative spiral towards more (violent) conflicts, longer transport ways of goods and services with more pollution etc.

7.9.3.2 Balanced Supply Chains

Disruptions of supply chains, often with thousands of suppliers for one large company or product like a car, are a major economic and business risk under the 4Cs challenges. What would mean to envisage a *balanced supply chain in the perspective of Globalance*? I suggest five criteria for sustainable and ethical supply chains: 1. A robust and at the

same time flexible policy, 2. Combination of ‘just in time’ production and delivery with keeping substantial stocks in case of disruptions, 3. Decentralized production locations (even if it is more expensive) to absorb shocks of delivery problems for political reasons, 4. A balance between short term flexibility and long term commitment in one location or business partner, which is needed to build trust, 5. “People first”⁵¹¹: supply chains are not just technical management decisions. It is always about people, human labor with their families and communities. Shifting production locations too often destroys trust and creates risks and conflicts and therefore is a substantial cost factor.

7.9.3.3 Fair Stakeholder Relations

The relational and integrated approach in the stakeholder concept is very much in line with the relational perspective, which is at the core of the concept of Globalance (chapter 1.1). It sees a company or any economic institution not as an isolated entity, but as part of society, benefiting from it and contributing to it. Relationship is then a dynamic interaction between all those who claim a stake in development of society; it is a constant search of the right balance in the different relationships.

Network marketing is another major trend in today’s business. It is an expression of the digital world and it is to a great extent linked to e-business and social media. Networks are relationships. ‘Show me your networks and I’ll tell you how successful you are’, is the core of it. Often these are short term, superficial and mainly commercially oriented

⁵¹¹ Amartya Sen/ Bernardo Kliksberg, *People First. An Overview of the Key Problems of the Globalized World through Ethics for Development*, Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2014, 167-178 on Corporate Responsibility.

networks and relationships. They are absolutely needed for business, but from an ethical perspective, relational and integrated economics goes deeper and aims at long term, reliable relationships with stakeholders of the community.

Recognizing all these positive aspects, the stakeholder concept is, nevertheless, still mainly focused on relations with communities of human beings. The sustainability approach must include nature and non-human beings as stakeholders. They have a stake as they deliver massive ‘services’ to humans and on the other hand have their own needs for life and survival.

The *Right Relationship in Building a Whole Earth Economy*⁵¹² is a necessary complementary aspect of the stakeholder approach and integral thinking. The authors Brown and Garver call for four global governance structures, otherwise the rights and needs of non-human parts of the earth are not included. The first results of economic performance of companies during the Covid-19 pandemic confirms manifold studies that ethical, sustainable business is more resilient to crises than profit maximization or unethical business.

7.10 Work: Decent Work for all

7.10.1 Developments: Post-Pandemic Job Losses

“Advancing social justice, promoting decent work” is the motto of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva, the specialized agency of the UN for labour issues. Work is in this book treated in the

⁵¹² Brown, Peter G./Garver, Geoffrey, *Right Relationship. Building a Whole Earth Economy*, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publisher.

section of economics as work is mainly seen as income-generating activity to earn a living for oneself and those entrusted to oneself. Work is of course also an important element for dignity, identity, self-esteem, social stability, gender equality and manifold other human rights.

Among the hundreds of work-related topics let us select only two examples, where imbalance is especially severe: income inequality and informal sector.

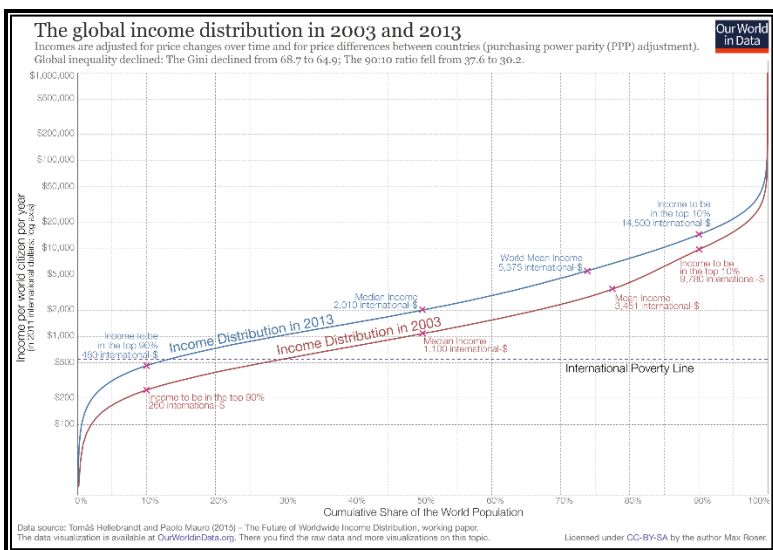
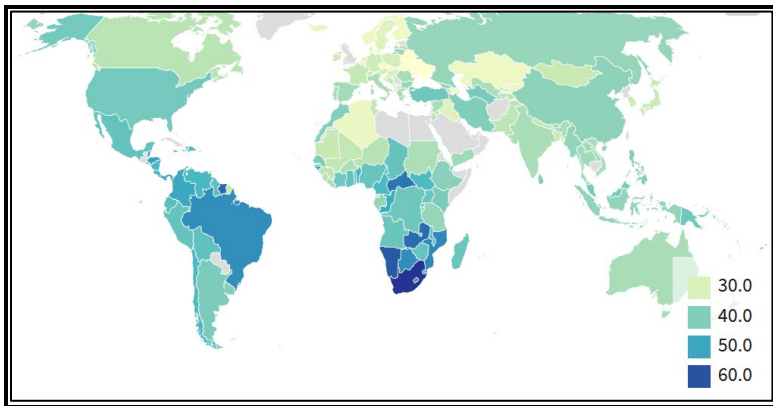
7.10.1.1 Income inequality

Income inequality – normally measured with the so-called Gini index – indicates the disparity of income distributions with normally a high concentration of income in the hands of a small percentage of a population, which then reflects wealth inequality. The map shows the Gini index by country. Darker colours indicate a country with a more unequal wealth distribution than countries with a lighter colour. Some of the poorest countries have some of the highest inequality (e.g. Central African Republic 61.3) while some of the wealthiest have some of the lowest (e.g. Denmark 28.8).⁵¹³

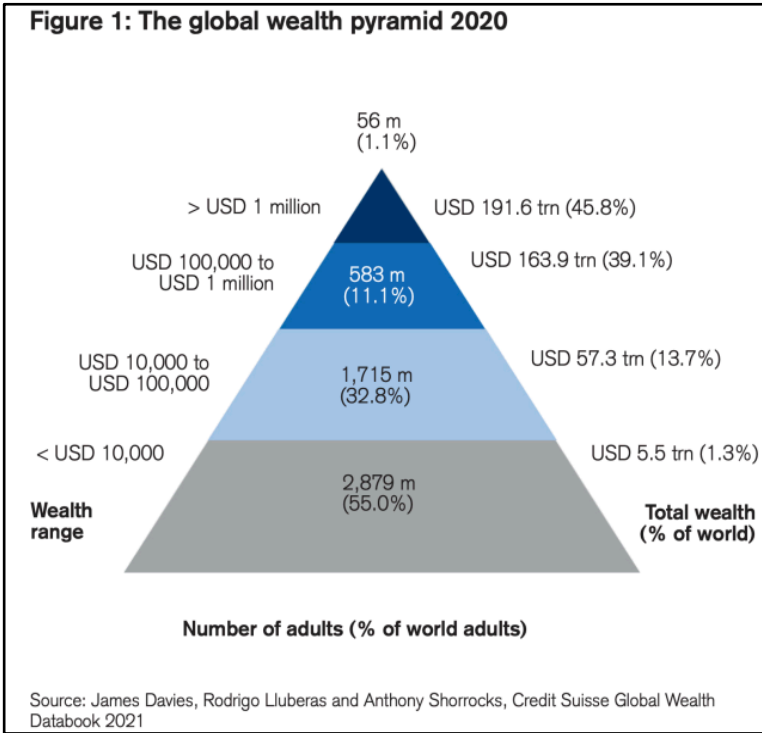
Economic inequality measures disparities among individual's income and wealth (e.g. wealth from assets, heritage). Forbes counted 2,095 billionaires in the world as of 18 March 2020, whereas 736 million people on the globe were living in 2015 on less than 1.90 USD per day.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹³ *GINI Country Index*. Map: Investopedia. Source: World Bank. Data 2005-15.

⁵¹⁴ Fontinelle, Amy, *Economic Inequality*, Investopedia, 28 May 2020. www.investopedia.com. Accessed 14 June 2020.



Another way to show global wealth inequality is to measure the percentage of people in the world below 10'000 USD wealth and on top those with above one 1million USD. The following global wealth pyramid shows this distribution: 1.1% of the World population (56 million) own 45.8 Percent of total global wealth.



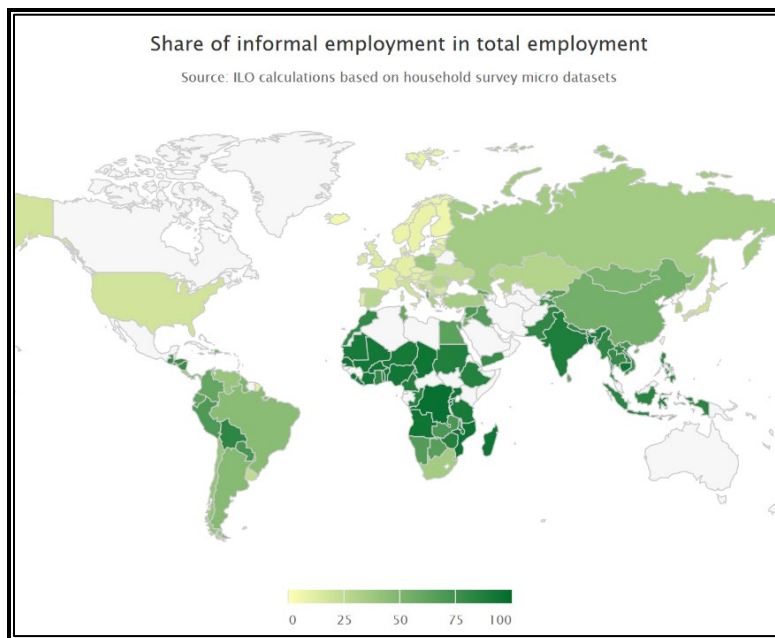
The increase in prosperity and decrease in poverty was substantial in the last two decades. The income of the poorest ten percent globally has increased from 260 to 480 international dollars (int-\$.), and the median income has almost doubled from 1,100 to 2,010 int-\$. in the period 2003-2013. But the income in the top ten percent globally is still 14,500 int-\$. It is expected that the Covid-19 pandemic will now reverse this success of slightly reduced inequality, taking income disparities to a level higher than before. The latest ILO Global Wage Report measures hourly wage differences. The *gender pay gap*⁵¹⁵ (difference between

⁵¹⁵ ILO, *Global wage Report 2018/2019. What lies behind gender pay gaps*, Geneva: ILO, 2018, 40.

male and female average hourly wage) varies per country between 42 percent in Pakistan and -5 percent in Bangladesh (meaning women earn 5 percent more than men), with a difference in high income countries between 29 percent (South Korea) and 3 percent (Belgium), with a global difference of 18 percent.

7.10.1.2 Informal sector and impact of the 4C's

Informal sector: A large part of the working world population still works in the informal sector. In DR Congo over 95 percent, in India close to 90 percent, in Western Europe below 10 percent, in South Europe and USA close to 20 percent, in China roughly 50 percent.



The effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on the work situation is very serious. The ILO Covid-19 Monitor publishes regularly updates on effects

of the pandemic on the work situation and ILO is at the forefront for global recommendations on strategies to overcome it.⁵¹⁶ Some figures: 94 percent of world's workers live in countries with some sort of workplace closure measures during Covid-19. According to ILO estimations, at least 1.25 billion people globally work in the most negatively affected sectors such as tourism, hotels, restaurants and manufacturing. They are at high risk of having salary reduction due to the reduced working time. Most of these workers are not protected with unemployment schemes, social security insurances and early pension offers as in high-income countries. Social protection plays a major role to minimize the risk and guarantee income replacement for all workers, as a ILO report on Asia and the Pacific shows.⁵¹⁷ Covid-19 may push millions more children into child labour, fear ILO and Unicef in a joint statement of June 2020.⁵¹⁸ Young people have been especially affected by the pandemic. 77 percent (328 million) of young workers (below 25) globally were in informal jobs (33 percent in Europe, 93 percent in Africa), which means without any social security. It shows the emergency for the so-called 'lockdown generation'. ILO estimates that testing and tracing of infections can reduce working hour losses by as much as 50 percent as a return to work can be done earlier and safer, as some Asian countries have shown.

⁵¹⁶ ILO Monitor: *Covid-19 and the world of work. Fourth edition*, 27 May 2020. www.ilo.org/global/topics/coronavirus.

⁵¹⁷ Example: ILO, *Social protection responses to the Covid-19 crisis. Country responses in Asia and the Pacific*, 25 March 2020, <https://www.ilo.org/asia/publications>.

⁵¹⁸ ILO and Unicef joint statement 12 June 2020.

7.10.1.3 Artificial Intelligence (AI) and jobs

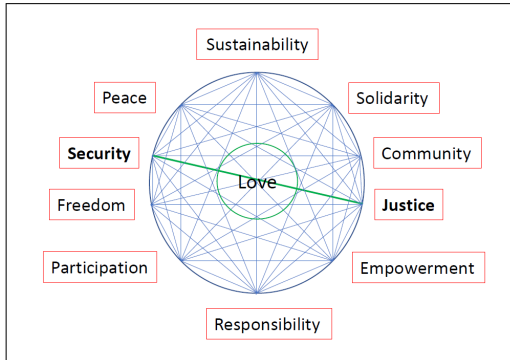
Before Covid-19, the large debate was, whether Artificial Intelligence and related disruptive technologies create massive job losses. We should not forget this topic because of the pandemic. The technological development will continue, most likely be further accelerated. Jobs due to AI will be lost, but other job opportunities will be created as with technological revolutions in the past. The end result is not yet clear, but what is already clear is that new technologies require highly educated experts. It means less chance for untrained workers. An additional reason for potential social unrest (see below).

In addition to the pandemic, climate change has a major influence on jobs, especially in the agricultural sector with potential decrease of productivity in dry areas. Financial crises have a direct impact on wages under pressure and increase of income inequality. On the other hand, the experience shows that such crises also accelerate innovation for improved production methods and cost reduction. The pandemic with millions of people working for months during lockdown in home office, lead to the ongoing discussion if the development will go to “back to normal” or- what more and more analysts predict, to a mixture of m[^]working some days per week in the office of the employer and some days at home. The development will also be influenced by the technical innovations with virtual reality, metaverse, stability and speed of online connections as well as development of mental health challenges (see chapter 7.6.3.1).

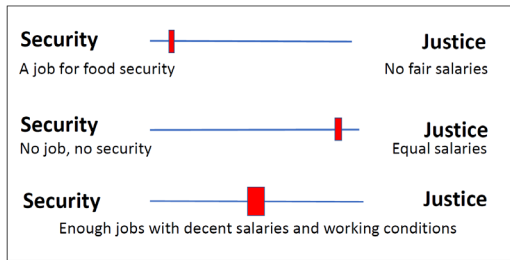
7.10.2 Value-Poles: Security and Justice

Work opportunities, new job requirements, a pandemic and income inequalities include manifold tensions and dilemmas between values.

Let us select one of them: security and justice. Earning a living with income from work is the most important factor for personal security.



Food security, family stability, political security and decrease of domestic violence depend to a large extent on income and paid work, be it in formal or informal sector. However, this security is closely linked to justice as fair wages and income. Working sixty hours, six or seven days per week but not



earning a modest living to sustain one person is ethically not acceptable. It is simply exploitation. Equal salaries can be misunderstood as a radical communist egalitarian solution. This model failed (see chapter 7.7.1) because economic growth did not work. Equality on a low subsistence level or even below is meaningless. But jobless economic growth, which means an increase of GDP for the wealthy few and not the broad population is ethically wrong. Economy should serve people by securing their survival and a decent living. This remains the ultimate goal of the economy. Exploitation is not only a critique of entrepreneurs or traders, but also of politicians and all of us as consumers. Decent, fair salaries in

terms of equal salaries for equal work is a condition for a world in balance. Security of income and fair access to and distribution of production of wealth must go hand in hand.

7.10.3 Towards Globalance: Decent Work, Reduced Inequalities

7.10.3.1 Ethics of decent work

All these figures about income inequality, economic inequality, gender pay gap, new risks of poverty due to the pandemic show increased risks for social unrest. Global demonstrations for women rights, against racism and against new technologies, which would reduce jobs, are expressions of it. Fair access to income is therefore a key ethical issue of justice and political stability.

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8 is: “Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.” Economic qualitative growth is needed to create jobs, but growth does not automatically create jobs. This is the reason why each instrument to stimulate economy must be measured against the goal to create jobs. Jobless growth is unethical! The second part of goal 8 with full and productive employment will be – with the pandemic – very difficult to reach until 2030, which means within nine years after 2020. However, manifold steps are possible, e.g. in increasing at least some security for work in the informal sector, which represents still the majority of the working population as we have seen. And the third part of goal 8: What is decent work?

Decent work is defined by the ILO: “Decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the work-

place and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men.”⁵¹⁹

Post-covid-19 the work situation will need adaptation and shifts of sectors: diversification in regions, which depend too much on one sector like tourism. ‘Monocultures’ are never sustainable, neither in biology nor agriculture nor industry sectors. In high income countries, the percentage of people working in agriculture needs to increase as 2-5 percent is only possible with intense and not very ecologically friendly agricultural methods. Bio-farming needs more labour force which means consumer need to pay higher prices for food. Agriculture in developing countries need productivity and income, e.g. through increased food processing industry in the developing country itself, which needs better infrastructure such as roads, food conservation technologies like fridges cooled with solar energy etc. With ageing of society, more income generating jobs have to be created in the caring sector such as elderly homes instead of placing robots in such homes to do exercises with elderly people as already the case in Japan.

7.10.3.2 Reducing inequality by social security systems

The Social Security Systems must be further expanded as a key part of security. But the systems developed during the last seventy years in high income countries may not be applicable and certainly not payable all over the world as it is already under heavy economic pressure in high income countries to find sustainable financing e.g. of pension schemes.

⁵¹⁹ www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work.

In a globalised, urbanised and mobile modern society, former social structures in families and villages are often fragile or no more in place. Will Asian and African countries implement social welfare states as in Europe with pension funds, health insurance, unemployment schemes, or will it be different, reflecting different value-priorities? With the boom of elderly homes as an answer to the ageing of societies such as in China and with Covid-19 pandemic and its boom of jobless people exposed to health without health insurance, the questions becomes even more important for a global world in balance. Innovative models of social security will be needed. It includes social protection for workers in the ‘non-standard forms of employment’ (informal sector, temporary workers), decoupling of social protection from employment and policy innovations for social insurances.⁵²⁰

7.11 Financial Markets: Debts, Innovation, Stabilization

7.11.1 Developments: Next Debt Crisis?

7.11.1.1 Financial Markets: levels and actors

The globe is like a human body or any other organism. All parts are related to each other and influence each other. More so in times of globalisation, global market integration, climate change and the Covid-19 pandemic. The financial markets are often compared with the blood in a

⁵²⁰ Behrendt, Christina/ Anh Nguyen, Quynh, *Innovative approaches for ensuring universal social protection for the future of work*, Geneva: ILO, 2018, 4-9; Kwon, Huck-ju (ed.), *Transforming the Development Welfare State in East Asia*, UNRISD Series, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. The study compares various South East Asian countries development welfare systems.

body. They must provide capital to the right place at the right time in the needed amount and with the healthy quality. In an ideal world. However, the reality is very different. The financial markets are a major instrument in gaining power, exercising control, allocating capital where there is the greatest return on investment and not where there is the greatest need. The volatility of the financial markets and their interdependence lead to accelerated number of regional financial crises (e.g. Asia 1997) and global collapses (2007-8) with massive capital losses, disruptions, economic impact and state interventions.⁵²¹ Capital markets do a lot of good and a lot of harm. Investments heavily influence what is produced or not produced. Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) follow and influence political power shifts. E-banking and electronic transfers are indispensable in the globalized markets. The use of cryptocurrencies grows fast. Whereas transparency in the visible financial transactions became much stronger since the financial crisis 2008 ('know your customer' requirement), the opposite is happening in cryptocurrencies with anonymity per definition. A good part of cryptocurrency transactions happens on the hidden, anonymous darknet, where estimated daily 600 million USD equivalent in bitcoins have been flowing, at least half of it in illegal trade.⁵²² Illicit money laundering counts for estimated 1-2 trillion USD (2-5 per cent of global GDP) of which the larger part from

⁵²¹ Bojanic, Antonio N., *An Overview of Financial Crises around the World*, San Diego, Cognella Academic Publishing, 2018. Wittmann, Walter, *Finanzkrisen: Woher sie kommen, wohin sie führen, wie sie zu vermeiden sind*, Zürich: Orell Füssli, 2009, 13-46.

⁵²² <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-crypto-currencies/daily-bitcoin-transactions-on-darknet-markets-doubled-throughout-2018-report-idUSKCN1PC1OE>.

drug trafficking.⁵²³ An estimated 2 trillion corresponds to about 30-40 percent of the 5 trillion USD needed per year to reach the Sustainable Development Goals SDGs!⁵²⁴

In this chapter, we can deal pars pro toto only with a few selected, values-related aspects.

The global financial system includes many levels and layers and accordingly many different aspects for financial markets based on Global-ance values.

- *On the level of consumers and households:* Non-monetary exchange and trading of goods and services (e.g. in neighborhood) existed thousands of years ago and still exists worldwide. In addition, “1.7 billion adults remain unbanked – without an account at a financial institution or through a mobile money provider”⁵²⁵ which corresponds to 32 percent of world population above the age of 15. For two third of the adult world population, liquid money in coins or on credit cards is key for daily life and consumption. The shift to e-banking is huge. Cryptocurrencies seem to be more and more part of the financial system also for individual users. Consumer indebtedness is a problem in many countries, which means that many people in consumer societies live above their affordable lifestyle.
- *On the level of enterprises and institutions:* available capital is the blood especially for all those producing in the real economy. Unfortunately, over 95 percent of financial transactions are in the speculative field and only to a minor extent serve the real economy, where-

⁵²³ www.unodc.org/unodc/en/money-laundering.

⁵²⁴ www.sustainablegoals.org.uk/filling-the-finance-gap.

⁵²⁵ The World Bank, *The Global Findex Database 2017*, 35. <https://global.findex.worldbank.org>.

as small and medium enterprises (SMEs) typically suffer from lack of access or heavy loan conditions.

- *On the level of investors:* manifold voluntary standards and benchmarks for responsible investing and capital allocation have been developed during the last two decades. Examples: Socially Responsible Investments (SRI), Environmental, Social, Governance Criteria in Investments (ESG), Impact Investing (II), Responsible Investing (RI, UNPRI), Sustainable Investing (SI, Eurosif), Ethical Investing (EI), Microfinance, Values-Driven Investing (VDI), Faith-Consistent Investing (FCI). Behind these initiatives and standards is a growing convergence with three main characteristics: a) investments must bring a decent (optimal, not necessarily maximal) return on investments, b) they should do no harm and c) they should have a positive impact for society/environment and contribute to reach the UN SDGs with the social security systems, institutional investors, and especially pension funds, which are major players and among the strongest potential drivers in shifting financial markets towards the SDGs. The Institutional Investors Group on Climate Change (IIGCC), representing 30 trillion euro in assets, is a good example with their “mission to mobilize capital for the low carbon transition.”⁵²⁶
- *On the level of governments/national regulators:* National States with their legislative, executive and judiciary powers and especially the national/central banks with their role to ensure price stability and provide financial environment for economic development re-

⁵²⁶ www.iigcc.org, homepage.

main key actors for financial markets as regulator, facilitator, and monitor. Of course, the international dependency and global standards become more important with globalisation and they influence national policies heavily.

7.11.1.2 International financial architecture

- *On the level of multilateral institutions and international standards:*
The international connectivity of financial markets, related vulnerability and need to react on new developments such as financial cybercrime and other realities mentioned above, leads to a strengthened role of multilateral institutions: The OECD sets standards on transparency, reporting, taxation, development finance and regulatory reform⁵²⁷. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) as inter-governmental organization sets stands to combat financial crime.⁵²⁸ Global development institutions such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund, regional development banks such as EZB, AsDB, AfDB, IADB and Sub-regional development banks such as the West African Development Bank (BOAD) provide (development) capital and stabilize financial markets. Presently, 25 multilateral development banks are currently counted⁵²⁹, but 442 exist as

⁵²⁷ <https://www.oecd.org/economy/regulatoryreforminthefinancialsystem.htm>

⁵²⁸ <https://www.fatf-gafi.org>.

⁵²⁹ 25 such banks are featured in Engen, Lars/ Prizzon, Annalisa, *A guide to multilateral development banks*, 2018 edition, London, ODI, 2018. www.odi.org.

national or subnational Financial institutions, representing 93 percent of all Development Finance Institutions.⁵³⁰

Specialized UN agencies deal with drugs and crime and their relation to financial transactions (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime UNODC⁵³¹), sustainable finance (UN Environment Finance Initiative UNEPFI⁵³²), Climate Investment Funds (CIF⁵³³), the important European Union taxonomy for Sustainable Finance and ESG investing⁵³⁴ and more.

- *ESG more resilient in crises*: The pandemic, but especially climate warming further strengthens impact investing and ethical investing with ESG criteria, as sustainable investing is in the meantime more and more a must. ESG: ecological, social and governance criteria)⁵³⁵. The equity market of ESG Leaders (8+ of 10 points) clearly outperformed the ESG Laggards (2- of 10 points) in the first quarter of 2020.

⁵³⁰ Xu, Jiajun/Ren, Xiaomeng/Wu, Xinyue, *Mapping Development Finance Institutions Worldwide: Definitions, Rationales and Varieties*, Peking, Peking University, 2019, 24.

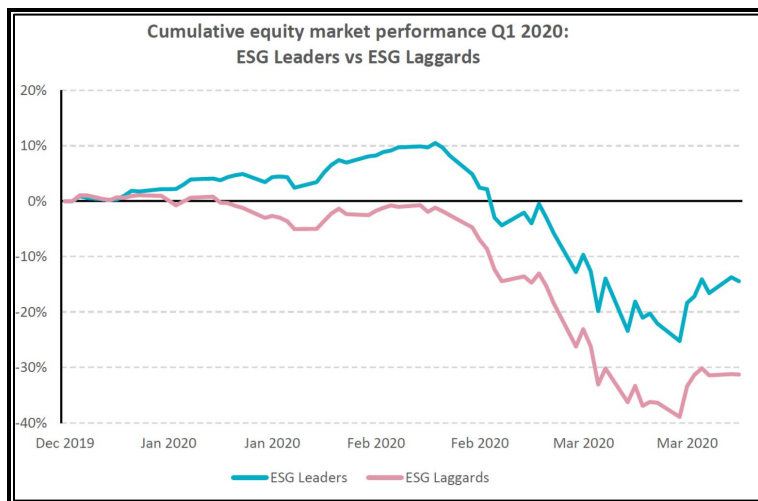
⁵³¹ www.unodc.org.

⁵³² www.unepfi.org.

⁵³³ www.climateinvestmentfunds.org.

⁵³⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/banking-and-finance/sustainable-finance_en.

⁵³⁵ Roulland, Thomas/Takatsuki, Yo, *Coronavirus: How ESG scores signaled resilience in the Q1 market downturn*, Axa Investment Managers, April 2020, 2.



- On the level of geopolitics of international financial architecture.*

The international financial architecture mirrors the power structure of the respective time. The gold standard was the result of the British Empire in the 19th century, the Bretton Woods system was the result of the WW2 ‘victory’ nations under leadership of the USA and the US dollar as lead currency and reserve currency since 1946 is the result of USA as superpower.⁵³⁶ Alternatives to Bretton Woods have been considered and the Non-Aligned Movement tried to pay between them as much as possible in their own currencies, with limited success. The heads of state and government of the Non-Aligned Movement (120 member states) declared in the final Declaration at its 17th Summit in 2016 on the topic of economic governance: “They reaffirmed that the reform of the international

⁵³⁶ Zaki, Myret, *La fin du dollar. Comment le billet vert est devenu la plus grande bulle spéculative de l’histoire*, Lausanne: éditions Favre, 2011, 187.

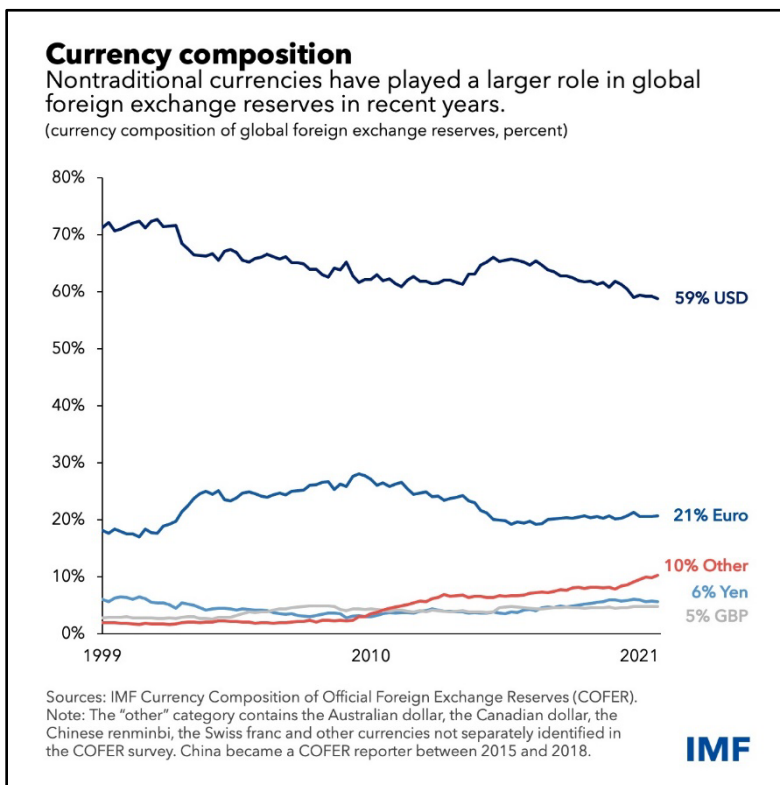
financial architecture requires the democratization of the decision-making institutions of Bretton Woods (IMF and World Bank). Therefore, it is necessary to widen and strengthen the level of participation of developing countries in the international decision and economic law-making processes and in the governance of a new world economic order. In this regard, they urged for transparent and more opened multilateral development banks and international finance organizations or agencies. Furthermore, they expressed concern on the negative impact that tax havens can have on the world economy, in particular on developing countries.”⁵³⁷

7.11.1.3 Currencies, fintech, debts

- *Currency composition.* The US Dollar as lead currency loses its dominant role as so-called non-traditional currencies increase in importance.⁵³⁸ As of 1 Oct 2016, the IMF added the Chinese RMB to its Special Drawing Right basket, which makes it a global reserve currency, apart from Euro, Japanese Yen, British Pound and USD. African and Asian countries increasingly held part of their reserves and trade e.g. in RMB. The sanctions against the Ruble in 2022 and shifts in non-renewable energy source, especially oil and gas, accelerated this trend in 2022. But the shift from the greenback USD to the redback RMB is not happening fast.

⁵³⁷ <https://mnoal.org/nam-17th-summit-declaration>.

⁵³⁸ <https://www.imf.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/COTW-dollar-dominance-blog.jpg>. (Accessed 26 Sept 2022)



On national level, the following table shows the currency composition of reserves in three selected countries⁵³⁹:

Country	In USD (mio)	RMB	In GBP (mio)	In EUR (mio)
Kenya, 2021	790,897 (KShs)		23,073 (KShs)	17,020 (KShs)
Kenya, 2010	133,844 (KShs)		75,838 (KShs)	70,060 (KShs)
Hungary, 2021	74,786 (HUF)			1,572,780 (HUF)
Hungary, 2010	48,232 (HUF)			1,124,742 (HUF)

For Kenya: decrease in US reserves by 4.9%; decrease in pound sterling and euro reserves by 0.69% and 0.76% respectively.

⁵³⁹ I thank Prachi Sharma for this research.

For Hungary: decrease in US reserves 0.55% and decrease in Euro reserves by 0.39%.

For Russia: (no table given by the Annual Report) – From 2013 to 2021: decrease in share of US dollar reserves from 41.6% to 10.9% and an increase in share of Yuan from 0% to 17.1%!

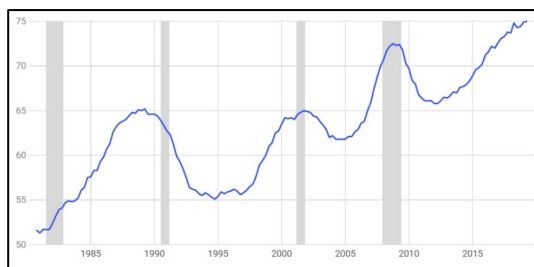
The US Dollar is mainly determined by the market, but the China Renminbi is still strongly influenced by the Communist party. This makes the convertibility and credibility still vulnerable. However, a diversification of currency reserves can be observed internationally in many countries away from the total dependency from the USD.

- *Fintech* as the new internet related technologies in financial transactions will influence financial markets fundamentally and nobody can yet predict the outcome. Cryptocurrencies with blockchain, new currencies like Libra, the project of Facebook, the new electronic currency of China in the pipeline, quantum computing with Quantum AI of Elon Musk promise more equal access (Libra) and redistribution of wealth (Musk).
- *Illicit Financial Flows*: Global Financial Integrity calculated 8.7 trillion USD in trade mis-invoicing between developing countries and advanced economies as one of the major components of illicit financial flows.⁵⁴⁰
- *Private Indebtedness* is one of the frightening factors for the vulnerability of the financial system. American companies alone increased

⁵⁴⁰ <https://gfin integrity.org/reports> with its Global Financial Integrity, Trade-related Illicit Financial Flows in 135 Developing Countries 2008-2017, Trade Report on illicit financial flows especially from developing countries.

their debts 2010-2019 by 5000 billion USD to the top in history!⁵⁴¹ Analysts predict that not private household or public debts are the major threat, but the corporate debts of companies, the so-called Zombies.

- *Public Indebtedness*: The Covid-19 pandemic led to never seen additional debts of countries in the amount of trillions of USD (US 1.2



trillion, EU 750 billion etc. July 2020) as governments support their economies during

and after the lockdown period in order to give soft loans for closed business, feed the unemployment insurances and other measures to avoid an economic collapse.⁵⁴² The total public debts of the United States alone amounts to 250 percent of GDP, the one of China to 270 percent of GDP!⁵⁴³ “Staggering amounts of money start pouring on Western economies in order to keep the economic machine working and to avoid massive social shocks and unrests. How will this effort be financed? First step is clear: public bodies will issue debt and borrow on the markets, while central banks will pump li-

⁵⁴¹ Debts of American Companies (without financial sector) in percent of the Gross Domestic Product GDP. Grey areas: recession according to definition of US National Bureau of Economic Research. Source: St. Louis. Fed/the Market NZZ, 31 Dec 2019.

⁵⁴² For details see World Bank Group, *International Debt Statistics 2022*, New York 2022.

⁵⁴³ Sharma, Ruchir, The Comeback Nation. U.S. Economic Supremacy Has Repeatedly Proved Declinists Wrong, *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2020, 70-81 (80).

quidity to make the deals easier. The second step is less clear: what should the governments do to allocate these massive amounts: give away by distributing to the affected households or enterprises (helicopter money); lend them and ultimately either enforce the service and reimbursement conditions or cancel the debt; or should they provide equity to enterprises as would do an equity (sovereign?) fund, and expect future dividends - and for the big enterprises the stock price hikes - to cover, in due time, the incurred expenses?"⁵⁴⁴ For many countries, debt relief in terms of freezing financial obligations during Covid-19 helped in the short term, but does not solve the high future indebtedness. It seems that a growing number of economists say, based on the Modern Monetary Theory (MMT), "huge government debt is not a problem."⁵⁴⁵ The theory that states can use new money from their central banks as much as they need, since it is no more linked to the Gold or another standard, seems from an ethical point of view questionable. As long as financial markets are linked to the real world, somebody at some point pays for debts.

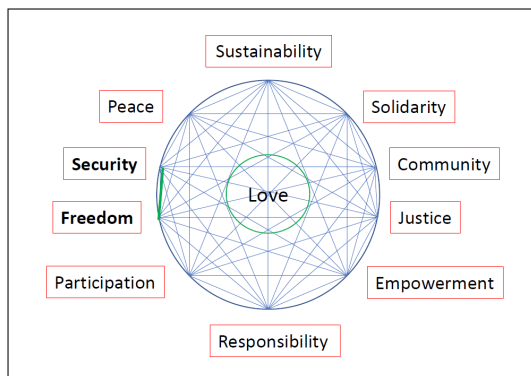
7.11.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Security

We described the financial sector as the blood of an organism. It means that it must serve all parts of the organism, in ethical terms all

⁵⁴⁴ Observatoire de la Finance, Geneva, *From Virus to Vitamine*, Newsletter 6, June 2020, with answers of various authors to these questions.

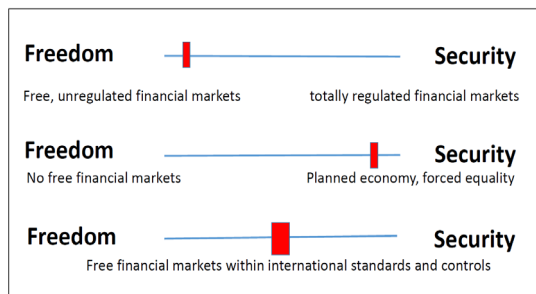
⁵⁴⁵ Whittaker, John, *Modern monetary theory: the rise of economists who say huge government debt is not a problem*, The Conversation, UK Edition, July 7, 2020.

values, sustainability, peace dividends, empowerment of people to be bankable, fair interest rates etc.



A special focus is placed here on the relation between security and freedom: a key role of the financial sector, not only the central banks, is to provide

security for entrusted capital and stability of the economy which is a key factor for the stability of society.



Speculation undermines stability; aggressive profit maximization leads to high risks and unregulated markets

which are not sustainable and disadvantage the weaker parts of the society. On the other hand, overregulated financial markets, as it is at this moment rather the case, leads to endless controls, decrease of investments especially in developing or other risky markets while illicit financial flows are still not eliminated.

7.11.3 Towards Globalance: Debts, New Financial Architecture

Globalance in the financial markets needs the *balance* between strong stabilizing *regulations* and transparency standards set by multi-lateral and national regulators and reasonable *freedom* of the investor. Trust in the financial sector decreased heavily due to the financial crises provoked by some actors of the banking sector itself. Rebuilding trust is a key requirement since entrusting or investing one's capital to third parties needs a high level of trust. The 'alchemy of the apparent transformation of risk into safety'⁵⁴⁶, used until the financial crisis 2008, profoundly destroyed trust in the banking system and must be replaced by profound reform which is not based on alchemy.⁵⁴⁷

For sustainability and long-term perspective of the finance sector, incentives and sanctions are needed. From a Globalance perspective, a whole set of instruments must be strengthened. Many serious studies⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ King, Mervyn, *The end of Alchemy. Money, Banking and the future of the Global Economy*, London: Abacus, 2017, 251.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 250-280, Reforming Money and Banking.

⁵⁴⁸ A good number of publications, also with the perspective of Christian finance ethics, include recommendations: Evangelical (Protestant) Church in Germany EKD, *Towards a Sustainable and Just Financial System. An Evangelical Perspective to Guide Reform Steps towards a Social and Ecological Transformation of the Financial Economy*. A Discussion Paper authored by the Advisory Commission of the EKD for Sustainable Development, Hannover: EKD 2021; Dembinski, Paul/ Kamerling, Josina/ Perret, Virgile (Eds.), *Changing Frontiers of Ethics in Finance and Trust in Finance Global Prize Awards 2012-2017*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2019; Friedhelm Hengsbach, Ein weltweites Finanzsystem in Balance, in Gabriel, Ingeborg/ Schwarz, Ludwig (Eds.), *Weltordnungspolitik in der Krise. Perspektiven Internationaler Gerechtigkeit*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011, 147-160; Dembinski, Paul H. (Ed.), *Pratiques financières, regards Chétiens*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2009; Stueckelberger, Christoph, *Finance Ethics: Fundamental Reforms are Needed*, in idem, *Global*

developed proposals for financial reforms and innovation and in the perspective of ethics, especially on fair social and environmental criteria for the finance architecture, fair international taxation, a financial transaction tax, ethical investments, cooperatives, digital finance and all in all further international and national regulatory interventions. Religious organisations with NGOs are also campaigning for global tax justice.⁵⁴⁹

7.11.3.1 Debt Ethics

Debt Ethics in public and private life: the following tables⁵⁵⁰ show the strong increase in public debts by world region. Covid-19 increased debts, but they had already been increasing over the last decade due to many factors, including the financial crisis in 2008 (North America and China are not listed in the table!). The second graph shows the huge

Ethics Applied, Vol 1, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 154-162; Chesney, Marc, *La crise permanente: l'oligarchie financière et l'échec de la démocratie*, Lausanne: Press polytechniques et universitaires, 2018; Hübner, Jörg, 'Macht Euch Freund emit dem ungerechten Mammon!'. *Grundsatzüberlegungen zu einer Ethik der Finanzmärkte*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009; Koslowski, Peter, *Ethik der Banken und der Börse*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997; Oerman, Nils Ole, *Anständig Geld verdienen? Protestantische Wirtschaftsrethik unter den Bedingungen globaler Märkte*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus 2007; Egom, Peter, Alexander, *Global Joseph Project*, Oshimili, Nigeria: Equal Opportunity Publishers, 2009, 33-96 (Trinitarian Economics for Globalisation of Symmetry); Thielemann, Ulrich/ Ulrich Peter, *Brennpunkt Bankenethik. Der Finanzplatz Schweiz in wirtschaftsethischer Perspektive*, Bern: Haupt, 2003; Van Liedekerke, Luc/ Van Gerwen, Jef/ Cassimon, Danny, *Explorations in Financial Ethics*, Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

⁵⁴⁹ E.g. Ecumenical World Communities CWM/ LWF/ WCC/ WCRC/ WMC, *Zactax Toolkit* (Zac stands for Zachaeus, the corrupt tax collector converted to Jesus), www.taxjustice.net; Methodist Tax Justice Network, www.methodisttaxjusticenetwork.nationbuilder.com

⁵⁵⁰ World Bank Group/IDRB, *International Debt Statistics 2022*, Washington: World Bank, 2022, 21 and 28. (Accessed 10 Aug 2022)

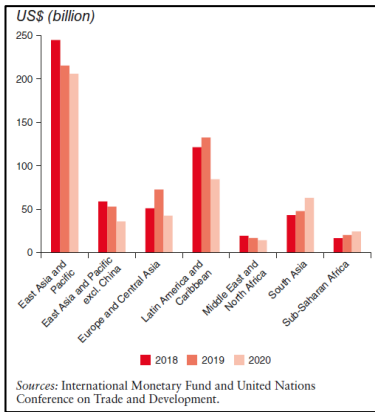
difference in Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) inflows per region. It shows, that with all goodwill expressed for Africa, the investment reality speaks another language with East Asia still on top. The thirds table shows the differences in private debt in selected countries.⁵⁵¹ Both, public and private debts, show vulnerabilities and increased risks of crises.

Debt Ratios to GNI and Exports per Region 2011,2019,2020

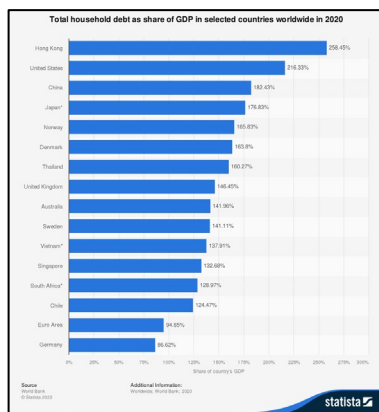
Percent	Debt-to-GNI			Debt-to-Exports		
	2011	2019	2020	2011	2019	2020
	East Asia and Pacific, excluding China	29.0	36.1	40.8	72.4	87.3
Europe and Central Asia	38.3	46.7	51.9	113.7	124.9	155.8
Latin America and the Caribbean	22.4	40.8	49.0	108.3	160.1	186.4
Middle East and North Africa	14.4	32.5	37.5	50.0	116.5	183.6
South Asia	20.3	22.1	24.4	85.4	116.9	137.0
South Asia, excluding India	27.5	31.2	34.0	153.3	215.9	288.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	23.4	39.6	43.7	70.1	155.6	205.1
Low- and middle-income, excluding China	26.1	36.6	41.5	92.1	126.3	153.9

Sources: World Bank Debtor Reporting System and International Monetary Fund.

FDI Inflows by Regions 2018-2020



Total Household Debt as share of GDP



⁵⁵¹ World Bank/Statista, <https://en/statista.com>

The former and the huge new Covid-related public debts are likely leading to a new global debt crisis as in the 1980s. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China claimed to have outperformed other G20 countries in restructuring and cancelling debts for poor nations helping to overcome the coronavirus impact. Analysts however said, lack of transparency made it difficult to assess this claim.⁵⁵² The question is, whether the debt figures are complete and transparent. A research from AidData revealed USD 385 billion in “hidden debt” owed by developing countries to Chinese authorities! “Half of Chinese loans in Sub-Saharan Africa are missing from sovereign debt records.”⁵⁵³ A respective *debt ethics* with options of debt cancellation and many other measures will have to come up. A few elements for a debt ethics:

- *Reliable information*: a precondition for debt ethics is reliable information. As the just quoted example from China shows, debt payment, restructuring or cancellation can be very unethical if it is based on incomplete information.
- *Reasons for debts*: A key ethical question is the reason for the debt: mismanagement, war or a disaster like a flood or a pandemic? It makes a difference ethically if a selfish dictator or a natural disaster was the cause of the debt.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵² Jennings, Ralph, *China's debt leniency claim for developing nation 'restructurings' undercut by transparency issues*, *South China Morning Post*, 27 Sept 2022. <https://www.scmp.com/economy/global-economy/article/3193976/chinas-debt-leniency-claim-developing-nation-restructurings>. (Accessed 28 Sept 2022).

⁵⁵³ Brown, Kathleen, *Why Hide? Africa's Unreported Debt to China*, AidData Working paper 120, 31 Aug 2022, Abstract. <https://www.aiddata.org/publications/why-hide-africas-unreported-debt-to-china>. (Accessed 27 Sept 2022)

⁵⁵⁴ Patterson, Robert T., *The Ethics of Government Debt*, *Review of Social Economy* 13, no. 2, 1955, 144-148.. www.jstor.org/stable/29767537. (Accessed 10 June 2020)

- *Intergenerational Solidarity*: Which generation pays the debt bill? My generation (e.g. in decreasing pension funds services) or our children (e.g. with higher taxes) or our grandchildren with long term public debts? This is a question of fair burden sharing and intergenerational solidarity. Each generation pays burdens from former generations such as large infrastructure projects, reparation payments for wars or Marshall Plans to overcome war damages - and each generation benefits from investments of former generations. Each generation must participate in this *intergenerational solidarity*, but each generation should also try to put as little debt burdens on the shoulder of next generations.
- *Savings and loans ethics*: This leads to the individual ethics of savings and loans as we learn balancing them in the private household. People in the US or Hong Kong have high private indebtedness and little savings, which make them vulnerable. People in Mainland China have the opposite, a high level of savings, which may not stimulate enough the economy. Globalance means to find the middle way of consumption and savings, but in each case not to live beyond means. This is valid for private households as for public expenses.
- *Life-orientation*: Provide capital not for speculation but for the real economy, based on human business relations⁵⁵⁵;
- *Unequal value of life*: When one's own skin and country is in danger, trillions of USD can be mobilized within a few days to save the

⁵⁵⁵ Dembinski, Paul, H., *Finance servante ou finance trompeuse? Rapport de l'Observatoire de la Finance*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 2008, 93-198 (relational approach: direct human relations as basis for financial transactions)

home economy. When the neighbours' skin and country is affected by millions of children dying every year, the same politicians do not find a few billions needed to save them. It is ethically speaking a very unfair and unequal judgment of the value of human life.

- *Holistic approach*: “We need to take on board that the world is not stationary. ... Economics is not physics” said Mervyn King, former Governor of the Bank of England, evaluating ten years after the financial crisis.⁵⁵⁶ In addition to algorithmic modelling of financial markets we should use more common sense, looking holistically at reality, and not only models, and understanding economics again as art and philosophy of life.
- *Justice and equality*: Shift enough investments from developed to developing countries in order to fully use their potential while mitigating risks; the current geographic inequality in FDI inflow (graph above) has, ethically speaking, to be corrected.
- *Sustainability*: Direct investments from non-renewable to renewable energy and adapt sustainable finance rating of companies by shifting the triple AAA rating to a triple EEE rating (Economy, Ethics, Environment); offer incentives for CO₂ reducing investments; push for SDGs and climate funds to make the green deal happen;
- *Transparency*: Introduce stronger penalties for illicit financial flows linked with strengthened governance and rule of law in many countries, taxing speculation;

⁵⁵⁶ Bank for International Settlements, *Ten Years after the Great Financial Crisis: What has changed?*, Basel: BIS Papers 103, BIS 2019, 10.

- *Inclusion of religious institutions*: Religious institutions such as *Islamic finance*⁵⁵⁷, church pensions funds, churches with their hundreds of thousands of schools, hospitals, buildings and vast agricultural land can contribute more than in the past with their investments. Faith in finance⁵⁵⁸ is a growing opportunity: *FaithInvest*⁵⁵⁹ is a new platform of faith-driven investors matching with development projects; church pension funds are active in the *Global Investor Coalition on Climate Change*⁵⁶⁰, the *Chinese Daoist Temple Green Agenda*⁵⁶¹, which are only a few examples. The UN agencies strengthen their cooperation with faith communities such as the interreligious *Faith for the Earth*⁵⁶² initiative of UN Environment (UNEP). ‘Guidance from the religions’ happens not only in terms of practical steps, but of values and orientation.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁷ Islamic finance is not unified due to its diverse, partly competing, markets and Islamic schools and nations. Gateways to Islamic finance are e.g. the Malaysia-based Islamic Finance Knowledge Repository <https://ifikr.isra.my> and www.salaamgateway.com/finance; www.globalehticalbanking.com is a news hub for ethics in finance incl. Islamic finance.

⁵⁵⁸ Concepts, experiences and seven case studies on faith-related investing are collected in Murphy, James, W. (Ed.), *Faithful Investing. The Power of Decisive Action and Incremental Change*, New York: Church Publishing, 2019.

⁵⁵⁹ www.faithinvest.org. the Geneva Agape Foundation where the author is Director, is partner of FaithInvest.

⁵⁶⁰ <https://globalinvestorcoalition.org>.

⁵⁶¹ www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/10/10/580/htm.

⁵⁶² www.unenvironment.org/about-un-environment/faith-earth-initiative.

⁵⁶³ McCosh, Andrew M., *Financial Ethics*, Boston: Kluwer, 1999, 35-108 (analysis of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Buddhism on their financial guidance); Stückelberger, Christoph, *No interests from the Poor. Calvin's Economic and Banking Ethics*, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Bernhardt, Reinhold (Eds.), *Calvin Global, How Faith Influences Societies*, 53-70.

- *Creative debt transformation*: The call for debt cancellation comes always, from weaker countries. Debt cancellation may be justified, but a more productive, development-oriented, innovative and sustainable method is creative debt transformation, where debts are transformed via development programmes. Switzerland practiced it from 1991-2000 with its program for “Creative Debt Cancellation” and the slogan “Entwicklung braucht Entschuldung” (Development needs debt cancellation/transformation). I was involved since its inception in 1989 as Board member of the initiating Swiss protestant development organisation Bread for all.⁵⁶⁴ I am convinced, that many countries will need debt cancellation through creative debt transformation. It will also be an important contribution to the SDG’s 2030.

7.11.3.2 Financial Architecture Ethics

- *Reform of the global financial architecture: the objective should be a new reserve currency towards fairer participation* of all countries and balance of powers instead of the domination of one or two empires. The power shifts from the 19th century as the European century to the 20th century as the American century up to the 21st century as the Asian century, means that financial institutions influenced or dominated by Asian powers, especially China, will more and more take the lead. The reform of the Bretton Woods institutions with fairer voting rights for emerging and developing countries was re-

⁵⁶⁴ Mathias Feldmann, *20 Jahre Entschuldung: Rückschau und Ausblick*, Die Volkswirtschaft, 1.7.2011. <https://dievolkswirtschaft.ch/de/2011/07/feldmann-3/>. (Accessed 18 Aug 2022). Christoph Stückelberger, *Global Trade Ethics. An Illustrated Overview*, Geneva : WCC Publications, 2002, 186f.

fused or happened only with tiny modifications. As a result, China initiated the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) as a multilateral development bank and alternative to the World Bank, which opened in 2015 and already has 57 member countries and mainly lead by China. The BRICS countries built their Brics Bank.

- Will there be a *post-dollar global financial architecture*⁵⁶⁵? The current power struggle between USA and China is also a struggle for dominance in the financial markets. The USA can only be the highest indebted country in the world because the US Dollar is the reserve currency. It means the USA can be indebted almost as much as they want whereas the countries dependent on this currency, suffer from it. Will the red billet of the Yuan replace in future the green billet of the USD? Is it then more than a simple ping-pong-game from one superpower-lead currency to another? Ruchir Sharma, chief global strategist at Morgan Stanley Investment Management, predicts that the US even with a political decline or crisis is economically stronger than ever: almost 90 percent of global financial transactions in 2020 use the US Dollar, compared to 60 percent before the financial crisis of 2008. “Because the U.S. Federal Reserve controls the supply of dollars, it is, now more than ever, the world’s central bank. Having the indispensable currency gives the United states tremendous geopolitical leverage.”⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ Myret Zaki, , *La fin du dollar. Comment le billet vert est devenu la plus grande bulle spéculative de l’histoire*, Lausanne: éditions Favre, 2011, 169-220.

⁵⁶⁶ Sharma, Ruchir, *The Comeback Nation. U.S. Economic Supremacy Has Repeatedly Proved Declinists Wrong*, Foreign Affairs, May-June 2020, 70-81 (73).

• *A multipolar lead currency basket?* The end of the dollar did not come as quickly as some may have expected. However, Covid and the Ukraine war may accelerate the shift away from the US Dollar: The G7 countries seized 300 billion of Russia's dollar and euro reserves after Russia's invasion in Ukraine. The dollar as currency became a weapon of sanctions. This 'weaponising of the dollar' weakens the status of the dollar as neutral reserve currency. "For many countries, the situation is accelerating the need to diversify away from the dollar, but also from the euro, which was the next candidate for reserve currency status."⁵⁶⁷ The Chinese renminbi (RMB) has become stronger. In 2022, 85% of central bank reserve managers already invested in RMB, 4% more than a year ago. Saudi Arabia started in 2022 to accept RMB for payments of oil delivered to China. Russia, with all sanctions from the West, found some new ways to pay in Rubel in a number of countries and occasions. The trend towards a multipolar world may accelerate the search for a multipolar currency system in order to diversify reserve risks in politically volatile and politicized currency markets. "Any reasonable country needs to hold its reserves in the currencies of the major antagonistic powers, in order to counterbalance the risks"⁵⁶⁸ says Myret Zaki, author of the prophetic book about the end of the dollar. It can happen quickly or it may take years for this change towards a multipolar lead currency basket. *Globalance in the financial architecture* as a balanced, multilateral 'basket of currencies' was proposed by China some years back. This basket built the lead curren-

⁵⁶⁷ Myret Zaki, *In a Post-2022 World, the Dollar will have a different Meaning*, The Market NZZ, 16 Aug 2022. (Accessed 17 Aug 2022)

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

cy (as it was the case until WW1 with the British Pound, Deutsche Mark and French Franc). It could be within the IMF, or better in a new Global Reserve Bank (as proposed by Stieglitz). And why not in the Bank for International Settlements BIS⁵⁶⁹ in Basel, which already is the Bank of the National Banks?

- A more radical proposal for a global reference currency is to build a multilaterally agreed *basket of goods*, which is common to all human beings. Johannes Lüthi, a Swiss banker engaged in development cooperation, identified food as the common basic human need. A food basket – the chicken egg as example – should be the basis for a global currency unit. In each currency area, the average cost of food for a person for a year build the basis for a global currency unit (*Weltwährungseinheit*).⁵⁷⁰ Such a currency system would drastically reduce currency speculation, indebtedness, rural exodus and urbanization. However, all these proposals seem to be difficult to implement as long as the US Dollar is de facto the world reserve currency and the US Federal Reserve de facto the World's Central Bank as quoted above. For a global balance of the financial system, less dependency on the US Dollar has to be envisaged.
- *Franc CFA*: Apart from the dollar, other currencies play for some countries and regions a predominant role.⁵⁷¹ The CFA is the Franc de la Coopération Financière en Afrique. The CFA Franc Zone includes 14 countries in francophone Africa, all former colonies of

⁵⁶⁹ www.bis.org.

⁵⁷⁰ Lüthi, Johannes W., *Schritte aus Armut und Krisen*, Basel: Bread for all/ Basel Mission (without year. 1995)

⁵⁷¹ For an overview: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CFA_franc. (Accessed 18 Aug 2022)

France. The role of France in monetary and banking issues started in the mid-19th century and in the current form in 1945. Today, the CFA currency is bound to the Euro. France still has a very strong influence. This leads to repeated calls for a currency system in francophone Africa independent from France, as the CFA is seen as a continuation of French colonization in the monetary sector. All governments of France independent of the ruling political party still defend the CFA. The original goal of macroeconomic stability is replaced by continuous dependency on France and no sovereignty of these African countries on their currency. The countries incl. France agreed in 2020 to replace the Franc CFA by Eco, an African currency independent from France. The launch of the Eco is postponed from 2020 to 2027!⁵⁷²

7.11.3.3 Banking Ethics: from multilateral to shadow banking

- Multilateral Regional Development Banks: The economic power of the different power poles and alliances can also be seen at the level of older and new multilateral development banks.⁵⁷³ The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)⁵⁷⁴ with its seat in Beijing was initiated by China, as a reaction to the fact that World Bank and IMF are still US-dominated and voting reforms failed over decades. It opened only in 2016 but has already 48 Regional Members (Asia/Middle East), 45 Non-Regional (other continents) and 13 prospective member countries, in total 106 countries from all conti-

⁵⁷² [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eco \(monnaie\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eco_(monnaie)). (Accessed 18 Aug 2022)

⁵⁷³ See also above 7.11.1.

⁵⁷⁴ www.aiib.org. Data from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/a/asian-infrastructure-investment-bank-aiib.asp>.

nents, nearly the whole of Asia and half of the NATO states. It has a capitalisation which already corresponds to half of the one of the World Bank! China has 50 percent of the voting rights in AIIB. In comparison, the New Development Bank (NDB)⁵⁷⁵, established in 2014 also on initiative of China, has the five BRICS countries as members with equal voting rights (20 percent each) to support infrastructure investments in its member states. As result of the invasion of Russia in Ukraine 2022, AIIB and NDB have suspended their activities in Russia! This was not easy as Russia is a member with strong voting rights in both. The *European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)* was created in 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, in order to support countries in Eastern Europe on their way to market economy and democracy. It has a political mandate as capital is bound to criteria of market economy and multi-party democracy. EBRD also stopped cooperation with Russia. The Globalance-question related to the banks is their political neutrality: when, how, with or against whom? It shows that banks are never neutral, however, they should also not be abused as a political instrument by changing governments, which can make the banking system very volatile. Especially central banks have to constantly resist this temptation.

- *Financial Centres*: Another indicator for financial power and power shifts in the financial architecture is the ranking of top financial centers (cities).⁵⁷⁶ 3 of the top 10 are United States cities (New

⁵⁷⁵ www.ndb.int. (Accessed 27 Oct 2022)

⁵⁷⁶ 2022 Global Financial Centers Index (GFCI), Hong Kong: Z/Yen, March 2022 (Accessed 18 Aug 2022)

York, Los Angeles, San Francisco), 3 of the top 10 are China's cities (Hong Kong, Shanghai, Beijing), 1 of the top 10 is European city (London), 5 of the top 10 are in Asia-Pacific (Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore, Beijing, Tokyo)

- *Fintech, Krypto and Payment Systems*, as mentioned above, is part of this global struggle for dominance in the financial markets. Will Facebook's Libra or the Chinese digital currency have still a chance? Again, the key is the will for cooperation instead of unilateral dominance in a global financial market architecture. All these instruments need a strong ethical and political will of the regulators, of the investors, of the citizens via their pension funds and private capital in order to strongly scale up the financial sector towards the 'green deal' and the SDGs. "Two-thirds of central banks believe they could or should explore direct collaboration with the private sector in designing and managing payment system architectures as digital currencies look set to transform financial services", says a report of OMFIF, the Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum.⁵⁷⁷ The pandemic lockdowns increased mobile banking by 192%. Banking Cyber crime at the same time also exploded, which makes cyber security a high priority. The *Crypto-currencies* are still in a dynamic but volatile process and again: Russia developed its digital Ruble and China its own crypto currency.

Even the inter-banking transfer systems are part of the global power play towards a new world order: The SWIFT standard for information about finance transactions is challenged by China, testing

⁵⁷⁷ *The Future of Payments*, London: OMFIF 2022. <https://www.omfif.org/the-future-of-payments/> (Accessed 18 Aug 2022).

the CIPS (Cross Border Interbank Payment System) and Russia with its SPFS (Sistema Peredachi Finansovykh Soobscheniy). The (temporary?) Western exclusion of Russia from SWIFT because of the Ukraine war will rather accelerate the multi-polar banking transfer systems. All these are efforts to replace the post-WW2 Western dominated financial architecture by a multilateral one.

- *Shadow Banking* “refers to a segment of the financial market that encompasses alternative financing and credit intermediation outside the regular banking system.”⁵⁷⁸ Shadow banking – I prefer the term private or alternative financial instruments - includes direct lending between persons and institutions, private placements, microfinance, money market funds, investment funds, securitization companies etc. Studies estimate that globally one third of financial transactions and deals are not done with the classical banking system, but apart. Ethically they can represent a high risk as unregulated entities, but meet also a need for those without access or sufficient access to the banking sector. However, regulations exist for aspects of shadow banking like microfinance and are becoming stricter, which is ethically positive.

⁵⁷⁸ Evangelical Church in Germany EKD, *Towards a Sustainable and Just Financial System. An Evangelical Perspective to Guide Reform Steps towards a Social and Ecological Transformation of the Financial Economy*. A Discussion Paper authored by the Advisory Commission of the EKD for Sustainable Development, Hannover: EKD 2021, 194.

7D POLITICS: GEOPOLITICS, NATION STATES, LEADERSHIP, RELIGIONS

This section deals with geopolitics from Westernisation towards Easternisation, superpowers, multilateral but also national politics, forms of nation states, military powers, the relations between states and religions and the question, how leadership with integrity contributes to Globalance. This section is the largest in chapter 7 and includes chapters 7.12-7.19. It shows that I am especially concerned about how to find the right balance within and between the political powers and orders. A special concern for global balance is the escalation in the relationship between USA and China from information war to trade war and financial war – hoping that a military confrontation can be avoided, e.g. around Taiwan. In this conflict, Globalance is not just nice to have, but must be a serious effort of contributing to de-escalation and multipolar solutions (chapter 7.13) instead of a new bi-polar cold war with a ‘bamboo curtain’ (a new expression for a possible ‘iron curtain’ USA-China). These chapters 7.12-7.19 are crucial for the analysis: how much of a dynamic globally balanced New World Order can be developed from destructive disorder, and how will a New World Order take shape.

7.12 Geopolitics: Easternisation of Values?

7.12.1 Developments: The Rise of China

7.12.1.1 *The Asian Century*

In modern history, the 19th century can be seen as the century of Europe with the dominance of its colonial powers, especially Great Britain, the 20th century as century of America with USA as a superpower. The 21st century is broadly called the century of Asia⁵⁷⁹ with China as a giant, but also the powers of India, Japan and South East Asia with the ASEAN countries. Some futurists expect the 22nd century to be driven by the African continent.

The notion of the Asian century - after being speculated in 1935!⁵⁸⁰ - came up in the 1980s with the Open Door policy of China, its connection with India, the economic growth of the Tigers in South East Asia. There are three main powers in Asia: new political *powers*, new economic *markets* and new demographic power of *people*.⁵⁸¹ The economic development is certainly the main driver of the rise of Asia, for decades being the factory of the world, but now more and more, step by step, the continent is swiftly advancing with top research, especially in digital

⁵⁷⁹ For the development of the concept see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asian_Century.

⁵⁸⁰ Even though Will Durant in his huge works *The Story of Civilization. Our Oriental Heritage*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1935, mentioned in the preface to the first volume that 'the dominance of Europe comes soon to an end', Asia will 'wake up to life' and the conflict between East and West will be 'the Leitmotiv of the twenties century'.

⁵⁸¹ Pilny, Karl, *Asia 2030. Was der globalen Wirtschaft blüht*, Frankfurt, Campus, 2018. The three chapters are: Neue Mächte, Neue Märkte, Neue Menschen (new powers, new markets, new people).

technologies, universities, think tanks, banks and Asian multilateral economic cooperation. The fact that China and India alone represent together 37 percent of the world population and 60 percent live on the continent of Asia shows the weight of people. The total number of middle-class consumers in the Asia-Pacific region is by 2020, higher than in all other continents together. This region is expected to count a 3.5 billion middle-class population by 2030, almost double of the rest of the world.⁵⁸² Even if the corona pandemic pushes back many people from lower middle class to poverty, it will be on all continents and the ratio therefore may remain similar for Asia. Economy and people build the backbone of the growing political powers in Asia, especially of China. China grew from a large but poor country under Mao through the open-door policy of Deng Xiaoping since 1979 to the second largest and soon strongest economy in the world, under Xi Jinping. With his Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)⁵⁸³, China developed an impressive global network of over 60 partner countries, originally along the old Silk Road, but in the meantime far beyond, covering a good part of South East Africa, South Asia, Central Asia, Middle East, Eastern Europe and East Africa. With COVID-19, the global dependency on China became visible, as the disturbed supply chains heavily affected the whole world economy and many countries sought diversification at least of essential products such as food and pharmaceuticals.

The 19th and 20th centuries showed the *Westernisation* of the world with European and American lifestyle, values, cultural patterns, scientific research, structures of states and business and expansion of Christi-

⁵⁸² <https://www.statista.com/statistics/255591/forecast-on-the-worldwide-middle-class-population-by-region/>.

⁵⁸³ Official portal website: <https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn>.

anity as the dominant religion in the West. The Asian Century is now marked by *Easternisation*⁵⁸⁴. The heavy colonisation of large parts of Asia such as India, Indochina, Indonesia, Philippines, Hong Kong, Korea etc. and the semi-colonisation of China, especially Shanghai, was a *Westernisation of the East*. It was of course always only partly happening, as Eastern traditions, culture, religions and values always remained present. With the end of the Second World War, decolonisation began in Asia, with the independence of India in 1947, 13 years earlier than the large decolonisation of Africa from the 1960s onwards.

7.12.1.2 *From Westernisation to Easternisation*

The way from Westernisation to Easternisation⁵⁸⁵ is the geopolitical shift, which happened step by step during the last seven decades and will continue. Reality is of course much more complex than this simple description. So-called Western attitudes, lifestyles, scientific methods, business structures and political leadership models are widely copied, implemented and here and there refused in Asia. So-called Eastern attitudes, lifestyles, ways of thinking, business structures and leadership and religious movements influence more and more the West.

A special role plays *China* in this multiple shift from Westernisation to Easternisation. China is proud of its long history⁵⁸⁶ as a highly differentiated and advanced civilization and makes all efforts to overcome the hundred years of humiliation and find again its place as a proud nation.

⁵⁸⁴ Rachman, Gideon, *Easternisation. War and Peace in the Asian Century*, London: The Bodly Head, 2016.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, 21-33: *From Westernisation to Easternisation*.

⁵⁸⁶ An authoritative history of China is Shouyi, Bai, *An Outline History of China*, Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2002 (first edition 1982).

In history, there was often a special ambivalent relation between Europe/North America and Asia, characterized by love and hate, attraction and fear, curiosity and distance, feelings of superiority and inferiority. The first two decades of the 20th century already showed this ambiguity. Many universities have been built in China by Christian mission societies, which are still today leading Chinese universities; the same with hospitals, business and trade, public transport etc. The Shanghai museum shows the Shanghai of 1920 almost like a part of Paris and London. The interest in Confucianism and Taoism as well as Indian religions became a major research interest in the West. As an example, the studies on Confucianism, Taoism and Protestantism of the German sociologist of religions, Max Weber, date from this period and became famous again, also in China, now hundred years later.⁵⁸⁷

The famous historian Will Durant expressed this ambiguity of admiration and fear towards China in his standard work *The Story of Civilization* as follows: “No victory of arms, or tyranny of alien finance, can long suppress a nation so rich in resources and vitality. The invader will lose funds or patience before the loins of China will lose virility; within a century China will have absorbed and civilized her conquerors, and will have learned all the technique of what transiently bears the name of modern industry; roads and communications will give her unity, economy and thrift will give her funds, and a strong government will give her order and peace.”⁵⁸⁸ This is almost a prophetic description of modern China. At the same time, Durant describes China with its corruption and

⁵⁸⁷ Weber, Max, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, New York: The Free Press, 1968. (first edition in German: Works 1915-1920).

⁵⁸⁸ Durant, Will, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol 1, *Our Oriental Heritage*, chapter 4, the Far East, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935, 823.

poverty, chaos, backward scientific level and ‘bad smelling cities’, mixed with the ‘mystery of the stability of its government, the high level of art and manual skills and the clarity and depth of its soul.’⁵⁸⁹ Liu Baocheng, Professor of business ethics in Beijing, carefully and extensively shows and analyses the development of Chinese values over three thousand years up to today. His comprehensive book on *Chinese Values*⁵⁹⁰. The profound study describes the values in the different epochs, their continuity and adaptations, up to the contemporary “Socialist values with Chinese characteristics”.

The perceptions of Asia often changed in the last decades between admiration and fear, exaggeration of expectations and conspiracy theories, realistic analyses and lack of mutual understanding.⁵⁹¹

At the beginning of the 21st century, when many observers already saw China as the coming superpower, others warned from *The Coming Collapse of China*⁵⁹². The author predicts that Chinese banks, state, state-owned enterprises and the party will fail. The picture now is different and mixed: the communist party looks strong, the state-owned enterprises become stronger again, the economy is shaken by Covid-19. Chi-

⁵⁸⁹ Durant, Will, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, Vol. 3, China, Japan, Mulhausen/Genf, without year, 15: ‘Was ist das Geheimnis dieser Dauerhaftigkeit der Regierung, dieser manuellen künstlerischen Begabung, dieser Abgeklärtheit und tiefe der Seele?’ (Translation to English by the author)

⁵⁹⁰ Liu Baocheng, *Chinese Values: Conception and Practice*. Preface by Christoph Stückelberger, Geneva: Globethics.net 2022. Free download: <https://www.globethics.net/china-ethics-series>. Chinese with English summary. English edition available in 2023.

⁵⁹¹ Moller, Jorgen Orstrom, *How Asia Can Shape the World*, Singapore, ISEAS, 507-519 on Perceptions of Asia and its Future 1945 to 2008.

⁵⁹² Chang, Gordon, *The Coming Collapse of China*, London: Random House, 2002. “Banks will fail” (122-143, “State will fail” (256-282).

na is self-confident in technology, science, space, and military. It dares to now openly reclaim Taiwan by fully integrating it into Mainland China. However, there is still a way to go before claiming superpower status.

7.12.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Community

From an ethical perspective, we look now especially at the *fourth power* in Asia, in addition to political power, economic markets and people: *the new values*. On the way from Westernisation to Easternisation, what is the shift in values and ethics?⁵⁹³

China’s current official value system is summarized in the twelve ‘*Core Socialist Values*’ which are the official interpretation of the ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’, promoted by China’s President Xi Jinping at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2012. There are four national values, four social values and four individual values.⁵⁹⁴

Four National Values	Prosperity	Democracy	Civility	Harmony
Four Social Values	Freedom	Equality	Justice	Rule of Law
Four Individual Values	Patriotism	Dedication	Integrity	Friendship

⁵⁹³ Elm, Ralf/Takayama, Mamoru (Eds.), *Zukünftiges Menschsein: Ethik zwischen Ost und West*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2003. The book offers a broad collection of articles on comparison of values in East and West, such as rationality, happiness, community, death, medical ethics, bioethics, art and truth, self-realization, education, legal concepts and humanity.

⁵⁹⁴ *Core Socialist Values – Keywords*, 12 volumes, Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2015, written by different authors.

These values are seen by many Chinese as a Communist party doctrine which everyone must know, but few believe. On the other hand, my experience in China – after two decades of regular visits and manifold cooperation partnerships – is that these values are not only doctrine, but also cultural reality if we read them not with Western, but Chinese eyes of understanding. “China’s contribution to the world of its ancient philosophies does not mean ‘taking over’ in any sense of the phrase, but rather the emergence of a new, more cooperative and inclusive form of the global values system that marries the technology, progressiveness and individualism of Western liberal capitalism with the moral temperance, humanity and mutual responsibility of Confucianism.”⁵⁹⁵

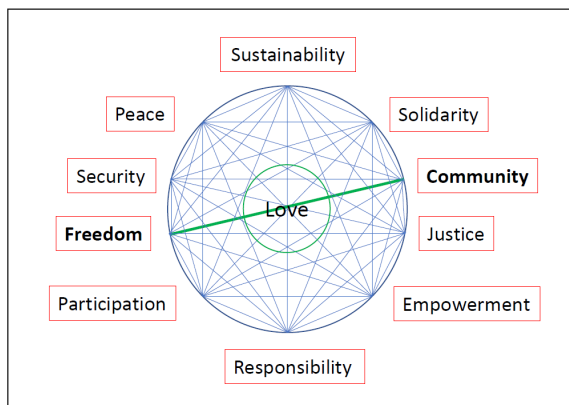
As most of the societies nowadays are very pluralistic, there is a complex mosaic with manifold pieces of values. The complexity and developments are shown among others in the World Values Survey.⁵⁹⁶ Let us describe a few, dominant patterns which draw, in a simplified way, some main value-streams and their poles from Westernisation to Easternisation.

Individualism versus Community: The dignity and freedom of the individual person is a core achievement of the enlightenment with the French revolution 1789, the American Bill of Rights of 1791 and subsequent developments. Gradually, it led to increased individualism with its peak in the 21st century with new information and communication technologies, fast increased mobility, pluralistic forms of lifestyles, acceptance of homosexuality and LGBT, small families/living entities etc.

⁵⁹⁵ Li, Zhou, *Is China Ready to Lead? China offers world leadership a complementary viewpoint*, CKGSB Knowledge Magazine, Beijing: 2017, 6-7 (7).

⁵⁹⁶ See above chapter 4.3.

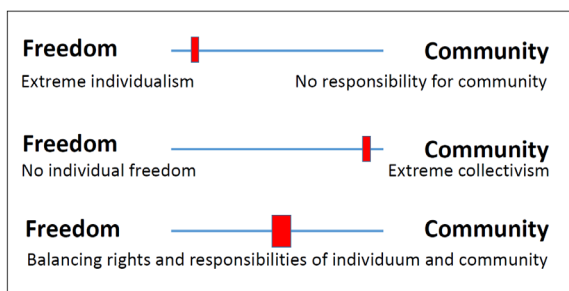
In many Asian countries, but also Africa and the orthodox world of Russia and Eastern Europe, this individualism is qualified as Western hedonism and lack of respect for the community.



The famous Malaysian Mahathir Mohamad said as a *Voice of Asia*: “We must ask ourselves what provides stability and security for the individual.

I believe that a lifestyle rooted in family and friends is the key.

I have had occasion to discuss the family at length with Westerners. Many say two men living together is a family, two women living together



er is a family, an unmarried woman and her child are a family. To Asians, those are not families. A family

exists when a man and a woman are joined in marriage and have children. The Western redefinition of the family is totally unaccepta-

ble.”⁵⁹⁷ Even though Mahathir Mohamad was criticised for Asian values that defend his authoritarian leadership, his stance contradicts a democratic political order.

However, community in the Asian context is not primarily the state, but the family as core family and enlarged as clan. The individual is embedded, but also must follow the rules of the community. It leads to strong social networks, but also limitation of individual freedom and increased nepotism, favouritism and corruption related to the clan. Reality is of course not black and white as expressed. European and American traditions up until the past century also had strong family ties and Asian countries today experience extended individualism based on modern consumerism.

Rights versus Responsibilities: Individual freedom is at the centre of the first human rights declarations, also in the key Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations 1948. Later, human rights have been enlarged to social, economic and cultural rights (UN 1966, European Social Charter 1961), the rights of people (African Banjul Charter 1981 and Arabic Charter 1994) and the right to development (1986), thanks to the inputs from developing countries to make human rights more globally inclusive. The last sixty years since the 1960s marked this enlargement from individual to collective rights, with a strong push from Africa and Asia. In addition, mainly Asian countries - an expression of Easternisation of values, emphasize that responsibilities are even more important than rights. Many Western actors with the rights-based ap-

⁵⁹⁷ Mohamad, Mahathir, *Western Modernism Vs Eastern Thought*, in Mohamad, Mahathir/ Ishihara, Shintaro, *The Voice of Asia*, Japan: Kodansha International, 1995, 71-86 (86).

proach in development see it as an attempt of some (also Asian) governments to limit individual human rights. Efforts to emphasize human responsibilities are also made in the West. The former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt published in 1998, for the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a proposal to add to each right a responsibility.⁵⁹⁸ It was taken up by an international Council.⁵⁹⁹ From an ethical perspective, it is correct to balance rights and responsibilities. In addition, Asian values do not contradict human rights, as some argue who limit human rights to individual political rights. The Asian Confucian communitarian perspective is an expression of human rights as the participatory rights of community life or the right to education, which is strong in Confucianism.⁶⁰⁰

Pragmatism versus Principles: Great Britain and USA are predominantly pragmatic cultures, also in their common law system. Countries like Germany, France and Switzerland are more led by general principles, in legal terms with the civil law based on the Roman law system. In China, the value of 'relations first' leads to a flexible pragmatic adaptation to new situations, but it can also lead to an unpredictable arbitrary obstacle to the rule of law. At the same time, Confucianism has also many principle-led values. It shows that Easternisation does not mean a general move to pragmatism, but depends on specific cultures and contexts.

⁵⁹⁸ Schmidt, Helmut, *Allgemeine Erklärung der Menschenpflichten. Ein Vorschlag*, München: Piper, 1998.

⁵⁹⁹ InterAction Council/Nobert Thomassen, *Verantwortung. Die Allgemeine Erklärung der Menschenpflichten*, Berlin: Grupello Verlag, 2017.

⁶⁰⁰ I agree with the analysis of De Bary, Theodore W.M., *Asian Values and Human Rights. A Confucian Communitarian Perspective*, Cambridge/MA, London: Harvard University Press, 1998, 1ff, 18ff, 134ff.

Rationalism versus Mysticism: rationalism is a strong characteristic of ‘Western’ enlightenment and secularism. In Asia, rationalism is also strong, especially in the Chinese context of socialist and Confucian values and a technocratic modern environment. In India, highly developed IT-skills and technological rational science is mixed with deep religiosity and mysticism. Abdul Kalam, the famous 11th President of India 2002-2007 and aerospace scientist, based his vision of ‘India 2020’⁶⁰¹ on a technological revolution. Narendra Modi, the current 14th Prime Minister of India since 2014, wants to make India a Hindu country while oppressing other religions and with it, a de facto hindering of economic and scientific progress.

Dialectic and balanced: Europe has strong roots in dialectical thinking with Hegel, Marx and many others as we have seen in chapter 4. The USA with its predominantly positivist world view and at the same time politically polarised society, has little understanding for dialectic thinking. China with Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ has strong roots in dialectical and harmonious thinking. Dialectical thinking includes the capacity of being self-critical and flexible to overcome fixed positions. European enlightenment and Western philosophical tradition lead to the perception that “the distinctive value of the West lies in its capacity for self-scrutiny, enabling it to understand and criticise itself and thereby foster not only innovation but also the ability to understand other people and different cultures.”⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹ Kalam, Abdul, *India 2020. A Vision for the New Millenium*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998, 46-58.

⁶⁰² Diagne, Souleymane Bachir, *Religion and the Challenge of the Spiritual in the Twenty-First Century*, in Bindé, Jérôme (ed), *The Future of Values. 21st-Century Talks*, Paris: Unesco/ Berghahn, 2004, 98-104 (104).

I do not agree with this perception. Eastern cultures and values such as Confucian values have a deep understanding of self-scrutiny in order to constantly improve. Life-long learning and an immense curiosity and thirst for learning in China and other South East Asian countries is only possible with constant improvement of oneself. Innovation in Eastern values may occur less through (self-critical) thinking, but through imitation and learning lessons from the mistakes of others.

These examples of topics show that ‘Easternisation’ of values is not a unity and closed value-system as ‘Westernisation’ is not.

7.12.3 Towards Globalance: For a Fair Competition and Cooperation between Value-Systems

The shift from Westernisation to Easternisation is a chance to balance and integrate in a holistic way rights and responsibilities, individual freedom and collective community interests as well as technological rationalism and religious-spiritual rootedness, democratic participation and centralized state decisions.

7.12.3.1 Values in East and West

Globalance between East and West does not mean that all must be the same. It neither means that Eastern values are better than western or that there is a superiority of one over the other. Superiority concepts are too often used as ideological justification for oppression, exploitation and imperialism. The omnipresent US-Propaganda of ‘Democracy versus Autocracy’ or Chinese ‘Harmony versus Western Aggression’ is not helpful and is too obviously just an attempt of an ideological justification for their ambition of dominance. The international struggle *is not primarily a struggle about values, but about dominance as powers and*

superpowers. The US narrative of ‘democracy versus autocracy’ is not credible: The US too often destroyed or at least did not respect democracies (Southern Europe after WW2 with Greece, Spain etc., DR Congo, South America, Philippines etc.) when dictatorships were better serving their global power agenda. Russia has the narrative in Ukraine to defend traditional Russian values in the occupied territories, while it destroys whole cities and landscapes with its population. Superpowers use these narratives mainly as ideological justification, whereas their goal is de facto pure Machiavellian and the crudest form of Nietzsche’s “Will to power”.

7.12.3.2 Respectful competition and cooperation

Globalance between East and West rather means mutual respect, taking the best from each part and overcoming and pushing back the negative part from each side. This balance can also avoid the ups and downs seen in history (and described in 6.9.1) between uncritical admiration of ‘the East’ or ‘the West’ as if salvation came from one or the other side; and unjustified demonization as if all evil came from one or the other side. At the end, there are humans, people and leaders, around the globe who determine what the ethical and unethical individual behaviors and systems are.

Western powers could appreciate the twelve official values of China, quoted above. Then they are entitled to ask questions about the implementation of these values in China, but based on their own and not foreign values. And China could appreciate that it benefitted a lot from Western values – socialism is born among others from Jewish-Christian values in Europe – and then ask questions why western countries do not

implement their own values. With Russia the same: instead of claiming nationalist-revisionist values from the tsarist past, Russia could with good reasons offer the profound values of its culture and appreciate Western values, while challenging the West about its implementation. Even a trilateral '*value-competition*' between Western, Eastern and Russian-Slavic Values would be most fruitful for humanity! The same is of course true for *multi-lateral value-competition*, which includes African, South-American, Pacific and other value systems. That's what we learnt in interfaith dialogue: modern mission means not primarily converting a Muslim to Christianity or a Christian to Confucianism or Buddhism. *A respectful cooperation between faith-based or non-faith-based value-systems* means: "I as Christian want to support you as Muslim to become a better Muslim. You as Buddhist can support me to become a better Christian!" then, the values-improvement can happen and Global-ance can grow.

For a dynamic balance between values in East and West, *Central Asia and Middle East can play important roles as bridge makers*. The Armenians have been crucial not only in trade, but increasing mutual understanding between China and the Mediterranean world along the ancient Silk Road. Persia/Iran played a crucial role in philosophy, science, medicine and much more. Azerbaijan, in the same cultural region as Persia and yet distinct, was homeland of the great medieval poet and philosopher Ganjavi in the 11th century or Mohammad Ibn Al-Arabi in the 12th century⁶⁰³.

⁶⁰³ Rafiq Aliyev, *Poverty, Dictatorship, Injustice. Political and Philosophical Thoughts*. Baku/Azerbaijan: Apostroff Publisher, 2012, 102-111: Western and Eastern Ways of Thinking: Similarities and Contradiction. ,

7.12.3.3 *The role of religions*

Globalance between East and West needs also a new perception of the world religions. The term *Asian religions* is now more and more replaced by *Dharmic religions*⁶⁰⁴. Even though the origin and main present is in Asia, Buddhism, Hinduism, Daoism, Sikhism and Jainism and the philosophy of Confucianism are globally present and are more united by their concept of Dharma and their geographical origin. The same for the *Western Religions* which are now more and more called *Abrahamic Religions* as Judaism, Christianity and Islam refer to Abraham as common patron. And de facto, all three have their origin in the middle East, geographically in West Asia. More than fifty percent of Christians live in the Global South Africa, South America and Asia. The *Chinese* government continues to call Christianity and Islam ‘Western’ religions in order to justify that they should be sidelined in the context of sinization of foreign influence and strengthening Chinese homegrown values. However, Christianity has existed in China since the 7th century and Islam since the 8th century.

The same religious protectionism is seen in *India’s* majority government of Modi where Hinduism is seen as homegrown and Islam and Christianity as Western or foreign. In Europe, the conservative movements and parties claim European values to be *Occidental-Christian* values, which does not reflect the real situation of pluralist Europe. Islam existed in Europe, in Spain, since the 10th century. These examples show that East and West always had minorities from the other hemispheres and much more so today. Globalance means to resist the ideo-

⁶⁰⁴ See chapters 3.5-3.8.

logical purification by nationalist movements which try to transform pluralist open societies into monolithic, closed societies. Ideological barriers then easily lead to military confrontation as history shows.

7.13 Superpowers and Alliances: A Quadri-Polar New World Order?

7.13.1 Developments: Strategies for Dominance and Alliances

Globalance as a global balance raises the key question of geopolitical balances between superpowers. The main public interest and worries or concerns in this book are about the *US-China* relations. We will come to it later in this chapter.

7.13.1.1 Historical Development of Superpowers/ Hegemons

Let us first look at the historical developments of superpowers in order to look at current trends from a broader perspective (see also chapter 3.2).

The rise and fall of empires and superpowers is currently of great interest; to learn from history and to understand the power shifts of the last and coming decades as described in the last chapter is critical. The historian *Paul Strathern*⁶⁰⁵ analysed ten empires in the last 4300 years, from the Akkadian Empire to the American Empire. The reasons for the rise and fall of these empires are often a combination of economic, environmental, moral and leadership factors, but in each case, decisive reasons

⁶⁰⁵ Strathern, Paul, *Rise and Fall. A History of the World in Ten Empires*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2019.

have been different. *Ruchir Sharmar*⁶⁰⁶, an investment strategist, looks at economic factors, which influence the rise and fall of economies such as geographic location in a globalised economy, indebtedness and financial policy, the talent pool of a nation and the governance and leadership. *Charles Kindleberger*⁶⁰⁷ developed the Hegemonic Stability Theory NHS, arguing that one hegemonial power is more stable than a bipolar or multipolar competition between hegemons. He mentions the Pax Romana and Pax Americana – and we could add the Pax Chinae with the option of China as the hegemon? However, no hegemon – dominant superpower, setting the rules and – ever ruled over the whole world, but only regions or sectors. Robert Keohane⁶⁰⁸, who created the term Hegemonic stability theory, argued, that the international system could be stable without a hegemonial power.

From a *Globalance perspective*, it is a question of how a balance of powers should look and how non-violent transitions should happen in terms of an ethics of international relations.

A *superpower* (hegemon) is a state or an alliance of states, which executes substantial influence on a global scale; it normally combines *military, economic, financial (lead currency), technological, scientific, educational, cultural/religious, ideological, governance, communication and networking power*. Not all these elements are similarly strong. One superpower can be stronger in economy, another stronger in military

⁶⁰⁶ Sharma, Ruchir, *The Rise and Fall of Nations. Ten Rules of Change in the Post-Crisis World*, Penguin Books, 2016.

⁶⁰⁷ Charles Kindleberger, *The World Depression 1929-1939*, University of California Press 1973/2013.

⁶⁰⁸ Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984/2005.

means, but a country cannot be a superpower based only on one or two of these aspects of power. Military power without an ideological narrative and worldview of the ‘mission’ of the country does not produce the will to defend or to expand; an economic superpower offering only consumerism cannot last as the population needs also meaning, orientation and community in addition to food and water.

An example of the hegemonial race for dominance in a region are the wars in Afghanistan. Russia as superpower failed and left the country, US as superpower fails. The costs of the US war 2001-2019 in Afghanistan is estimated at 2 trillion USD!⁶⁰⁹ With a population of Afghanistan of 37 million people, 2 trillion USD invested in development would have made available with this amount, every person in Afghanistan could have received roughly 60,000 USD! The war by Russians and Americans showed that Taliban cannot be defeated with war. But such an amount invested in development would most probably have defeated the Taliban and created peace.

Since the Second World War, the world was dominated by two superpowers (bi-polar world), then one superpower (mono-polar world) and is in our analysis now a Quadri-polar and Multi-polar World.

⁶⁰⁹ Almukthar Sarah/ Nordland Rod, *What did the U.S. get for £2 Trillion in Afghanistan?* New York Times, Dec 9, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/12/09/world/middleeast/afghanistan-war-cost.html?mtrref=www.google.com&assetType=REGIWALL>.

778 billion were spent by the US department of defense, 500 billion for paying interest for the borrowed capital to finance the war, 1.4 trillion go to costs of veterans until 2059. Only 24 billion of the two trillion were spent for economic development and 30 billion for reconstruction of destroyed sites.

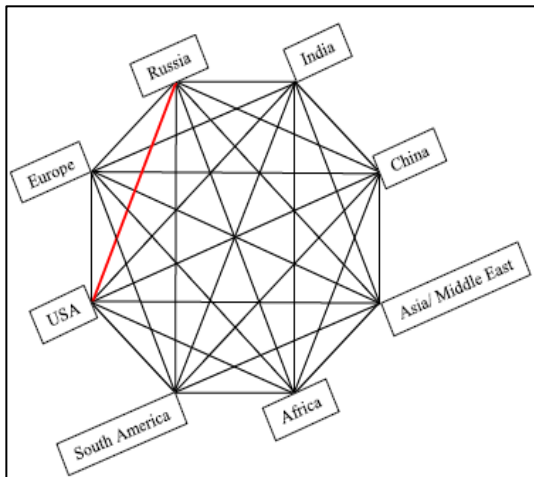
7.13.1.2 *Former Bi-polar World USA-Soviet Union*

1945-1989 was the ‘old’ bipolar world of the Cold War with USA and NATO as one pole and the Soviet Union with the Warsaw Pact as the other pole, defined by a profound threat by the atomic weapons of these two superpowers. This bi-polar world was somehow ‘stabilised’ by the crazy MAD-Doctrine, the Mutually Assured Destruction, which meant that both sides could not use their atomic weapons without immediately being destroyed by the atomic weapons of the other superpower.

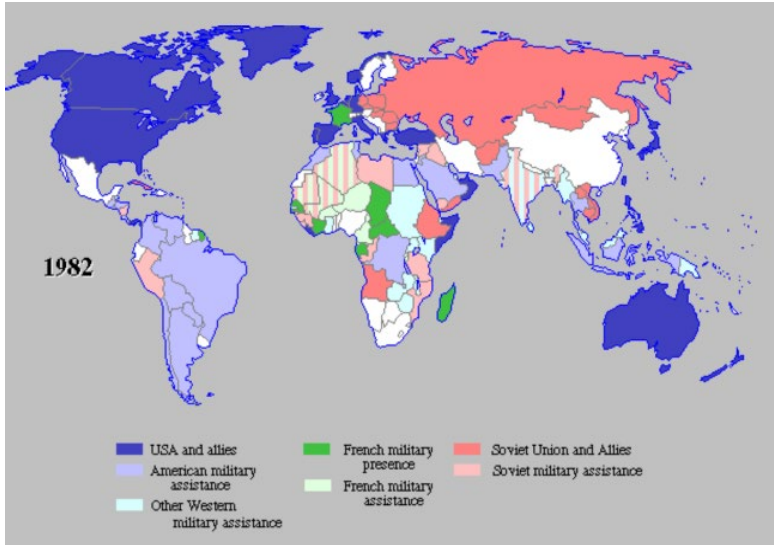
It was a risky, vulnerable dynamic balance of two superpowers.

This bi-polar world led to high number of *proxy wars*, especially 1955-1980, in developing countries, where USA and Russia fought each other not directly, but on the territory of third countries. Both superpowers tried to win countries and territories for their respective pole. France and Great Britain defended their interests as former colonial powers. As always, these have in most cases not only

been wars for ideological dominance of capitalism or communism as non-reconcilable opponents, but also proxy wars for the access to natural resources.



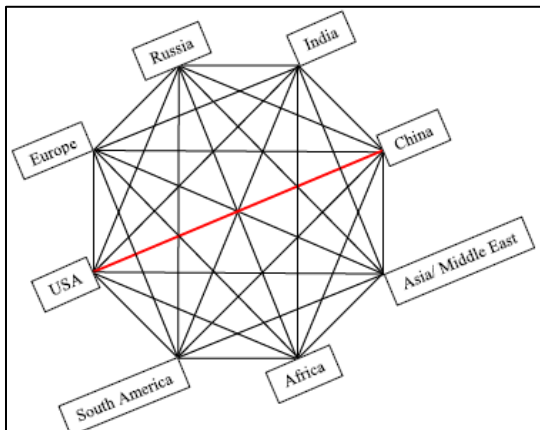
Bi-polar World USA-UdSSR as Cold War 1960-1991, with proxy countries. Source: users.erols.com



7.13.1.3 The New Bi-polar World USA-China

The shift from the American 20th Century to the Asian 21st Century with its Easternisation, as evaluated in the former chapter 7.12, leads to a new polarisation. The USA and China are competing to be the largest and strongest economy. In military terms, the USA with NATO is far

stronger than China (and Russia), but the very fast economic and technological growth of China led to this new bi-polar situation. China and USA also have strong



ideological differences, but the real conflict is about economic strength and technological dominance, which is visible in the trade-war that escalated quickly through the current American President in order to slow down the Chinese way to the top. The polarised race is especially visible in the ‘war’ about digital technologies such as 5G technology and big data control. But trade war started way back. “Today, more than ever, a world in crisis and recession needs to pull together – not push itself apart. Globalization and its cross-border connectivity through trade and capital flows leave us with no other choice. ... a bubble-dependent economy [US] that lived beyond its means for a dozen years must now accept the reality of having to live within its means. ... Similarly, China needs to accept that the export-led growth formula always had its limits. ... Export-led growth must eventually give way to the internal demand of a nation’s private consumers. China is ready for the transition and must begin the process as soon as possible. In short, it is high time for an unbalanced world to begin the heavy lifting of global rebalancing.”

⁶¹⁰ This was not written during the Covid-pandemic, but in 2009 after the financial crisis, by the chief economist Stephen Roach, former Hong Kong based Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia. He also called for US and China to overcome their symbiotic relationship: “Don’t count on symbiosis”⁶¹¹, which has now become in the third decade of the 21st Century, a painful process of twins overcoming a symbiotic relationship, hopefully to be replaced with a partnership on equal level.

⁶¹⁰ Roach, Stephen, *The Next Asia. Opportunities and Challenges for a New Globalization*, New Jersey: John Wiley, 2009, 393.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid*, 388.

Will the former symbiosis soon be replaced by a divorce between USA and China? It is not yet the case and is not a fate. Both sides know that they need each other in a vital way and a new government in US may change at least the tone and climate. The developments during 2020 show that the level of a new Cold War is already reached. It is not a Cold War with a strong military component, although that possibility is not excluded as it can become part of the conflict in future, especially in the South China Sea. For now, it is predominantly a technological, economic, financial and ideological race for dominance.

Technological race: the two countries already have fully parallel, bi-polar technological systems (see chapters 7.3 and 7.4), expression of the symbiotic mirror situation. The race for dominance is especially strong in Artificial Intelligence (AI) where in 2017, China funded 48 percent of global AI research, the US 38 percent and the rest of the world, peanuts at 13 percent. The conflict about the Huawei company and especially its 5G technology is the other big race for dominance. The strategy of the US to threaten the whole world not to cooperate with Huawei and other Chinese tech companies is a sign of weakness, not of strength and self-confidence in winning the markets. Health technologies including e-medicine, medical equipment and vaccines (also against Covid-19) is another bi-polar race area.

Economic race: much will depend on whether the two economies will recover from the serious hit by the pandemic and how fast (more in chapters 1.1.3 and 7.7). The economic race happens not only in direct bilateral economic relations, but in the race about economic spheres of influence by trade. The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative BRI is a positive way for economic development but is also perceived as China's attempt to expand spheres of interest, as US did it over decades in South

America, Africa and Asia. A new economic Cold War increases the race e.g. in Central Asia and parts of Africa. If tensions are not reduced, it can lead to new and additional proxy wars in Central Asia and South East Asia as they already exist in Syria and Libya.

Financial race: For most of the last decade, China's current account added large surpluses, a key source of US dollars, but it fell to a deficit of US\$29.7 billion in the first quarter of 2020, down from a surplus of US\$40.5 billion at the end of 2019, making China a net exporter of US dollars. China's US dollar shortage may still worsen further as the US-China trade war moves ahead, with many analysts expecting China to shift to a near zero trade balance in mid-term. Hong Kong is a middle partner between US and China, very profitable for US and very important for China, but the escalation of the conflict about the control of Hong Kong by mainland China and the cancellation of the special status of Hong Kong by US due to the new security law of China in Hong Kong makes the conflict unpredictable. The USA is seen by some observers as a 'banana republic' looking at the chaotic handling of the pandemic in the US. At the same time, the USA is financially still the dominant superpower. "Global elites may not trust the current U.S. president, but they trust U.S. institutions, which is why the United States emerged from the 2010s as a financial empire without rivals", concludes the famous global financial analyst Ruchir Sharma.⁶¹²

Space race: China started its mission to Mars on 23 July 2020 in competition to the US mission in the same year. The Space race with a

⁶¹² Sharma, Ruchir, *The comeback Nation. U.S. Economic Supremacy Has Repeatedly Proved Declinists Wrong*, Foreign Affairs, May-June 2020, 70-81 (74).

Chinese satellite navigation system to become independent from the American GPS has military and dominance reasons on both sides.

Military race: China increased its military budget between 1999 and 2020 by factor twelve from 106 billion to 1.27 trillion RMB and to 1.45 trillion RMB (230 billion USD) by 2022! However, compared to the US military budget of 777 billion USD for 2022, the military budget of China is still 'only' 30% of the one of USA, in USD. In purchasing power, is it closer. Nevertheless, a military confrontation between the two superpowers should not be excluded as option per se even though it would be an unpredictable disaster. The conflict about Taiwan, raising dramatically in 2022, is dangerous, as China expressed in a white paper in 2022 its clear goal of full integration of Taiwan in Mainland China, thus abandoning the one country two systems policy. The US has signaled that it will defend the interests of Taiwan for independence from China, even though officially they have not (yet) said it and still maintain the status quo of one country two systems. History shows, that such confrontations are not always the aim, but can arise from unintended small 'accidents', which could happen e.g. in the South China Sea or with a severe cyber-attack on a system relevant infrastructure. – The US Pivot Strategy was promoted by US-President Obama in 2012 with a shift of US Foreign Policy from Middle East to the East of Asia! US countered the term 'Asia Century' by "*America's Pacific Century*", as then US Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton called it⁶¹³ The "pivot" strategy, according to Clinton, envisaged to proceed along six courses of action: strengthening bilateral security alliances; deepening America's relation-

⁶¹³ Clinton, Hillary, *America's Pacific Century*. Foreign Policy, Nov 2011 (Accessed 4 Sept 2022) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/>

ships with rising powers, including China; engaging with regional multi-lateral institutions; expanding trade and investment; forging a broad-based military presence; and advancing democracy and human rights.

Educational race: During the past symbiotic decades, the US was the most admired country for studies abroad and top American universities experienced enormous economic benefit, like in Australia. With Covid-19 and the hostile relations, this will substantially change and probably further boost the quality of universities in China, but it may also increase nationalist or racist thinking among students instead of global openness.

Ideological race: During the pandemic, both countries increased blaming the other side, although China engaged in the behaviour less extensively than the US. The American capitalism with a lack of social safety nets showed its real face during the pandemic; democracy and the mission for freedom and equality lost much of its credibility. In China, the ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ (chapter 7.7.) must now pass the test with the shrinking economy. The more aggressive attitude towards Hong Kong, Uigurs or Taiwan is rather seen as ideological weakness. Both US and China need in their ideological race credible values.

Religious Race: US claims to defend religious freedom and has pushed China for decades to give more religious freedom. American Evangelicals with the American model of free churches independent from the state, push free house churches in China, together with South Korean Evangelicals. China expanded religious freedom substantially during the last two decades, but since 2018 restricts it more. The officially recognized churches under the China Christian Council (CCC) corresponds more to the European model of state churches. The Ameri-

can push is one reason why China considers Christianity as a Western religion. Less symbiosis between America and China may be a chance for more sinicization of Chinese Christianity.

The global influence of a superpower is not only measured by the bilateral relation with the counterpart, but considerably also by the number and quality of allies. There, US and China run the race on all continents and even the race in space with satellites and internet (chapters 7.3, 7.4).

Africa-Race: China expanded greatly its Africa-relations during the last decades with huge infrastructure investments. The US remained less involved, but both countries will face obstacles; US by the new anti-racism movements and inconsistent Africa policies, China with the need to write off a part of the debts of African countries due to the pandemic-related tough economic situation many African countries face. A part of the debt cancellation of the IMF for African countries must be initiated by China as other IMF members would not be willing to cancel the debts of these countries to China. The enthusiasm of African countries for China is still substantial, but in countries with huge debts for Chinese infrastructure projects and related conflicts, the admiration of those African countries and people for China is decreasing, sometimes leading to open conflicts.

Asia-Race: The influence of China and US in the ASEAN region is open and depends on how active US foreign policy will be in the region and how aggressive or moderate China will be in the region.

Europe-Race: In 2020, 36 percent of Germans find close relations with China important (+12 compared to 2019), whilst a majority among

young Germans, 37 percent find close relations to US important (-13).⁶¹⁴ It means a shift in favour of China and a further weakening of the transatlantic cooperation in Germany, which suffers under attacks of the US president. On the other hand, the Chinese Belt and Road advances in Eastern Europe may also become less promising with increased anti-Chinese sentiments and US pressure on critical infrastructure. Example: Romania and China signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2015 for a nuclear power plant in Romania, which may be cancelled in 2020 due to US pressure.

Russia-Race: The relation of US with Russia cooled down, among others with the unilateral stop of the antinuclear treaty by the US in 2019 (see chapter 7.15). The China-Russia relations are still based on historical links but economic cooperation may also become more fragile in future. The Ukraine war with the sanctions brought a profound crisis in the US-Russia relations. Nevertheless, the global isolation of Russia will not continue for ever and signs of bilateral continuation of relations with many countries increase.

The sanctions against Russia due to the Russian invasion in Ukraine are only supported by North America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. It confirms that Russia is far from being internationally isolated.

Eurasia Race: The Ukraine war shows that there is much more at stake than one country. Russia tried to maintain influence in the former Soviet Union area with economic cooperation and treaties. But more and more countries become more distant and search other allies with better

⁶¹⁴ Körber Foundation, *The Berlin Pulse. German Foreign Policy in times of COVID-19*, 15 May 2020, 22.

economic perspectives. The Baltic states were already ‘lost’ for Russia, Ukraine is instable in its geopolitical orientation between East and West, Belarus is still a pillar for Russia, Kasachstan, Georgia, Armenia and others are looking for options apart from Russia. “The prospect of fluidity or even regrouping of the regional order of Eurasia is inevitable”, concludes Pang Dapeng, high ranking researcher in an official magazine for foreign relations of China.⁶¹⁵

Latin America Race: Under the current US government, the influence of US in Latin America is under pressure, not only in Mexico. China made economic trade advances which may be weakened with the future weakened Chinese economy.

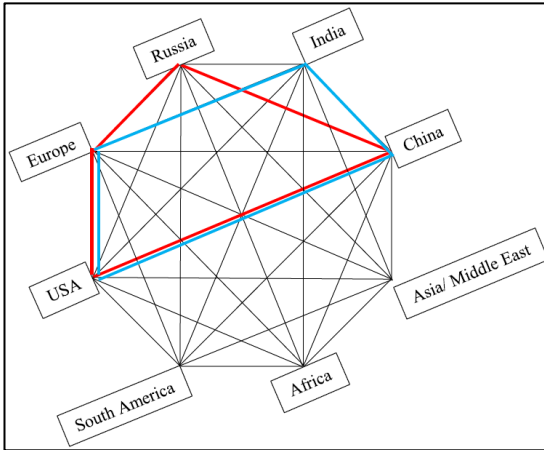
Why do I mention all these races between US and China? Because Globalance is not an abstract idea, it has to be implemented and can be concretised in every single race and sector so that it is a fair, balanced race with trustworthy, reliable policies to the benefit of the population of the two countries and the whole world (see chapter 7.13.3a).

7.13.1.4 The New Quadri-polar World USA-China-Europe: Competing with Russia or with India as 4th Pole?

The current geopolitical order is not only a new economic bi-polar world, but rather a quadri-polar world with four poles: *USA* and *China* are dominant superpowers as mentioned, Europe and Russia are still key players (red line in graph below) – or will it be India rather than Russia in the quadri-polar world (blue line in graph below)?

⁶¹⁵ Pang Dapeng, Russia and the West Relations, Contemporary World 4/2022, July/August 2022, 2-6. The author is Deputy Director General of the Institute of Russian, Eastern European and Central Asian Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences CASS in Beijing.

Europe, especially as European Union (founded 1993, built on the European Economic Community [EEC] of 1957), still plays an important geopolitical role in technology, standards setting, economy, and multilateral politics.



Often criticised as weak, the EU it is still a success story for peace in Europe for over seven decades and with the effort to bridge south and north, east and west of Europe.

Even with many tensions and conflicts, crises such as Brexit and nationalist movements, the union is still alive and a global power, e.g. in standards setting like the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) which have become global standards in tackling issues of ethics in technologies.

Russia, after the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991 struggled with economic challenges, with too fast privatisation and internal conflicts. Efforts have been made from both Europe and Russia to bring Russia closer to Europe through the Partnership for Peace 1994 that offered a kind of observer status in NATO⁶¹⁶, educational and cultural exchange and stronger economic cooperation. But instead of responding positively

⁶¹⁶ For the *NATO-Russia-Relations (Feb 2022)* in the perspective of NATO see its “Factsheets”: <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/144032.htm>.

to the interest of Russia with President Putin in the Partnership for Peace, NATO expanded unilaterally to Eastern Europe, after years of internal discussion between those (originally USA) who did not want former Warsaw Pact members as new NATO members, and newly independent Eastern European countries like Poland who wanted to become members of NATO as a protection in an attitude of '1989-victory' and superiority of the West. The last leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev and a main contributor to end the Cold War, declared the expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe a 'serious mistake' of NATO.⁶¹⁷ According to the journalist and researcher Fritz Pleitgen⁶¹⁸, the expansion of NATO in Eastern Europe was signed under President Clinton under pressure of the US weapon industry and was a break of the promise of his predecessor Bush Senior to Gorbachev in 1991 to not expand NATO in order to get the approval of Russia, but to add only Eastern Germany to NATO. According to James Bindenagel, former US Embassy Minister in East Germany and later Germany and one of the negotiators in these years of NATO expansion,⁶¹⁹ there was no written promise of Bush 1990-1991 about non-expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe as this was a non-issue in 1989 as the Warsaw Pact still existed until 1991 and 31,000 Russian troops were still located in former Eastern Europe.

⁶¹⁷ Gorbatschow, Michail, *Was jetzt auf dem Spiel steht: Mein Aufruf für Frieden und Freiheit*, München: Siedler Verlag, 2019.

⁶¹⁸ Pleitgen, Fritz, *Die Nato-Osterweiterung und ihre Folgen*, in Pleitgen, Fritz/Schischkin, Michail, *Frieden oder Krieg. Russland und der Westen – eine Annäherung*, München: Ludwig, 2019, E-Book 4339-4539.

⁶¹⁹ James Bindenagel in a personal dialogue on skype with the author on 26 March 2020. See also Bindenagel, James, *Countering disinformation on German reunification and NATO enlargement*, *Europe's World*, 9 Nov 2019. <https://www.friendsofeurope.org/insights/countering-disinformation-on-german-reunification-and-nato-enlargement>.

The partnership for peace between NATO and Russia failed in the eyes of NATO due to violating agreed norms, as expressed on the NATO Website: “For more than 30 years, NATO tried to build a partnership with Russia, developing dialogue and practical cooperation in areas of common interest. Despite this, over the past decade, Russia has continuously violated the norms and principles that contributed to a stable and predictable European security order.”⁶²⁰

The Western narrative, that the West is good and Russia and China are evil, is historically wrong and a dangerous threat for escalation up to a nuclear conflict. The US economist clearly reminds: “The relentless Western narrative that the West is noble while Russia and China are evil is simple-minded and extraordinarily dangerous. It is an attempt to manipulate public opinion, not to deal with very real and pressing diplomacy. The essential narrative of the West is built into US national security strategy. The core US idea is that China and Russia are implacable foes that are “attempting to erode American security and prosperity.” These countries are, according to the US, “determined to make economies less free and less fair, to grow their militaries, and to control information and data to repress their societies and expand their influence.” The irony is that since 1980 the US has been in at least 15 overseas wars of choice (Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Panama, Serbia, Syria, and Yemen just to name a few), while China has been in none, and Russia only in one (Syria) beyond the former Soviet Union. The US has military bases in 85

⁶²⁰ https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm (Accessed 28 Sept 2022)

countries, China in 3, and Russia in 1 (Syria) beyond the former Soviet Union.”⁶²¹



The NATO eastward expansion followed the collapse of the Soviet Union, in four important phases: 1. NATO-membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic since 1999, welcomed by US Senate in 1998⁶²².

2. In 2004, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovenia became members of NATO. 3. In 2022, as a result of the Russian invasion in Ukraine, Finland and Sweden applied for NATO membership. 4. Ukraine, Georgia and Serbia are kept ‘on hold’ on a long-term waiting list, although they applied as early as 2004.⁶²³

⁶²¹ Jeffrey Sachs, *The West’s False Narrative About Russia and China*, Blog 22 Aug 2022, <https://mailchi.mp/3433df74b9df/jeffrey-sachs-the-west-s-false-narrative-about-russia-and-china>. (Accessed 25 Aug 2022).

⁶²² George Kennan named the US Senate decision the beginning of the new Cold War and predicted that “the Russians will gradually react quite adversely and it will affect their policies.” Quoted in *Second Cold War*, Wikipedia, footnote 19. (Accessed 30/7/2022).

⁶²³ Statista.com. 11 May 2022. Accessed 2 Aug 2022).

This expansion of NATO in these four phases was understandable from the perspective of Eastern European countries under former USSR influence. However, the lack of sensitivity of the West for the security needs of Russia, combined with promises in 1990 that NATO would not expand, along with the refusal to grant Russia NATO membership created an increased anti-Western attitude not only in the political perception and also the radicalisation of President Putin⁶²⁴, and the Russian population, as I could often observe during my teaching assignments in Moscow 2017-2020. The NATO attack in Serbia, the Western/US support of the Maidan Revolution in Ukraine and other interference did further undermine trust of Russia in NATO and the West.

No substantial progress of rapprochement between *Europe and Russia* seemed possible with this expansion and especially with the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999. As a result, Russia became disappointed and turned to a more nationalist foreign policy with President Putin's centralised authority. By the second war in Chechnia 1999-2009, the war in East Ukraine ongoing since 2014, the annexation of Crimea in 2014 as well as the involvement in Syria since 2011, Russia came back to geopolitics as a respected power, which could no longer be circumvented. President Putin described in an article in June 2020 his view of the geopolitical world order calling for historical truthfulness in the description of World War II events and committing Russia to multilateral solutions, especially with the UN Security Council for which he defends

⁶²⁴ Katrin Büchenbacher/ Cian Jochem, *Putins Weg der Radikalisierung*. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26 July 2022. An analysis of his annual speeches 2001-2021. Putin's 17 annual speeches to the nation (2001-2008, 2012-2021) are available in English on the Website of the President of Russia: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/messages>.

the veto right of the five nuclear power states as a mechanism of conflict resolution instead of open confrontation.⁶²⁵

The *Europe-Russia relations* are ambivalent and not united: Some European countries like France and Germany look for extended cooperation, others, especially former members of the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe, want to be fully integrated in the EU or have strong internal struggles between pro-European and pro-Russian wings as in Ukraine.

The *Russia-China-relations* are officially still very good with their common socialist past and many forms of economic cooperation e.g. with the Eurasian Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (Shanghai Pact) since 2002, but competition is obvious as China is now economically and technologically much stronger than Russia.

The *Russia-Africa-relations* show ups and downs. After the phase of very strong support of African liberation movements and countries during the cold war, the relation decreased substantially during monopolar globalization and then increased again since 2018 with the large Russia-Africa Summit in 2018. With the Ukraine war in 2022, a number of African countries became cautious in their relations with Russia.⁶²⁶

The *USA-Europe-relations* are very complex and multifaceted between military cooperation in NATO, increasing independence in foreign policy, trade policy and technological competition. The more the conflict between USA and China escalates, the more the EU intends to

⁶²⁵ Putin, Vladimir, *The Real Lessons of the 75th Anniversary of World War II*, The National Interest Magazine, June 18, 2020. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/vladimir-putin-real-lessons-75th-anniversary-world-war-ii-162982> (accessed 22 July 2020).

⁶²⁶ Dossier *RussAfrique. Les secret d'une reconquête*. Various articles. Jeuneafrique, no 3057-8, 24 August 2019.

play the role of a mediator and bridge, as at the EU-China Summit in Sept. 2020.

The *USA-Middle East-relations* are changing: Whereas under US President Trump, the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia and Israel were of great interest, under President Biden, the foreign policy obviously reduced interest in the Middle East in order to focus mainly on South East Asia as the greatest economic and geopolitical challenge for the USA. China and Russia have increased their interest in the region and the region itself has become more self-confident being courted by China and Russia.⁶²⁷ “The map they [Middle Eastern states] are following is no longer Washington’s; the map is their own.”⁶²⁸

The Middle East as new Bridge? The Middle East can become more and more a bridge between Asia, Europe and Africa. What symbolically is visible in the airport of Dubai, which became an important hub between the three continents, is also visible in other fields: Dubai in the Emirates as example wants to maintain good relations with Russia (did not support the sanctions against Russia), with China and with Africa. In addition, it wants to become a leading global banking centre and – announced in 2022 – also a global hub for Blockchain and the Metaverse Universe.⁶²⁹

The *USA-Russia-relations* will again become more hostile in future as USA cancelled early 2019 the important INF-Treaty (Intermediate-

⁶²⁷ *The Middle East Moves On. In Search of a Post-American Order*, Foreign Affairs, Cover Focus, March/April 2022.

⁶²⁸ Marc Lynch, *The End of the Middle East. How an Old Map Distorts New Reality*, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2022, 58-66 (66).

⁶²⁹ Details in Daniel Böhm, *Dubai will zur Metaversum Metropole werden*, NZZ Pro, 22 Aug 2022 (Accessed 22 Aug 2022).

Range Nuclear Forces Treaty which was signed in 1987). As a result, 2,692 short-, medium- and intermediate-range atomic missiles of USA and Soviet Union were destroyed by 1991, but from 2015-2018, the two powers accused each other of non-compliance with the treaty. The reality is that this now leads to a new armament competition.

The *USA-Latin America-relations* represent a long history of ambiguities from putsches, dictatorships to economic dependency and friendly cooperation.

These relations are now, in a number of countries, replaced by *China-Latin America-relations*, especially in trade and infrastructure. The view, that USA and South America share much more common values than China with Latin America ⁶³⁰, is in my view and experience, wrong. Many people in Latin America share more the Asian community-oriented values than American individualism and China concretely offers for trade opportunities than US. The effort of the US for a US-Latin America Summit in June 2022 failed. A signal for the low common interest of Latin America in USA relations.

India, representing 18 percent of the world population, is a nuclear power and a geopolitical heavy weight, but its middle class is in number still seven times smaller than that of China. The economy compared to the one in China and Russia is yet to be seen but will be more visible when the effects of the pandemic are clearer. However, India is producing internationally leading technical experts and innovators and is a strategically important power balancer between USA, China and Russia. It can somehow be considered as a fourth pole in a Quadri-polar world, but

⁶³⁰ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28 May 2022 about China and South America.

Russia in geopolitical aspects is still stronger although economically weaker.

The USA saw *India* for some time as its ally, but it seems that India moves to more independency from blocks. In 2022, it did not condemn Russia about its invasion in Ukraine, it did not respect sanctions against Russia. India and Russia have developed a payment system in local currencies independent from the US dollar. At the same time, India is a member of the new QUAD security alliance. India was a key founding member of the Non-Aligned-Movement together with many developing countries (more below).

Is Africa again the playing field of superpowers? Africa during the independence struggles in the 1960s and during the Cold War was a continent where the superpowers, especially US, Soviet Union, France, UK (later EU) tried to win as many of the African countries as possible as their allies. Africa was the playing field and place of numerous proxy wars between the superpowers. Nowadays, similar trends can be observed: after 1991, US reduced its interest in Africa (exception: President Obama), as there was no more the Soviet Union to conquer in Africa. Russia was focused on rebuilding its identity and state after the collapse of the Soviet Union. China with its fast growth stepped in Africa for economic and long term geostrategic interests, in a massive way. The EU continued on a moderate level its relationship with Africa, with some good development cooperation programs, but not with great enthusiasm. But now, with the struggle for vital Rare Earth Elements REE (see chapter 7.3.1.2) and the fear, China could be too powerful in Africa, Russia, US, EU and Japan increase their involvement in Africa. *Russia* launched in the last few years a charm initiative towards a number of

African countries. *China* with its *Belt and Road Initiative* and its *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)* since 2000 built strong links to many African countries. China invested in 2018, 60 billion USD through FOCAC in Africa and approved 40 billion for 2021-2023. As a reaction, *Japan* expanded its rivalry with China in Africa: Japan with its *Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD)*, which launched in 1991, approved in 2022, 30 billion USD for the period 2023-2025 – an amount comparable to China's investment for Africa through FOCAC. *The US* launched, in June 2021, the *Build Back Better World (B3W)* as direct answer to the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. It aims at infrastructure development for low- and middle-income countries. By 2035, B3W plans to invest 40 trillion worth of infrastructure in these countries, many in Africa.

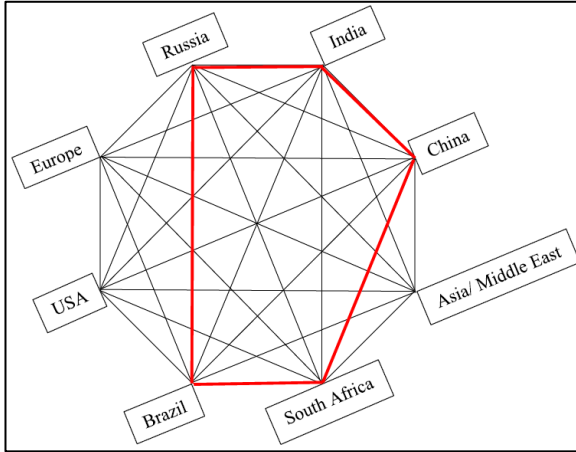
The *growing competition of powerful countries such as US, China, Russia, EU and Japan in Africa* can stimulate growth and produce many positive impacts on African development. However, it is negative when geopolitical self-interests prevail and dominate the development cooperation for the benefit of the poor. Development has been, for decades, another word for power and dominance! Globalance includes competition but also honest interest to serve the needy and to strengthen the implementation of the SDGs. Self-interests are legitimate, but only as far as the interests of others are respected, supported and strengthened!

In addition to the four poles, manifold alliances of countries with overlapping membership arose or have been strengthened since 1989:

In addition to the four superpowers in the quadri-pole view, other countries and *alliances* play a significant role in world politics:

7.13.1.5 From BRICS to IBIS?

Five powerful emerging countries built an alliance, the so-called



BRICS⁶³¹

countries Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, since 2011 in this composition. The interest came mainly from investors wanting

to invest in these countries with higher growth rates than the average industrialized countries. The BRICS countries represent 40 percent of the world population and represented one third of the global GDP in terms of purchasing power parity. They also built their own BRICS Bank in 2014, now called New Development Bank, as an alternative to World Bank and IMF as the BRICS countries represent over 40 percent of the worldwide currency reserves and economic cooperation is one of the main goals of the coalition.⁶³² The expectation and fear that the BRICS countries will ‘conquer the world’⁶³³ was widespread. Only few years later, now as I write this in 2020, the BRICS countries apart from

⁶³¹ Official information portal: <https://infobrics.org>.

⁶³² www.ndb.int.

⁶³³ Follath, Erich, *Die neuen Grossmächte. Wie Brasilien, China und Indien die Welt erobern*, München, DVA, 2013; Stuenkel, Oliver, *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order*, Washington: Lexington Books, 2015.

China, face deep economic problems (Brazil, South Africa, also India, China and Russia due to Covid) and bilateral tensions e.g. between India and China are obvious. Cooperation in coordinating their policies, military and financial systems still bear potential. With the Ukraine war, the BRICS cooperation became difficult, as Russia has 20% share in it as all others of the five countries.

Is a new alliance IBIS⁶³⁴ in the making, replacing BRICS? In Indonesian and Indian perspective, BRICS, established in 2011, is dominated by China with the BRICS bank and Russia is seen as an unreliable partner with the war in Ukraine. An alternative alliance of emerging economies could be IBIS: India, Brazil, Indonesia, South Africa, representing 25% of the world population.

The example shows that alliances may change with changing geopolitical conditions and thus are less stable and more vulnerable than continental or UN-led organisations. The path from the old post-WW2 World Order to a new order is and will be marked by such changing alliances. BRICS is only a decade old when these proposals of a new IBIS alliance are asked.

7.13.1.6 From the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to a Multi-Aligned Movement (MAM)?

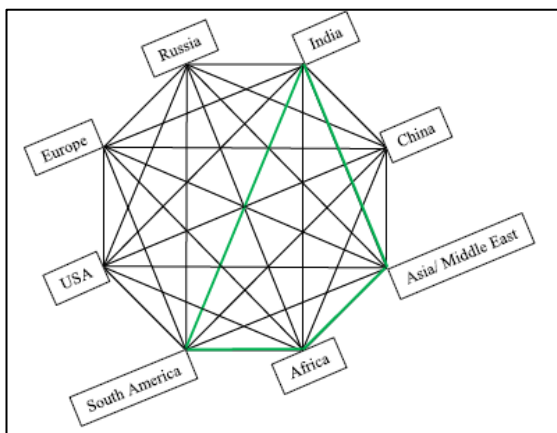
The *Non-Aligned Movement* (NAM)⁶³⁵, founded in 1961, became a third pole in the bipolar cold war of USA and UdSSR. A good part of

⁶³⁴ R Jagannathan, *IBIS, not BRICS: New World Order Needs Second Rung Powers Like India, Brazil, Indonesia and South Africa to Step in*, Magazine Swarajya, 4 Aug 2022. <https://swarajyamag.com/world/ibis-not-brics-new-world-order-needs-second-rung-powers-like-india-brazil-indonesia-and-south-africa-to-step-in>. (Accessed 6 Aug 2022).

⁶³⁵ Official website <https://csstc.org>.

the newly independent developing countries early 1960s joined NAM. However, it never reached the military and economic strength of the East and the West bloc.

Since the trade war US-China, many countries expressed directly or indirectly, that they want to maintain good relationships with China and with US, for economic, but also geopolitical and security reasons. Many of these countries are still members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and thus rooted in the geopolitical position between the super-powers. However, China as a key member of NAM is now itself a superpower and counter-pole of US. India is economically almost a super-power, but tries to be still partner of US, Russia and many other countries. The NAM countries are in fact not non-aligned, but they want to be partners on different sides. Therefore I prefer the term Multi-Aligned Movement (MAM)⁶³⁶.



During globalization after the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991, the Non-Aligned-Movement (NAM) somehow lost its *raison d'être* in a monopolar world.

⁶³⁶ The term multi-aligned instead of non-aligned was used by Fareed Zakaria. It better expresses the reality of those countries, which want to be aligned with more than one superpower and one alliance. However, he said India cannot remain multi-aligned to Russia and US after Russia's invasion to Ukraine.

With the new polarisation, a revival of NAM or other forms of alliances of the multi-aligned countries is well possible (more below and also 7.7.1).⁶³⁷

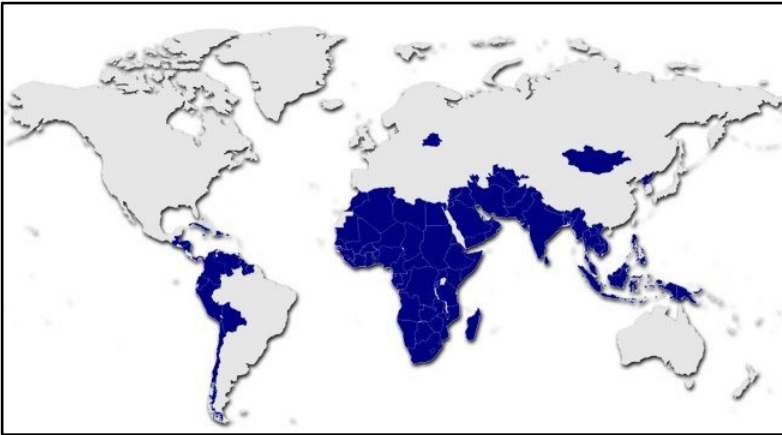
Let us look at signals for this. Examples: *Turkey* is member of NATO, but at the same time is mediator in the Ukraine war and wants to be a bridge between the West and Middle East and Asia. *India* as a leading non-aligned country participated in the joint military drill in Vostok (2022) with China and Russia, but also with Japan and US in another drill in 2022. India is member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which includes Russia and China. It is at the same time member of the new QUAD with US, Japan and Australia. In addition, India is part of I2U2 group which includes the Middle East (Israel and United Arab Emirates). India is most probably the most multi-aligned country in the NAM. It shows the complexity of balancing multi-alignment. Heavy weight countries like India can better navigate than small vulnerable countries can do. *Israel* offered mediation services. *Indonesia and Singapore* clearly declare they want to maintain good cooperation with China and US. China is heavily present in Indonesia with large infrastructure projects and exploding trade relations, was on the side of China in the UN Human Rights Council re Uighurs in 2022 and wants to keep good relations with US at the same time. *India* navigates in a challenging way between US, Russia and China. *Switzerland* and other neutral European countries like *Norway, Sweden and Finland* weaken their multi-aligned, neutral position by standing one-sided on EU side in the Ukraine and other conflicts, they are de facto mono-

⁶³⁷ Ismail Hossain, A revival of a non-aligned movement? *The Financial Express* (India), 27 April 2022; Fabian Urech, Alle gegen Putin? Keineswegs! Wir erleben das Revival der Blockfreien, *NZZ*, 4 Aug 2022. (Accessed 5 Aug 2022).

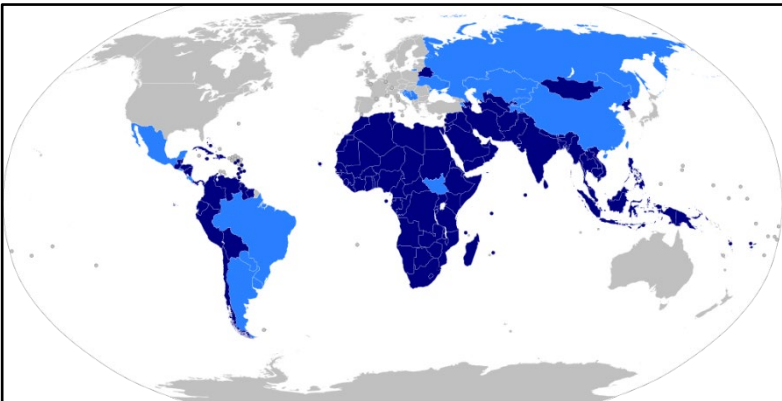
aligned even though they are still multi-aligned-neutral. *African countries* want in their majority maintain good relations with China, some with Russia, while not risking their relations with Europe and US.

Let us compare the list of 120 NAM member countries with the list of those who abstained in the UN on suspending Russia from the Human Rights Council due to Ukraine invasion:

NAM Member countries, 2022



Vote to suspend Russia from Human Rights Council 7 April 2022. Dark blue abstention, light blue against, grey yes. Abstentions almost equal NAM members.



120 countries are member countries of the Non-Aligned-Movement (NAM) as of 2022.⁶³⁸ The full list of votes of 7 April 2022⁶³⁹ on suspending Russia from the Human Rights Council was: yes 93, no 24, abstention 58. From Africa, 7 voted yes (12%), 9 no (13%) and 25 abstention (44%, 70% if we add the 14 countries not voting). Therefore, from the 54 African countries, 57% voted against or with abstention (83% if those not voting are added). It reflects the non-alignment attitude, which is still alive in many African countries.

*In the following table, all countries of the world with their membership in alliances are listed.*⁶⁴⁰ 21 such alliances and unions are listed. It is of course a selection and many more exist.⁶⁴¹ Especially the membership in specialised UN agencies are not listed, as most of the UN-member states are also members in its specialised organisations such as ILO, WHO, ITU, WMO, WIPO, FAO, Unctad, Unesco etc. Also included are examples of organisations with cultural and religious mandates. They interact with political and economic alliances in manifold ways. E.g., the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation influences the polit-

⁶³⁸ Country map from NAM Website:

http://csstc.org/v_ket1.asp?info=11&mn=1. (Accessed 19 Aug 2022)

⁶³⁹ <https://unwatch.org/database/resolution-database/>.

⁶⁴⁰ I thank my Intern Prachi Sharma from India for her careful table research.

⁶⁴¹ On political level: e.g. League of Arab States (LAS), Organisation of American states (OAS), Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM), Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), Ibero-American Secretariat (SEGIB). On cultural and religious level: e.g. Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation (ALESCO), Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ISESCO), Muslim World League (MWL). On security level: e.g. Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). On economic level: Organisation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), World Tourism Organisation (WTO) etc.

ical stand of Islamic countries, the World Council of Churches, and the Vatican influence governments especially in countries with a Christian majority. The Belt and Road initiative became an influential instrument of China to connect with manifold countries.

The multiple membership of countries in overlapping alliances and unions also shows the political potential and dilemmas of countries now in the polarized world, where a country is non-aligned, but under pressure to align mainly with US or China, as member of an Islamic alliance with its own agenda etc.

	Abbr	Full name	Type
1	UN	United Nations	political
2	AU	African Union	political
3	EU	European Union	political
4	ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations	political
5	CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States	political
6	NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement	economic
7	SADEC	Southern African Development Community	economic
8	ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	economic
9	EAS	East Asia Summit	political
10	CEAC/ECC	Economic Community of Central African States	economic
11	NAM	Non Aligned Movement	political
12	AUKUS	Australia/UK/US Military Alliance	military
13	NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation	military
14	CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organisation	security
15	BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa	economic
16	BRICS	Belt and Road Initiative	economic
17	OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	religious
18	WCC	World Council of Churches	religious
19	OIF	Organisation internationale de la Francophonie	cultural
20	UNAOOC	United Nations Alliance of Civilisations	cultural
21	EEU	Eurasian Economic Union	economic

Geopolitics: Alliances

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	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF															
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAOC															
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AUKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU															
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1	Afghanistan	x									x						x	x				x	
2	Albania	x											x				x	x	x	x	x	x	
3	Algeria	x	x								x						x	x	x			x	
4	Andorra	x																			x	x	
5	Angola	x	x				x			x	x						x		x			x	
6	Antigua/ Barbuda	x			x						x						x		x				
7	Argentina	x			x														x			x	
8	Armenia	x												x			x		x	x	x	x	x
9	Australia	x										x							x			x	
10	Austria	x		x													x		x			x	
11	Azerbaijan	x									x						x	x				x	
12	Bahamas (the)	x			x						x								x				
13	Bahrain	x									x						x	x				x	
14	Bangladesh	x									x						x	x	x			x	
15	Barbados	x			x						x						x		x				
16	Belarus	x									x			x			x					x	x
17	Belgium	x		x									x						x	x		x	
18	Belize	x			x						x								x				
19	Benin	x	x					x			x						x	x	x	x	x	x	
20	Bhutan	x									x												
21	Bolivia	x			x						x						x		x			x	
22	Bosnia/Herzegovin	x															x					x	
23	Botswana	x	x				x				x								x				
24	Brazil	x														x			x			x	
25	Brunei	x			x						x						x	x				x	
26	Bulgaria	x		x									x				x				x	x	
27	Burkina Faso	x	x					x			x							x	x	x	x	x	
28	Burundi	x	x						x	x	x						x		x	x			

	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF														
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAO														
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AUKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU														
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
29	Cabo Verde	x	x					x			x						x			x	x	
30	Cambodia	x		x							x						x		x	x		
31	Cameroon	x	x						x	x							x	x	x	x		
32	Canada	x				x							x						x	x	x	
33	Central Afr Rep	x	x						x	x										x		
34	Chad	x	x						x	x							x	x		x		
35	Chile	x			x						x						x		x		x	
36	China	x													x	x			x		x	
37	Colombia	x			x						x								x		x	
38	Comoros (the)	x	x				x				x						x	x		x		
39	Congo (the)	x	x							x	x								x	x	x	
40	Cook Islands																x		x			
41	Costa Rica	x			x												x					x
42	Côte d'Ivoire	x	x					x			x						x	x	x	x	x	
43	Croatia	x	x										x				x		x		x	
44	Cuba	x			x						x						x		x		x	
45	Curacao																		x			
46	Cyprus	x	x														x					x
47	Czechia	x	x										x				x		x		x	
48	DPR Korea	x									x											
49	DR Congo	x	x				x		x	x	x									x	x	
50	Denmark	x	x											x						x		x
51	Djibouti	x	x								x						x	x		x		
52	Dominica	x			x						x						x		x	x		
53	Dominican Rep	x			x						x											x
54	Ecuador	x			x						x						x					x
55	Egypt	x	x								x						x	x	x	x	x	
56	El Salvador	x			x												x		x		x	
57	Equator. Guinea	x	x						x	x							x		x	x	x	
58	Eritrea	x	x								x									x		x

	x=member	1 UN	4	ASEAN	7	SADEC	10	CEAC	13	NATO	16	BRI	19	OIF								
	o=candidate	2 AU	5	CELAC	8	ECOWAS	11	NAM	14	CSTO	17	OIC	20	UNAOC								
		3 EU	6	NAFTA	9	EAC	12	AUKUS	15	BRICS	18	WCC	21	EEU								
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
59	Estonia	x	x									x					x	x	x			
60	Eswatini	x	x				x				x								x			
61	Ethiopia	x	x								x						x	x	x			
62	Fiji	x									x						x	x				
63	Finland	x	x																x		x	
64	France	x	x											x					x	x	x	
65	French Polynesia																		x			
66	Gabon	x	x								x	x					x	x	x	x		
67	Gambia (the)	x	x					x			x						x	x	x		x	
68	Georgia	x															x					x
69	Germany	x	x											x					x		x	
70	Ghana	x	x					x			x						x	x	x		x	
71	Greece	x	x											x			x		x	x	x	
72	Grenada	x				x					x						x					
73	Guatemala	x				x					x											x
74	Guinea	x	x					x			x						x	x	x	x		
75	Guinea-Bissau	x	x					x			x							x		x	x	
76	Guyana	x				x					x						x	x	x	x		
77	Haiti	x									x								x	x		
78	Honduras	x				x					x											
79	Hungary	x	x											x			x		x		x	
80	Iceland	x												x					x			
81	India	x									x					x			x		x	
82	Indonesia	x				x					x						x	x	x		x	
83	Iran	x									x						x	x	x		x	
84	Iraq	x									x						x	x	x		x	
85	Ireland	x	x																	x		x
86	Israel	x																		x		
87	Italy	x	x											x			x		x		x	
88	Jamaica	x				x					x						x		x			

	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF																
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAOC																
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AUKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU																
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
89	Japan	x																	x		x			
90	Jordan	x									x								x	x		x		
91	Kazakhstan	x												x			x	x				x	x	
92	Kenya	x	x						x		x						x		x					
93	Kiribati	x																x		x				
94	Kuwait	x									x							x	x				x	
95	Kyrgyzstan	x												x				x	x				x	x
96	Lao PDR	x		x							x							x		x	x			
97	Latvia	x		x										x				x		x		x		
98	Lebanon	x									x							x	x	x	x	x		
99	Lesotho	x	x				x				x							x		x				
100	Liberia	x	x					x			x							x		x				
101	Libya	x	x								x							x	x				x	
102	Liechtenstein	x																						
103	Lithuania	x		x										x				x		x		x		
104	Luxembourg	x		x										x				x				x	x	
105	Madagascar	x	x				x				x							x		x				
106	Malawi	x	x					x			x									x				
107	Malaysia	x			x						x							x	x	x		x		
108	Maldives	x									x							x	x					
109	Mali	x	x					x			x							x	x				x	
110	Malta	x		x														x		x		x		
111	Marshall Islands	x																		x				
112	Mauritania	x	x								x								x	x		x	x	
113	Mauritius	x	x					x			x											x		
114	Mexico	x			x	x														x		x		
115	Micronesia	x																	x					
116	Monaco	x																				x		
117	Mongolia	x									x								x				x	
118	Montenegro	x													x				x				x	

	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF														
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAOC														
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AUKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU														
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
119	Morocco	x	x								x						x	x	x	x	x	
120	Mozambique	x	x					x			x						x	x	x		x	
121	Myanmar	x		x							x						x		x			
122	Namibia	x	x					x			x						x		x			
123	Nauru	x																				
124	Nepal	x									x						x		x			
125	Netherlands	x		x										x					x		x	
126	New Caledonia																		x			
127	New Zealand	x															x		x		x	
128	Nicaragua	x			x						x								x		x	
129	Niger (the)	x	x					x			x						x	x		x	x	
130	Nigeria	x	x					x			x						x	x	x			
131	Niue																x		x			
132	North Macedonia	x												x			x				x	x
133	Norway	x												x					x		x	
134	Oman	x									x						x	x				x
135	Pakistan	x									x						x	x	x			x
136	Palau	x																				
137	Palestine										x							x				x
138	Panama	x			x						x						x		x		x	
139	Papua New Guinea	x									x						x		x			
140	Paraguay	x			x														x		x	
141	Peru	x			x						x						x		x		x	
142	Philippines	x		x							x						x		x		x	
143	Poland	x		x										x			x		x		x	
144	Portugal	x		x										x			x		x		x	
145	Puerto Rico																		x			
146	Qatar	x									x						x	x				x
147	Republ of Korea	x															x		x		x	
148	Repof Moldova	x															x				x	

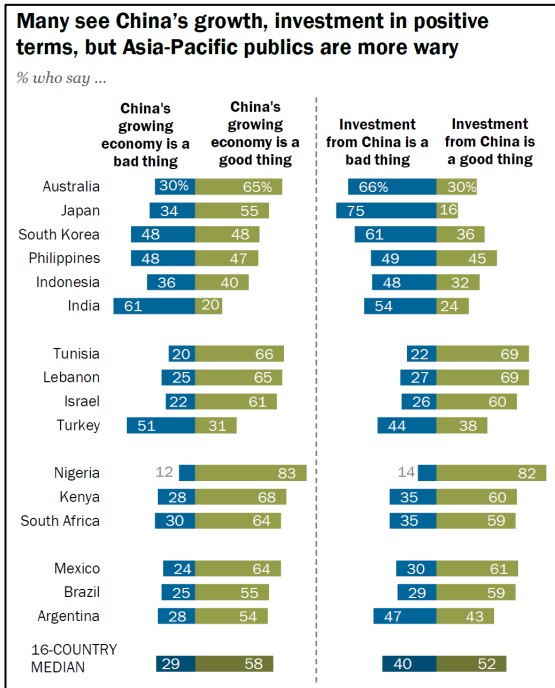
	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF															
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAOC															
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AUKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU															
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
149	Romania	x	x											x			x		x	x	x		
150	Russian Federa.	x													x	x	x			x		x	x
151	Rwanda	x	x						x	x	x						x		x	x			
152	Sahrawi ArabDR	x																					
153	Saint Kitts&Nevis	x			x						x								x				
154	Saint Lucia	x			x						x										x		
155	St.Vincent&Grena	x			x						x									x		x	
156	Samoa	x															x		x				
157	San Marino	x																					x
158	Sao Tome&Princip	x	x							x	x										x	x	
159	Saudi Arabia	x									x						x	x				x	
160	Senegal	x	x					x		x							x	x			x	x	
161	Serbia	x															x		x			x	
162	Seychelles	x	x				x				x						x				x		
163	Sierra Leone	x	x					x			x						x	x	x				
164	Singapore	x		x							x						x		x			x	
165	Slovakia	x	x										x				x		x		x	x	
166	Slovenia	x	x											x			x		x		x	x	
167	Solomon Islands	x															x		x				
168	Somalia	x	x								x						x	x					
169	South Africa	x	x				x				x						x	x			x		x
170	South Sudan	x	x						x								x				x		
171	Spain	x		x										x							x		x
172	Sri Lanka	x									x						x				x		x
173	Sudan (the)	x	x								x						x	x	x			x	
174	Suriname	x									x						x	x	x			x	
175	Sweden	x		x																	x		x
176	Switzerland	x																			x	x	x
177	Syrian Arab Rep	x									x										x		x
178	Tajikistan	x													x		x	x					

	x=member	1 UN	4 ASEAN	7 SADEC	10 CEAC	13 NATO	16 BRI	19 OIF															
	o=candidate	2 AU	5 CELAC	8 ECOWAS	11 NAM	14 CSTO	17 OIC	20 UNAOC															
		3 EU	6 NAFTA	9 EAC	12 AIKUS	15 BRICS	18 WCC	21 EEU															
Nr	Country A-Z	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
179	Taiwan																						
180	Thailand	x			x						x						x	x	x				
181	Timor-Leste	x									x						x	x	x	x			
182	Togo	x	x					x			x						x	x	x	x			
183	Tonga	x															x	x					
184	Trinidad&Tobago	x			x						x						x	x					
185	Tunisia	x	x								x						x	x		x	x		
186	Türkiye	x												x			x	x	x		x		
187	Turkmenistan	x										x						x				x	
188	Tuvalu	x																	x				
189	Uganda	x	x						x		x						x	x	x				
190	Ukraine	x																x	x		x		
191	United Arab Emirates	x										x					x	x				x	
192	United Kingdom	x										x	x						x		x		
193	Tanzania	x	x					x		x	x						x		x	x		x	
194	United States of Amer	x					x					x	x							x		x	
195	Uruguay	x			x												x		x		x		
196	Uzbekistan	x										x					x	x				x	
197	Vanuatu	x										x					x		x	x			
198	Venezuela	x			x							x					x					x	
199	Viet Nam	x			x							x					x				x	x	
200	Yemen	x										x					x	x	x		x		
201	Zambia	x	x					x				x					x		x				
202	Zimbabwe	x	x					x				x					x		x				

In the ethical perspective of Globalance, the revitalization of the Non-Aligned-Movement (NAM) and its transformation to a Multi-Aligned Movement (MAM) would be a major contribution to reduce the New Cold War and deadly polarization US-China and strengthen a dynamic balanced New World Order. *More in chapter 7.13.3 below.*

7.13.1.7 *The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)*

China started the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) ⁶⁴² originally along the old land and maritime Silk Road from China through central Asia to



Middle East and Eastern Africa. It is 'open to all nations and not limited by geography' (but India is not included which creates additional tensions between China and India).⁶⁴³ BRI aims at pushing infrastructure investments, economic cooperation and

cultural exchange. It most of the countries it is seen positively, as the survey⁶⁴⁴ show, but the neighbouring countries of China are more critical. Critics see it as a domination attempt of China, the majority see it as

⁶⁴² <http://english.www.gov.cn/beltAndRoad/> is the official BRI website of the government of China.

⁶⁴³ http://english.www.gov.cn/news/top_news/2015/04/18/content_281475091262006.htm

⁶⁴⁴ Pew Research Center, *Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey*, Q28 and Q 41, published 5 Dec 2019.

a beneficial cooperation for peaceful stabilisation of international relations. Although initiated by one country, it can be seen as a de facto large alliance of countries. Cultural and religious aspects of cooperation in addition to economic ones is important, as it builds an integral part of economic development, especially in such culturally and religiously diverse regions as Central Asia, Middle East and East Africa.⁶⁴⁵ The new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (see below) serves among others as an investment arm of BRI.

7.13.1.8 Regional Alliances

Regional Alliances: Apart from the European Union, other regional Alliances play an important role, with ups and downs depending on regional conflicts. These mainly continental communities have been built in two waves, in the late 1950s/early 1960s and in the first decade of the 21st century. Many overlapping sub-regional communities exist, which are not listed here.

The *African Union (AU)*, launched in 2002 as successor of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) since 1963, covers all African countries and becomes more and more strong in terms of common policies, in addition to the five sub-regional communities of which the East African community is the strongest.

The *Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)* with 10 member states and tiger countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore, founded in 1967, is economically stronger than the AU,

⁶⁴⁵ *Religions along Belt and Road* is a research project on the contribution of religions to economic development, led by Minzu university in Beijing with Geneva Agape Foundation, represented by the author as co-president of the project.

but politically more diverse and to some extent weaker but remains an important part of the Asian Century and Easternisation of values.

The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), with 33 member states and formed in 2011 (succession of Rio Group and CALC) with a main goal to overcome US hegemony and deepen integration in the region. The shift from left-wing to conservative governments in many Latin American countries makes common policies more difficult.

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was formed in 1991, few days after the Soviet Union ceased to exist. It includes 9 member states: Russia and central Asian countries. The Baltic states did not join, and Ukraine left CIS in 2018.

The Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), formed in 2015 in succession of the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC, 2000-2014) has 5 members: Russia and 4 central Asian countries and some associate members. It aims at an integrated market mainly among former Soviet Union areas. *The Commonwealth of Nations*, in short Commonwealth, is since 1931 a loose association of 56 sovereign states: United Kingdom, Ireland and mainly former British colonies.

L'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) is since 1970, an international organisation of 88 countries, in which the French language is an official, often majority, language. A good number of the countries are former French colonies.

CIS, Commonwealth and OIF are organisations to keep former empires together after de-colonisation, as association of independent states for mutual support.

Multilateral Development Banks: See chapter 7.11.3.2.

Security Alliances: Geopolitics is always also security politics. Security alliances like NATO or the new AUKUS we will revisit later in chapter 7.15.

Mineral Alliances: Western countries built in June 2022 a new alliance to invest (in a coordinated way) in countries with Rear Earth Elements (REE)⁶⁴⁶ in order to secure their share of REEs and build a counterweight to China. The *new Minerals Security Partnership (MSP)*⁶⁴⁷ includes US, EU, Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Sweden, Japan and South Korea. The REE producing countries include Argentina, Brazil, Chile, DR Congo, Indonesia, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Philippines, Tanzania and Zambia. On invitation of the US, these countries held their first MSP meeting, on ministerial level, during the UN General Assembly in New York on 22 September 2022.

Cultural, Religious and City Alliances: In addition to continental and regional communities and military alliances (which mainly aim at economic integration and military security), cultural, religious and city alliances are formed.

City Alliances are mainly built to promote environmental issues especially where governments like USA under President Trump hinder the implementation of the Paris climate agreement. The *C40 Cities*⁶⁴⁸ is an alliance of 96 affiliated cities, representing 25 percent of global GDP and 8 percent of the world population. The *SDGS 25+5 Cities* initiative⁶⁴⁹ aims at reaching the Sustainable Development Goals SDGS by 2030.

⁶⁴⁶ More in chapter 7.3.1.2.

⁶⁴⁷ <https://www.state.gov/minerals-security-partnership>.

⁶⁴⁸ www.c40.org/cities.

⁶⁴⁹ www.unsdi.org/SDGs-cities.

Cultural Alliances are built to promote dialogue and cultural understanding as an important dimension in addition to the economic integration. *The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC)*⁶⁵⁰, established in 2005 on initiative of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, is a multi-stakeholder platform to promote dialogue and overcome polarisation in the four areas of youth, education, migration and media.

Religious Alliances are the numerous alliances of denominations of one religion and interfaith alliances. Three of the largest are the *World Council of Churches (WCC)*⁶⁵¹, founded in 1948, unites 350 member churches from all denominations (the Roman Catholic Church with observer status), representing more than 500 million Christians. The *Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)*⁶⁵², formed 1969 (as a reaction to the attack on the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem!), counts 57 member states and is therefore the second largest inter-governmental organisation, even with more countries than the AU. Manifold interfaith alliances exist. One of the oldest is the *Parliament of the World's Religions (PWR)*⁶⁵³, founded in 1893 in USA, to promote harmony between world religions.

Civil Society Alliances build networks of the thousands of non-governmental organisations. The *UN Integrated Civil Society Organizations (iCSO) system*⁶⁵⁴ is a database of 24,000 entries and 12,000 non-governmental organisations of which 5,500 have consultative status with

⁶⁵⁰ www.unaoc.org.

⁶⁵¹ www.oikoumene.org.

⁶⁵² www.oic-oci.org.

⁶⁵³ <https://parliamentofreligions.org>.

⁶⁵⁴ <https://esango.un.org/civilsociety>.

UN ECOSOC and can as such participate in manifold ways in the UN system. They build the *coalition of NGOs (CONGO)*⁶⁵⁵.

7.13.1.9 Club of Strongest Economies

Another indicator for geopolitical power shifts and the power to build and influence political and economic alliances is the *economic strength of nations via GDP*. PwC in a study about the world economy in 2050⁶⁵⁶ – written in 2017, before the Covid-19 pandemic! – expects the following *10 countries as largest economies* in terms of GDP (ordered by size in 2050): 1. China, 2. India, 3. US, 4. Indonesia, 5. Brazil, 6. Russia, 7. Mexico, 8. Japan, 9. Germany, 10. UK. The greatest jump in ranking would be by Vietnam (from 32 to 20th), Philippines (from 28th to 19th) and Nigeria (from 22nd to 14th). In 1995, the G7 (US, UK, France, Germany, Japan, Canada and Italy) was double the GDP size of the E7 (China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Russia, Mexico, and Turkey). In 2040, the PwC study expects the opposite: E7 will have the double GDP than the G7! This will certainly influence the geopolitical power relations!

7.13.2 Value-Poles: Security and Solidarity

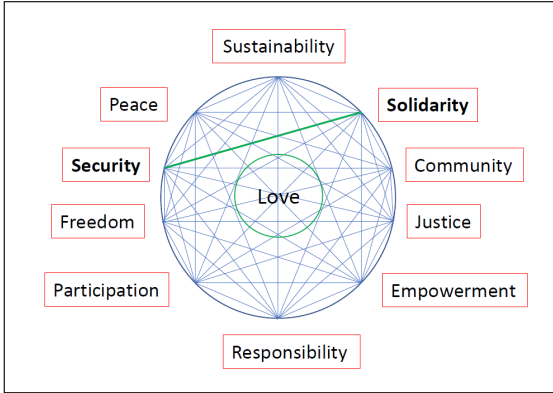
The mapping of the quadripolar world and the manifold alliances show a very complex diversity of regional, continental, economic, military, cultural, religious and non-governmental actors and powers.

What types of power-structures are visible in these organizations? Which value poles need to be balanced in perspective of Globalance? Where should we drive a balanced future world order?

⁶⁵⁵ <http://ngocongo.org>.

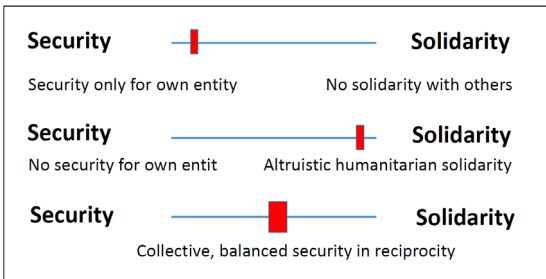
⁶⁵⁶ PricewaterhouseCoopers PwC, *The World in 2050*, Report, Feb 2017.

After the phase of fast globalisation 1989-2008, a phase of regionalisation followed. Many of the above mentioned regional



organisations have been created and modified in this period. From a value perspective, it can be seen positively in the

sense that more equality may be reached within a region than on global



level, where the weaker was still not protected enough as the WTO development showed, even with

all technical assistance for weaker countries. Economic interests, regional free trade, political stability, but also the prospect of becoming a strong region to better compete with other world regions are motives, which are ethically justified. Another type of alliance looks at soft factors of cooperation such as culture, sport, religions and civil society. For a holistic perspective this is important because security can never be reached only with economic or military means even though they are important part of it.

There are many value relations at stake, let us look only at one: security and solidarity. The universally accepted Golden Rule of reciprocity – do to others what you want them to do to you – means for security: my country can only be secure if my country also cares for the security of the other countries. Looking only at one's own security without solidarity is as wrong as altruistic solidarity which forgets about one's own security needs. *The balance between security and solidarity means collective security in reciprocity.* This ethical principle must be the guideline for superpower, regional alliance or thematic alliance.

Regionalisation is mentioned as a positive development, complimentary to global integration. But it often leads to a group solidarity on the back of a other regions or groups. Therefore, the above principle has to be applied not only within a group or region, but also between regions. We therefore enlarge the principle on two levels: *The balance between security and solidarity means collective security in reciprocity, within a region/alliance and between regions/alliances.* EU can only be in security if AU or ASEAN are also in security and vice versa. NATO countries can only be secure if the security needs of the Shanghai Community of countries are respected etc.

7.13.3 Towards Globalance: Global Governance instead of Hegemony of Superpowers

For the transition towards a multipolar, peaceful and secure world and a New World Order, let us summarize a few key elements from above historical observations and the value balance of solidarity in security and security in solidarity. Let us look at a list of key attitudes, values and strategies of dynamic Globalance towards a fair and balanced multipolar world.

7.13.3.1 Victory with humility and without humiliation

a) *Fair race of competition.* Let us take the competition race between USA and China, as listed in its many facets above (chapter 7.13.1.1). Globalance is not an abstract idea, it must be implemented and can be concretised in every single race and sector so that it is a fair, balanced race with trustworthy, reliable policies to the benefit of the population of the two countries and the whole world. The goal is a virtues upstream spiral between the two superpowers and not a vicious, deadly downstream spiral as it looks in present times. A Chinese political economist concludes: “While China aspires to ascend to global leadership on the back of its handling of the pandemic, it is not so eager to make sacrifices for the sake of countries that need aid. China’s doctrines of mercantilism and win-win, at this moment of global crisis, come across as lacking empathy, strength, and conviction in a common global destiny. The United States did not become a global leader by refusing to make large sacrifices for humanity in the 20th century. Leadership means more than winning. It means taking on pain with honour. China, if it truly wants to be a victor and leader in this human fight, needs to forsake its self-interest. It must defend collective human freedom, at home and globally.”⁶⁵⁷ The post-pandemic period is a test for the capacity of values-driven leadership for the benefit of the international community.

⁶⁵⁷ Shirley Ze Yu, *China’s coronavirus soft-power push will fail if it cannot defend freedoms – at home and abroad*, South China Morning Post, 7 May 2020. The author is political economist, an Asia fellow at the Ash Centre, Harvard Kennedy School, and a former Chinese national television (CCTV) news anchor.

b) *Victory with humility and without humiliation*: One of the key ethical lessons should be learnt from human history and the recent history of the 1989 victory of capitalism over communism and the following years of NATO expansion: The winners are likely to become proud and feel superior to the losers, which humanly speaking, is understandable. Superiority attitudes of the winner often leads to superstition and blindness for reality. Francis Fukuyama expressed the famous view, that with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, humanity had reached not only the end of the Cold War, but the ‘end of history’ with the “universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”⁶⁵⁸ After 1989, many private sector representatives pushed for privatisation of state owned companies claiming that the private sector can be much more efficient and liberalisation should push back the role of the state – until 2008, when the banking sector had to beg the state on their knees to support them in order to avoid collapse. The same happened with some politicians who thought socialism and communism was dead once for all – until the socialist country China became today’s superpower. Fukuyamas’ ‘vision’ of the end of history with Western liberal democracies was an unbelievably stupid, short-sighted, unhistorical and dangerous expression of pride, which collapsed less than three decades later as we face the deepest crisis of liberal democracies in our time.

Pride of the winner humiliates the loser, which sows the grains of the next conflict. The Treaty of Versailles after World War I was a

⁶⁵⁸ Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History?*, *The National Interest* (16), 1989, 3-18; idem, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press, 1992.

treaty of humiliation of Germans and thus a basis for the revenge with the World War II. No human being and no nation or group can support humiliation long term. At one point, it leads to individual or collective revenge, armament, nationalism and forms for regaining respect and dignity as we can observe now, one generation after 1989.⁶⁵⁹ Therefore, to celebrate victory with humility and to offer reconciliation to the losers is key for future security.

Resistance against humiliating, exploiting empires: Superpowers, hegemonies and empires are in danger of abusing their superpower as they feel almost almighty. Therefore, resistance of other political, economic and religious powers against such abuse of power is needed, as history repeatedly shows. Let me mention only the example of resistance by believers and churches: the right to resist and even the obligation to resist is strongly rooted in Christian theology (among the Reformers mostly by Zwingli, in the Catholic Church often by orders). The Lutheran church is a strong example, how they painfully learnt from the collusion with ‘emperor’ Hitler before and during WW2. Today, the Lutheran churches together with others are engaged against abuse of power by empires. Strong debates happened during globalization 1991-2008, when USA have been seen as the only and dominant hegemon in the world. How to be

⁶⁵⁹ The organisation *Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies* is specialized on ‘healing and preventing cycles of humiliation’ with very rich publications. <http://humiliationstudies.org/publications/publications.php>. Lindner, Evelyn *Making Enemies. Humiliation and International Conflict*, Westport: Praeger 2006.

“Church in the Midst of Empire” and how to be a prophetic voice was and still is a crucial question of confessing Christ.⁶⁶⁰

7.13.3.2 Fair governance and alliances

- c) *Values-driven Alliances:* Alliances are instruments to support each other, show more military or economic) power, assure mutually common interest and have a dissuasive impact on adversaries. Values are soft power in alliances and cannot be underestimated: no power, neither superpowers nor alliances of power nor small countries can survive only on economic, technological or military power. The soft power of values which build the centre of culture and identity, are the cement which determines the strength of a power. The ambitious project of peaceful cooperation in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) through large infrastructure investments can create goodwill and respect, but only with mutually agreed values, will it be sustainable. Again, the SDGs framework is such a value-reference.
- d) *Regional Governance:* regionalisation and regional cooperation is an expression of the ethically positive subsidiarity principle, which means to solve the problems on the lowest possible, adequate level. Between the national and global level, problem-solving at the regional level is often adequate and does not need globally unified uniformity.

⁶⁶⁰ Bloomquist, Karen L.(Ed.), *Being the Church in the Midst of the Empire. Trinitarian Reflections*, Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2007. 17 contributions. Free download: <https://repository.globethics.net/handle/20.500.12424/184739> (Accessed 28 Sept 2022)

e) *Bi-continental cooperation*: for a global balance based on security through solidarity, bi-continental cooperation especially of neighbouring continents and regions is needed. A close cooperation between *Europe and Russia* has to happen and improve in order to further reach stability and security in Eurasia.⁶⁶¹ The *Europe-Africa*-cooperation has still great potential, not only to reduce migration from Africa to Europe or to compete the China's dominant presence in Africa or to repeat neocolonial behaviour, but to create manifold win-win situations and peaceful cooperation. The 'Marshall Plan with Africa'⁶⁶² of the German government is an important effort in this direction. One challenge is that China asked for very little environmental or human rights conditions in deals with Africa, whereas European countries expected more conditionality, which has driven African, especially authoritarian countries to deals with China. However, a balance of interests is possible and historical and geographical ties and common interests can be further strengthened "for a common future of neighbouring continents."⁶⁶³ The same should happen between *North and South America*, not as hegemony of the US, but as a cooperation based on reciprocity and security through solidarity.

⁶⁶¹ This is also the main topic of Pleitgen, Fritz/ Schischkin, Michail, *Frieden oder Krieg. Russland und der Westen – eine Annäherung*, München: Ludwig, 2019.

⁶⁶² https://www.bmz.de/en/countries_regions/marshall_plan_with_africa/index.html

⁶⁶³ Decker, Rudolf, *Europa und Afrika. Von der Krise zu einer gemeinsamen Zukunft der Nachbarkontinente*, Freiburg: Herder, 2017. A vision and manifold concrete proposals for enlarged cooperation between Europe and Africa 137-222.

- f) *China-USA Cooperation*: The symbiosis⁶⁶⁴ between US and China over almost three decades seems to have gone to the other extreme by getting close to divorce with trade war, financial war and other dangerous power struggles. The US with chaotic, divisive leadership under president Trump, which may look different or worse from 2021, does not play the role of a world leader, as the pandemic has dramatically shown. “Is China ready to lead?”⁶⁶⁵ It is willing to play a globally leading role and in South East Asia a dominant role, but “regardless of the calls for China to take on global leadership, the reality is that it will take years, or even decades, before China’s economy is sufficiently strong and further reforms have taken root.”⁶⁶⁶ One more reason, not to dream of one superpower leading as world police, is the development of strong global governance as expression of Globalance. China will certainly be an important player in global governance.
- g) *Global Governance instead of hegemony of a superpower*: The global level of governance is indispensable for various reasons: a) for the coordination, fairness and conflict resolution between the regions, b) to avoid a situation where one of the four superpowers executes a hegemonial role as hegemonies always lead to oppression, c) for common standard setting and d) for decisive crisis management, as the role of WHO in the corona virus ‘war’ has shown. Global governance needs fairness and reciprocity. As an example of the need for reciprocity which leads to security, French President

⁶⁶⁴ See above 7.13.1.

⁶⁶⁵ Li, Zhou, Is China Ready to Lead? China offers world leadership a complementary viewpoint, Beijing: *CKGSB Knowledge Magazine*, 2017, 6-7 (7)

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

Macron, German Chancellor Merkel, EU President Juncker and China's President Xi in a summit in Paris on 25 March 2019 underlined how "we must show through actions that cooperation brings more than confrontation" (Macron), and Merkel underlined 'reciprocity' as condition of trade cooperation.⁶⁶⁷ They called – as counter position to the US-trade war and bilateralism – for a new, needed multilateral order. During the Corona pandemic, US President Trump during the WHO General Assembly on 18 May 2020 threatened to permanently cut off funding and withdraw US membership at WHO, whereas China's President Xi during the same WHO General Assembly on 18 May 2020 confirmed that WHO is a key multilateral organisation. President Xi increased the Chinese contribution to WHO and offered 2 billion USD for post-corona support in developing countries. He also committed in 2018 that China would "take an active part in leading the reform of the global governance system" in order to build a "community with a shared future of humanity."⁶⁶⁸

The call for a new world order, replacing the one after the Second World War, is decades old, but is on its way step by step in the 21st century as the new alliances show. But there still seems to be a lack of global leadership. "If neither America nor Europe nor China nor India can provide global leadership, are we lost?" asks the former Permanent Representative of Singapore to the UN in his book on

⁶⁶⁷ International media 26 March 2019.

⁶⁶⁸ Lo, Kinling/ Zhen, Sarah, Who is winning the China-US race to run the world amid the Covid-19 pandemic? *South China Morning Post*, 29 April 2020.

the shift to the East.⁶⁶⁹ A key part of the new multilateral architecture has to remain the United Nations as still the best global governance platform. Whereas the UN Security Council still mirrors the post-World War II order with five permanent members and does not reflect the current status of the world, the UN General Assembly reflects the diversity and unity of the nations. “The UN General Assembly is the most representative body on our planet.”⁶⁷⁰

- h) *Imperialism of Alliances?* Since the end of World War II, the number of countries on this globe increased fast, from 74 countries in 1946 to 193-237 countries in 2022!⁶⁷¹ Large countries seem to be powerful but have many challenges: high costs of integration of different cultures, languages, religions, large wealth inequalities within the country. When the integration costs become higher than the benefits of size, then it can be one reason of the collapse of an empire or the increased need for security and strength in alliances. The European Union with some tiny countries is a good example of an alliance (in this case more binding than a loose networking alliance).

From a *Globalance perspective*, smaller countries united in alliances instead of big empires can be a good solution for balanced val-

⁶⁶⁹ Mahbubani, Kishore, *The New Asian Hemisphere. The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*, New York: Public Affairs, 2008, 240.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid, 243.

⁶⁷¹ 193 is the number of UN member countries, 195 incl. two observers Vatican and Palestine. The number of countries is complex and highly political. The CIA factbook lists 237 countries as they add disputed and dependent territories. See <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/how-many-countries-are-there>.

ues. Ethical condition is that these alliances become not themselves imperialistic empires, oppressing other alliances or countries.

Alliance from NAM to MAM: The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is the largest alliance of countries apart from the UN and its agencies. With 120 member states (plus 17 observer states and 10 observer international organisations) it represents 62 percent of all UN member states! In the New Cold War era and the fast-increasing polarisation, the NAM countries could play an important role towards Globalance, a dynamic balance of values, cultures and religions in a multilateral and multipolar world. As shown above (ch. 7.13.1.6), the NAM should and could be transformed into MAM, a Multi-aligned Movement: countries try to resist to be aligned only with one pole (US, China, Russia, EU) but aim at cooperating with multiple countries for the benefit of people and the earth, with the main objective to cooperate with whomever it serves to reach the UN Sustainable Goals (SDGs). They try to find equidistance and equiproximity to the superpowers. India, Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa, Middle East with their strengthened role between China and US can play an important role, supported by numerous smaller NAM/MAM countries.

From an ethical Globalance perspective, academic, cultural, religious and sports alliances should support such a revitalised NAM under the new name of MAM or similar.

7.14 International Politics: National Sovereignty, Multilateralism, International Governance, UN Reform

7.14.1 Developments: Revival of Nation States

Almost all living beings live in communities, small and large, be it a herd, a swarm, a bee colony, a family, a tribe, a duchy or a nation. This automatically raises the issue of the relation between one community and other communities. This observation is behind the modern question of the relation between national sovereignty and international cooperation. National law regulates the rules within one nation, international law must regulate the rules between nations in international relations and interactions. What does Globalance mean in this balance between national and international level?

7.14.1.1 The tricky relation between national and international law

The *modern nation-state* as a sovereign entity in a geographical area is in modern time mainly a result of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It was a system with clearly defined, sovereign legal entities in a territory and a central control within this entity. It allowed a balance of power between these entities. Based on this concept, only in the 19th century did most of the European nation-states develop as national entities. It was a political basis, even precondition for colonial imperialism by some of these nation-states.

International law regulating the relation between independent states started in Europe mainly with the Renaissance, but in world history as early as 2000 BC in Mesopotamia in Ancient Middle East, then in Egypt, in Greece (with the city-states), the Roman Empire (*jus gentium*, law of nations/people) and the Middle Ages where principles of interna-

tional relations had been reflected as part of natural law (the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides, 12th Century, and Thomas Aquinas, 13th century) and the canon law of the Roman-Catholic church. With Renaissance and Reformation, international trade law, merchant law, maritime law became very important. The International Red Cross in the 19th Century was crucial in developing war law. In the 20th Century, the League of Nations after the First World War, and the United Nations and its specialized organisations after the Second World War became the global framework for a more extensive international law system covering all sectors of society. It ranges from labor to trade, from health to security, from war to peace, from telecommunication to customs law, from tax law to criminal law, from environment to climate, from mining for air traffic, from cybersecurity to artificial intelligence and above all the human rights and right to development declarations and conventions.

The relation between international law and national law is crucial for national sovereignty and the weight of international commitments. In the broad international debate, two main schools are struggling with each other, also in concrete political conflicts: the dualists consider national law and international law as two separated legal systems. They therefore deny the direct and automatic validity of international law for a national legislative system. The monists see international and national law as two parts of one legal system. The radical wing of the monists considers national law, which contradicts international law, as void. The moderate monists consider national law, which contradicts international law as valid at least for a transitory period.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² Müller, Jörg, Paul/ Wildhaber, Luzius, *Praxis des Völkerrechts*, Bern: Stämpfli, 3rd edition 2001, 153-208 (161ff).

7.14.1.2 Global governance

Global Governance became a concept especially with globalisation⁶⁷³ since 1990. It means not a global government ruling all nations but a system of rules, international laws and conventions of actors (such as nation-states, but also private and non-governmental sector) who voluntarily agree to cooperate, without a central monopoly of power. Therefore, global governance can be combined with democracy⁶⁷⁴ and is different from an empire where one central power has the monopoly of power even if it gives a partial autonomy in specific areas. Global governance was also pushed to counter neoliberal globalisation⁶⁷⁵ with its attempt to sideline governmental interference in the free market. Global governance is also seen as an instrument to govern, manage and give equitable access to 'global public goods' such as water, air, land and other natural resources. Especially the UN Development Program (UNDP) contributed essential efforts to govern such global public goods.⁶⁷⁶ With the COVID-19 pandemic, global governance became a burning issue in terms of global coordination dealing with the pandemic, from health to economy to finance to violent conflicts. Whereas the World Health Organization (WHO) played a key role in information, coordination and supply, the political organs of the UN have been long-time absent and silent, at least until spring 2020. The UN Security

⁶⁷³ See chapter 7.1.

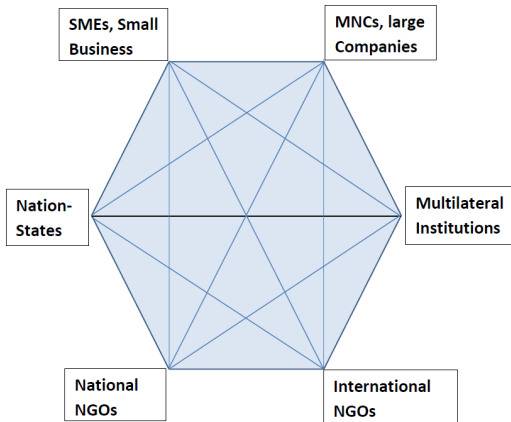
⁶⁷⁴ Berndt, Michael/ Sack, Detlef (Eds), *Global Governance? Voraussetzungen und Formen demokratischer Beteiligung im Zeichen der Globalisierung*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001.

⁶⁷⁵ Brand, Ulrich et al, *Global Governance. Alternative zur neoliberalen Globalisierung*, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2001.

⁶⁷⁶ Kaul, Inge/Grundberg, Isabelle/Stern, Marc A. (Eds.), *Global Public Goods. International Cooperation in the 21st Century*, New York: UNDP, 1999.

Council was not able to take any position or give guidance because of blockages between US and China. The question comes up, if new instruments for such situations are needed.

There have been theories and models expecting the disappearance of nation-states as a result of the multilateral world order since 1945 and even more as a result of globalisation since 1989. The private sector became indeed very influential, some multinational companies larger in their economic power than some nation-states and neoliberal politics tried to push back the influence of nation-states to a minimum of interference. Then suddenly, with the financial crisis of 2008, a strong state intervention in the market to save banks with public tax money, which were declared ‘system-relevant’, was implemented. In the Corona crisis in March 2020 the industrial countries, especially USA and EU, flooded the financial markets through their central banks within two weeks. USA alone with 1.5 trillion USD and the UN through UNCTAD called “for a



2.5 trillion corona-virus package for developing countries.”⁶⁷⁷ Almost all countries declared emergency status, which means very large competencies of governments of sovereign nation

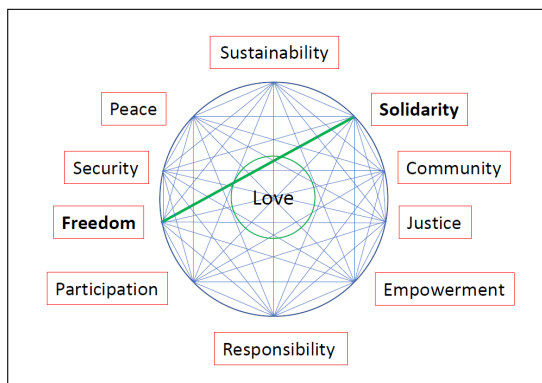
⁶⁷⁷ Unctad, 30 March 2020. <https://unctad.org/en/pages/newsdetails.aspx?OriginalVersionID=2315>

states for a limit period of time. In all these developments, the key question of international politics is the weight and influence of sovereign nation-states compared to international rules and regulations.

The same question is true not only for governmental organisations like states and multilateral institutions, but also for the private sector and the non-governmental sector. They all have a national part with their own partial sovereignty (left part of the graph). Many of them are at the same time part of an international entity (right part of the graph). Global NGOs like WWF or World Vision also have this challenge; how much autonomy and freedom of decision is with the smaller entity and how much with the larger entity? All models from very hierarchical to very autonomous subsidiaries exist. Similar with the private sector. Some multinational companies are very centralized from international top, others are holdings with many national legally independent companies which need to be motivated to cooperate with the international entity.

7.14.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Solidarity

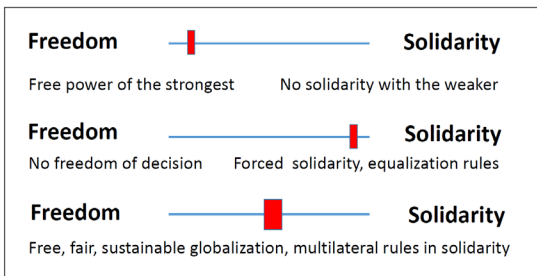
There are several values involved in the relation between nation-



states and international cooperation. What is the responsibility of each actor? How are national security and international peace related? How can in-

ternational sustainability of climate, air and water and of financial systems be related to national participation in decision making?

Let us focus here on one core value–pole: freedom and solidarity. Behind national sovereignty stands the value of freedom of decision independent from others. At the same time, international solidarity is needed to maintain national freedom. Freedom is often one-sided, understood as freedom to decide what somebody or a community like a nation-state wants to do. This ‘*freedom from*’ as independence from others’ intervention is part of the liberal understanding of freedom. Nevertheless, as important is the ethical and religious understanding of ‘*freedom to*’ as ability to do the right and good thing and freedom of overcoming the bad and evil. In Christian ethics, freedom means first of all the freedom from sin by the liberating act of life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Liberation therefore is a more adequate expression than freedom.⁶⁷⁸ On the other hand, solidarity⁶⁷⁹ is often misunderstood



as total integration into a larger entity without any participation in decisions or space for defined areas of decisions. It then

leads in extremis to centralised dictatorship, forced solidarity, loss of

⁶⁷⁸ Stueckelberger, Christoph, *Global Ethics Applied*. Vol 1: Global Ethics. Economic Ethics, Geneva, Globethics.net, 70-89: *Freedom as Fundamental Value* (free download www.globethics.net).

⁶⁷⁹ Mathwig, Frank, Stueckelberger, Christoph, *Grundwerte. Eine theologisch-ethische Orientierung*, Zürich: TVZ, 2007, 256-276: *Solidarität*.

identity and revolutionary conflicts. Or solidarity is just the group solidarity of a group of nation-states against the others.

7.14.3 Towards Globalance: Sovereignty with Solidarity

Globalance means that freedom – in this case in the form of national sovereignty – and solidarity – in this case in the form of mutual support of the sovereign nation-states – are both needed in a balanced way.

7.14.3.1 Sovereignty: Balancing Independency and Interdependency

Sovereignty misunderstood as total autonomy or even autarky from all cultural, political, economic and religious influences from outside leads to isolation, poverty, cultural, religious monotony and social stress. The ethical principle of subsidiarity enables the balance between national and international levels as decisions are taken on the lowest possible, most adequate level. What can be decided on family or village level, should not be decided at the headquarters of the UN, EU or AU; but common climate standards, trade rules, measures in times of a pandemic or an international court for crimes against humanity need decisions on the international level and the respective solidarity to execute such collective decisions. In many situations, freedom can only be guaranteed or protected by a superior level: the city police for the individuals, the national law for fair and equal taxation and the UN Security Council for international peacekeeping missions.

The global developments since 2008 show that the two extremes lost their attraction and are almost dead: nobody would seriously say – as in the 1990s – that nation states may disappear in a globalised world and be replaced by a world government or self-regulated free markets. On the other side, those who worked for dismantling the multilateral (UN) sys-

tem by cutting its budgets, undermining or blocking international conventions or even cancelling or leaving existing agreements, are hardly convincing after the Corona crisis. The USA announced in 2017 to leave the Paris Agreement on Climate Change Mitigation by end of 2020, left the Iran Nuclear Agreement in 2018 and pulled out of the nuclear treaty (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty) by 2019. But the whole world has seen the crucial importance of the World Health Organisation (WHO) for coordination, standard setting and support in the COVID-19 pandemic. Financial markets need organisations like Unctad, OECD, the Bretton Woods institutions, regional banks, the EU and many more to manage, regulate and interfere where needed. Clyde Prestowitz, a former advisor of the White House, described in 2003, as reaction to 9/11, that the USA is a great and unpredictable nation, once generous to the world, once blind to the bad behavior of dominance. He as an American expressed “concerns about American unilateralism”, its “soft imperialism”, “trampling our own values”, the attitude of “the United States against the rest of the world” with a dangerous understanding of sovereignty, freedom of action and military superiority.”⁶⁸⁰ His sharp analysis of American self-understanding seems true today still, twenty years later.

Sovereignty is much more than political independence. The greatest challenge today is climate change and scarcity of access to natural resources, especially energy, for affordable prices. Having the right to elect the parliament and government of one’s own country is good, but if

⁶⁸⁰ Prestowitz, Clyde, *Rogue Nation. American Unilateralism and the Failure or Good Intentions*, New York: Basic Books, 2003, chapter 1 (re-translated from the German edition, 2004, 13).

there is no gas for heating and cooking and no electricity for work and production, then the right to vote will be of lesser interest when compared to the survival factors of food, shelter and energy. In these cases, security in supply chain delivery and access to resources through alliances is more important than political sovereignty. Globalance means then balancing independence and interdependence, sovereignty in some fields combined with solidarity and multilateralism in others. Independence includes high risks; interdependency means decentralization and thus reduction of risks.

7.14.3.2 Ethics of Global Governance and New Multilateralism

From a *Globalance perspective*, not a global government is the solution – and anyway not more than a dream – but *strengthening global governance* in terms of strong cooperative actions.⁶⁸¹ Science also plays an important role in global governance because academic work is by definition cross-border, international and independent. From a Globalance perspective, academic cooperation with freedom of scientific research must be maintained also in periods of protectionism and fragile global governance. It can also be in exceptional situations a joint, multi-lateral (not unilateral!) intervention in a sovereign state under very restricted conditions, e.g. when fundamental rights are in large scale violated, as it is the case in a genocide. Then, UN-intervention as the “Responsibility to Protect”⁶⁸² can ethically be justified.

⁶⁸¹ See also Stükelberger, Christoph, *Post-corona world: Balancing International Cooperation and National Sovereignty*, Moscow, Russia: Journal of Law and Administration, MGIMO University, August 2020, forthcoming.

⁶⁸² *The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, Ottawa, ICISS, 2001. The report elaborates the responsibility to protect, to prevent, to react and to rebuild (11-46).

A key aspect of sovereignty in the cyber world is *national cyber-sovereignty*.⁶⁸³ After decades of great global cyber-integration via internet, cyber-sovereignty becomes a trend so that nation-states protect their area from cyber-attacks, but also for control of their citizens and information flow. Globalance as described would accept a certain cyber-sovereignty of states as justified, as long as common standards and cooperation in *international cyber-governance* is still promoted and pursued! Cybercrime can only be limited with strong international cooperation. At the same time, cyber-sovereignty is insofar an illusion, as there is always a huge interdependence in internet and the cyber world, from hardware to software to cloud storage and standards.⁶⁸⁴

Global challenges like climate change and access to and fair distribution of resources need multilateral solutions. Unilateral can work in few issues, bilateral is adequate in other cases, but multilateral solutions are often the best, also ethically speaking. Regional multilateralism is for some topics the most efficient solution, for others global multilateralism is needed.

Ethical reasons for multilateral solutions where adequate are:

- More stability and security than with unilateral actions
 - More efficiency and productivity through scale benefits in cooperation
 - Better mutual understanding and thus less conflicts in cooperation
- In wars between hegemons/superpowers, often both sides loose.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ See also chapter 6.3.

⁶⁸⁴ See chapter 7.3 on cyber world.

⁶⁸⁵ *Wieso wir Kriege führen*. Interview of Michael Schilliger with Richard Lebow, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 19 March 2022; Richard Lebow, *Why Nations*

The Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution conducted a global “experts” survey on multilateralism in 2021 as part of a project on the future of global governance. The collection of essays starts with: “There is no general agreement on what shape the “world order” will take in the years and decades ahead. What is certain, however, is that humanity will have to deal with huge and in many ways unprecedented transformations and challenges ... Failure to adequately address some of these challenges, notably climate change, could lead to immense economic and social damage; it could add to the existing pressures caused by mass migration resulting from the imbalance between geographic concentrations of populations and economic opportunities.”⁶⁸⁶

7.14.3.3 *Past and future UN-Reforms*

The United Nations was born out of the disaster of the Second World War. The founding history shows the compromises, which have been needed, but these compromises⁶⁸⁷ allowed the successful start of the UN. The UN celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2020 and is still the main multilateral global instrument in the world! A historical success.

Fight. Past and Future Motives for War, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010.

⁶⁸⁶ Brahim S. Coulibaly/ Kemal Dervis (Eds), *Essays on the 21st century multilateralism that works for all*, Brookings Global Economy and Development Report, Feb 2022, Introduction. (Accessed 6 Aug 2022).

⁶⁸⁷ Well summarized by Oliver Diggelmann, *Eine letzte Chance für den Weltfrieden. Die Gründung der Uno vor 75 Jahren war ein Kompromiss, erreichte aber das Hauptziel: die Verhinderung eines dritten globalen Krieges*, Neue Zürcher Zeitung 15 June 2020, 5. On the history of the UN: <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/history-of-the-un>.

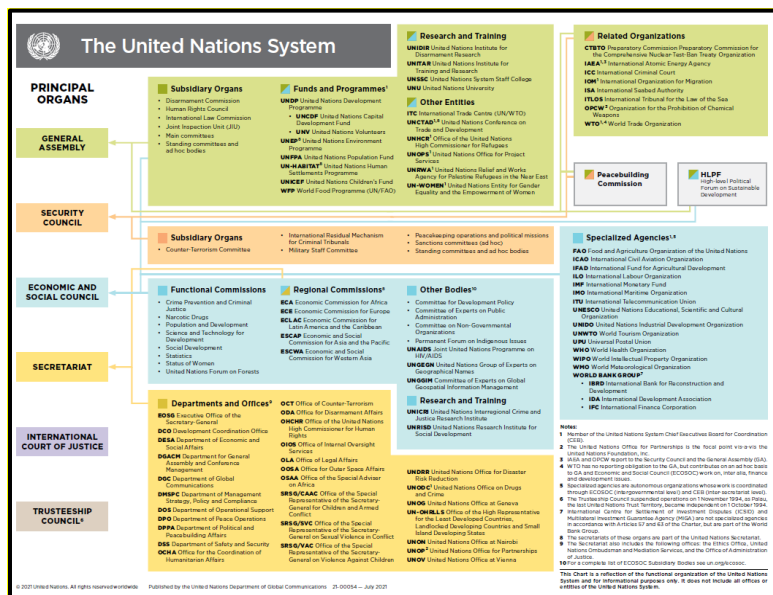
The General Assembly and the Security Council play a key role political coordination level. However, the greatest impact happens through the manifold specialized entities on immensely large scale of topics such as health (WHO), Labor (ILO), Trade (WTO, Unctad), Intellectual property and Innovation (WIPO), Education and Culture (UNESCO), Food (FAO), Nuclear Energy (IAEA), Telecommunication (ITU) and many more. The following chart⁶⁸⁸ shows the clarity and complexity of the UN System with its departments and offices and with over 50 specialized commissions and agencies (some of them huge like WHO and ILO).

From the 195 countries in the world, 193 are member countries and two are non-member observers (The Holy See and the State of Palestine). No other entity in the world represents humanity as the UN does. With all critique on single issues, we cannot overemphasize the treasure humanity has with the UN system and countries should take care of it.

With future growing tensions in transformation towards a New World Order, the UN becomes even more important. The unilateral war logic and sometimes private company logic, whereas simply the stronger wins, is not lasting and extremely risky. Fortunately, most of the superpowers are still committed to multilateralism within the UN. In democracies, the commitment is subject to changes in leadership. Whereas US President Trump clearly declared and worked for the US outside the UN system and his successor President Biden is committed to the UN. China is a strong supporter of the UN multilateralism, but with the clear strategy to held key influential positions in the specialized UN agencies.

⁶⁸⁸ Official UN chart, <https://www.un.org/en/delegate/page/un-system-chart> 2021.

Russia remains committed to the UN, in spite of the unilateral aggression in Ukraine and consequent international sanctions against Russia.



International power shifts in the last and coming decades lead to recurring debates and proposals for UN Reform. The main question is, whether the UN system can be a fair representation of its member countries (and other parts of society such as business and Civil Society). The main tension is between the principle of equal rights (one country one vote) and the taking into account of the differences in political, economic and military weight, which includes the role of political, economic and military alliances within the UN system.

Past UN-Reforms UN Reform proposals have been discussed for over 25 years. The Non-Alignment Movement made proposals in 1996,

represented by the Geneva-based South Centre.⁶⁸⁹ The last three Secretary Generals of the UN – Kofi Annan 1997-2006⁶⁹⁰, Ban Ki-Moon 2007-2016 and Antonio Guterres since 2017⁶⁹¹, made many efforts for UN reform, but with very limited success. They have not not (yet) lead to substantial changes as the struggle between the superpowers is too strong. *Future UN-Reforms - from a Globalance perspective* - should in my view consider the following elements:

1. *UN as Multiple Value System*: The UN is united and diverse. It is united in the will to cooperate globally, committed to the values in the UN Charter (such as peace, equality and freedom) and many other documents, but also very diverse in the value systems of the member countries (e.g. if we compare the Human Rights Declaration of the UN with the African and Arabic Human Rights Declarations). It is therefore – in all fragility – still an outstanding global community of unity and diversity and diversity in unity. To use the UN as a spearhead of the liberal-democratic world order, as some politicians still want to use it, is an abuse of the core convictions of the UN. The UN can only fulfill its role as long as member countries accept the – often painful – diversity of democracies, autocracies, dictatorships, failing states, oligarchies and countries with Christian, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Jewish etc. majority values.

⁶⁸⁹ South Centre, *For a Strong and Democratic United Nations. A South Perspective on UN Reform*, Geneva: South Centre, 1996.

⁶⁹⁰ *In Larger Freedom*, Reform document March 2005 under Kofi Annan. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2005/ga10334.doc.htm>.

⁶⁹¹ <https://reform.un.org>, on reform efforts of the current UN SG Antonio Guterres since 2017.

2. *Composition and Veto Right in the Security Council*: The current UN Security Council still reflects mainly the political situation in 1945. It does not take into account the large shift in population – Asia representing two third of humanity – nor the political and economic weight of countries. “Asia’s inadequate representation poses a serious threat to the UN’s legitimacy, which will only increase as the world’s most dynamic and populous region assumes an increasingly important global role. One possible way to resolve the problem would be to add at least four Asian seats: one permanent seat for India, one shared by Japan and South Korea (perhaps in a two-year, one-year rotation), one for the ASEAN countries (representing the group as a single constituency), and a fourth rotating among the other Asian countries.”⁶⁹² A reform of the composition of the Security Council is needed, with new powers as permanent members, especially India, probably Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa permanently rotating?

Controversial remains the *veto right* of the five permanent members of the Security Council. It often blocks the peacekeeping core role of the Security Council, when one of the permanent members is directly involved, as it was the case for the US in former Yugoslavia/Serbia, for US in Iran or for Russia in the Ukraine war. President Putin wrote in 2020, two years before the Ukraine war, on the UN Reform of the Security Council: “The calls that have been made quite often in recent years to abolish the veto power, to deny special

⁶⁹² Jeffrey Sachs, *3 reforms the UN needs as it turns 70*, World Economic Forum, 24 Aug 2015. <https://web.archive.org/web/20161101124109/https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/08/3-reforms-the-un-needs-as-it-turns-70/> (Accessed 21 Aug 2022).

opportunities to permanent members of the Security Council are actually irresponsible. After all, if that happens, the United Nations would in essence become the League of Nations – a meeting for empty talk without any leverage on the world processes.”⁶⁹³ However, for a New World Order, a voting right reform will be needed. Switzerland is member of the Security Council 2023/24. The former Swiss State Secretary and former Chief Negotiator for Switzerland-EU, Michael Ambühl, proposes that Switzerland should promote the deletion of the veto rights in the Security Council and probably replace Russia by India as permanent member, showing the new world situation, which is different from 1945.⁶⁹⁴ I only add: If this reform would be still not possible, other instruments for the peace keeping mission of the UN must be strengthened.

3. *Voting Reforms in other UN Agencies*: The principle “One country one vote” is in principle needed in order to give a chance to smaller countries. However, WTO and others are partly blocked because of this principle. A differentiation by topics or a reorganisation by country alliances could be a way out. In the Bretton-Woods-institutions IMF and World Bank, the voting rights and special drawing rights should be become fairer in order to answer the decades-old criticism of these institutions and to counter the effect, that

⁶⁹³ Vladimir Putin, The Real Lessons of the 75th Anniversary of World War II, Extended article in *The National Interest*, 18 June 2020, published by the center for the National Interest, created by president Nixon for “strategic realism in U.S. foreign policy”. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/vladimir-putin-real-lessons-75th-anniversary-world-war-ii-162982?page=0%2C5> (Accessed 12 Aug 2022).

⁶⁹⁴ Nora Meier/ Michael Ambühl, Die UNO ist zu wichtig, um nicht reformiert zu werden, *Sonntagszeitung*, Zürich, 23 Oct. 2022, 27.

alternative multilateral banks have been created, e.g. by China (see chapter 7.11.3.3)

4. *Re-integration instead of Isolation of Violating Countries.* What is the reaction of the UN, if a member country violates UN standards by starting a war – be it a military or a trade or an ideological war against another member? There are manifold mechanisms within the UN to deal with it: the conflict resolution mechanism within the World Trade Organisation WTO, labour dispute mechanisms in the International Labour Organisation ILO, the International Criminal Court ICC on crimes against humanity, Property Rights within the World Intellectual Property organisation WIPO etc. this is exactly the role of the UN and their agencies to offer a structured, defined mechanism for conflict resolution. This is ethically the (my) main reason why exclusion or even suspension of a member from one of the UN organs is not appropriate. Even with all clarity, which is needed to condemn an action of a member – like Russia in the Ukraine war or like human rights violations of many member countries, and even take legal actions, *exclusion and isolation is not the solution, for the following reasons (with the example of Russian suspension of Russia from the HR Council. See chapter 7.13.1.7):*
 - Excluded, isolated countries become unpredictable;
 - Unequal treatment is almost unavoidable: why suspend one country but not another for the same behavior?
 - The size, political weight, atomic weapons and resources of a country make unequal treatment unfair as it rarely leads to condemnation of a superpower compared to small, vulnerable countries;

- All countries are vitally needed to solve common problems like climate change (e.g. Russia in Siberia has a huge role to play).

5. *Reform of the International Criminal Court.* The International Criminal Court (ICC) is a strong instrument for international law and especially to pursue crimes against humanity with prosecution. However, there is again a certain protection of the superpowers, especially the five powers with veto-right in the security council. The US impeded an examination of crimes in Afghanistan, China may not be sentenced in relation to Uighurs, the people in the Pacific were in a weak position against the nuclear testing of France on their islands and we will see the outcome of the complaints in the ICC against Russia related to the Ukraine war.

Modifications of Existing and new Institutions may be needed to respond to the new multilateral power situation.⁶⁹⁵ They are part of a New World Order. How and by whom they will be implemented, is open, but the framework of the UN is certainly still one of the most elaborate and broad platform for it.

Equal treatment remains an important ethical goal of the UN, but power, which undermines sometimes equal treatment, remains a political reality in a world of superpowers. Globalance as power balance can contribute to more equal treatment within and outside the UN.

⁶⁹⁵ Developed also by Peter Fischer, chief economist NZZ, *Neue Multilaterale Institutionen nötig in einer pluri-polaren Welt., Das WEF im Krisenmodus und im Metaverse*, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 3 June 2022. (Accessed 3 June 2022)

7.15 Military: Rearmament, Mercenaries, Collective Security, Neutrality

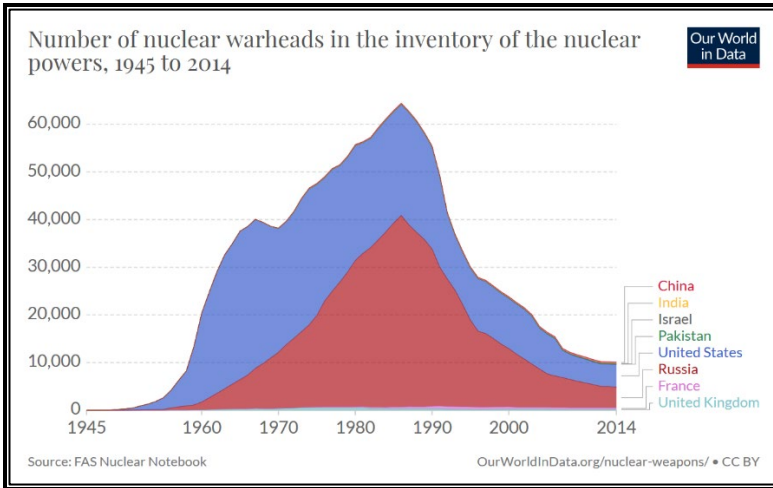
7.15.1 Developments: Disarmament, Rearmament, Military Bases and Wars

The period since the Second World War until today is often seen as a relatively peaceful period compared to former centuries. However, the reality is different. Even though there fortunately was no Third World War, between 1951 and 1999, 29 wars between countries and 23 civil wars within countries happened! In the 21st century, between 2000 and 2022 already 11 wars between countries and 12 civil wars within countries took place! With climate change, increased migration and increased poverty, additional conflicts will occur and have to find - in a Globalance perspective - non-military solutions.

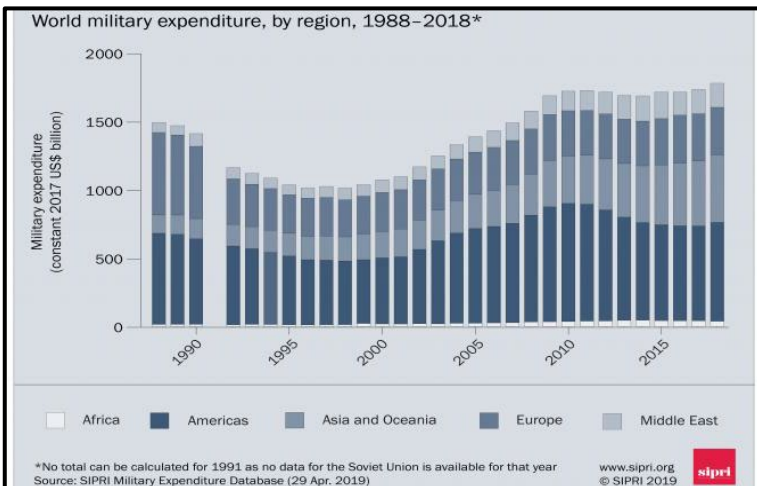
What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on military development and vice versa?

7.15.1.1 Disarmament and rearmament

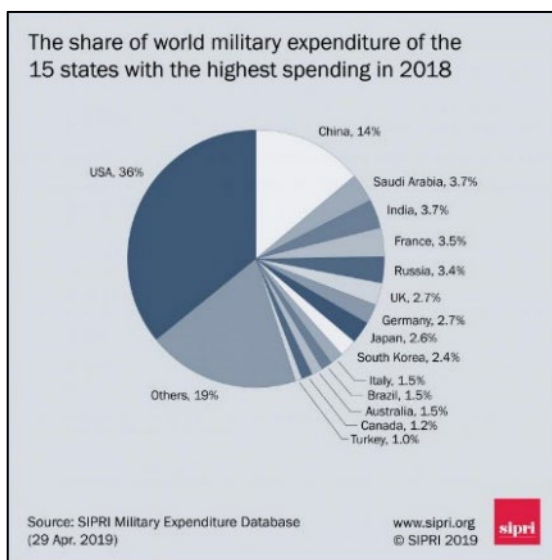
The breakdown of the cold-war world in 1989 led to a substantial disarmament, at least of nuclear weapons. The peak of nuclear weapons arsenals was reached in 1986 where Russia had 40,000 nuclear warheads, USA 23,000 and France, China, UK and Israel altogether just 1,000. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), signed by US-President



Reagan and Soviet Union President Gorbachev 1987 led to this impressive decrease of nuclear warheads, even though the remaining nuclear weapons are still enough to destroy the globe! However, the INF Treaty expired on 2 August 2019 after USA President Trump suspended it! Many see it as the potential beginning of a new arms race.

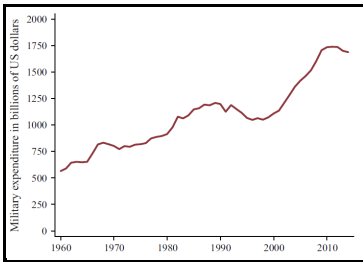


Due to globalisation and overcoming the bipolar world of America and Russia, the military expenditures went down from 1988 until 1998! The substantial decrease was mainly in Western Europe and the Russian Federation. The United States decreased expenditures 1985-1993 and remained flat until 1999, but after 11 September 2001 with war on terror in Afghanistan and Iraq, spending increased dramatically again. Since 1999 military expenditure has exploded with an increase between 1998 and 2018 by 76%! Total world military expenditures increased to 1.8 trillion USD in 2018. The five biggest spenders in 2018 were USA, China, Saudi Arabia, India, Russia and France, but USA alone counted for 36%, China for 14% and the other four combined also 14%. Expenditures from Africa are so tiny that they are almost not visible on the graph above.⁶⁹⁶

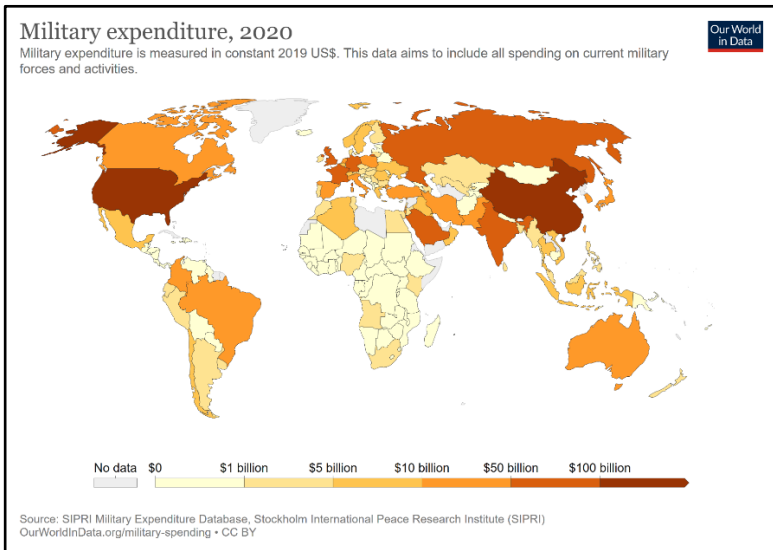
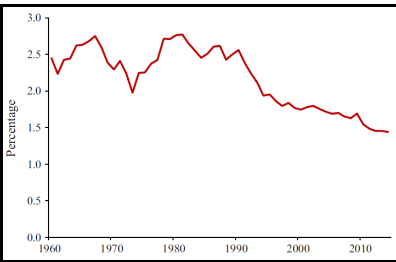


⁶⁹⁶ Figures from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute SIPRI, www.sipri.org.

Global military expenditure, 1960-2014



Global Median Share of GDP devoted to defense 1960-2014



The military expenditures in absolute figures grew constantly since the 1960s except for the decade 1990-2000. In percent of the GDP, it constantly decreased since 1990, from 2.5% to 1.5 of the GDP.

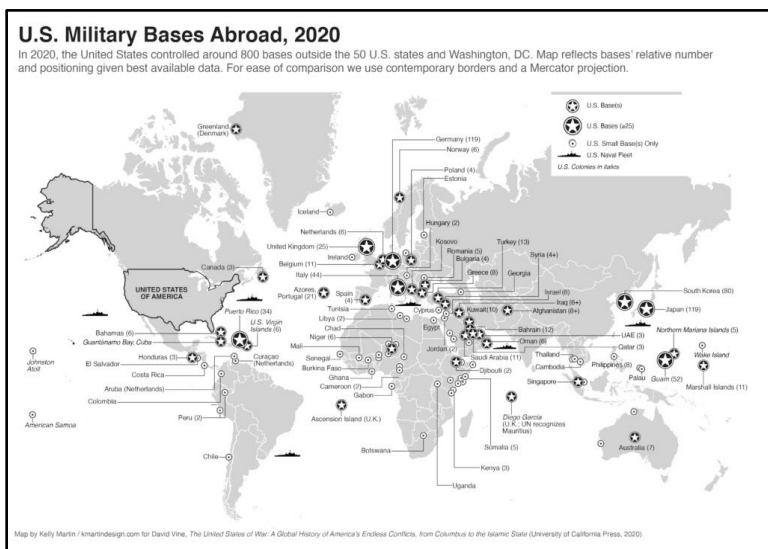
However, substantial differences can be seen between countries.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁷ Sandler, Todd, George Justin, *Military Expenditure Trends for 1960-2014 and what they Reveal*, Global Policy Vo 7, 2, 2016, 177.

7.15.1.2 Military bases abroad on all continents

The US maintains 700-1000 military bases abroad (figures differ by source and definition). They are based on all continents, with a focus on Europe, Middle East, but also spread in East Asia with Japan, South Korea and Guam and Sub-Saharan Africa and Central America.

Apart from US, four countries have a substantial number of military bases⁶⁹⁸: Turkey (60+), United Kingdom (20), France (16) and Russia (14). Small number are operated by China (4), Iran (8), Iraq (11), India (9), Italy (5), Saudi Arabia (8), Singapore (9) and the United Arab Emirates (4). Some are training bases e.g. in US. The list shows that the number of US military bases is far larger than those of all other countries together!⁶⁹⁹



⁶⁹⁸ For definitions and types of military base: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_base.

⁶⁹⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_with_overseas_military_bases#Russia. (accessed 18 Sept 2022).

The first map⁷⁰⁰ shows US military bases in main countries, the second map differentiates by type of base.⁷⁰¹



The year 1991 was the beginning of the mono-polar world with the USA as the sole superpower left, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. One could expect a time of peace as the superpower had no serious adversary. However, it was far from being a period of peace. Since 1991,

⁷⁰⁰ The US mentions in 2008, 761 installations abroad (Army, Air Force, Marine, Navy, Marine) of total 5429 installations (US Department of Defense, Base Structure Report FY 2008 Baseline, Washington 2008, 23). There are 800 abroad according to independent researchers and 1000 including those bases with no current personal, but the US right to access them anytime. <https://worldbeyondwar.org/closingbasesreport2021/>. See also David Vine, *Base Nation. How U.S. military bases abroad harm America and the World*, New York 2015.

⁷⁰¹ <https://www.quora.com/How-many-foreign-U-S-military-bases-are-there-in-the-world>. See also the maps on www.nobasis.org. (Accessed 18 Sept 2022).

the United States initiated or were involved in more than 100 military interventions worldwide!⁷⁰² The ‘war on terror’ since 9/11 of 2001 by USA with NATO justified interventions in many countries. The Bush-doctrine of ‘pre-emptive war’ justified the US intervention in Iraq in 2003. The Obama administration refocused in 2012 with its strategy ‘Pivot to East Asia’ the US geopolitical engagement moved from the Middle East to East Asia, as part of a policy to contain an ascendant China. The USA also intervened in 81 foreign elections from 1946-2000, partly by killing candidates or political leaders.

The United States Navy has been involved in anti-piracy activity in foreign territory throughout its history, from the Barbary Wars to combating modern piracy off the coast of Somalia and other regions. There is also a direct link to secure American economic interest through this shift: 60 percent of global maritime trade passes through the South China Sea!

The famous US economist Jeffrey Sachs concludes⁷⁰³: “We as USA are not using diplomacy; we are using weaponry. And I have seen, in my own experience over the last 30 years working extensively in Russia, in Central Europe, in China and in other parts of the world, how the U.S. approach is a military-first, and often a military-only, approach. We arm who we want. We call for NATO enlargement; no matter what other

⁷⁰² The TUFT Database lists 392 military interventions of USA from 1776 to 2019: 34 percent against countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, 23 percent in East Asia and Pacific, 14 percent in the Middle East and North Africa and only 13 percent in Europe and Central Asia. <https://tischlibrary.tufts.edu/what-we-have/databases/military-database>.

⁷⁰³ Jeffrey Sachs, “*Dangerous*” *U.S. Policy & “West’s False Narrative” Stoking Tensions with Russia, China*, Democracy Now, 30 Aug 2022. Transcript of video interview.

countries say may be harmful to their security interests. We brush aside anyone else's security interests. When they complain, we ship more armaments to our allies in that region. We go to war when we want, where we want, whether it was Afghanistan or Iraq or the covert war against Assad in Syria, which is even today not properly understood by the American people, or the war in Libya. And we say, 'We're peace-loving. What's wrong with Russia and China? They are so warlike. They're out to undermine the world.' And we end up in terrible confrontations."

An analysis of successes and failures of US military interventions 1946 to present comes to the conclusion that "a majority of US interventions failed their objectives."⁷⁰⁴

7.15.1.4 Private Armies, Mercenaries, Cyber-warriors

Private armies are military or paramilitary forces which are combatants hired by a private person or organisation and not a state/nation. They have existed throughout history. However, a key characteristic of the modern state of law is the state monopoly of the use of force. Private armies should therefore not exist, and medieval mercenary was in many countries forbidden, after reformation!

However, private armies exist in manifold ways: to protect companies e.g. in the mining sector, private big land-owners, in drug cartels, mafia and many other clandestine or openly known contexts. Modern technologies owned by private companies or persons can be used or

⁷⁰⁴ Malis, Matt; Querubin, Pablo; Satyanath, Shanker, *Persistent failure? International interventions since World War II*, The Handbook of Historical Economics, January 1, 2021, 641–673. doi:10.1016/B978-0-12-815874-6.00038-1. ISBN 9780128158746. S2CID 236697008. (Accessed 18 Sept 2022)

abused for mercenary services. The 14,000+ Satellites owned by Elon Musk could potentially be used for mercenary services to state and non-state actors.

The war in Ukraine since February 2022 showed two forms of mercenaries/private armies: The *Wagner Group* is a private group of soldiers fighting mainly in Africa, but also in the Eastern part of Ukraine. Reports show that they may be not only tolerated by but linked to the Russian government of President Putin. Mercenaries such as the Wagner Group do not appear in the state budget, killed combatants do not benefit from state benefits and the recruitment process is often nontransparent. In the case of Russia, it supported the state, which had difficulties recruiting enough soldiers without forcing them for military service. At the same time, the state did not officially confirm cooperation with the group, for obvious legal reasons.

On the other side, Ukraine was weak in military equipment but strong in many IT specialists from the fast-growing IT industry in Ukraine. Immediately after the Russian invasion to Ukraine on 24 February 2024, Ukrainian volunteers built the “*Ukrainian IT Army*”. Young IT experts began blocking Russian infrastructure, servers of public institutions, universities and companies through ‘DDoS Attacks’. These Distributed Denial-of-Service attacks flood a server with internet traffic to prevent users from accessing online services. It is a cybercrime, but thousands of Ukrainians in Ukraine – and especially abroad – joined their hacking activities with the IT Army in order to serve in the struggle of the country against Russia.⁷⁰⁵ The Telegram Channel of the Army

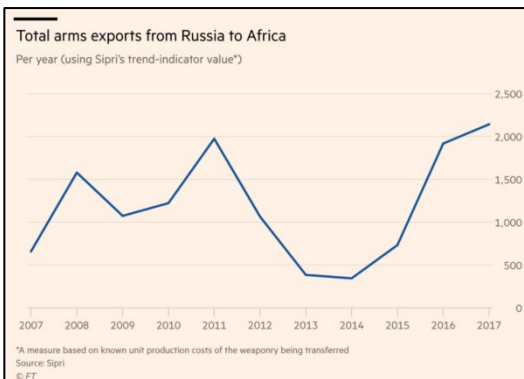
⁷⁰⁵ Mäder, Lukas: *Russland: Wie funktioniert die ukrainische IT-Armee?* Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 17 Sept 2022 (Accessed 18 Sept 2022).

reached 307,000 people in March and 260,000 in June 2022⁷⁰⁶. Active hackers are difficult to count as it remains an illegal activity, but certainly thousands have been active hackers.

For the ethical valuation of these mercenaries see 7.15.3.4.

7.15.1.5 Sustainable Development Goals SDGs

The SDG 16 with the title ‘Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions’ includes 17 targets⁷⁰⁷ such as: reduce all forms of violence, especially against children, reduce illicit financial and arms flows and increase participation of developing countries in global governance. All other



SDGs also contribute to peacekeeping.

The total annual need of capital to reach all SDGs is estimated at 2.5-3 trillion USD. The argument of governments is that

these finances are not available but must be compared to expenditures such as 1.8 trillion per year for military expenses. The total Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the OECD countries in 2018 was 150 billion USD⁷⁰⁸, which is less than 10% of the global military expenses

⁷⁰⁶ Soesanto, Stefan, *The IT Army of Ukraine. Structure, Tasking and Ecosystem*, Cyberdefense Report, Zurich, Center for security Studies CSS at ETH, June 2022, 8.




⁷⁰⁷ <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice>.

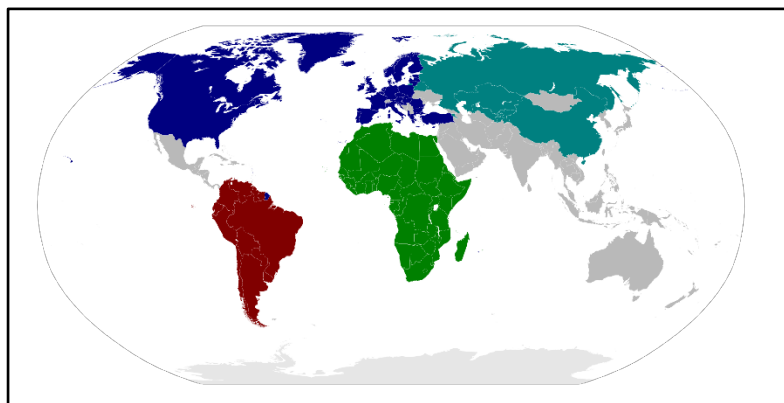
⁷⁰⁸ Data from OECD DAC, www.oecd.org/dac.

and about 15% of the military expenses of the OECD countries. The old conflict between armament and development continues to exist and will even become more relevant in coming years. An example is the strongly increased weapons export of Russia to Africa as Russia is back as a global player (graph) and strengthened the ties with selected African countries on an economic⁷⁰⁹, military and academic level.

7.15.1.6 Security Alliances

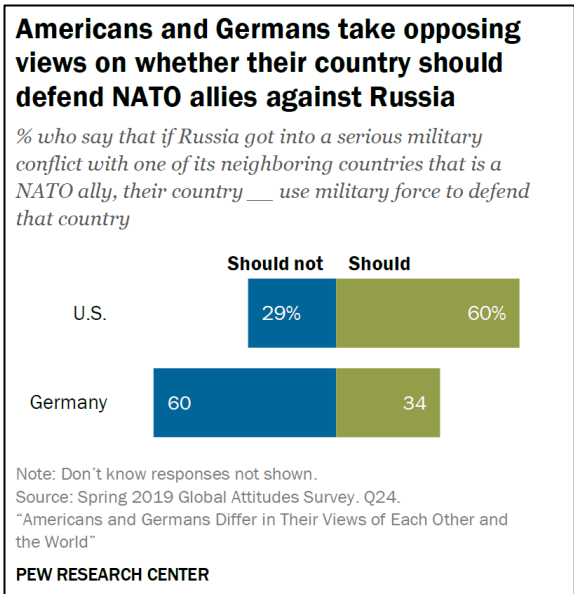
An important role in military geopolitics and in military expenditures play the security alliances. The United Nations system has the mandate for peace missions, but not for military interventions. *Military security alliances* play an important role in it. There are international agreements for national security where the parties agree in long-term perspective to protect and support each other in case of an aggression or crisis.

Major security alliances: NATO, CSDP,  SCO (India and Pakistan joined 2017), CSTO  Council of South American Defense  Council of Peace and Security of the African Union. Source: Wikipedia, article Collective Security.



⁷⁰⁹ Successful Russia-Africa Summit and Economic Forum in Sochi 2019. <https://summitafrica.ru/en/>

The *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)*⁷¹⁰, mentioned above, is the strongest military alliance, but shows increasing conflicts between



USA and Europe as Europe develops a more independent and common foreign policy and partners like Turkey are little reliable. The survey in the graph shows that within NATO there are fundamentally different views

of their role e.g. related to Russia, exemplified on US and German views.

The *Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)*⁷¹¹ of the European Union is responsible for the common EU Security Policy but is not yet a European Defence Union. The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)⁷¹² is the largest coalition as it covers two third of Eurasia and half of the world population. In 2017, India and Pakistan also joined which

⁷¹⁰ <https://www.nato.int>.

⁷¹¹ https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en.

⁷¹² <http://eng.sectsco.org>.

immediately showed also the limits of mutual military support within SCO as the India-Pakistan military border confrontation in 2019 shows. The *Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO)*⁷¹³ consists of nine post-Soviet states, Russia and Central Asia. It has been an intergovernmental military alliance since 1994. The *South American Defence Council (CDS)* of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) is not a military alliance like NATO, although it provides military coordination, but is de facto not functional as eight of the twelve UNASUR countries left or suspended their membership because of Venezuela. At the annual Munich Security Conference in 2020, Latin America was practically absent which is a growing concern for global security.⁷¹⁴ The *Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU)*⁷¹⁵ is the standing decision-making organ of the AU for collective security and conflict resolution. The AU has the power to intervene with military means in conflicts on behalf of its member states. Over ten such interventions happened since the creation of the PSC in 2003. It shows the will of the African countries to handle their conflicts within Africa and not primarily with external support, even though a good part of the UN peace-keeping missions are still needed in Africa. *AUKUS* is a new trilateral security alliance of Australia, United Kingdom and US, established in September 2021. *AUKUS* shows the new focus of the US on South East Asia/ on the Indo-Pacific. The *Five Eyes* is the Intelligence Alliance of

⁷¹³ <https://en.odkb-csto.org>.

⁷¹⁴ <https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/wanted-south-americas-participation-global-geopolitics>.

⁷¹⁵ <https://au.int/en/psc>.

US, Canada, Britain, Australia and New Zealand. They now build a united front against China e.g. in the case of Huawei and Hong Kong.⁷¹⁶

7.15.1.7 Coalitions

Coalitions are a case-by-case support in a specific conflict such as the war in Iraq or Syria. They are mainly initiated and led by one of the superpowers in order to strengthen and internationally justify their military intervention, sometimes without the UN Security Council.

7.15.1.8 Terrorism has been a threat for decades. During the corona pandemic, it was understandably not at the forefront of concerns, but could return. The victory on IS in Syria may not be stable. It can break out again at any time⁷¹⁷ and the international coalitions to fight it may be weakened due to the corona disaster, which binds many sources which are not free for collective security efforts.

7.15.2 Value-Poles: Security and Justice

Dealing with military power from an ethical point of view, is a very broad field from military ethics to peace ethics, from social and collective security to justice and freedom. Let us look just at one value-pole: security and justice. For defensive military power, the main objective – at least in its official intention – is to enable security for the population of a country.

This value is in danger if only the security of one's own country is envisaged, no collective security measures are supported and social jus-

⁷¹⁶ Tan, Su-Lin, *China in brace position as Five Eyes form united front*, South China Morning Post SCMP, 14 June 2020.

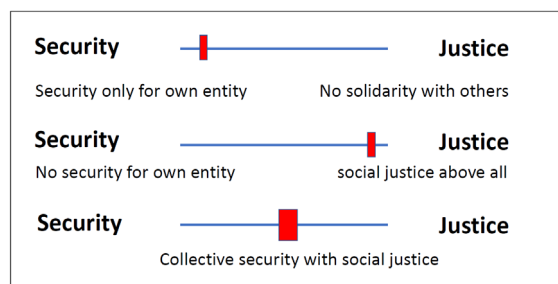
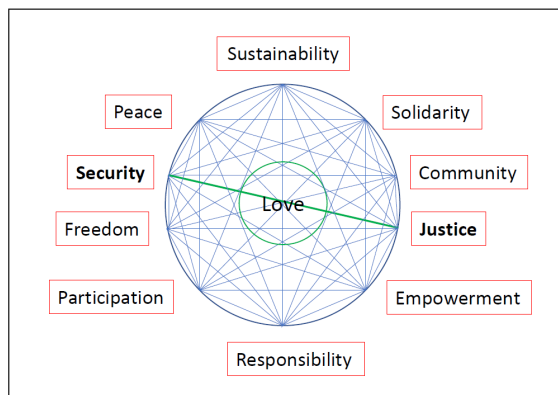
⁷¹⁷ This is the analysis of intelligence researcher Guttman, Aviva, *Islamic state could be about to hit back – and the world is paying little attention*, The Conversation, 4 May 2020.

tice is not included. It then tends to become a repressive security to oppress social unrest resulting from injustice and too unequal distribution of wealth.

The opposite extreme is to maximize social justice, claiming that with social justice no military defence is needed as social justice establishes

the true security.

A balanced perspective is to seek the balance of security and justice: no national security without collective security, no security without social justice, no social justice without collective security. Similar value-pairs are security and free-



dom (chapter 4.1.2) and justice and peace (chapter 4.1.5).

7.15.3 Towards Globalance: Collective Security. ABCD Weapons, Neutrality, Cyber war, Mercenaries

Armies, military institutions and alliances are reality for national and international politics. Only very few countries have no army. How then can armies contribute to Globalance and are they an obstacle to it? Let

us look at four aspects: *collective security, financing development and climate mitigation, the role of neutral countries and cyber-war and cyber-security.*

7.15.3.1 Collective Security

Collective security is an international security concept, which means that security of one member state is the concern of all others and needs mutual support in situations of threats of peace. Armies and all kind of military forces must be restricted to defensive actions. Aggressive invasion of territories of other sovereign states can ethically and from the perspective of international law not be justified. If this is agreed, extra-territorial military actions cannot be undertaken as unilateral actions because they then could be of unilateral benefit, e.g. to secure access to natural resources as it was the case in the Iraq war. It can always be seen as aggression, even if it is covered with the justification of extraterritorial self-defence e.g. against terrorists or a rogue state or a preventive measure against potential dangers. The only solution in Globalance perspective is to integrate defence into concepts of collective security, which balances security needs with peace efforts. In order to avoid a new arms race and increased threats in the quadri-polar world, the multi-lateral security systems must be strengthened and not replaced by a bipolar polarised divided 'collective security'.

The global Corona pandemic shows also, that global security suddenly becomes not a military, but a health and economic security issue. The World Health Organisation overnight became a kind of 'peace corps for health' of the UN. Nation states otherwise had no coordinating body such as NATO for military threats where the security actions against the

virus could not only be coordinated but complimented by joint actions and budgets. Collective security in case of a pandemic or even a regional epidemic means to cooperate in an equally binding and prepared way as in a security alliance!

It is interesting, that China, with all ties with Russia, calls for a renewed collective security system in Europe after the Russia-Ukraine war: “A core issue ... is to break [the war] and then make a European security architecture in the spirit of indivisible security and on a balanced, effective, sustainable basis”, writes a Chinese researcher in the official Chinese magazine in August 2022.⁷¹⁸

The collective security system seems to be more and more replaced by the century-old politics of power and imperialist aggression with the principle: the stronger wins, dominates and exploits the oppressed. This approach with gains for a few and wars with suffering for many implicitly sows the seeds of revenge of the oppressed decades later. New efforts to revitalize collective security are in preparation and will certainly grow with the new for stability. An example is the Collective Security Initiative⁷¹⁹, which aims at revitalizing OSCE⁷²⁰ as collective security system in Europe.

Globalance, the vision of this book, does not accept the imperialism as a fate of human history, but shows concrete paths of securing collectively the future of humanity in a dynamic and competitive, but fair way to enable a life in dignity for all humans and the whole creation.

⁷¹⁸ Zhao Long, *Reshaping European Security Order*, Beijing, Contemporary World 37/04, July/Aug 2022, 7-11 (11).

⁷¹⁹ <https://www.cooperative-security-initiative.org/>.

⁷²⁰ Greminger, Thomas, *Making the OSCE More Effective: Practical Recommendations from a Former Secretary General*, OSCE Insights 2021, Hamburg, Nomos, 2021, 13-26.

7.15.3.2 Financing development and climate mitigation.

The sustainable development goals need 2.5-3 trillion USD per year, the post-corona economic damages need in addition an estimated 2.5 trillion USD of which 1 trillion only for debt cancellation of developing countries. Preventive and curative health investments will substantially increase. Climate mitigation costs with droughts, floods, diseases, refugees and social unrest will need additional immense sums of capital. This shows that the world community must make all efforts to avoid a new arms race by investing additional funds to the already very high annual 1.8 trillion USD.

7.15.3.3 The role of neutral countries

Neutrality of a country or non-aligned coalitions can play a role as bridge-builder. Neutrality means on one hand to not be involved in a conflict and take position with one or the other side; it also includes the option of active mediation. Situations of polarisation in bilateral or multilateral conflicts often require intermediaries to de-escalate the conflict. This role can normally only play small countries, which are not a threat to larger powers. If we take the case of Switzerland, Swiss neutrality is a chance for offering peace negotiations on neutral territory and be an intermediary in negotiations. At the same time, Switzerland is not neutral in many aspects: the country positions itself clearly as a country in the frame of capitalism, with close ties to EU and cooperation with NATO even though not a member of it. Globalance means that neutral countries like Switzerland could play a more active role in support of balancing conflicting interests and contributing to the reduction of extremism and polarisation. The communication of the Swiss mass media

shows that they are far from being neutral. Other countries offer their mediation services with some success, at least short term, such as Turkey and Israel. Other countries from non-aligned background e.g. in the Middle East may also offer themselves as intermediaries. It means the map of neutral countries is changing; uncertainty and another insecurity.

7.15.3.4 *Cyber-War, Cyber-Security and Cyber-Peace.*

Military power, aggression, defense and security are inseparably linked to cyber-war, cyber-security and what we could call cyber-peace. Our physical world is in each single corner linked to the cyber world (chapter 6.3). Collective security and peace depend to great extent on peaceful solutions and new regulations for the cyber world. The arms race is happening to some extent in the field of artificial intelligence, autonomous weapons, small arms trafficked through uncontrolled sales on the Darknet and even guns from home-printers. The International Committee of the Red Cross is very worried that the whole system of existing conventions on war and security would be undermined and even severely threatened, if there are no respective new conventions e.g. on autonomous weapons.⁷²¹ The military use of weapons of mass destruction have been the ABC weapons (atomic, biological, chemical), now they are de facto ABCD weapons, adding *Digital Weapons* which can clearly cause mass destruction. *The same disarmament regime for ABC-weapons must now be developed for D-weapons of mass destruction!*

⁷²¹ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Ethics and Autonomous Weapon Systems: An Ethical Basis for Human Control?*, in Christoph Stückelberger/Pavan Duggal (eds.), *Cyber Ethics 4.0. Serving Humanity with Values*, Global Series, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2018, 323-366.

The Tech companies (the 2x4 giants GAFBA, BATH⁷²²) play a key role, as their ownership of big data and algorithms are a backbone of autonomous and semiautonomous digital weapons. Some programmers left google when they learnt that google cooperated with the US army for weapon systems. Microsoft, through its security software, installed on many computers worldwide, delivered a detailed report⁷²³ to Ukraine and the public about increasing cyberattacks of the Russian intelligence services FSB, SWR, GRU in Ukraine 2021/2022.

Classical arms and cyber arms: Military conflicts in the current Cyber World have two major types of arms: the classical “hard ware” like guns, tanks, airplanes or warships and the new digital arms like computers, satellites, hacking methods, digital attacks on key infrastructure. The little Baltic country Estonia, former part of Soviet Union, became a leading digitized country as they jumped from Soviet infrastructure directly to the new digital 21st century state infrastructure with the most advanced e-government facilities, where practically all services and infrastructure of the state are digital. However, in 2007, the country suffered from a huge countrywide hacking attack. During the Ukraine war, they acknowledged that “for Estonia, the digital defense is as important as the military defense.”⁷²⁴

⁷²² See chapters 1.2.3 and 7.3.1.7.

⁷²³ Microsoft, *Special Report: Ukraine. An overview of Russia’s cyberattack activity in Ukraine*, April 7, 2022 (Accessed 19 Sept 2022).

⁷²⁴ Rudolf Hermann, *Bedrohung aus Russland: Die digitale Verteidigung ist für Estland genauso wichtig wie die militärische Abwehr*, Neue Zürcher Zeitung Pro, 15 Aug 2022. (Accessed 16 Aug 2022).

7.15.3.5 *Reduce and forbid Mercenary*

The aforementioned reality of modern mercenary and private armies (1.15.1.4) is ethically a great challenge for states and a threat for Global-ance: They undermine and weaken the state monopoly on the use of force. They can be and are abused by autocratic and dictatorial political and military leaders. They undermine transparency and fair labor conditions and security of the soldiers. It is not by chance that Huldrych Zwingli started the Reformation in Zurich/Switzerland among others with a call to Swiss mercenaries abroad to come back and work hard on farmland instead of losing their lives serving foreign landlords⁷²⁵. Protestant work ethics was also an anti-mercenary ethics! Mercenaries build parallel societies and thus endanger the stability of the society. Owners and users of mercenaries abuse their power on the back of the state of law. Mercenary violates international law. To justify a private IT army of hackers – even if the good course of self-defense of Ukrainians is understandable – would make it difficult not to justify other hackers for a noble cause (‘ethical hacking’ as official form of internal quality control of software systems of institutions is justified and different as it is clearly regulated and transparent in its activities). To use IT-hacking as a weapon in war is obvious and cannot be denied as long as one justifies cyber war. But the state monopoly on the use of force obliges the state to put an IT-Army under full control of the army of the state and refuse a private hacking army as illegal. The blessing of the Ukrainian IT Army by the Digital Minister of the Ukraine Government and the

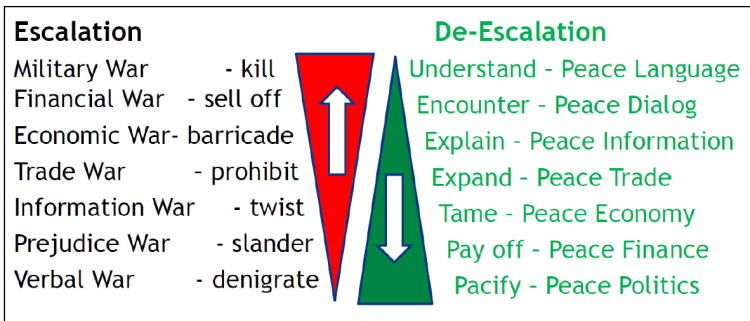
⁷²⁵ Huldrych Zwingli, *Eine treue und ernstliche Vermahnung and die Eidgenossen*, Zurich, 2 Mai 1524; Joerin Robert, *Zwingli’s battle against the supplying of Swiss mercenaries*, presentation in Wildhaus, 8 May 2019. www.zhref.ch. (Accessed 18 Sept 2022).

supposed complacency of companies such as Google, Microsoft and Western Cloud services to allow this hacking by hosting it⁷²⁶ may be understandable as reaction of despair after the Russian invasion, but cannot be ethically justified! The increased privatization of arms and armies is a threat for democracies and state stabilities and a reason for a slippery slope towards anarchic and violent and polarized societies, as the increasing number of failing states show.

7.15.3.6 *Escalation and de-escalation:*

In both worlds, the physical and the virtual, military conflicts and war do not happen out of the blue. A step-by-step escalation happens up to the highest level (direct military confrontation), which can happen as open physical aggression, but also as cyber-attacks e.g. against vital infrastructure such as electricity grids of large cities, oil and gas infrastructure, satellites, internet cables in the sea etc.

The following graph shows *seven levels of escalation*:



⁷²⁶ Pertinent questions to such complacency are asked by Soesanto, Stefan, *The IT Army of Ukraine. Structure, Tasking and Ecosystem*, Cyberdefense Report, Zurich, Center for security Studies CSS at ETH, June 2022, 28f.

The verbal starts with denigrating others or institutions. The prejudice war is already on a next level as it is a systemic racial or other prejudice against a group of people or ideologies. The information war is most known with fake news, manipulation and misinformation campaigns. It is a key element in war strategies long before war but contributes substantially to escalation and can lead to acceptance of a trade war, which prohibits free trade as we see in the US-China trade war. One step higher is when trade war escalates to economic war e.g. with sanctions, blockade, hunger as weapon and others. The financial war often goes hand in hand with the economic war with currency, capital exchange restrictions and much more. All this together can finally lead to a climate where even a military intervention is accepted by populations, which then leads to direct killings. But victims and loss of lives happen along all seven escalation levels. Financial collapses and economic sanctions can directly lead to victims, as a lack of medicine in countries under sanctions shows.⁷²⁷

The *seven levels of de-escalation* in the graph follow the same topics, but now the other way round. The escalation of conflicts is not a fate to be accepted. The ethics of Globalance requests to develop the strategies of de-escalation: understanding the other and using peace language of respect and empathy is the first step. Understanding does not means

⁷²⁷ The German conflict researcher Glasl describes a conflict escalation with nine steps: 1. Hardening, 2. Debate and polemic, 3. Action instead of words, 4. Images and Coalitions, 5. Loss of Face, 6. Threat strategies (e.g. sanctions), 7. Limited shell of annihilation/destruction, 8. Fragmentation and disintegration of the other, 9. Total confrontation and mutual destruction. From: Friedrich Glasl, *Konfliktmanagement*, in Berthold Meyer (Hg.), *Konfliktregelung und Friedensstrategien: Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2011, 125-145 (127f). https://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/HSFK/hsfk_downloads/Glasl_fertig.PDF. (Accessed 10 Aug. 2022).

accepting, it 'only' means to be fair to others in recognizing the humanity of others in a correct way. Encounters through direct contact and dialogue is one of the most important steps to counter prejudices, which are often built on missing direct information and experience. Based on these fair perceptions, fair information is envisaged and possible. We can call it peace information, opposite to hate speech and fake news. Peace trade means to expand trade to people, groups and countries, which otherwise are deprived from cooperation. It is a key element in peace building and conflict resolution. For proven reasons, trade is often seen as peace instrument. But it can also lead to serious conflicts or even war if e.g. trade or production units are beneficial for one ethnic group in a country and not the whole population. The outbreak of religious or ethnic violent conflicts is often rooted in economic factors, as it could be seen in Indonesia with the conflicts between Christians and Muslims, which was in fact a lack of fair distribution of wealth and access of resources. Peace economy means to tame the economy where growth is too fast, not culturally embedded or too one-sided in terms of sectors. Economic policies of governments as well as private investment strategies have always been reflected under the aspect of contributing to peace or to conflicts. The same is true for the financial sector, where fast insertion and fast extraction of capital in a country can be a short-term benefit, but can make the country very vulnerable, volatile and result in related conflicts. Finally, peace politics must deal with avoiding military violent conflicts by peace diplomacy, alliances and all other means mention in other chapters.

7.15.3.6 *Just war? Just Peace?*

War alone has been a controversial topic for centuries, especially in countries with Christian populations. Religions struggle between blessing weapons and warfare and at the same time promoting non-violence. There are phases in history, where this debate is more vibrant and vital than in others. The armament of Germany in the 1980s and the broad peace movement against it was one period. War can ethically only be justified as last option, and only war as defense, after trying all non-violent instruments that we describe below. Only then, in such rare cases, could we exceptionally talk of a “just war” and “justice through violence” and an ethically “legitimate use of force”.⁷²⁸ Another approach is to develop the concept of “just peace”⁷²⁹.

Too often, a war was considered justified without the above mentioned conditions of ‘only defensive’ and ‘last resort’. The war in Ukraine in 2022 was justified by US/Europe/NATO as a war of democracy against autocracy. From the Russian side, it was justified as reestablishing the pride of the Russian empire and as reaction of broken promises of the west in 1991 to keep a neutral zone between NATO and Russia without NATO expansion. Both justifications are not enough as

⁷²⁸ An example is the study document of the Lutheran World Federation, *Justice through Violence? Ethical Criteria for the Legitimate Use of Force, LWF Studies, Geneva, 1994.*

The new period of Christians and churches searching a position in re-armament justifying interference in Ukraine and other countries may relaunch the debate.

⁷²⁹ Strub, Jean-Daniel, *Der gerechte Friede*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2010; Strub, Jean-Daniel/ Grotefeld, Stefan (Eds.), *Der gerechte Friede zwischen Pazifismus und gerechtem Krieg. Paradigmen der Friedensethik im Diskurs*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007; Jäger, Sarah/ Strub Jean-Daniel, *Gerechter Frieden als politisch-ethisches Leitbild*, Berlin: Springer 2018.

the first condition of using all non-violent means have not been implemented. (See also chapter 6.2.4).

7.15.3.7 *And why war?*

New imperialist trends and the Ukraine war raise again the question: why wars? What is the motivation of aggressors? Is it rational planning of expansion of influence for economic reasons to get wealth? Is it for pure power reasons? Is it to stabilize security by extending borders and defeat neighbors or far away enemies? Is it revenge for past humiliation? Is it for a missionary vocation in the world? Is it out of accident of misunderstandings and miscalculation?

Richard Lebow analyzed in his book “Why Nations Fight”⁷³⁰ wars since the beginning of modern nation states in the 17th century. The mainstream reasons for war are, according to him, seen in fear, interest, standing (reputation), and revenge. However, after carefully analyzing all wars from the 17th to the 21st century, he concluded that interest of expanding land and revenge (by recuperating lost land) are in decline. Also, the acquisition of land could often not be transformed into a gain of wealth or other benefits from the occupied territories. He also counted that a majority of wars were lost by the aggressors. Today, “political and economic interdependence significantly raises the costs of conflict and negatively affects the overall calculus of the possible gains to be made by using force to control disputed resources.”⁷³¹ Even where a nation won a war, in the majority of analyzed cases, the nation could not reach

⁷³⁰ Lebonow, Richard Ned, *Why Nations Fight. Past and future Motives for War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Kindle edition.

⁷³¹ *Ibid*, 294.

the objectives. Revenge as motive for war led in 11 of 12 wars to a situation where the aggressor lost the war. It shows that – in my view – motives for war are often to satisfy pressure from one’s own population or to distract from internal problems such as unemployment or internal conflicts.

What are possible conclusions for Globalance? In order to reach dynamic Globalance, what is needed is a careful analysis of potential and real war motives, conformity with rational economic and political arguments, but also emotional and spiritual strength to understand why war is not the way to reach promised objectives. After the end of a war, the public debate about its interpretation is essential, “it is not an objective, but political process”, as Lebow said⁷³². Losers tend to create a narrative that portrays themselves as de-facto winners; Future-oriented post-war narratives from a Globalance perspective are essential!

7.16 Forms of State: How to Execute and Share Power

7.16.1 Developments: Democracies and Monocracies

What is the influence of the 4C’s (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on the forms of states, national political systems and their future? In order to answer the question, let us first look at a short overview of forms of states and political decision-making throughout human history. We can then examine the pressure on democracies in uncertain times and centralised-monocratic forms of states.

⁷³² Michael Schilliger, *Wieso wir Kriege führen. Interview mit Richard Ned Lebow*, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 19 March 2022, at the end of the interview.

7.16.1.1 *Forms of states and decision-making*

How is power taken, executed, controlled, shared, limited and finally handed over? Which are the values at stake related to power and how can power be regulated in the perspective of Globalance as a balance of values? This is the question in the following chapter.

Where two or more people are together, the question of how *decisions* are taken, and *actions* implemented comes up. Who decides what and when, for whom and for how long? Such decisions and actions are normally based on written or unwritten rules, regulations and conventions. Rules of executing power are needed on all levels, from small communities like a family up to global communities, from private to public life.

Politics is the set of activities in the public area of a community, be it a village, a city, a county, a nation-state or a multilateral association of such entities.

The *forms of states* as a political entity are very diverse in their rules on power. *Kratos* is the Greek word for *power*. Most forms of state end with *-cracy* which defines who executes the power in a political entity. *Archos* is the Greek word for *highest leader*. Some forms of execution of power end with *-archy*. Both endings are used to describe who executes the political power.

My following classification of forms of state distinguishes four main groups (for its value range see below 6.13.2):

All on their one	All Citizens	A class of a few	One
1 Anarchy	2 Democracy	3 Oligarchy	4 Monocracy
1 No authority 2 Failed State	1 Direct Democracy 2 Representat. Democracy 3 Parliamentar. Monarchy	1 Aristocracy 2 Plutocracy 3 Technocracy 4 Kleptocracy 5 Gerontocracy 6 Synarchy 7 Theocracy 8 Ethnocracy	1 Dictatorship/ Tyranny 2 Absolute Monarchy 3 Theocracy

1 **Anarchy** means the absence or recognition of an authority and control. It can have voluntary associations.

1.1 *Everybody* executes power without a superior authority

1.2 *Failed state* in chaos as current power is authorized to lead (e.g. Somalia).

2 **Democracy** means the power of the people (demos)

2.1 *Direct democracy* allows the largest direct participation in decisions (e.g. Switzerland with its referendum system).

2.2 *Representative democracy* means the citizens vote for parliaments and governments as their representatives for executing power (most of democracies, e.g. Germany, France).

2.3 *Parliamentary monarchy* means the power of the monarch is limited by constitution, parliament and government and therefore is seen as one form of democracy (e.g. UK). The constitutional monarchy is closer to oligarchy.

- 3 **Oligarchy** means the power of a few. The power is in the hands of a normally small group of a ruling class
 - 3.1 *Aristocracy* means the power is in the hands of families with inherited power (e.g. many principalities in the Middle Age in Europe).
 - 3.2 *Plutocracy* means the power of wealthy persons or institutions (e.g. oil oligarchs, if hidden, it is a form of synarchy, 3.6 below)
 - 3.3 *Technocracy* means the power of experts in technology, economics or other fields of expertise (often interim governments after a political crisis or blockage between ruling parties).
 - 3.4 *Kleptocracy* means the power of thieves (kleptes), of corrupt leaders (many countries).
 - 3.5 *Gerontocracy* means the power of older people (gerontes=elderly person), e.g. when in a democracy the retired people have much weight as voters for demographic reasons of the ageing population.
 - 3.6 *Synarchy* means the joint power (syn=together) by an elected visible power and an invisible, secret shadow power behind, e.g. mafia or a secret society or secret elite (e.g. Mafia in Italy, Freemasons in France).
 - 3.7 *Theocracy* as oligarchy means the power in the hands of a group of religious leaders claiming to represent God. Their power is above all other political power (E.g. Iran). Theocracy also exists as monarchy (4.4).
 - 3.8 *Ethnocracy* means that one ethnic group or sub-group rules and dominates a country, like a group of oligarchs, but not based on money, but race and ethnic belonging. Ethnocracy is often com-

bined with an autocratic and dictatorial leader (e.g. President Modi in India transforming India to a Hindu state or some African states like the former conflict between Tutsi and Hutu).

- 4 **Monocracy** (also **autocracy**) means the absolute power of one ruler (mono=one, auto=self) without control of power by others. A main instrument of executing power in an autocratic system is the unpredictability and arbitrariness of decisions of the ruler, which makes people dependent. It is the opposite of an accountable, reliable and predictable leadership style and execution of power.
 - 4.1 *Dictatorship* means the autocratic power of one person, above parliament, judiciary and media (e.g. North Korea, Turkey). Tyranny is an extreme form of dictatorship with cruel oppression.
 - 4.2 *Absolute Monarchy* means the autocratic power of a monarch by inheritance (kingdom) or other forms of succession (e.g. Gulf States).
 - 4.3 *Theocracy* means that the ruler represents God with absolute power (Roman Cesar Augustus claimed to be son of God). Theocracy can be a monarchy, but also an oligarchy (3.7). The Reformers Luther, Zwingli and Calvin underlined that God is the overall ruler of all earthly powers, but did not subscribe to theocracy in the above sense, rather to a differentiated balance of divine and human powers.⁷³³
 - 4.4 *Electoral Autocracy* means the autocratic rule is legitimized by an (often unfair) election process:

⁷³³ There is a broad literature on it. For an overview and collection of texts: Jacobs, Manfred, *Die evangelische Staatslehre*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.

Throughout world history, in certain periods often one form of state was predominant. For centuries, aristocracy, kingdoms, absolute monarchies have been dominant, with countries of dictatorship and Imperial authoritarian powers. With renaissance up to the French revolution, more and more constitutional forms of state arose until democracy became a dominant form, in the Western world.

The following world map⁷³⁴ shows the different systems of governments worldwide⁷³⁵:

Various forms of democracies include *Full presidential republics*; *Semi-presidential republics*; Republics with an executive presidency elected or nominated by the legislature; *Parliamentary republics*.

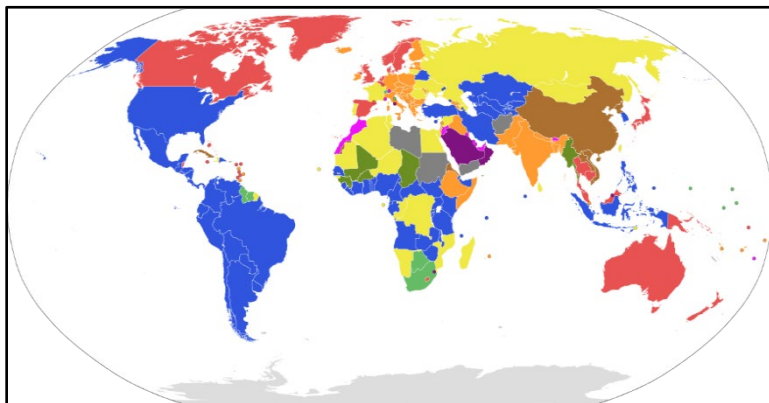
Dual systems of monarchy with democracy are: *Parliamentary constitutional monarchies* in which the monarch does not personally exercise power (except perhaps *Reserve powers*); *Constitutional monarchies* in which the monarch personally exercises power (often alongside a weak parliament).

Monocratic/autocratic systems: *Absolute monarchies*; *Single-party state*; Countries in which constitutional provisions for government have been suspended (e.g. *Military Juntas*, dictatorship)

Countries in Transition or failed states: Countries, which do not fit any of the above systems (e.g. transitional governments); No government (failing states).

⁷³⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_system_of_government#/media/File:Forms_of_government_2021.svg. (Accessed 24 Sept 2022)

⁷³⁵ For each term in italic, a respective article can be found in Wikipedia.



■ Full presidential republics. ■ Semi-presidential republics. ■ Republics with an executive presidency elected by or nominated by the legislature. ■ Parliamentary republics. ■ Parliamentary constitutional monarchies in which the monarch does not personally exercise power (except perhaps reserve powers). ■ Dual system constitutional monarchies in which the monarch personally exercises power (often alongside a weak parliament). ■ Absolute monarchies. ■ Single-party state. ■ Countries in which constitutional provisions for government have been suspended (e.g. military juntas). ■ Countries, which do not fit any of the above systems (e.g. transitional governments). ■ No government.

The map shows that there is not simply a bipolar world of governing systems such as democracy versus autocracy. De facto there is a continuum of forms from anarchy to democracies to oligarchies up to oppressive dictatorships. Some states constitutionally are multiparty republics and describe themselves as democracies, but are seen by outsiders as authoritarian states. The *de jure* form of government has to be distinguished from *de facto* situation, e.g. as degree of democracy.

The current geopolitical polarization most obvious between USA and China and their respective allies, is also an expression of the fight between two major forms of state. The US justify e.g. sanctions against China as a defence of democracy against autocracy. Similarly, the

US/NATO in their sanctions against Russia due to the Ukraine war. This perception of democracy versus autocracy is too simplified and an ideological information war that we should replace with differentiation in the Globalance perspective. We come back below in 7.16.1.3 with the question of whether one-party states can be seen as democracies or not.

7.16.1.2 Democracies under pressure in uncertain times

After the fall of the Berlin wall, Western countries saw democracy as the winning form of ruling and propagated it around the globe. An impressive wave of political reforms towards democracy happened especially in sub-Saharan Africa and some Asian countries, also with the Arab Spring for a short time in some Arabic countries of North Africa and Middle East (MENA). The blind optimism of the political scientist Francis Fukuyama expected ‘the end of history’⁷³⁶: not only capitalism as the eternal form of economy, but also democracy as the ultimate form of state, ending all military confrontations. Three decades later, liberal democracy as form of state is in a number of countries in crisis. The Democracy Index on 200 countries shows between 2008 and 2019 a substantial reduction of civil liberties, on the other hand an increase in political participation.⁷³⁷ Philipp Ther analyses different democracies and comes to the conclusion, that ‘the other end of history’⁷³⁸ leads to a ‘great transformation’ with two options, either a socially caring enlarged

⁷³⁶ Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press, 1992. See also above chapter 6.11.3

⁷³⁷ *Democracy Index 2019. A Report by The Economist Intelligence Unit EIU*, 7, chart 2.

⁷³⁸ Ther, Philipp, *Das andere Ende der Geschichte. Über die grosse Transformation*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2019.

democracy or fascist-antidemocratic governments, which are already visible.

Among the superpowers, India is the largest democracy, with a current (2022) president with some autocratic elements. The national Election Commission of India (ECI) is the motor of electoral democracy in India, but a report of the Citizens' Commission on Elections (CCE) of former judges and civil servants calls recent Indian elections a "chaos unlimited"⁷³⁹; the USA is a democracy, but extremely polarised between Democrats and Republicans and with an antidemocratic, sometimes unpredictable former President Trump, who presented a disastrous example for democracy. In Sept. 2022, the US Congress was unable, due to the resistance of the Republicans, to pass a new law for transparency of donations for election campaigns, which is globally recognised as a requirement for modern fair democracies. The EU has strong democratic traditions, but with populist, antidemocratic governments among its Eastern European members; Russia is a formal democracy with autocratic tendencies in the presidency; China is a People's Republic with democratic institutions with very limited power, a one-party socialist republic under leadership of the Communist party (more below). In East Asia, Africa and South America, formal democracies continue, but are in a number of countries led by populist governments with autocratic tendencies.

The worrying question behind these trends is how it can happen and how can we avoid elected leaders who step by step undermine and deviate the democratic process to increase their own power towards autocra-

⁷³⁹ M.G. Devasahayam, *Electoral Democracy? An Inquiry into the Fairness and Integrity of Elections in India*, India: Paranjoy Guha Thakurta, 2022. (E-book accessed 24 Sept 2022).

cy, in extremis towards dictatorship.⁷⁴⁰ These trends show that democracy needs a constant involvement and alert systems to keep the democracy lively. Environmental changes, too large poverty-wealth gaps, moral failures of leaders and fast technological disruptions can lead to collapse of democracies.

The Democracy Index 2021 of the Economist Intelligence Unit EIU observes reduced number of countries with democracies, the biggest regression in democracies since the financial crisis 2008, a long-standing trend towards non-consolidated, vulnerable democracies challenged by populism, a long-standing trust deficit and growing conspiracy theories, which undermine the acceptance of democratic decisions. The report distinguishes four types of governments, as the table shows.⁷⁴¹

	No. of countries	% of countries	% of world population
Full democracies	21	12.6	6.4
Flawed democracies	53	31.7	39.3
Hybrid regimes	34	20.4	17.2
Authoritarian regimes	59	35.3	37.1

Note. "World" population refers to the total population of the 167 countries covered by the Index. Since this excludes only micro states, this is nearly equal to the entire estimated world population.

Source: EIU.

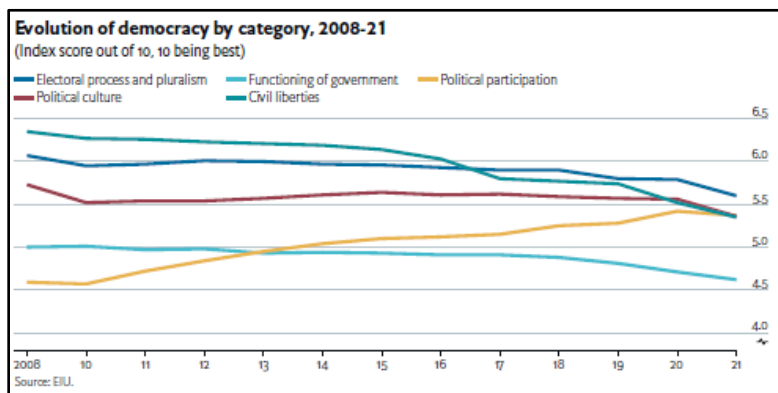
The measured criteria are a) electoral process and pluralism, b) functioning of government, c) political participation, d) political culture, e) civil liberties.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴⁰ An analysis of this question and reasons for dying democracies offers the bestseller book Levitsky, Steven/ Ziblatt, Daniel, *How Democracies Die*, US: Crown, 2018.

⁷⁴¹ *Democracy Index 2021. The China Challenge. A Report by The Economist Intelligence Unit*, London 2021, 4, Table 1.

⁷⁴² Definitions: *Ibid*, 67f.

However, the decrease in formal democracy is combined – not really compensated – by an increase in political participation and mobilisation, as the following graph for the period 2008-2021 shows⁷⁴³:



Classical democracies in the above-mentioned different forms are under high pressure. The 4C's, especially the pandemic and wars, show that a strong hand of the government is needed to act fast and in a united fashion. Climate change also needs "action now" as the 'climate youth' calls for. Long democratic processes with the option to block actions and decisions over years by referendums and constantly changing majorities in parliaments and governments lead to the situation that more and more people doubt that democracy can solve current urgent problems in due time. I have been raising this question myself since my book on environmental ethics⁷⁴⁴, after the world conference of Rio 1992 on Environment and Development. An Example: Switzerland is the most advanced democracy in the world in terms of peoples' participation from local to national level. For this very reason, it is probably also one of the

⁷⁴³ Ibid, 25.

⁷⁴⁴ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Umwelt und Entwicklung. Eine sozioethische Orientierung*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997.

slowest democracies in the world. The decision for a Swiss CO₂-law took twenty years, from 1990 to 1999 and then to 2011 to adopt a law for the Reduction of CO₂-Emission, valid for ten years. Reasons have been the lack of knowledge transfer between science and politics, the very complex Swiss decision-making processes with consultations and referendum options and political polarisation without mechanism to decide adequately.⁷⁴⁵ In 2021, the Swiss parliament finally approved a new National Law on the Reduction of CO₂-Emissions. However, in a people's Referendum in June 2021, the majority of the voting population refused the new law! The parliament then extended the current law until 2024 in order not to be without CO₂-reduction legislation.⁷⁴⁶ The experience of the struggle during 30 years for binding legislations for the reduction of CO₂-emissions in Switzerland massively reduce the acceptance of democracy for timely solutions of urgent 4C challenges!

7.16.1.3 One-party states: Are they also democracies?

The above-mentioned Democracy Index is a scientific instrument to measure democracy in a quite broad, inclusive way. However, it's weakness is that it takes the liberal democracy as the model and bench-

⁷⁴⁵ Lehmann, Lucia/ Rieder, Stefan, Wissenschaftliches Wissen in der politischen Auseinandersetzung. Fallstudie zur Genese des CO₂-Gesetzes im Auftrag der Arbeitsgruppe Transdisziplinarität der Energiekommission der Schweizerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (SATW), SATW Bericht 34, Luzern, 2002.

⁷⁴⁶ Report about the parliamentary process 2021: https://www.parlament.ch/de/services/news/Seiten/2021/20210929124102459194158159038_bsd103.aspx?lang.

mark for all democracies, as it is clearly declared in the methodology of the Index.⁷⁴⁷

In order to answer the question, whether a one-party state (like China) can be seen as a democracy, then different concepts of democracies must be compared⁷⁴⁸.

The very influential definition of democracy of Robert Dahl was his description of *Democracy as Polyarchy* with seven characteristics⁷⁴⁹.

China published through its State Council Information Office an important document "*China: Democracy That Works*".⁷⁵⁰ It describes Democracy with Chinese characteristics", as president Xi Jinping called

⁷⁴⁷ Democracy Index 2021: *The China Challenge. A Report by The Economist Intelligence Unit*, London 2022, 66.

⁷⁴⁸ I thank Simon Stückelberger, Political Scientist, for his inputs and feedbacks on democracies.

⁷⁴⁹ Dahl, Robert, *Polyarchy: participation and opposition*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971. 7 Characteristics of a Polyarchy: 1. *Elected officials* - "Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials." 2 *Free and fair elections* - "Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon." 3 *Inclusive suffrage* - "Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials." 4 *Right to run for office* - "Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices in the government, though age limits may be higher for holding office than for the suffrage." 5. *Freedom of expression* - "Citizens have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined, including criticism of officials, the government, the regime, the socioeconomic order, and the prevailing ideology." 6. *Alternative information* - "Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information. Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by laws." 7. *Associational autonomy* - "citizens ... have a right to form relatively independent associations or organizations, including independent political parties and interest groups."

⁷⁵⁰ The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, *China: Democracy That Works*, Beijing, 12 Dec 2021, 51 pp. Download: http://us.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zgyw/202112/t20211204_10462468.htm. (Accessed 12 April 2022).

it. All sectors of activities in China must show indigenisation, home-grown ideas and concepts of development and not just imports from foreign countries. The appendix “... with Chinese characteristics” is the expression for it. Most famous is “Socialism with Chinese characteristics”. It is the Chinese way to overcome the trauma of semi-colonisation by Europeans and Americans at the beginning of the 20th century, as African and Asian former colonies developed their own African and Asian models of development to find their dignity by referring to their own values, virtues, history, and strength.

What then, is the “*Democracy with Chinese characteristics*”? I have excerpted ten key elements from the official document “China: Democracy That Works”. I have included some detail, as China’s political system of people’s participation is often not known outside China.

1. “*Whole-Process People’s Democracy under CPC Leadership*”: following the Revolution of 1911, the attempt to introduce Western multiparty democracy failed. The New Democratic Revolution 1919-49 led to the Communist Party of China CPC founding the People’s Republic of China in 1949. Since 2012, socialism with Chinese characteristics established a new era. “Whole-process people’s democracy is a complete system with supporting mechanisms and procedures and has been fully tested through wide participation. It integrates two major democratic models – electoral democracy and consultative democracy. It operates a democratic system covering a population of more than 1.4 billion from 56 ethnic groups of a vast country, making possible the wide and sustained participation of all its people ... Committed to people-centered development and ensuring their principal status to run the country, the CPC governs

for the people and by relying on the people. The CPC plays to the full its role as overall leader and coordinator in all areas of endeavour in every part of the country.” (7-8)

2. *The Governing System of the People’s Democratic Dictatorship* (9-12): “China upholds the unity of democracy and dictatorship to ensure the people’s status as masters of the country.” (9). “The National People’s Congress (NPC) is the highest organ of state power and all organs of the state incl. judiciary are created and supervised by the NPC. Local NPCs exercise corresponding powers. In 2020, 2.62 million people have been deputies, 95% of them on county and township level.
3. *“The System of Multiparty Cooperation and Political Consultation”* (12-16): There are no opposition parties, but 8 political parties such as the peasants and workers democratic party and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, all under the leadership of CPC. Political consultation to integrate views of the people happen in bi-weekly fora of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), a channel of the “socialist consultative democracy” (16).
4. *“The Patriotic United Front”* (16f) aims at strengthening unity and solidarity in the large country of 1.4 billion people by bringing together through CPPCC 34 sectors of society, including ethnic minorities, peoples organisations, non-governmental organisations, religious and new social groups and reps from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. In the first session of the CPCC, 60% of the 2100 members have been non-CPC-party-members.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵¹ Ibid, 16 and 17-37.

5. “*The System of Regional Ethnic Autonomy*” (17-18) with officially recognised 54 ethnic minorities and 155 ethnic autonomous areas, defined in the Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy, aims at supporting integration and unity in diversity in the nation.⁷⁵²
6. “*The System of Community-level Self-Governance*” (19-21) includes “villagers autonomy, urban residents autonomy and employee congresses.” In 2020, there have been 503,000 administrative villages and 112,000 urban communities in China with respective village and urban committees. The employee committees in companies serve for employer-employee dialogue and as Board directors and Board supervisors and mediate labour relations. In 2020, there have been 2.81 million primary level trade unions in China, covering 6.55 million enterprises and public institutions.
7. *Democratic elections* (22-24) in China are organized bottom-up, from villagers and urban resident’s committees, employees congresses up to the delegates of the national congress of the party, with one vote per person and “free to vote for the candidate they trust”.⁷⁵³ The document underlines “Elections in China are genuine and not manipulated by financial interests”, most probably a dig

⁷⁵² Myself, I teach as Visiting Professor at the Academy of Religions at the Minzu University in Beijing. There are 24 Minzu (=Minorities) universities in China, under coordination of the one in Beijing. Their mandate is especially to promote students from ethnic minorities incl. teaching in their languages. Religions are counted as minorities with respective courses and research at Minzu. While minorities in China are taken seriously in many aspects, the conflict with the Uighurs ethnic minority is hard to understand.

⁷⁵³ *Electoral Law of the National People’s Congress and Local People’s Congresses of the People’s Republic of China*, 2015/rev 2020, download in English: <http://en.npc.gov.cn.durl.cn/search.html?searchText=electoral+law> (Accessed 24 Sept 2022).

against Western democracies. However, this is the self-declaration by the state, an independent reality-check is not easy. Figures remain immense: In 2016/17, 900 million voters participated in the elections on all levels, “the world’s largest direct elections” (23). 2.48 million deputies were directly elected to people’s congresses on township and county levels.

8. *Democratic consultations* (23f) are held on major documents of the CPC National congress, the central committee, revision of the constitution etc. These consultations include collecting opinions, proposing concrete modifications of drafts of legislative texts.
9. *Expanding Civil Rights and Participation* (35-44). The new “Civil Code of the PRC”, which took effect on 1 Jan 2021, expanded civil rights. Democratic participation is expected to expand with e-voting and a new free of cost demand system. National governance should become more efficient. Stability and harmony should be reached by consensus: “A good model of democracy should build consensus rather than creating social rifts and conflicts, safeguard social equity and justice rather than widening social disparities in favor of vested interests.” (41) Supervision of executive power especially in fighting corruption is seen as part of democratic processes.
10. *Exploring New Paths to democracy* (45-55) indicates interest in some reforms and show casing the Chinese model of democracy to other countries, so to say an export product as the West exports their model of liberal democracy. “China did not duplicate Western models of democracy, but created its own. Now, the entire Chinese population, almost one fifth of the world’s total, enjoys extensive rights and freedoms. This is most encouraging to developing countries and greatly enhances their confidence in developing their own

democracy. China's new approach to democracy represents a significant contribution to international politics and human progress.”

(46) The message of the paper to the world is clear, with increased self-confidence: “There are no identical political systems in the world, neither is there a political model that fits all. Countries can borrow from the successful experience of others and develop forms of democracy suited to their own modernization process, but they should not simply duplicate other systems or models. The model that suits best is always the most appropriate. Only democracy rooted in a country's unique social environment has proven to be reliable and effective, and can thrive and progress. External interference and “democratic transformation” bring nothing but endless trouble.”

(47) China aims at strengthening *democracy in international relations” and through “mutual learning between civilisations” (52f).

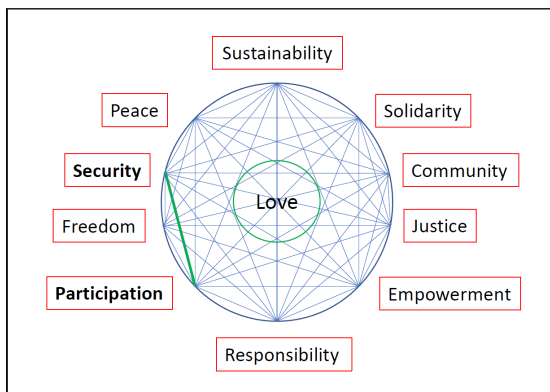
In China, there are several forms of peoples' participation in decision making in China: it is a bottom-up approach: a visible and measurable participation in local decision-making. The higher the level - from counties to provinces to the national level - the more limited is the people's participation. There is also the ‘informal public participation’ through neighbourhood mobilisation” as Liu Cao wrote.⁷⁵⁴

For the value judgment of the people's participation in China from a Globalance perspective, see chapter 7.16.3.5.

⁷⁵⁴ Liu, Cao, *Participatory governance in China: 'Informal public participation through neighbourhood mobilisation*, Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544221100914>, 2022.

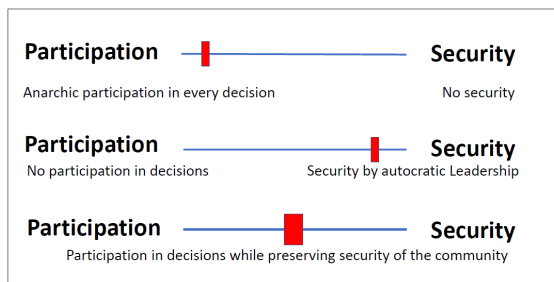
7.16.3. Value-Poles: Participation and Security

The major basic ethical question in validating the forms of state is



the level of participation of people in decision-making and the level of security and stability it can offer.

Freedom, human dignity and self-responsibility are more developed with a higher level of participatory decision-making and lower dependency on a central power who decides everything. But freedom and partici-



ation need activity, being informed and includes a higher level of insecurity as democratic decisions may be volatile, elections surprising, and processes slow. Autocratic regimes often offer security and (at least superficial) stability. The positive and negative validation of these poles partly depend on social status, level of education, economic wealth etc.

The four basic forms of State mentioned on the next page represent a continuum between these two value-poles of participation and security.

Anarchy	Democracy	Oligarchy	Monocracy
High participation, low security	High participation, medium security	Low participation, higher security	No participation, potentially high security
	Mixed government		
	Combination of democracy, oligarchy, monocracy		

Anarchy offers the highest level of participation, but the lowest level of security; democracy offers a high level of participation, but with some insecurity. The oligarchies vary very much depending on the form of oligarchy, where trust in the oligarchs can build and material benefits are offered in compensation for the low level of participation. As long as material security is offered, people accept oligarchies, but as soon as material security is at stake or lost, it can lead to revolutions as the French revolution, the Russian revolution and many others have shown. The monocratic/autocratic systems deny participation in political decisions by the people. They promise and pretend to offer much security and stability, but the population pays the high price of oppression, lack of participation; but the same is true as for the oligarchies: as long as ‘bread and games’ are offered and the fear of sanctions is bigger than the hope for revolution, it is accepted.

*The mixed government*⁷⁵⁵ (*politeia synestosa, res publica mixta*), is an interesting model. It combines democratic, oligocratic and monocratic elements. From antiquity to modern time, the mixed government was often seen as the ideal form of state. In young democracies, such mixture is rather perceived as a tough struggle between democratic and au-

⁷⁵⁵ The most representative monograph of the history of the mixed government offers Riklin, Alois, *Machtteilung. Geschichte der Mischverfassung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006.

thoritarian, anti-democratic forces. Mexico's '*democracia autoritaria*' was seen as '*tragedia persistente*' and not as a solution.⁷⁵⁶

7.16.3 Towards Globalance: Accepting Multiple Forms of State

7.16.3.1 Anthropology: what is the human being?

The key question behind the forms of state is the *anthropology*: What is our view of the human being and his/her capacity to deal with power? Forms of states are forms of dealing with power; dealing with power means dealing with human beings; dealing with human beings means dealing with their strengths and weaknesses, virtues and vices and their capacity to do extraordinarily good and terribly bad things.

My anthropology, based on Christian values and global perspectives, shows me three aspects:

1. The human being is made in the image of God: 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them' (Bible, Genesis 27). For believers this is the root of the *Human Dignity* of every human, be it woman, man or child, which leads to equal and undeniable rights, as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in of 1948 in the first sentence. From the perspective of philosophy or natural law or Dharmic religions, human beings have a good foundation by nature.
2. Human beings are able to do *bad, evil* things as daily experience tells us. The Abrahamic religions call it sin, even original sin from the very beginning of human history and individual existence (the Fall

⁷⁵⁶ Meyer, Lorenzo, *Nuestro Tragedia Persistente. La democracia autoritaria en México*, México: Random House, 2013, 33-55, 98-136.

of Man, Genesis 3). For Dharmic religions, humans fail to fulfil their duties, which would be to follow the cosmic, universal law/truth.

3. Humans therefore are *ambivalent*, able to do good and to do bad in their decisions and actions. For the right behaviour and human social order, they need enlightenment and orientation by the word of God through his revelation (Abrahamic religions), through divine knowledge and the path to it (Dharmic religions) or through human rational and logic enlightenment (philosophical traditions).

These three elements of anthropology of creative potential, destructive energy and the need for spiritual and rational orientation with values-driven, ethical action is common to all worldviews across cultures and religions. Of course, there are many differences in details.

7.16.3.2 Ethical validation of forms of states

What does this mean for humans with power and for forms of states? It means that human beings are able to do good and bad and need orientation and empowerment to do good and control and limitation of power to avoid evil. This is the anthropological reason for the need of control of power and of sharing of power (e.g. by counter powers, opposition parties, judiciary, media etc.)! This anthropology leads to a clear rejection of all forms of absolutism! Absolutism in all forms of monocratic systems means that a human being with unlimited power cannot be corrected by another human being and is *de facto* seen as infallible.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁷ In this perspective, also the infallibility of the Pope for specific doctrinal expressions is a heresy, as it was when Cesar Augustus called himself Son of

Absolutism puts a human being on a throne of a super-human, semi-God or God on earth. Therefore, in theological perspective, absolutism in all its forms is a sin and a heresy and must be refused as it puts a human being in a place where only God/the Absolute/the goddesses can be. This is also true for theocracy as one form of monocracy and absolutism. As soon as human beings claim to be the direct and only representative of God, he/she (mainly male) denies being human.

After this ethical exclusion of all forms of absolutism as ethically justifiable forms of state, the other forms must be validated by three questions as criteria, based on the above anthropology:

1. Does the form of state allow and empower the potential, creativity and innovation of responsible leadership of the persons in power?
2. Does the form of state allow and empower the control and limitation of power in order to avoid its abuse by those in leadership?
3. Does the form of state give normative orientation for the execution of power and support its implementation, not only at top level, but for all human beings in a legal entity in order to increase responsible behaviour?

These questions lead to a certain openness for different forms of state, but with clear criteria.⁷⁵⁸ In each form of state, human dignity by

God, Egyptian pharaohs or Asian rulers were adored as Gods or direct absolute representatives.

⁷⁵⁸ Arthur Rich, my teacher in ethics, formulated three criteria for the form of state in theological perspective: 1. The state remains part of the human reality and therefore cannot have an ultimate character. The state is a servant; 2. Therefore, the state must serve the people and not the people to serve the state first. Nevertheless, the state has the governing power; 3. The State has rights towards

an extended level of *freedom of expression, participation* in decision-making on various levels and *respect for minorities* are ethically important! From the perspective of Globalance, the goal is not that the whole world must implement the same form of state. The policy of some Western countries and civil society after 1990, that all countries should become democracies in its European-North American form, was shown to be neither realistic nor does it correspond to global ethics and bring global peace. After twenty years of regular visits to China, Russia and African countries I came to the conclusion, that democracy in its European form or US form will neither be implemented in Russia nor China nor some African countries; The reason is that their whole culture, religion and history is based on different models (for Asia see above the Dharmic religions and the Confucian tradition). The idea in the 1990s that market economy and wealth of an increased middle class would automatically lead to democratic reform, was wrong. Also, the assumption that market liberalisation would automatically reduce corruption, was falsified. The lack of demonstrations for democracy in China is not just a result of oppression, but an expression that other forms of participation in public life may be seen as appropriate. I observed the high level of respect and acceptance of the King of Bhutan and his wife in the population of Bhutan, the respect for the former King of Thailand, the respect for President Xi Jinping in China and Putin in Russia even with critique, which exists. I experienced a Sheikh in Abu Dhabi to be a more reliable and responsible leader than some of the democratically elected

the citizens, but the citizens have also rights towards the state (reciprocity). Rich, Arthur, *Glaube in politischer Entscheidung. Beiträge zur Ethik des Politischen*, Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1962, 162f.

leaders who cheat, lie and manipulate in an unethical way. I say this as a person deeply rooted in the Swiss culture of direct democracy, which I never would give up for this country while accepting that it is not the model for the whole world.

7.16.3.3 The Globalance values perspective

The *goal and value of Globalance related to the forms of state* is twofold:

1. The goal is not a global monoculture of democracy, but to empower people to live a life in dignity with participation in public life, security for private life and responsible leaders with integrity on all levels.

2. All forms of state including democracy are not a goal in itself, but a means to a goal. The power structure and decision-making procedures in a country should enable a decent life in peace, without hunger, with education, in short to implement the Sustainable Development Goals as nation-state in multilateral cooperation and solidarity. The socialist one-party system in China may be better equipped to implement a green economy and meet the climate challenge than a slow democracy. China has proven ability to bring millions of people out of poverty. A European democracy may be better equipped to implement the SDGs of participation of people in development decisions, human dignity and innovation. The ethical value of a form of state is not measured by the good intent and motivation (ethics of mind, *Gesinnungsethik*), but the measurable impact and result (ethics of responsibility, *Verantwortungsethik*). On the other hand, the justification of autocracies by their outcome and impact - “Look at the increased prosperity and stability. That is what counts for people” – can lead to justification of oppression. Therefore,

the balance of freedom of expression, security, peace and prosperity is crucial. It is a tightrope walk.

With this Globalance approach, democratic countries should become better democracies, constitutional monarchies better monarchies and kingdoms better kingdoms. Of course, political ethics obliges resistance to oppressive dictators, exploitative oligarchs and non-transparent mafia-structures. Political ethics obliges also to overcome the dictatorship of money in all forms of state, including democracy. The “ethical crisis of democracies is the almost exclusive dominance of money in the world ... as the ultimate instrument of power, from New York to Beijing, from Moscow to London”, writes the former UN Deputy secretary General of the UN under Kofi Annan, the French Jean-Marie Guéhenno.⁷⁵⁹

As with the forms of states, it is the same with religions. Global peace cannot be reached by efforts to make the whole world Christian or Muslim or Hindu, but to empower Christians to become better Christians, Muslims to become better Muslims, Buddhists better Buddhists and Hindus better Hindus. This includes giving positive testimonials: My life is nurtured by Christian faith and I appreciate the opportunity to live in and contribute to a democracy and its transformation towards the future; I invite others to testify how they contribute to the common goals of humanity within their political system and by transforming their systems.

Whatever form of state a country has, the balance between the core values in our value circle is important. A special focus was on the bal-

⁷⁵⁹ Guéhenno, Jean-Marie, *Le premier XXIe Siècle. De la Globalisation à l'émiettement du monde*, Paris, Flammarion, 2021, 239 (translation of the quote by the author).

ance between participation and security, but also between freedom and justice, empowerment and solidarity etc. The extremes in our range from anarchy to democracy to oligarchy to monarchy certainly do not allow this balance. The other forms are to be evaluated – if and how they enable some balance. In the modern world, the speed of decisions and actions will be an important criterion for the performance of a form of state to solve challenges.

7.16.3.4 Future developments of forms of state

Five factors will influence the future forms of state and state doctrines: 1. The global Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic forced almost all countries, independent from their form of state, to declare emergency status with maximum competencies for limited time. While I was writing this chapter in March 2020 for the first edition, it was still unclear how the pandemic would influence the future of democracy. 2. The challenge of climate mitigation or reacting to an aggression like in Ukraine needs also strong governments for decisive actions. 3. The further growing threat of cybercrime and the need for cyber-security, together with growing benefits of Artificial Intelligence, based on big data, may lead to a growing acceptance of ‘surveillance capitalism’ and ‘surveillance socialism.’ 4. The impression that China as a one-party system probably managed the COVID-19 pandemic more effectively, may strengthen the trend towards limitation of democratic, slow processes and give more competencies to governments. 5. Religious organizations implement very different power structures⁷⁶⁰: The majority of Protestant churches are very democratically organised; Catholic churches tend to remain

⁷⁶⁰ Manifold articles in Heun, Werner et al (Eds.), *Evangelisches Staatslexikon, New Edition*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006.

sceptical as they have their own canonical law, which only partly corresponds to democratic structures; Pentecostal communities are often close to autocratic structures; the Dharmic religions as well as Islam have strong hierarchical and often undemocratic structures. Religious organizations still have a great influence on the form of state in their respective spheres of influence.

7.16.3.5 Chinas one-party democracy and the future of democracies

The struggle for a New World Order is also a struggle between systems of state and governance, ideologically reduced to ‘democracy versus authoritarian regimes’. From a Globalance perspective, how do we evaluate Chinas “democracy with Chinese characteristics” as described above (chapter 7.16.1.3)?⁷⁶¹

- All the instruments and institutions for peoples’ participation in China show the real effort for *listening to the people and enabling unity* in this very diverse and large country. However, everyone’s participation is under the leadership of the one-party CPC and most of the processes of people’s participation are consultative and not deciding. In this sense, the “democracy with Chinese characteristics” in a one-party-state represents clear, but limited elements of democracy.
- The public geopolitical polarisation between democracy (US) and autocracy (China) is an ideological terminology of the West and not helpful to build bridges for cooperation. It should be replaced by a *differentiated perception of countries with different forms of politi-*

⁷⁶¹ See also Stückelberger, Christoph, *Democracies: Which Form of People’s Participation?* International Webinar 12 April 2022. Slides for download at <https://www.christophstueckelberger.ch/publishing/articles>.

cal people's participation, based on different traditions, values, cultural and historic realities.

- The solution is not to impose one's own understanding of 'liberal democracy' or 'democracy with Chinese characteristics' to other countries, but to *accept the diversity*. To mutually raise questions and *challenge each other* in order to improve the system of others and one's own, and not impose one's own system in an imperialistic attitude is the only model for all human beings!
- We cannot underestimate *the role of size and population of a country for the form of state*. For Switzerland with its eight million people and a tiny country size, the direct democracy is a wonderful opportunity. For China with 1.4 billion people and a large extension – as for India, Russia or Brazil or even USA – democracy is a real challenge for the unity of these countries (see 7.17.1.3 on atomisation of nations). This observation does not justify authoritarian forms of state, but contextualisation of centralisation versus federalism and multi-party or one-party states.
- *The system 'the majority-wins-all'* as in the US and other countries is questionable from the perspective of stability and inclusion. It is one reason for the ping-pong of two major ruling parties every four or eight years with loss of efficiency and stability.
- *People's participation* is the ethical centre of the forms of state as described. Is the people's participation implemented by individual *voting rights or consultation with decision by the leaders or a mixture of both?* Let me share an experience: at the age of 23, I was a student in Kenya. In the theological college, there was a students' assembly on a conflict about food. The discussion went on until 2am. I then asked my neighbour student: "It is late. Is it not time to

vote in order to close the discussion?" I was used to Swiss voting democracy. His answer was: "In Africa, we discuss until we have consensus. The village palaver is our consensus democracy. Your voting democracy divides people. We cannot afford to be divided." I never forgot his answer. Consensus democracy is now more and more practiced also in religious organisations such as the World Council of Churches on international level. It is demanding, needs time, but is possible.

- *Religious organisations* often practice people's participation in form of consultations, with the final decision of the leaders. The church hierarchy, from local priests to bishops up to the Pope have the last say and decision. The same in religious orders or Hindu or Buddhist temples or Islamic mosques. *Chinas 'democracy with Chinese characteristics' is a combination of voting rights and consultative processes with decision by the leaders.* From a Globalance perspective it is a valuable, justifiable model. It is a demanding model and has potential for abuse of power. However, also the liberal voting democracy has potential for abuse, especially with the heavy, often not transparent financial lobbying and campaigning, which distorts the free will of voters and undermines the credibility of the democracy.
- *A lively civil society is important for democracy.*⁷⁶² In China, the number of non-governmental organisations (NGO's) for all kind of social, environmental and academic topics is huge. Over 900,000 social organizations are registered with the departments of civil af-

⁷⁶² See also chapter 7.30 on Civil Society.

fairs on all levels, over 2000 on national level.⁷⁶³ China has over 7000 legally registered philanthropic private foundations⁷⁶⁴, online accessible in the database of the private China Foundation Center in Beijing⁷⁶⁵, often created and supported by wealthy Chinese entrepreneurs. I am directly cooperating with some social organisations and the national umbrella. However, the exchange and cooperation for foreigners became much more restricted and selective in recent years. The space of action should be freer, although NGOs are still vibrant in China, especially in some topics like environment. The cooperation with the China Association for NGO Cooperation (CANGO) with its 142 Chinese member organizations and with the China NGO Network for International Exchanges (CNIE) is fruitful, e.g. in joint side events that we organised at the UN in Geneva.⁷⁶⁶

- *The freedom of expression by mass demonstrations.* The Chinese government reported the huge increase in number of “mass incidents” from 8,700 in 1993 to over 87,000 in 2005 and 180,000 in 2010. Most of them are against local leaders, rural protests, labour protests, pro-democracy protests and ethnic minority protests,

⁷⁶³ *How Many NGOs Are There Really in China?*, China Development Brief, 2 Aug 2019. <http://www.chinadevelopmentbrief.cn>. (Accessed 13 May 2020); Liu, Baocheng, *Chinese Civil Society*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016. One of the most recognized NGO research centers in China is the *NGO Research Center* at the School of Public Policy and Management of the Tsinghua University in Beijing.

⁷⁶⁴ Liu, Baocheng/Zhang, Mengsha, *Philanthropy in China. Reports of Concepts, History, Drivers, Institutions*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2017; Li, Jing/Stückelberger, Christoph, *Philanthropy and Foundation Management. A Guide to Philanthropy in Europe and China*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2017.

⁷⁶⁵ China Foundation Center (CFC), Beijing. <http://en.foundationcenter.org.cn/>.

⁷⁶⁶ www.cnie.org.cn - www.cango.org and <https://www.devex.com/organizations/china-association-for-ngo-cooperation-cango-50325>.

online protests and nationalist protests (e.g. against Japan) and allowed.⁷⁶⁷ However mass demonstrations also increased during the long lock down periods due to Covid-19 in China⁷⁶⁸, with some harsh reactions from the government.⁷⁶⁹

- *The influence of China on democracies worldwide*: The China government declares its ‘Democracy with Chinese characteristics’ also as export product, fit for the world and offered to the world. The government declares with self-confidence: “China is a faithful and exemplary actor in pursuing, exploring and practicing democracy. It endeavours to increase democracy both within its own territory and between nations.”⁷⁷⁰ This has geopolitical implications. It is another expression of the competition between US and China as superpowers, which export not only goods and services, but ideas, values and institutional norms on bilateral and multilateral level. As the US sees a missionary vocation to spread liberal democracies in the world, China starts to offer its political model to the world and not only its economic model. However, the fact that China often sup-

⁷⁶⁷ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protest_and_dissent_in_China. New figures are difficult to get with the more restricted information in China and its media.

⁷⁶⁸ 430 civilian demonstrations from January to August 2022 have been reported by open sources, according to Hindustan news, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/president-xi-faces-growing-dissent-in-china-over-enforced-covid-lockdowns-101659664010738.html>

⁷⁶⁹ 663 arrests for Covid-19-related speeches between Jan 2020 and June 2021 are reported: Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2022* are reported, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/china-and-tibet#12ffb1>.

⁷⁷⁰ The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, *China: Democracy That Works*, Beijing, 12 Dec 2021, 48.

ports authoritarian governments e.g. in Latin America and Africa, shows their understanding of democracy-export.

- *Increased autocratic structure:* The 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China CPC from 16 to 22 Oct. 2022 in Beijing elected exceptionally President Xi Jinping for a third term and appointed the Polit Bureau and the congress with mainly like-minded person. It means that there is a certain contradiction between the efforts for ‘democracy with Chinese characteristics’ and the further increased autocratic leadership and extended control of people. After the announcement of the new leadership, appointed by the congress, the Chinese stock market reached its lowest level since 13 years; and indicator of lack of trust and uncertainty about the future of China.
- *An Alliance of liberal democracies* with a crusade against other forms of state including the Chinese form of democracy is not a solution in a Globalance perspective! It only deepens the polarisation and accelerates the New Cold War. Based on history and contextual values and cultures, China, Russia, even India, many parts of Africa, South America, Asia and for sure the Middle East will never be liberal democracies in the Western sense. Cooperation across political systems in fighting common threats of humanity like climate change, nationalisms and social inequality is much more urgent!⁷⁷¹

⁷⁷¹ Also expressed by Stephen, Matthew, *Denkmuster wie im Kalten Krieg, Welt-Sichten* 12/1-1/22, 22-23: ”Renewing democracy needs to counter the wrong developments such as social injustice, polarisation and nationalism.”

7.17 National Politics: From Polarisation to Atomisation?

7.17.1 Developments: Political Parties and Polarisation

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on national politics?

7.17.1.1 Diverse Multi-party systems

Politics is the art of finding common solutions in a community. This includes power struggles between interest groups representing different visions and values for this community. It includes mechanisms to come to decisions and actions by majority decisions and compromises.

National politics institutionalizes this dynamic process. In this chapter, we concentrate obviously on multi-party democracies with a multi-party system. The political parties in their party programmes represent different visions and values for the country. For liberal parties, freedom is at the heart, for socialist parties it is justice, for green parties it is sustainability, for nationalist parties it is national identity etc. In one-party nations, the different visions and values are not separated in various parties, they still exist within the one party, but in form of wings such as conservative, liberal, progressive, green wings and trends.

What does *Globalance* means for party politics within a state? Party politics is an important subject in political science, which is relevant especially in analyzing election campaigns, in describing factors (social, economic, religious, gender etc.) influencing party developments and making suggestions for reforming the constitutional basis of party systems.

Two main election systems exist in democracies: the *majoritarian democracy* is built on the principle ‘the winner takes all’. The party, which wins the elections, is the ruling party in government and parliament and the losing party plays the role of the opposition, hoping that with the next elections, the swing turns in their favor. The USA is one example. The *consensual democracy* integrates different parties in the government and permanently needs to build compromises. Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and Holland are examples. Electoral reforms can also shift from one to the other system within the same country. France switched from the Fourth French Republic to the Fifth French Republic from proportional voting to a majority presidential system.⁷⁷² Countries with a diversified, smaller multicultural population are more likely to develop a consensual democracy as they otherwise cannot hold together the country, as Arend Lijphart showed.⁷⁷³ Within each system, different levels have to be considered. The majoritarian and consensual type of democracy have a great influence on the political culture in a country as well as its political and economic stability.

7.17.1.2 Growing polarization

The political polarisation is on the rise across the world. The graph shows its increase 2021 compared to 2011.⁷⁷⁴ It has manifold reasons and effects on political systems.

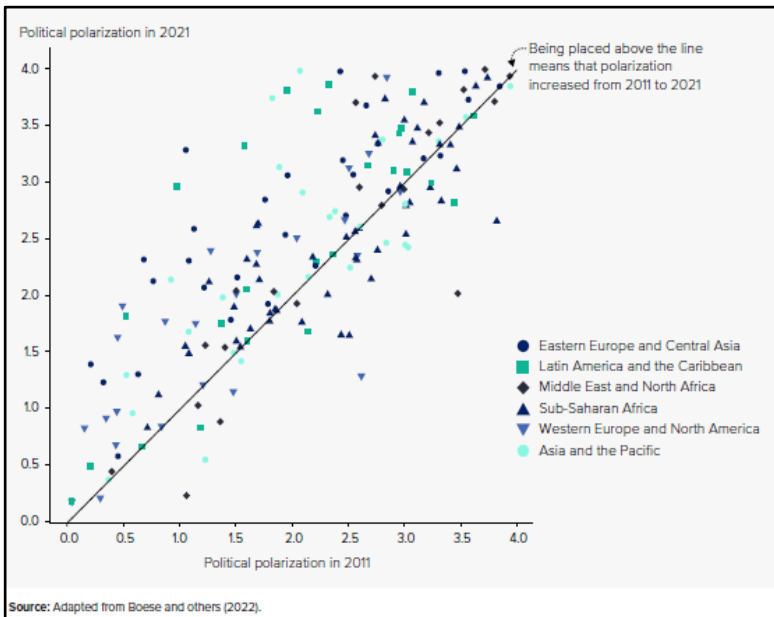
⁷⁷² Doorenspleet, Renske/ Pellikaan, Huib, Which type of Democracy Performs Best? Post-peer-review version of publication in *Acta Politica*, 2013, 3. <http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/52073>.

⁷⁷³ Lijhart, Arend, *Democratic Political Systems: Types, Cases, Causes and Consequences*, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Vol 1, Issue 1, 1989, 33-48.

⁷⁷⁴ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2021/2022. Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives: Shaping our future in a Transforming World*, New York 2022, 47.

1. Growing ‘-isms’ lead to growing *polarisation*. Populism, fundamentalism, nationalism, absolutism, laicism often lead to increased polarisation as the ‘-isms’ tend themselves to be extremist world views. But also, ‘-isms’ like capitalism or socialism can provoke polarisation where they are seen as the only valid worldview without alternative, with an ideological absolutism. Polarisation happens on geopolitical level between countries and systems, but even more within nations. Analysts warn that e.g. in the US, another civil war could arise as result of the polarisation and nationalism.⁷⁷⁵

2. Majoritarian democracies are more and more blocked – most ob-



⁷⁷⁵ Smith, David, *Two Tribes. Is the US heading for another civil war?*, The Guardian Weekly, 14 Jan 2022, 10-14.

viously in the US - or tend to be autocratic systems. Consensual democracies are challenged by growing populism.

3. Great coalitions (e.g. Germany, Austria) are on one hand a positive effort to avoid a split in society and keep its unity, but they tend to provoke the growth of extremist parties right and left of the great coalition.

4. The pandemic COVID-19 led to temporary emergency status in many countries. It is unknown (April 2020) how it may influence the party politics. The emergency status per se may not influence much, but the economic crisis and disaster of the financial markets with the danger of depression may further fuel populist positions and polarisation.

5. The position of the political parties related to digital surveillance, cybersecurity and electoral campaigns by social media used by national or foreign actors may influence the political landscape of parties.

7.17.1.3 Atomization of nations and split of Cities?

Some of the wealthiest countries are tiny, like Monaco, Switzerland or city-states like Singapore. If they are connected in alliances, they benefit from their small country size and from scaling up effects thanks to the alliance. Therefore, it is not unimaginable that by 2050 or 2100 there would be 300 or 400 countries on this globe instead of 200 as now. The United States of America would no more be 'united', but the 50 'States of America' could split into a number of 10-20 independent states, building then for those willing an Alliance of States of America (ASA). In a civil war in USA, which some analysts predict rather sooner than later, California or Texas may declare independency? Similar trends could happen with India (with its large diversity), Indonesia (with thousands of Islands), China (with its 56 ethnic minorities) or Brazil

(with its huge size). Nigeria is already almost splitting between the Christian wealthy South and the Islamic poor North) and the independence war of Biafra in Nigeria is still present in the mindset of people.

In all of these states, secessionist movements are already popping up here and there like in a bubbling hot soup. To keep the unity of a large diverse country becomes more difficult with a decrease of GDP and more people back to poverty, with communication reduction by less transport means, by ideological, ethnic, and religious fundamentalist trends, by wealthy megacities with 10-30 million people per city (from San Francisco to Tokyo, from Lagos to São Paulo, from New York to Jakarta) and populist city majors who defend the privileges of the city citizens against solidarity with poor rural areas.

Megacities could easily be a country and state on their own in terms of GDP, productivity and even defence and security needs (a city can have its own cyber army!). They are easier to govern than a large country. Even one megacity could split into few 'smaller' cities (still with 3-10 million inhabitants each!). We then may study how the medieval city-states have been structured and governed. Alexandria, Athens in the past, Geneva, Hamburg, Basel and many more as city-states and trade hubs.

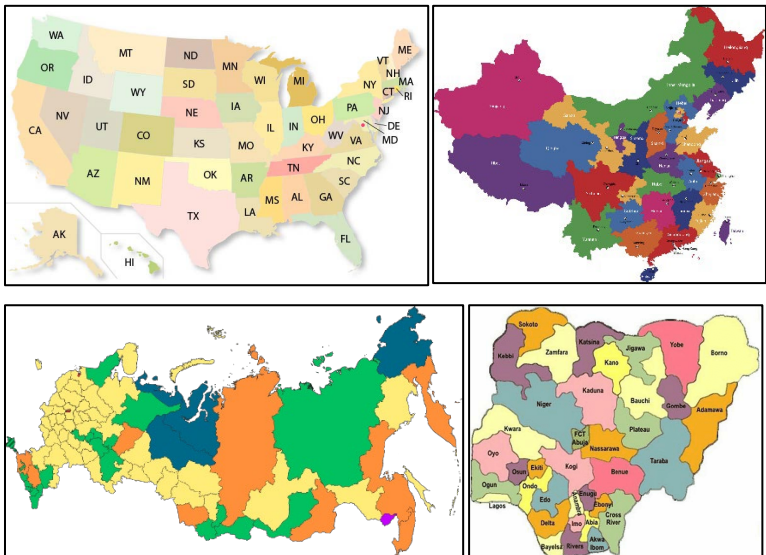
However, this scenario of split or even atomisation of a country includes the risk of manifold civil wars within a country and interference from outside to defend specific interests as well as becoming failing states and anarchies.

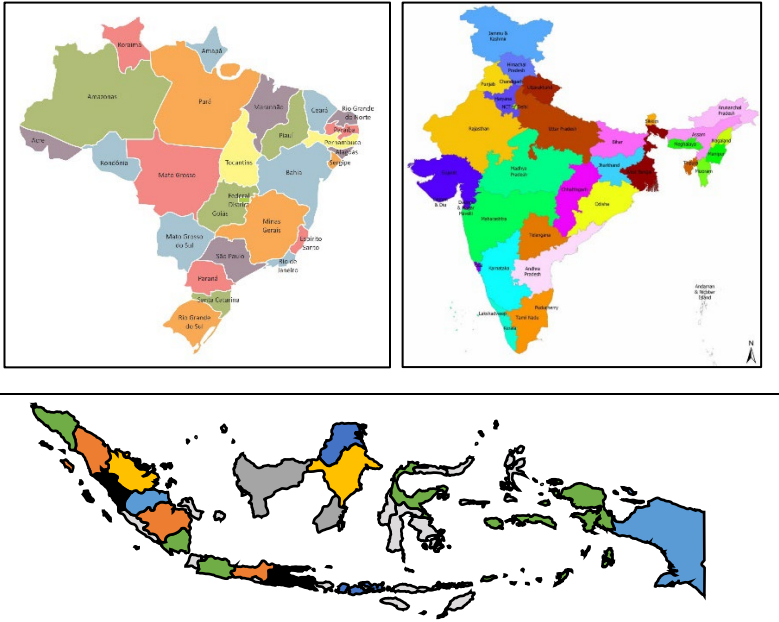
7.17.1.4 Examples of provinces/states of large countries.

Country	Size km ²	Mio People	Subunits
USA	9.833.517	331	50 States
China	9.596.960	1439	31 provinces/ municipalities/ autonom. regions
Russia	17.098.242	145	85 Federation Subjects
Nigeria	923.768	206	36 States
Brazil	8.515.770	212	26 States
India	3.287.263	1417	28 States and 8 Union territories
Indonesia	1.905.000	273	37 Provinces
<i>Total (2022)</i>		<i>4'023</i>	<i>293</i>

The maps below show the states/provinces of countries in the same order as the table above.

When superpowers would split into ‘smaller’ states...





The above maps⁷⁷⁶ of seven selected large countries, somehow superpowers at least in their size of population, represent with 4 billion people half of humanity. They have together 293 States/provinces. The largest of them in India is Uttar Pradesh, with estimated 230 million population in 2022. This is a higher population than the whole of Brazil! In China, Guangdong province with 126 million population in 2020

⁷⁷⁶ Sources of the six maps:

USA https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/us_states_maps.htm.

China <https://www.mappr.co/political-maps/china-map/>

Russia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_subjects_of_Russia

Nigeria: <https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Nigeria>

Brazil <https://www.mappr.co/political-maps/brazil-states-map/>

India: https://www.mappr.co/political-maps/india-map/#pgcSgb-sl-0_6960

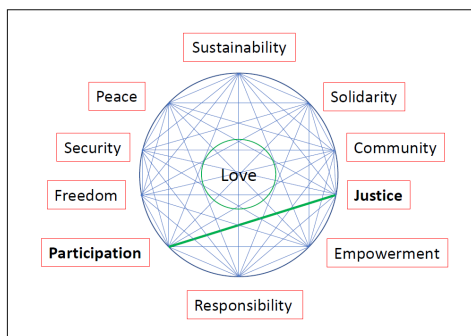
Indonesia: <https://www.ciloart.com/content/free-indonesia-map-powerpoint-template>.

comes close to the population of Russia! California with 39 million people has the same population as Ukraine, Poland or Canada!

From a *Globalance perspective*, a re-composition of current nations through secession, mergers or unification is ethically per se neither negative nor positive. And city states – as they existed for centuries – can be a viable and legitimate form of a state in order to have manageable entities. However, the ethical criteria are still the same: the value-balance (chapter 7.13.2) of security and solidarity and the other values is the decisive benchmark. Secession from an oppressive, central imperial government may be ethically justifiable. Secession to keep wealth and resources for oneself without sharing with poorer parts of the country, is an unethical motivation for secession. The solidarity with the rural population and their needs for infrastructure and social services, the fair pricing etc. is needed. *More in chapter 7.28.*

7.17.2 Value-Poles: Participation and Justice

Multi-party democracies allow a broad political participation of citizens in the political processes, on all levels from village to the national

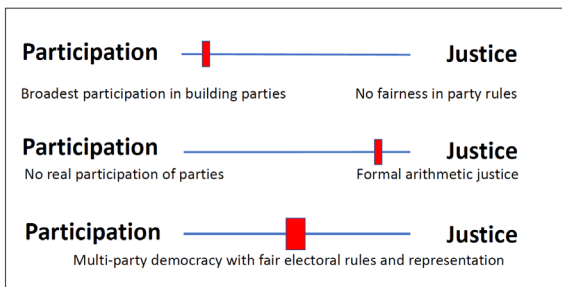


level and more than all other forms of states.

Does it also allow a maximum of equality, fairness, justice? Yes and no. Participation in terms of voting rights and candidacy for elections is

limited to citizens, foreigners are deprived, therefore creating two classes of inhabitants. Participation in party-politics can also be mainly for-

mal, but without real political power. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a young, vibrant democracy, forming a political party and presenting a list for elections had so few conditions, that over 400 political parties presented their electoral list of candidates.



Theoretically, this exaggeration means very high participation, but in reality does not mean justice because very few

parties had a chance to get seats, as I observed as trainer of election experts and mediators in DRC. In addition, many parties did not have a clear programme or platform, and individual candidates ran the show as a personality choice. Personality elections often lead to the outcome that elected winners are not bound by the values of a party programme, but execute their mandate for personal gain instead of a service to the community, perpetuating corruption, nepotism and oligarchic tendencies.

Therefore, a balance is needed between broad participation and constitutional rules for electoral campaigns and fair representation of political parties in parliament, government and judiciary.

7.17.3 Towards Globalance: Overcoming Polarisation

7.17.3.1 The role of political parties

Multi-party democracies include per definition opposites and poles. This helps the electorate to have clear alternatives of choice and to enable a lively, dynamic political development. Globalance does not mean

envisaging a grey unity of party positions, but instead dealing with the opposites in a fair, transparent, constructive political culture. Polarization may be even needed in specific situations e.g. in fighting for human rights. “Polarization is sometimes required for our political disagreement to express themselves. The alternative to polarization often is n’t consensus but suppression”, says Esra Klein in justifying American political polarization.⁷⁷⁷

The ‘-isms’, as described in chapter 2.3 and above as a trend in party politics, are contradictory to the perspective of Globalance.

Five modes of dealing with opposites are described in chapter 1.3 above: destruction, fusion, innovation, synthesis and balance. The destructive political culture violates values and virtues like respect for the other, fairness and justice. It has high economic costs, and can lead to political blockage of solutions, to political apathy or revolutionary climate. The fusion would, even in a democracy, de facto lead to a one-party system even if formally there are different parties. A fair confrontation can lead to innovation and creative solutions and new parties can come about if they present solutions that the traditional parties do not. The synthesis is in fact the compromise, which must be reached in consensual democracies, and can lead to a dynamic (not static) balance.

The central *parties* often play an important role in building a bridge between poles and work on compromises. They seem to represent best the notion of Globalance; but this would be a misunderstanding. Globalance is not the static golden middle way, but the dialectic process of constant negotiations in favor of a dynamic balance of interests.⁷⁷⁸ The

⁷⁷⁷ Klein, Esra, *Why we are polarized*, London: Profile Books, 2020, 249.

⁷⁷⁸ See chapter 1.2.5: Globalance is dynamic, not static.

majoritarian democracies are to some extent dualistic systems ('you or me') whereas consensual democracies are rather dialectic systems ('you and me') which constantly need re-establishment of balance and therefore seem to be closer to the notion of Globalance⁷⁷⁹.

7.17.3.2 *Electoral campaigns and their financing*

Electoral campaigns of political parties are either focused on issues, groups or the character of candidates. Parties in their campaign strategies make positive group appeals for specific targets groups of voters (by economic background, political identity and life cycle) or negative group appeals which aim at criticizing specific groups (e.g. migrants or homosexuals) in order to win votes.⁷⁸⁰

Party politics is more and more polarised partly due to the polarizing influence of *internet-based* election campaigns with algorithms based on big data and the international debates about intervention from foreign actors. For fair and free elections, instruments to reduce fake news and make foreign influence on national elections transparent is key. The Facebook ads page is an effort in the right direction, but not enough considering the highly political tensions, manipulations and investigations it creates. In a globalised world, interference cannot be excluded, but transparency is the least precondition.

The finances of election campaigns play a major role in party politics. Globalance needs an election ethics where the financing of cam-

⁷⁷⁹ See chapter 1.2.3: Globalance is dialectic, not dualistic.

⁷⁸⁰ Stückelberger, Simon, *Group Appeals in Electoral Politics, Comparing Party Behavior in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands*, PhD Thesis, Lausanne 2019, not yet published, 125-165.

paigns should meet six ethical criteria⁷⁸¹: 1. Transparency in origin of funds, 2. Declaration of the candidates to abstain from receiving or paying bribes for the campaign, 3. Limitation of the overall campaign budgets in order to establish at least some equality of chance between candidates, 4. Fair information and sufficient campaign education, 5. Monitoring campaign reality with observers, mediators and independent media and 6. Police presence and sanction mechanisms in case of violence during campaigns and violations of the above criteria.

From a Globalance perspective, especially dangerous is the *violent non-acceptance of results of democratic elections* by candidates who lost the race, as Trump in the US, Bolsonaro in Brazil and in the past in African, Asian and South American countries—and potentially in Eastern Europe. It profoundly undermines the state of law and leads to ongoing conflicts, victims, potential civil wars, revolution, military putsch and dictatorship. It also undermines the acceptance of democracy as a form of state. So-called nationalist parties and autocrats, emphasizing the national identity against global openness, are at the same time building international coalitions of like-minded parties, regimes and nations. For example, Russia with India, and the coalition of right-wing nationalist parties in the EU parliament (Identity and Democracy Group).

⁷⁸¹ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Election Ethics. Financemenet des campagnes électorales et corruption*, in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Global Ethics Applied*, Vol 3, Reader Series, Geneva, Globethics.net, 2016, 223-229. More material in my master courses for election experts and election mediators in DR Congo 2010-2018, <https://www.globethics.net/-/training-on-ethics-and-mediation-for-dr-congo-elections>.

7.18 Political Leadership: Integrity versus Dishonesty

7.18.1 Developments: Wanted Integrity

7.18.1.1 Strong leaders in times of crises

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on political leadership styles and behavior?

Leadership has structural elements rooted in laws and regulations such as the forms of state (chapter 7.16) and political party systems (chapter 7.17), but it also has a strong individual component of the character of a leader. As much as we emphasize in this book structural ethics as values embedded in structures, individual ethics and interpersonal ethics as values and virtues of individual behavior and direct interaction with others must also be underlined. The 4C's show the need for strong leadership in crisis situations. A number of politicians, especially state presidents, and parliaments became stronger, knowing that they would have to take quick and far-reaching decisions e.g. in the pandemic, in reacting to the Ukraine war. Other political leaders have used crises as additional justification to further cement their autocratic leadership style and further oppress journalists and media related to the 4C's crises.

In human history, there have always been good and bad leaders, exploiters and liberators, honest and dishonest characters, egocentric, narcissistic or common-good-oriented personalities. However, there are specific circumstances in the 21st century we want to look at, which play a role in leadership (we focus here on political leadership).

Transparent information: The internet with the explosion of information makes it more and more difficult to hide information. Many par-

liaments and governments therefore opened their policies of access to governmental documents. The finance industry needs to comply with enlarged transparency standards, publication research results are online and big data analysis through AI tools make vast data analytics available. All this influences leadership. Information management becomes a key responsibility of leaders. The values of transparency, honesty and integrity in handling information and data becomes very critical.

Cyber-Connectivity: the global connectivity in the cyber-world and the national and local digitalisation of public administration such as in smart cities where all data are connected and online accessible brings huge advantages in the services for people. It increases trust in leaders by faster and easier accessible services and increases at the same time mistrust in what governments are doing with citizens' data. Building and constantly re-building trust is therefore a key requirement for leadership in the 21st century.

7.18.1.2 The Power of Ideologies and Myths

Politics and economics follow in many situations not rational scientific criteria, but ideologies, herd-instincts, myths and emotions. The first reaction of political leaders to the pandemic was political statement, before then virologists brought governments to 'reason'. Nationalism is built on myths and ideological interpretation of history, consumer decisions are not made by a *homo oeconomicus* who decides for the best quality for the cheapest price, instead, behavioural economics show social, emotional and many other factors for consumer decisions. I would even not call it irrational; it is a deeper and more holistic rationality than the one we normally define as rational. National identity even if it is built on myths, social belonging even if it has a high price and the illu-

sion of some security even if it is based on ideological filters, simplification of facts and fake news make the ‘rationality’ of human existence. In our 21st century with its high level of complexity and decreasing stability, the power of ideologies and myths, expressed with the different ‘–isms’ (listed in chapter 2.3) is increasing. Political leaders are exploiting these ideologies and myths for their benefit. “The myth in politics is an instrument of authority. ... The Myth inspires inspiration, plays with emotions and offers always symbols for double-bottomed interpretations. It sanctifies, legitimises, federates, mobilises, foreshadows, offers prophesy and justifies the political action. It is therefore understandable why politics never stopped to refer to myths and why throughout the ages and cultural differences, politics always refers always to the same legendary motifs.”⁷⁸² This is the case from the Pharaohs to the French kings, from Chinese mythology to American dreams, from the Tsars to Putin’s war in Ukraine.

7.18.1.3 Why are unethical leaders attractive and elected?

There have been unethical political leaders throughout history, but the fact that unethical behavior and vices do not worry and do not hinder the electorate from voting for a candidate is not surprising, on the contrary voters are attracted by such persons. The moral dissolution and even brutalization of the political style with its broader acceptance undermines integrity of leadership. Donald Trump in the USA, Boris John-

⁷⁸² Cobast, Eric, *Le mythe en politique, un instrument d’autorité*, in *L’histoire des mythes fondateurs. Voyage dans l’imaginaire de l’humanité*, Le Monde Hors-Série, Paris 2022, 48-51 (48). Translation from French by the author.

son in the UK, Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil and many more winners of presidential elections are examples.

Such leaders can lie in series, deny facts, cheat, are proud of sexual scandals and multiple divorces, attack their political enemies far below fairness, they humiliate⁷⁸³ individuals and entire ethnic groups of their own population, they polarize with a black and white world view, disregard promises made, they are bossy, never express forgiveness and see only the mistakes of others. The more immoral they are, the more they find supporters, it seems.

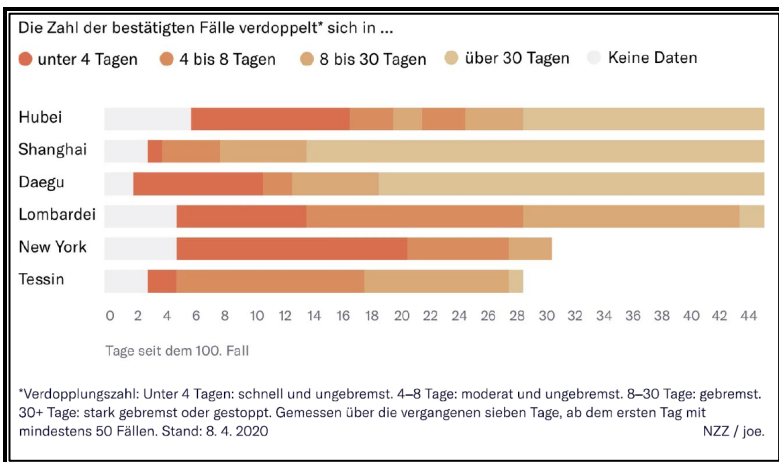
Why is unethical leadership often more attractive for the electorate than leadership with integrity? There are several psychological, sociological, historical, theological and ethical explanations: 1. Proximity: ‘This candidate is one of us’, human, with weaknesses as we have; 2. Justification: ‘We are also allowed to behave like this candidate if he is our president’. Breaking the law, continuing with corruption etc.; 3. Fear: ‘Leaders with integrity are dangerous’, they could detect and hinder my own unethical behaviour’; 4. Promises: ‘The candidate promises jobs and a wealthy future; compared to such a bright future, his personal attitudes are not important’; 5. Personal benefit: ‘I may personally benefit from my support of an unethical candidate’ even if it is not good for the country; 6. Gender: Such broad unethical leadership is practiced mainly by male leaders. Female leaders doing the same would be sacked; 7. Glittery evil: Religions know that evil is shining brightly and blinds through its glittery glamour. Many voters wake up after election when the glitter is gone and the harsh reality of unethical leadership is

⁷⁸³ www.humiliationstudies.org

experienced. 8. Herd behaviour: Mass psychology⁷⁸⁴ shows the acceptance of attitudes by masses, which would not be accepted in individual behaviour; the leader is able to mislead the masses who follow blindly and support unethical actions.

Good and bad leaders in democracy and autocracy: The Corona-virus pandemic shows also an interesting fact about leadership: The adequacy and efficiency of overcoming the crisis in a specific legal entity depends not on the form of state (democracy versus centralized one-party power), but rather on their ability to analyze realistically the situation and to act with assertiveness.

The graph compares six cities and shows how fast they were able to reduce the number of affected persons. Shanghai in socialist China, Daegu in democratic South Korea and the canton of Tessin in democratic Switzerland had the best results.

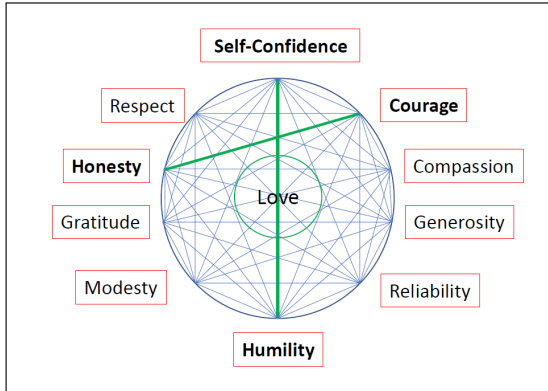


Source: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung NZZ, 9 April 2020.*

⁷⁸⁴ Le Bon, Gustav, *Psychology of Peoples*, Forgotten Books, 2019 (first edition Paris 1895).

7.18.2 Virtue-Poles: Self-confidence with Humility, Courage with Honesty

We refer here not to value-poles, but to virtue poles. Values are

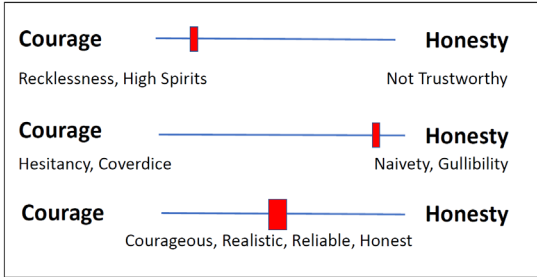


benchmarks of orientations for institutions and individuals, but virtues are orientations for individual behavior. A person can be honest or dishonest, an insti-

tution cannot be honest, but transparent or fair in equality. Leadership in this chapter focuses on the character of the individual personality. Two virtue-poles are selected among the many, which are on the circle: *Self-confidence versus humility* and *courage versus honesty*. Balancing them is key for responsible leadership.

Self-confidence is an important characteristic of a leader. He/she needs to be a strong personality with the capacity to initiate, decide and guide; but too much self-confidence leads to arrogance, pride and lack of humility. It can easily lead to lack of openness, listening and dialogue and poor decisions.

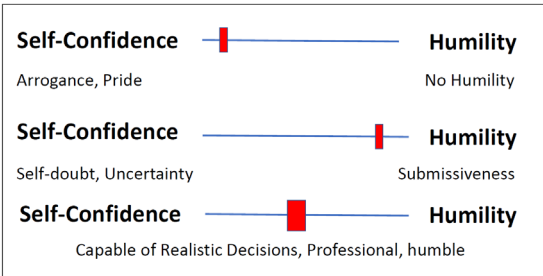
Humility of a good leader expresses his/her ability to serve the community, to decide collectively and not to put one's own ego at the centre;



but one-sided humility without self-confidence leads to submissiveness, self-doubt, uncertainty, lack of leader-

ship and delegation of decisions to others.

Courage is an essential virtue of a responsible leader. It means to take decisions for the common good, even if no one or only a few applaud; but too much courage turns into recklessness and high spirits.



This can easily lead to disasters when a leader leads the people to war in a spirit of recklessness and arrogance.

Honesty is key for every leader, even in politics, as it is the basis for trustworthiness. Trustworthiness and credibility is the foundation for trust of people in their leaders. Arrogance and recklessness destroy honesty because an arrogant person cannot accept their own mistakes or failures, which is needed for honesty.

Total, absolute honesty is often perceived as naivety and gullibility. In human relations, but also in business and politics, it may be necessary

to hide the full truth for a moment in order to find the courage at the right moment for full honesty and transparency.

As shown, these four virtues turn into vices when there are radicalized and seen as absolute and isolated. Therefore, Globalance again means to see virtues as relational. They then become meaningful and are secured from turning into vices. Many people and leaders, including some political theories claim that values and virtues are idealistic politics and not possible to implement in hard-core politics, business or any other leadership position. At the end, all are about accumulation of power, survival of the fittest and the goals, which justify all means.

However, the opposite is true. Leadership without values and virtues lead repeatedly to catastrophes. Example: Political and scientific lies can produce great number of victims. The catastrophe of the explosion of the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl (former Soviet Union, now Ukraine) film) was first not truthfully reported for political reasons and led to a high number of victims which may have been avoided with fast, transparent information and evacuation. The same with the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. Every day of fast, transparent information counted in order to minimize the number of victims. Therefore, the balance of honesty and humility, courage and self-confidence of a leader for decisive and timely actions are key. Fear, submissiveness, arrogance and recklessness aggravate a catastrophe. Such vices can become crimes. They are not just a little moral problem or a personal vice.

7.18.3 Towards Globalance: Integrity Leadership

Balancing the different virtues as just shown leads to a holistic vision of leadership. Integrity is the ‘virtue of virtues.’⁷⁸⁵ It includes all the different virtues. *Integrity Leadership* can be implemented in different leadership models and styles. Let us look at a number of them and at the end ask which ones are more likely to implement integrity than others.

7.18.3.1 Leadership Models

Leadership models indicate different ethical values and challenges.⁷⁸⁶

Master leadership: The master-student relation is a classic leadership model in all cultures and religions: The Buddha, Confucius, Socrates, Jesus, Mohammed, Hindu gurus, Zen teachers, Jewish rabbis and prophets, Christian monks and starzens (spiritual leaders in Russian orthodox monasteries), neo-shamans and traditional and contemporary healers have been described as teaching masters of their disciples.⁷⁸⁷ The master as a leader educates, challenges and initiates the disciple. The mutual

⁷⁸⁵ Stueckelberger, Christoph, *Integrity - The Virtue of Virtues*, in Christoph Stückelberger, Walter Fust, Obiora Ike (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016, 311-328. Stueckelberger, Christoph: *Integrität: die Tugend der Tugenden. Der christliche Beitrag zu einer globalen Tugend für Wirtschaft und Politik*, in Klissenbauer, Irene et al (Eds.), *Menschenrechte und Gerechtigkeit als bleibende Aufgaben*, Vienna: University Press, 2020, 559-573.

⁷⁸⁶ This typology is partly taken from my book Stückelberger, Christoph, *Responsible Leadership Handbook. For Staff and Boards*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2014, 16-19.

⁷⁸⁷ For good interreligious overview see Müller, Joachim et al, *Guru – Rabbi – Heilige. Religiöse Führer, Lehrer und Meister*, Freiburg/Zürich: Paulus und TVZ, 1099.

relationship between master and disciple is very profound and led by high, normally lifelong commitment. A good king could also be seen as a master of his people.

Charismatic leadership is defined by Max Weber (1922) as “a certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities.” Charismatic leaders create enthusiasm, personal magnetism, and almost devotion amongst the followers.

Spiritual leadership: Spiritual leadership refers to the deepest inner convictions of the leader. A leader who ‘seeks God’s will’ in all decisions, is ‘confident in God’, ‘humble’ and ‘following God’s example’ and Spirit.⁷⁸⁸ A spiritual leader must not be a charismatic leader and vice versa. The “Soul at Work”⁷⁸⁹ expresses the inner quality of a spiritual leader. One of the great spiritual leaders, who influenced me, was Dag Hammarskjöld, second Secretary General of the United Nations 1953-61. He lived out of his profound inner Christian spirituality as visible in his famous diary.⁷⁹⁰

Transforming leadership: “Transforming leaders have very strong values. They do not water down their values and moral ideals through a

⁷⁸⁸ Sanders, J. Oswald, *Spiritual Leadership*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1994 (2nd ed.), 29.

⁷⁸⁹ Benefiel, Margaret, *Soul at Work. Spiritual leadership in Organizations*, New York: Church Publishing, 2005. The author describes how a spiritual leader balances the way “from the outside in” (17-64) and from inside out (65-132).

⁷⁹⁰ Hammarskjöld, Dag, *Markings*, New York: Vintage Books, 2006 (first edition 1963), with a preface of Jimmy Carter.

consensus, but rather they elevate people by using conflict to engage followers and help them reassess their own values and needs.”⁷⁹¹

Servant leadership: The core of servant leadership is that the leader serves the followers and not the opposite. This concept is rooted in biblical leadership models, but also in other ancient concepts. The well-being of the other, especially the deprived, is the centre of concern.⁷⁹² The leader behaves like a good host: he/she offers a guesthouse with services and good living conditions where the guests, the employees, can grow and develop. The leader is inviting, encouraging and welcoming like a host. As Paul said about Jesus as his leader, “Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God. For I tell you that Christ has become a servant” (Romans 15:7-8).

Principle-based leadership is rooted in fundamental values, which are to be respected in all decisions. Whereas servant leadership and other models are process-oriented and influenced by the followers, the principle-based leadership always refers to the principles as absolute criteria.

Responsible leadership as Ethical Leadership has become a broadly used concept especially in politics, business, but also academic, reli-

⁷⁹¹Ciulla, Joanne B., “Leadership Ethics: Mapping the Territory”, in Ciulla, Joanne B (ed.): *Ethics, the Heart of Leadership*, Westport/London: Praeger, 2004, 3-24 (15). Based on Burns, J.M., *Leadership*, New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

⁷⁹² Greenleaf, Robert K., *Servant Leadership*, New York: Paulist Press, 1977. Reinke, Sandra R., “Service before Self: Towards a theory of servant leadership”, *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 5 (3), 2004, 30-57; Smith, Marilyn J. “Servant Leadership in the Public Sector”, *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 5 (3), 2004, 120-150; Williams, Brian N., “Civic Learning via Service Learning: A proposed framework and methodology to linking servant leadership theory to the contemporary practice of community policing”, *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 5 (3), 2004, 80-94.

gious and other sectors.⁷⁹³ A special focus in responsible leadership nowadays is on sustainability and caring for global concerns. Ethical leadership reflects “how the relationship between the leading and the subordinate people in hierarchical structures can be structured in a fair and humane way.”⁷⁹⁴

Dictatorial leadership: The dictator does not accept sharing and controlling of power but looks for absolute power. Critical views are usually not allowed and absolute obedience is required. It is the opposite of servant leadership in the sense that the followers must serve the leader. Dictatorships develops often gradually. A democratically elected leader often starts with controlling media, then side lines opposition parties, limits the independence of the court and starts breaking rules while claiming impunity up to changing constitution and ruling on all powers in the state. When rule makers become rule breakers, it is a signal for autocratic tendencies towards dictatorship.

Gambling leadership: Many leaders see their leadership as a kind of game and gambling. They risk, lose, win and get adrenalin satisfaction from the political gambling. Niall Ferguson classified Donald Trump in

⁷⁹³ Maak, Thomas/Pless, Nicola (Eds.), *Responsible Leadership*, London: Routledge, 2006; Moody-Stuart, Mark, *Responsible Leadership. Lessons from the Front Line of Sustainability and Ethics*, Austin: Greenleaf, 2014 (one of the best books of a business leader on the topic); Stückelberger, Christoph/ Mugambi Jesse N.K., *Responsible Leadership. Global and Contextual Ethical Perspectives*, Geneva: Globethics.net and WCC, 2007; Christoph Stückelberger, Walter Fust, Obiora Ike (eds.), *Global Ethics for Leadership. Values and Virtues for Life*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016; Starratt, R. J., *Ethical Leadership*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2004.

⁷⁹⁴ Ulrich, Peter, *Führungsethik. Handbuch der Wirtschaftsethik*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999, Vol. 4, 230-247 (230).

this category of leadership.⁷⁹⁵ Private investors may play with their own assets, but politicians play with the assets of the people!

Addicted leadership: some leaders are addicted to alcohol, sex, love affairs, sadism, but also to power. Many leaders can hide their addiction for a long time, but at some point the addiction causes them to lose their position. Addiction to power can mean one cannot give up political power or falls into depression without the daily adrenalin of media attention.

Narcissistic leadership: Narcissism is a form of self-love based on an idealised, exaggerated self-image and self-admiration. It leads to misconception of reality. A narcissistic leader cares more about his/her own image than the tasks in his/her responsibility. The modern social media support narcissism as a trend in society.

Twitter leadership: the short message service Twitter was for the first time extensively used by a high-level politician: Donald Trump. It is a new, often harsh way of fast, short and unfiltered communication of important decisions and messages, including dismissal of ministers of cabinet.⁷⁹⁶ It somehow contradicts traditional diplomacy with its filters and media-balance, but since President Trump introduced it, it is more and more used by other politicians. In the extremely fast cyber-world, where speed counts, it may be seen as a legitimate means of political communication. From an ethical point of view, reflective filters to slow down and balance important messages are justified and needed.

⁷⁹⁵ Ferguson, Niall, *Coronavirus: Donald Trump the risk-lover is gambling with lives*, Sunday Times, 29 March 2020, retrieved 11 April 2020.

⁷⁹⁶ Fest, Sebastian, *Der Twitter-Präsident (Nicht Donald Trump)*, Das Magazin, Zurich, 44/2019, 20-24. The article describes Nayib Bukele, President of El Salvador, who dismissed ministers by Twitter message.

Ubuntu leadership: *Ubuntu* is the (Southern) African concept of community ethics: ‘I am because we are.’ The individual is always seen in its relation and interaction with the community. I call *Ubuntu* leadership the leadership that tries to reconcile the community and the individual. “A person is a person because (s)he recognises others as people” (Archbishop Desmond Tutu) can be translated to “A leader is a leader because s/he recognises others as leaders.”⁷⁹⁷ This is the opposite of a narcissistic leader.

Wisdom leadership: Wisdom is the fruit of collective experience, reflection and conviction, which in most cultures is summarised in proverbs⁷⁹⁸ and holy texts such as the biblical wisdom collection (proverbs are only one part), Confucius’ Analects, the Tao of Ching and the Qur’an.

Inherited Chieftainship: Many traditional societies exercised leadership as chief of the village or region as an inherited position. Selection and introduction in knowledge and skills was normally carefully prepared.⁷⁹⁹ Traditional chiefs in many (mainly African) countries still exist, but with limited power (mainly mediation, peacekeeping, land rights, but also development brokers) and sometimes without handover, proper training and guidance. Conflicts with the democratically elected leadership regularly occur.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁷ Quoted on african-leadership.com.

⁷⁹⁸ See Miller, Annetta, *African Wisdom on Leadership, A Calendar*, Nairobi: Pauline Publications, 2006.

⁷⁹⁹ Nyathi, Pathisa, *Ndebele Chieftainship: History and Succession Rules*, Zimbabwe: Amagugu Publishers, 2017, 4.

⁸⁰⁰ Baldwin, Kate, *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 53ff: traditional leaders and Democracy,.

Herd-instinct leadership: Leaders often follow ‘super-leaders’ and their trends. The disaster in the investment sector showed that many investment leaders just followed what other investors did. Of course, most leaders are influenced by their peers, but if it becomes blind trust and imitation, we can call it herd-instinct leadership.

Populist leadership: populist leaders are those, whose main criteria for decisions are the real or presumed voice of the people (*vox populi*) as their followers. It is often an *opportunistic leadership* without clear ethical principles. In many cases, populist leaders represent autocratic tendencies claiming that they are the only legitimate representative of the people.

Which of these leadership models are more likely to implement *integrity* and which ones less likely? The answer has to be given in concrete cases, nevertheless, some are unlikely to implement integrity: dictatorial, gambling, addictive, narcissistic, Twitter, herd-instinct and populist leadership are unlikely to be integrity leadership forms because such leaders are not driven by core ethical values, but by motivations of personal gain above all.

7.18.3.2 Leadership Phases

Important for Responsible Leadership is the whole duration and phases of a person in a leadership position. The ethical value-judgment of forms of states (chapter 6.13) is important in terms of competences and limitations of power, but very important are also the individual personalities in power with their values and virtues which play a role in the whole process from its beginning to the end: *How is power planned, taken over, executed, controlled, shared, limited and handed over?*

Dreaming and planning of power: Responsible leadership starts not the day of taking office, but long before. It often starts with the dreams even as a child. It makes a difference if a child says to peers on the question of the professional dreams, ‘I want to heal sick persons as a doctor’ or ‘I want to become president’ – and then by competence becomes president of a country. Early decision on the ultimate goal in itself, starts to train the mindset of a child.⁸⁰¹

Takeover of power: Takeover by fair elections, by a military coup, by royal or aristocratic inheritance, by bribes or by manipulation of democratic elections makes ethically a difference. Free and fair democratic elections and constitutional, rules-based handover from the king to the prince is ethically better than corrupt, manipulated democratic elections or oligarchic transfer to another corrupt oligarch. A military coup could, in rare situations, only be justified if it ends a tyranny or dictatorship and strives at constitutional regularisation and limitation of power.

Execution of power: At the beginning of the execution of a mandate, many persons in power start with good will, but once they smell power, they want to expand it and some of them end up becoming autocrats even if they originally are democratically elected. Others came to power through bribing the electorate and then are from the outset, enslaved by and dependant on those who received bribes. The temptation to abuse

⁸⁰¹ I compared the biographies of Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela, both similar age and both with the mission for liberation of their countries Zimbabwe and South Africa, but Mugabe became a dictator, Mandela is seen almost as a Saint. Mugabe was told by his mother ‘You are chosen by God as leader’ and he was driven by suspicion, homophobia and sidelining all enemies. Mandela saw successful leadership as a fruit of trust in people, cooperation and reconciliation with the enemy. See Stückelberger, Christoph, *Responsible Leadership Handbook. For Staff and Boards*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2014, 105-107.

power often comes only while executing power. In many cases, the abuse in terms of accumulating competences comes after a threat, a coup as an attempt to take over the power or as lack of substantial opposition.

Control of power: Every human being can fail; no human being is infallible. For this reason, every human power needs to be checked and balanced from the election campaign up until the power position is given up (and even beyond). Control of power prevents abuse and conflicts of interests between those in former and new leadership positions. Control is also needed for superpowers and are carried out by multilateral frameworks.⁸⁰² The classical instruments of power control is the power balance between the legislative, executive, judiciary and media power. Power control also happens through counter powers like trade unions, civil society, religious or academic institutions.

Sharing of power: Executing power by empowering subordinates to participate in decision-making and even sharing of power between opposites contributes to Globalance. Subordinates on their side must accept leadership and at the same time critically accompany and monitor it. It is the balance of power and counter power, of execution and correction, of participation and delegation, of listening and acting.

Handover of power: The handover of power is as important as the takeover of power. In too many cases, bloody conflicts and war ensue because a leader was not willing to hand over power as per democratic constitutions or constitutional requirements. I helped to develop codes of ethics for candidates of electoral campaigns in Africa. One paragraph of such codes is that the candidate declares to respect the constitutional regulations about the terms of mandate. In the Anglican Church, e.g. in

⁸⁰² See chapter 7.13.

Kenya, when church leaders vow for the new function, they also vow to step down at the end of the defined mandate. Such a declaration can of course not hinder all power games at the end of a mandate, but the electorate can hold the candidate accountable for what he/she signed.

Age: Succession has a new dimension in current ageing societies. A growing number of politicians, acting state presidents and ministers, are around 70-90 years old! In 2022, Paul Biya, President of Cameroon was 89; Putin, President of Russia was 69; Xi, President of China, 69; Middle Eastern State leaders of Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, all between 83 and 88 years old. Trump in the USA was 73 when he lost the election in 2020; his successor Biden was 78 at his inauguration in 2021. Some leaders try to extend the constitutional mandates by changing the constitution. Others try to stay in power with a military or civil putsch.

Another category are monarchies and the Roman Catholic system. Queen Elisabeth died at the age of 96 and her son was 78 when he became King Charles III in September 2022. In 2022, Margrethe II, Queen of Denmark was of age 82; Harald V, the King of Norway, 85. Popes in the past remained Pope until they passed away. A great exception was Pope Benedict XVI who resigned as Pope at the age of 86 due to “lack of strength of mind and body” (the first to resign voluntarily after Pope Celestine V in 1294). Pope Francis is at age 86 in 2022 and there is repeated media speculation of whether or not he will step down, and what happens in a church with the historically unique circumstance of two retired Popes. On the other hands, the vast majority of state leaders and religious leaders respect modern retirement age between 65 and 70 years. In many African traditions, advanced age of a leader is rather tied to a quality of wisdom, and basis of respect, than a deficit.

From an ethical perspective, in an ageing society, age should not per se be exclusion criteria if mental and physical health is strong enough for the responsibility. However, respecting constitutional regulations about succession is an ethical imperative to avoid chaos, manipulation, nepotism and other destructive power games. Values first, not power first must be the ethical benchmark for leadership.

7.18.3.3 Five leadership balances needed

For Globalance in leadership, five main balances and mechanisms are needed:

1. *Integrity with Assertiveness*: Let us take the example of three leaders from India: Former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (2004-2014) led India to economic success by liberalisation. He was seen as “the best example of integrity.”⁸⁰³ He was respected as “humble, decent, ...with scrupulous honesty. ... His own reputation for integrity had survived. But people asked: what good is it to have an honest Prime Minister if he lets everybody else make money? ... He will be remembered as the man who let India down.”⁸⁰⁴ On the other hand, his successor Narendra Modi, Prime Minister since 2014, brought dynamic advances in economic relationship with China and other global players. He brought India back to the “Global High Ta-

⁸⁰³ *PM Manmohan Singh is the best example of integrity: Khuswant Singh*, The Times of India, 17 Aug 2010. Retrieved 11 April 2020; to his 90th birthday on 26 Sept 2022: *Manmohan Singh turns 90 today: lesser known facts about the former prime minister and economic reformer of India*, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com>. (Accessed 28 Sept 2022)

⁸⁰⁴ Sanghvi, Vir, *Mandate: Will of the People*, New Delhi, Westland, 2015, 122,135.

ble”⁸⁰⁵ of international politics, but is more and more seen as a hardliner, nationalist and power play politician. The corona pandemic in addition hit India hard as most economies. The third example: Mahatma Gandhi, still respected as the great liberator of India from colonialism, combined soft non-violence with successful assertiveness. He repeatedly said, if one wants to be successful with non-violence, one must be even harder and more courageous than a good soldier. Jesus advised his disciples in their unfriendly environment of people who were against him: “Be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves” (Matthew 10:16). Integrity leadership has to be combined with assertiveness. In crises like the pandemic more than ever, moral credibility and political authority are twins.⁸⁰⁶

2. *Hawks and Doves*: Two types of politicians appear in all parties, but mainly in polarised political systems: *Hawks and doves*. Hawks are hardliners and follow their goals with aggressive strength and (military) force. The doves are peace promoters and their strength lies in the stamina and persistence. Hawks and doves often block political infighting by all means. How to deal with the swing-pendulum between hawks and doves in a Globalance perspective? Globalance means promoting what is good in hawks and doves and overcoming what is bad in both. It leads to the same result as the last point: integrity with assertiveness.

⁸⁰⁵ Schaffer, Teresita/Schaffer, Howard B., *India at the Global High table. The Quest for regional Primacy and Strategic Autonomy*, Washington & Noida: HarperCollins, 2016.

⁸⁰⁶ Alam, Edward Joseph, *Kairos of the Corona Pandemic: Time for a True World Political Authority with Moral Credibility?* Journal of Dharma 45, 2, (April-June 2020), 167-184.

3. *Political instruments to control or replace unfit or very unethical leaders.* In democracies, elections are still the dominant constitutional instrument to replace unethical leaders. It can only happen if elections are free, fair and not biased by unethical and corrupted election campaigns as is often the case. In dictatorships and other forms of monocracies, democratic elections are not possible. Active resistance is then ethically justified or even required. The right and obligation to resist⁸⁰⁷ is in such a situation a recognized ethical principle and may be ethically needed. The right and obligation to resist injustice, up to the point of killing a dictator, has a long tradition in history. Confucius formulated the right to resist a bad ruler. In Christianity, it existed since the Apostles in prison⁸⁰⁸, and was emphasized by the Reformers, especially John Calvin. It became famous in the Confessing Church in Germany against Hitler 1933-45. The German Theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer who participated in the preparation of the attack against Hitler in 1944, was killed on 9 April 1945. I write this chapter on the very day of 9 April 2020, the 75th commemoration day of his death.
4. *Complexity and Simplicity:* Populist and ideological leaders win over part of the population by reducing the complexity of the modern world to a few slogans and making scapegoats e.g. migrants, responsible for all problems. Prejudices help our brain to reduce com-

⁸⁰⁷ Strohm, Christoph, Art Widerstandsrecht, Evangelisches Staatslexikon, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2006, 2705-2711; Geiger, Max, *Kirche, Staat, Widerstand*, Zürich: TVZ, 1978, 40ff; Beza, Theodor, *De Jure Magistratum*, 1574, On the Rights of Magistrates, article 3. <https://www.constitution.org/cmt/beza/magistrates.htm> (accessed 15 April 2020).

⁸⁰⁸ Apostle Peter: 'We must obey God rather than men!' (Acts 5:29).

plexity of information.⁸⁰⁹ Simplicity seems to give orientation and identity. It breaks down when one can no more deny that reality is more complex than promised. From a Globalance perspective it means a leader with integrity and moral standards for truth needs to be able to combine simplicity and complexity in explaining and transforming reality. Empirical studies show that integrity of leaders, accountability and trust in them are especially important in situations of crises and threats like a pandemic or climate change.⁸¹⁰

5. *Hierarchical and Servant Leadership*: Religious organizations and their leadership model has a huge influence in state and society. A majority of religious organisations have very hierarchical leaderships, based on the religious conviction that cardinals, priests, gurus, monks, ayatollahs⁸¹¹ etc. provide the link between the divine and the earthly sphere and see themselves as representatives of the divine. The Protestant traditions emphasize the ‘priesthood of all believers’ which means the empowerment of all believers and a more collective, synod-driven leadership bottom-up. The Pentecostals are even more radical in individual independence. However, Protestant and Pentecostal institutions also developed hierarchical structures. What then, is the solution? Because of their highly respected authority, religious leaders need integrity and ethical leadership more than any other leader (which is unfortunately often not the case), with characteristics such as a profound personal spirituali-

⁸⁰⁹ *Patterns of Prejudice* (Routledge/Taylor and Francis) is a journal, since 1967, dedicated exclusively on prejudices in social science perspective.

⁸¹⁰ Kusano, Kodai/ Kimmelmeier, Markus, *Ecology of Freedom: Competitive Tests of the Role of Pathogens, Climate, and Natural Disasters in the Development of Socio-Political Freedom*, *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12 June 2018.

⁸¹¹ Even though in Islamic theology there is no formal hierarchy.

ty and faith, integrity free from corruption⁸¹² and sexual addictions, visionary leadership and innovative courage for their religious community, management skills for good stewardship of the assets of the religious community as well as diplomatic and communication skills for the negotiations with state authorities.

6. *Rooted self-leadership*: ethical leadership with integrity needs a high level of self-control and self-leadership, managing and leading one-self while leading others. Self-leadership needs a personality who is rooted, anchored in values, principles, convictions, combined and balanced with openness and adaptability to changing situations. The two levels of fundamental values/virtues and applied contextual norms (as described above in chapter 5) allows for stability and certainty in fundamental values and openness to contextualization and adaptation. The main problem of political leaders remains the temptation to shift from value-driven leadership to pure power-driven leadership. Self-leadership includes the capacity to resist this temptation. Leaders need this strength for the support of family, friends, coaches, political advisors, members of government and parliament. The greatest danger of this shift is that leaders sideline all these supporters and ultimately become surrounded by head nods, living in a closed bubble as often the case with many autocrats and dictators. This shift leads to the loss of realistic perception of processes, wrong decisions and finally to loss of power.
7. *Dealing with crises and growing in crises*: Tough crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, a tsunami, an earthquake, a war or social un-

⁸¹² Stükelberger, Christoph, *Corruption-free Churches are Possible*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2010, 166-171.

rest test the quality of leadership. The pandemic showed that most populist leaders failed, and autocratic leaders looked more for their own power than their people whereas other leaders became stronger, more assertive and won the trust of people whilst being surrounded by credible experts. During election campaigns the electorate should even be asked: “Can you imagine that this candidate would be a credible leader in a crisis such as a pandemic?” Hard times create strong people, also strong leaders - if they have the inner compass and character before the crisis.

In conclusion, we have shown that there are common global values for leadership with integrity across cultures and centuries. Ethical relativism in this respect is not justified. Even though there are, of course, contextual differences of what a good leader is, core values and virtues are common, because they are human as shown in global leadership studies.⁸¹³ Future leaders must be educated and trained with character education. Universities around the globe must play a key role. “The imperative of values-based formation for future leaders”⁸¹⁴ means that it is not optional, but must be mandatory in every leadership formation, be it in higher education, the private, public or religious sector.

In our times of a serious trust crisis in authorities, building and rebuilding trust in leaders is essential for sustainability, stability and a balanced world. Building trust needs the self-awareness of leaders for

⁸¹³ *Globethics.net Elements for Responsible Leadership*, in Stükelberger, Christoph/ Mugambi, Jesse N.K. (Eds.), *Responsible Leadership. Global and Contextual Ethical Perspectives*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2007, 343-349; Hentsch Cisneros, Ariane/ Premawardhana, Shanta, *Sharing Values. A Hermeneutics for Global Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2011.

⁸¹⁴ Ike, Obiora, *Applied Ethics to Issues of Development, Culture, Religion and Education*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2020, 233-266 (title 233).

the importance of integrity and the pressure on them from society. Bruce Schneider in his book on trust mentions five dimensions of pressure: “societal pressure, moral pressure, reputational pressure, institutional pressure, security systems.”⁸¹⁵

The corona pandemic shows the crucial importance of leaders who have integrity, honestly serving the people with the power entrusted to them and not primarily serving their own political or economic interests. The pandemic shows the urgent need for such responsible leadership. Some presidents even during the pandemic behave as if they do not care for their people, but only for their own re-election or increase of personal power. Independent from the form of state, whether a one-party or multi-party system, the simple question we should ask the heads of state and ministers: Do you love your people? Do you really love your people? More than yourself?

7.19 State: Relations to Religions

7.19.1 Developments: Religions as Political Factor

What is the relation between the political and the religious powers? How should it be in order to contribute to Globalance? What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on the relation between state and religions? Hinduism for more than 4000 years, Buddhism, Jainism, Daoism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, traditional African religions and Volk religions on all continents for thousands of years influenced politics and have

⁸¹⁵ Schneider, Bruce, *Liars and Outliers. Enabling the Trust That society Needs to Thrive*, Indianapolis: John Wiley, 2012, 61-136 (five chapter titles).

been influenced by politics. The relation between Judaism and political power is over 3000 years old, since King Saul and David. The church-state-relations influenced European and world history during the last 2000 years.⁸¹⁶ The same with the relation between Islam and political powers for 1300 years in Arabic countries and worldwide.

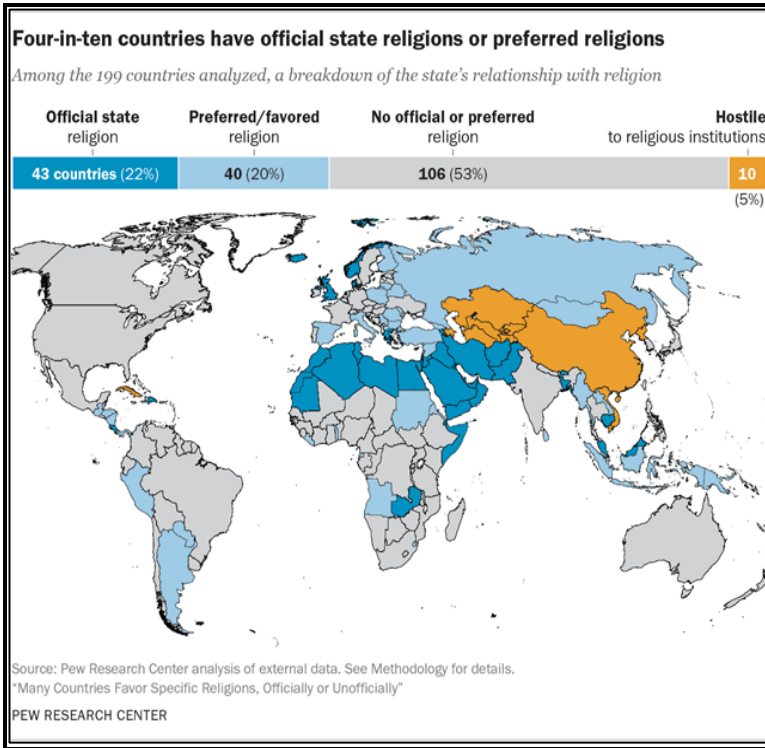
7.19.1.1 Four Types of State-Religions Relations

In the 21st century, four main categories of states in relation to religious regulations can be distinguished, as shown below in the global map of the highly recognized PEW Research Center:

“States with an official religion confer official status on a particular religion in their constitution or basic law. These states do not necessarily provide benefits to that religious group over others. But in most cases, they do favor the state religion in some way.

States with a preferred or favored religion have government policies or actions that clearly favor one (or in some cases, more than one) religion over others, typically with legal, financial or other kinds of practical benefits. These countries may or may not mention the favored religion in their constitution or laws; if they do, it is often as the country’s ‘traditional’ or ‘historical’ religion (but *not* as the official state religion). Some of these countries also call for freedom of religion in their constitutions – though, in practice, they do not treat all religions equally.

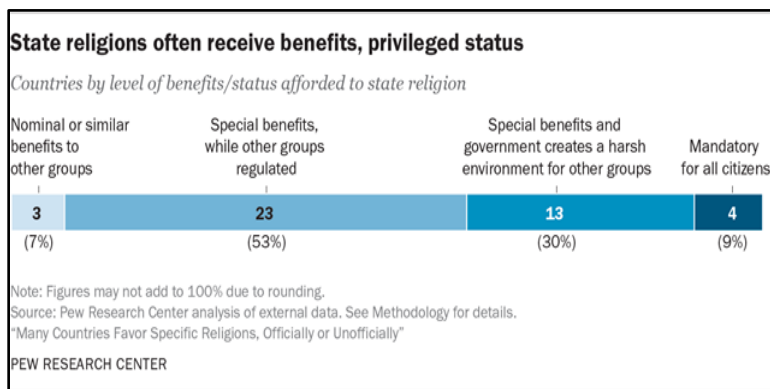
⁸¹⁶ The Lutheran World Federation, *Church and State in Societies in Transformation. 20 Years after the System Change, Consultation*. LWF European Consultation in Budapest 2009. Geneva: LWF, 2009.



States with no official or preferred religion seek to avoid giving tangible benefits to one religious group over others (although they may even-handedly provide benefits to *many* religious groups). For example, the U.S. government gives tax exemptions to religious organizations under rules that apply equally to all denominations. Many countries in this category have constitutional language calling for freedom of religion, although that language alone is not enough to include a country in this group; coders must determine that these countries do not systematically favour one or more religions over others.

*States with a hostile relationship toward religion exert a very high level of control over religious institutions in their countries or actively take a combative position toward religion in general. Some of these countries may have constitutions that proclaim freedom of religion, or leaders who describe themselves as adherents of a particular religion, such as Islam. Nonetheless, their governments seek to tightly restrict the legal status, funding, clergy and political activity of religious groups.*⁸¹⁷

The graph above shows that 43 countries have a state religion, among them the largest group of 27 countries with Islam and 13 countries (9 of them in Europe) with Christianity. Forty countries have not a state religion, but give preferential treatment to one religion or denomination/school within a religion (e.g. Catholic or Anglican among Christian churches or Sunny or Shia among Islamic schools). The majority of states, 106, representing 53 percent, have no official and no preferred religion.

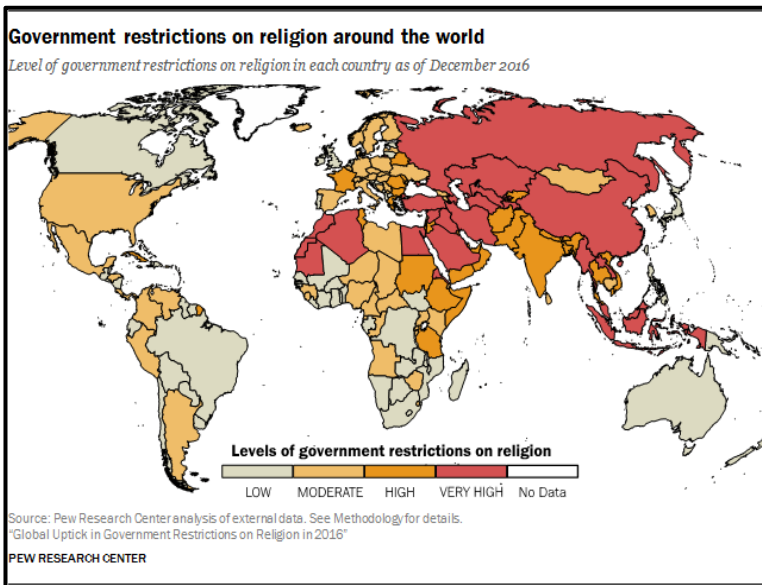


⁸¹⁷ Quote and two graphs from: Pew Research Center, *Many Countries Favor Specific Religions, Officially or Unofficially*, published 3 Oct 2017. www.pewforum.org/2017/10/03/many-countries-favor-specific-religions-officially-or-unofficially. - Coders analyzed each country’s constitution or basic laws, along with its official policies and actions toward religious groups.

7.19.1.2 *Government Benefits and Restrictions for Religions*

It does not exclude the fact that also in this majority of countries, benefits like tax exemption, state support for religious hospitals or schools and special rules on mass media are possible.

Ten countries on this map are called hostile to religious institutions as they regulate and limit the activities of all of them. This category includes China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam and several former Soviet republics. At the same time, e.g. in China, five religions are by constitution officially recognised with their rights as long as they are registered: Buddhism, Daoism, Islam and Christianity encompasses two religions (Protestants and Roman Catholics). In China, after twenty years of increased freedom for the five religions, the restrictions are increased under the current President Xi Jinping.




Religious freedom is one indicator among others for the relation between states and religions. Government restrictions on religions are only partly linked to the four described categories of countries.⁸¹⁸ Restrictions and social hostilities related to religions (migration, terrorism, fundamentalisms) has been increasing over the past decade.

It is not the place here to analyze the immense diversity and fascinating development of the relations between political and religious powers and the freedom of religions in detail.

7.191.3 Five Types of Church-State Relations

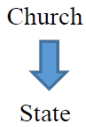
Let us focus *pars pro toto* on the *church-state-relations in Christianity with a typology of five models* - which could be described in a comparable way for other world religions. It should help us to better see the fundamental value poles and come to propositions for a dynamic and constructive relation between religious and political powers.

1. *Domination of the State over the Church/es*. The state controls,

State	domesticates and instrumentalizes the church in order to
	strengthen its own power. The state offers privileges and
Church	requests loyalty and support for state values, doctrine
	and policies. The churches benefit from the privileges in
	order to fulfill their diaconal, spiritual, ethical and educative mis-
	sion. The political ruler appoints the church leadership. Examples
	are dictatorship, absolutism in Middle Age, the German Churches
	under Hitler.

⁸¹⁸ Map Pew Research Center, published 19 June 2018. https://www.pewforum.org/2018/06/21/americas-the-only-region-with-a-rise-in-both-government-restrictions-and-social-hostilities-involving-religion-in-2016/pf-06-21-18_religious-restrictions-03-03.

2. *Domination of the Church over the State.* The church dominates and



instrumentalizes the state and public life in order to strengthen its own power. The church offers to the aristocracy high positions in the church, absolution of sins and eternal life. The political rulers benefit from church protection and offered salvation. This domination was only possible with one ruling Catholic church until reformation. This domination ended with the plurality of churches after reformation, where ‘one state one religion’ (*cuius regio, ejus religio*) was still valid, but it belongs to the next model. Examples: Roman Catholic church from 6th to 16th century where popes crowned emperors. In the Islamic tradition of Iran since the revolution 1979, the Ayatollah as highest Muslim is above the political government.

3. *Unity of State and Church.* Church and state are united as one entity



of power with complementary roles. The state offers the church privileges, material support, legal security, freedom of worship. The state asks for loyalty, support of the leadership in times of peace and war and provides social and educational services for the community. Examples: a number of Orthodox churches such as Russian or Rumanian Orthodox, Lutheran State Churches in Norway and Sweden (in the past).

There is a form of church-state relations, which goes even beyond unity and becomes *identity*. The Vatican is a state and at the same time the centre of the church. It is a religious state. On the other side, in secular societies the state becomes a religious state in form of civil religion which means the state as such fulfills religious

roles. We will deal with it later under civil religion (Chapter 6.18.1).

4. *Separation of Church and State*. The state is strictly neutral related

State  Church

to religious institutions. Religion is seen as private affair. The state

gives them freedom in their inner decisions but asks for non-interference in state affairs. Material or legal support to religious organisations can be given by the state as long as it is given to all (under same conditions) in an impartial way. Examples: France, United States of America.⁸¹⁹ This separation with a lay state (Laicism in France) is a result of enlightenment and the French Revolution in France as a reaction to the strong influence of the (Catholic) church on the state.

5. *Partnership of Church and State*. The State tolerates all religions in

State  Church

terms of religious freedom, but gives a special status of public law (not only private law like NGOs) to the majority religion (in European churches) which allows e.g. church tax collected by the state and right to religious education in schools, but linked with obligations for social services, ethical orientation for the population and for new legislations etc. The country practices religious pluralism and at the same time recognizes the special role churches play in the identity of the country. Both entities are at the same time undivided

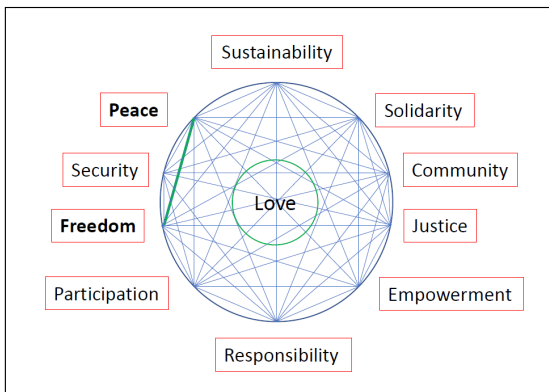
⁸¹⁹ Soper, Christopher, Den Dulk Kevin, Monsma Stephen, *The Challenge of Pluralism. Church and State in Six Democracies*, 3rd edition, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017, chapters 1 and 2. The authors distinguish three models: separation, pluralism and establishment. Under models of pluralism they distinguish principled pluralism (The Netherlands) and pragmatic pluralism (Australia), under models of restrained establishment (England) and partnership (Germany).

and disunited and treat each other as partners, each with specific roles. Examples: Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and to some extent church of England. In Germany and Switzerland, even with secularization, two third of the population still belong to the Protestant or Catholic church. But the discussion on stronger recognition of Islamic communities under public law is going on. Muslims in Switzerland represent 5 percent. Churches welcome it, but the state asks for unified democratic structures as Islamic communities are often split between their national communities along the country of origin (Turkish, Saudi, Pakistani Muslim etc.)

7.19.2 Value-Poles: Peace and Freedom

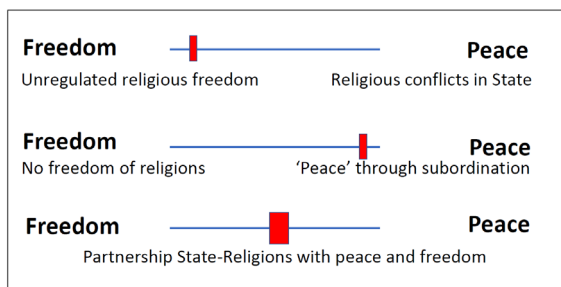
Which values are at stake in the relation between the political and the religious powers and authorities? From the circle of values, let us select the pole of peace and freedom as one core tension in the relation of religious and political power.

States have an interest to control conflicts and establish peace within



its territory. All governments know that they have to somehow co-exist with religious institutions. They can control them in the hard way by oppress-

ing religious freedom and hence religious institutions.



They can control them by giving them privileges with the obligation to remain loyal, which is soft control and

also limitation of freedom.

Religious leaders and organizations can claim absolute religious freedom and see all forms of state regulation and obligation as unacceptable interference as they accept only a divine – not human – authority, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses or some of the free house churches in China or the Islamic terrorists who only accept rules of their own caliphate.

Globalance as the balance of the value of freedom and the value of peace means, as in the last line of the graph above, freedom of religions to practice, share, publicly testify faith in media and publications, including the right to convert to another faith. This religious freedom must be linked with the responsibility to serve the community which includes contributing to peace by constructive cooperation with the state authorities. The balance of freedom and peace is now the basis to examine the five models of relations between state and religions for a harmonious world order.

7.19.3 Towards Globalance: Partnership State-Religions

7.19.3.1 Challenges and opportunities

Religions are older than States. Religious power lasts longer than political power. Religions need political powers for their stability, freedom of action and protection. Political powers look for their blessing, justification and support by religious power. As Paul Watzlawick in his communication theory said, humans cannot not communicate (even silence is a form of communication). The same is true that religious and political powers cannot be unrelated to religious powers (even separation is a relation). Human history shows bloody and constructive, violent and peaceful, oppressive and liberating relations between the two spheres of power.

*Globalance means that we need to develop and to maintain constructive and innovative forms in the relation between states and religions.*⁸²⁰

Up to present times, there have been too many victims due to oppression of religious freedom or attacks against state authorities and innocent citizens by religious fundamentalists.⁸²¹ Too much destabilization fueled by ideological political battles happen under the cover of religious arguments. Too much instrumentalisation of political power by religious authorities and manipulation of religious institutions by political authorities creates damage. The Covid-19 pandemic showed some dramatic

⁸²⁰ One of the great Statesman who intensively worked for a good partnership between State and Churches, was Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (1974-1982). Schmidt, Helmut, *Als Christ in der politischen Entscheidung*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlag, 1976. He later expanded this partnership for peace to other religions: Schmidt, Helmut, *Religion in der Verantwortung. Gefährdungen des Friedens im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, Berlin: Ullstein, 2012.

⁸²¹ See chapter 3.1.3.

effects of it: the government in South Africa did not dare close a Pentecostal church, which celebrated worship during lockdown and caused mass infections, because Pentecostals are important voters. Similar in Pakistan, where government tolerated Islamic prayers in mosques during lockdown fearing to lose their votes.⁸²² Often, bad leaders in political and religious institutions collude, protect each other or fight each other for personal interests and not for the peaceful development of the society.⁸²³ Freedom with peace, peace with justice, justice with sustainability and freedom with responsibility is the balance we look for.

One difficulty of states in dealing with religions is differentiating a religious institution from a business company under religious cover or even a criminal organisation. Many Pentecostal and charismatic churches are in fact run like a private company of the founder⁸²⁴ or even as large multinational companies⁸²⁵, but still seek tax exemption and other privileges of religious organisations. Some Islamic charities have been dismantled as funding agencies of terrorist organisations. Some Buddhist or Hindu temples have been criticized as being money-laundering instruments. This is reason for limiting such organisations in some countries. Furthermore, when some of these organisations receive state limi-

⁸²² More in Stükelberger, Christoph/Ciocan, Cosmin-Tudor, *Religious Controversies in Covid-19. Restrictions, State, Science, Conspiracies: Four Topics with Theological-Ethical Responses*, Dialogo: 1/20, open access journal, June 2020, 168-185.

⁸²³ See Stükelberger, Christoph, *Corruption-free Religions are Possible*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2021 (forthcoming); idem, *Corruption-free Churches are Possible*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2010.

⁸²⁴ E.g. the Pentecostal megachurches in Nigeria. Cocks, Tim, *Nigeria's megachurches: a hidden pillar of Africa's top economy*, Reuters World News, 12 Oct 2014.

⁸²⁵ Bastian, Jean-Pierre/ Champion, Françoise/ Roussel, Kathy, *La globalisation du religieux*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 2001, 99-170.

tations, they call it restriction of religious freedom, however it is the obligation and right of states to treat such organisations as what they are and not what they claim to be. The religious organisations themselves need to be very tough in strengthening high standards of transparency. A tax-exempt church must implement the not-for-profit character of its activities for the common good. They can have a for-profit unit to generate income, but this separate legal entity must then pay tax as standard to every company. Only with this honesty and clarity, will a constructive relation between state and a religious organisation is possible.

7.19.3.2 State-Church models in ethical Globalance perspective

Let us look at the five models of state-church and state-religions from the ethical Globalance perspective:

1. *Domination of the State over the religions.* Domination means oppression, which violates the value of freedom and human dignity. This domination is normally not limited to religions, but media, academic freedom, civil society or business. It is a signal for the absolutistic character or tendencies of a state as it places the states authorities above all. Ethical reasons against absolutism, absolute leaders and absolute forms of state have been given earlier.⁸²⁶ Fundamentalist trends in religions cannot be fought by a general domination of religions as it only provokes and strengthens fundamentalists.
2. *Domination of a religion over the State* is unethical for the same reasons as the domination of the state over religions. Even a religious leader and religious institution is not infallible and needs pos-

⁸²⁶ Chapters 2.3.13; 6.13.3; 6.15.3.

sible mechanisms of worldly correction by institutions such as media and state. Theocracy is a form of unacceptable absolutism because the religious leaders claims to be the only legitimate representative of God for a constituency. This unacceptable domination of a religion is obviously the position of the Christian reformers Luther, Zwingli and Calvin in the 16th century, but is today shared by most of the other Christian denominations. Nevertheless, some Catholic theologians and bishops still claim that the canonic law is the supreme law not only in the church, but in society as the only one to obey, as some Muslims claim that the Sharia law is the only one acceptable and state laws that do not conform with their view of Sharia must be refused.

3. *Unity of the State with a religion.* This unity is attractive in the perspective of peace and harmony in a society, which is uniform in language, culture, history and religion and is to some extent a closed society. However, in modern societies with mobility, cyber connectivity and pluralist, mixed population, this unity can easily lead to the marginalization and oppression of minorities. Russia, China, Bhutan and Iran are examples: The very close relation between the Kremlin and the Russian Orthodox Church since the collapse of the Soviet Union is an impressive example for the historical unity of Russia. But also, Russia is a modern pluralist society and needs the recognition of Muslim, Protestant, Catholic and Buddhist minorities. In addition, the Russian invasion in Ukraine in 2022 shows that the very close relation of the leadership (Patriarch Kirill) of the Russian Orthodox Church with the State (President Putin) lead to a slit of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from its mother church and to many ecumenical turbulences. The World Council of

Churches had to criticize this unity of state and church and justification of the invasion as not in line with Christian faith.⁸²⁷ China officially recognizes in the constitution five religions as mentioned, but the socialist party plays in fact the role of the one religion, which unites the country. In Iran, the Revolution Council as the Muslim leadership claims to unite the country, but de facto divides the population. Bhutan as a tiny, peaceful kingdom in the Himalaya is united as the kingdom and Buddhism are almost one. However, even in the closed society of Bhutan, I observed a careful, wise opening by giving step by step rights to other religions.

There is a special form of church-state relations, which goes even beyond unity and becomes *identity*. The Vatican is a state and at the same time the centre of the Catholic church. It is a religious state. On the other side, in secular societies the state becomes a religious state in form of civil religion, which means the state as such fulfills religious roles without being related to a religious organisation. We will deal with it later under civil religion (Chapter 6.18.1).

4. *Separation between the State and religions*. This model was historically important in order to liberate the state from religious domination and guardianship and enable human rights of equality and pluralist societies. However, it led to forms of laicism and secularism which feared religion, side-lined religious activities and organisations to the private sphere and banned it from the public sphere. The more religion is banned from the public, the more it comes back

⁸²⁷ Statement of the WCC 11th General Assembly, 8 Sept. 2022. <https://www.oikoumene.org/news/wcc-statement-on-war-in-ukraine-deplores-illegal-and-unjustifiable-invasion-renews-calls-for-ceasefire>.

through the back door. Christian fundamentalism is stronger in USA than in any other country and Islamic fundamentalism is stronger in France than other European countries. Both countries have separation of state and religion. This model is no more appropriate for the 21st century. A more organic, relaxed and constructive relation between state and religious organizations is needed in order to accommodate the religious needs of people and contributions of religious organisations while keeping the state religiously neutral. Neutrality does not mean separation, but equidistance and equiproximate to the religious institutions in mirroring their size and role in society.

5. *Partnership between State and religions.* The partnership model is closest to the vision of Globalance as it balances freedom and peace, proximity and distance, autonomy and community. It builds on the specific roles of state and religious organisations, of the mutual respect of these roles and on the mutual obligations to support each other in these responsibilities. The partnership model contributes substantially to economic prosperity, political stability and a culture of dialogue and respect in a country. However, it is also true that it is mainly a model for countries with cultural, religious, economic diversity and a democratic culture like that of central European and some Latin American, North American (Canada), African and Asian countries; but even in centralized and culturally more unified countries such as Russia, Poland or Turkey it would be worth further development. A little, but significant example is the draft document of the Russian Orthodox church to stop priests of the church from blessing arms of mass destruction like nuclear

weapons.⁸²⁸ It is a signal that even in a model of unity or very close ties between state and church, both can have their distinct roles.

The partnership model has a foundation in the view of the *reformers* Luther, Zwingli and Calvin and their successors in the 16th century of the relation between the secular power and the divine power. It is the beginning of the break with the absolutisms of the Catholic church and the state authorities. Martin Luther in Germany in his doctrine of two kingdoms separates the realm of the secular state and the realm of the church. It meant that the state is not absolute but reigns ‘only’ on earthly issues, the church respects the authority of the state in its domains but is responsible for the divine realm. Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich also made this distinction of divine and secular, but emphasized much more the cooperation and partnership between the two.⁸²⁹ John Calvin in Geneva in his doctrine on the Kingdom of God showed the unity yet distinctiveness of the two, the divine and human kingdom.⁸³⁰ His main contribution was the emphasis of the role and sovereignty of the Christian parishioners in the church, who contributed, especially through the election of church

⁸²⁸ International media 4 Feb 2020; website of Russian Orthodox Church <http://www.patriarchia.ru/en>

⁸²⁹ Especially in his work *Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit*, Zürich 1523, Hulrych Zwingli, Schriften I, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1995, 159-214; In English: *Divine and Human Righeousness* 1523, in Huldrych Zwingli Writing: *In Search of True Religion*, Eugene Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 1984, 1-42.

⁸³⁰ *Gestalt und Ordnung der Kirche*. Calvin-Studienausgabe Bd. 2, Neukirchen: Neukirchner Verlag, 1997, 227-280; Bohatec, Josef, *Calvins Lehre von Staat und Kirche, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Organismusedankens*, Breslau, M und H Marcus, 1937, 581-633.

leadership, to modern democracy⁸³¹, as it was then more developed by his successor Theodor Beza in his work ‘De Jure Magistratum’ in 1575.⁸³²

Theology plays an important role in the different church-state relations. The (Russian-) orthodox theology of glory highlights the glorious victory of Christ and presence of the celestial divine in the holy liturgy. The Lutheran theology emphasizes the “theology of the cross: God is glimpsed not through visible strength and power, but through weakness and vulnerability.”⁸³³

The partnership model expresses the balance between freedom and obedience, as shown in the New Testament as orientation for individual believers, churches and institutions: Obey God more than human beings (Acts 5:29) and pay your tax to the state (Rom 13:6), which means fulfill your obligations for the state community. The partnership model allows also the best way of diaconal and social services for the people in a state in collaboration with the state, and at the same time maintaining the advocacy role of religious organisations in further developing the

⁸³¹ How much Calvin still favored the aristocratic order and how he contributed to later democracy, is controversial among historians, but he certainly contributed to a bottom-up, synodal structure of the church as a core contribution to democracy. See Turchetti, Mario, *Der Beitrag Calvins und des Calvinismus zur Entstehung der modernen Demokratie*, in Hirzel, Martin, Ernst/ Sallmann, Martin (Eds), 109- Johannes Calvin – 2009. *Sein Wirken in Kirche und Gesellschaft. Essays zum 500. Geburtstag*, Zurich: TVZ, 2009, 237-266.

⁸³² Beza, Theodor, *De Jure Magistratum*, 1574, On the Rights of Magistrates, <https://www.constitution.org/cmt/beza/magistrates.htm>. (Accessed 15 April 2020).

⁸³³ The Lutheran World Federation, *Church and State in Societies in Transformation. 20 Years after the System Change, Consultation*. LWF European Consultation in Budapest 2009. Geneva: LWF, 2009, 74.

social welfare state or criticizing government where they do not fulfill their obligations for their citizens.

7.19.3.3 *Identity and Secularism in Muslim and Hindu perspectives*

The Islamic perspective of State-Islam relations needs special attention today. The secular separation is no option for Muslims. ‘Secularity originally meant “the separation between state and church”, which is meaningless in the Islamic context, because in Islam there is no hierarchy. The second definition that secularity is the “separation between state and religion is also unacceptable for people who believe that ethics are essentially religious; it is like saying “a state without religion” or “a state without ethics”, practically saying “a corrupt state”... “the Islamic state” means an honest, just and uncorrupted state.’⁸³⁴ As unity and separation are not acceptable models for Islam and Islamic theocracy not acceptable for modern states, non-Islamic religions and also not for reform Islam, the model of partnership is also a promising way for Islam to be further developed. As Islam has not one political or economic theory, “flexibility should allow creativity and adaptation of new ideas and systems. ... The key verse for this aspect is [They conduct] their affairs by mutual consultation” Qur’an 42:38.’⁸³⁵ The relation between state and Islamic communities can therefore be negotiated in a respectful process of consultations. That is the meaning of partnership. In the same direction goes the concept of the Indonesian scholar and former high-

⁸³⁴ Mokrani, Adnane, *The Secular State as a Religious Necessity. An Islamic Perspective*, in Sinn, Simone et al (Eds.), *Religious Plurality and the Public Space. Joint Christian-Muslim Theological Reflections*, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-anstalt, 2015, 41-50 (45).

⁸³⁵ *Ibid*, 46.

level officer in the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia, Mohammed Machasin. He suggests ‘Civil Islam as Alternative for Islamic Fundamentalism.’⁸³⁶ “Civil Islam is for me a way of practicing Islam within a pluralistic society in a polite manner ... In Indonesia, where Muslims constitute the majority of the citizens, the incorporation of Islamic aspiration in the state’s administration is only natural, while in the Islamic system there is no church. The Islamic community therefore needs the state to help implement some religious obligations that in other religious communities might be done by the church.”⁸³⁷ This description confirms that Western concepts of church-state relations are not automatically applicable to other religions and continents. The Indonesian case can be seen as a form of partnership, where the state supports the religious communities which otherwise are not regulated as needed. It also means that religions in some states may need different state-religion solutions. A well-organized church may not need this institutional support as described. Careful understanding of political and religious sensitivity is needed in order to avoid all kind of conflicts based on misinterpretations.

Pluralism and diversity are demanding and tiring. Nationalism referring to unity and identity seems easier and tempting. It exists in Christian and Islamic fundamentalism, in Jewish Zionism, and in Hindu Hindutva with its call for homogenization of society. This thirst for unity and identity contrasts and is in conflict with the attraction of global con-

⁸³⁶ Machasin, Muhammad, *Civil Islam as Alternative for Islamic Fundamentalism*, in Hadsell, Heidi/ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Overcoming Fundamentalism. Ethical Responses from Five Continents*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2009, 207-225.

⁸³⁷ Ibid 219f.

nectivity, exchange and cooperation, travel and material goods from all over the world. This contrast leads to violent conflicts. Globalance as balance of identity, openness, and unity in diversity is needed for a peaceful coexistence.

7.19.3.4 Multilateral SDG partnerships of religions and states

Multilateral Partnerships between the UN and its specialized organisations and religious communities are now strengthened, referring to SDG 17 on partnerships.⁸³⁸ Networks such as PaRD Partnership for Religion and Development, Faith for Earth with UNEP, FaithInvest and the UN action plan for religious leaders on preventing violence are examples.

In conclusion: Political and religious powers have existed for ever and will continue to exist. A relationship between them is needed to strengthen the core values of humanity as outlined in this vision of Globalance. Today, the relation between political and religious powers must be measured against its positive or negative impact on the Sustainable Development Goals. The diversity of historical, cultural, social, political and religious traditions justifies accepting a diversity of arrangements between the state and religions as long as they contribute to the SDGs constructively. However, our hypothesis, based on empirical observations and personal experience on all continents, is that forms of partnerships between state and religions better contribute to these goals than domination, subordination, separation or unity models.

⁸³⁸ Karam, Azza, *Powerful versus Forceful Partnerships: Religion, Politics and Development*, in Larsen, Knut Edvard/ Jorgensen, Knud (Eds.), *Power and Partnership*, Oxford: Regnum, 2014, 5-22.

7E CULTURE: RELIGIONS, GENDER, EDUCATION

Globalance is about balancing values and virtues both within and between a specific domain. We started this chapter 7 with the so-called hard factors like technology (7B), economics (7C) and political powers (7D). However, so-called soft factors lie below the surface and are often underestimated but tend to be more influential than the hard factors. As the Daoist wisdom says: soft water is stronger than hard stones, at least long-term.

In this section 7E we look at culture in the broad sense: *religions* in their types of interpreting holy texts (7.20), personal *relations* and the interactions between individual, family and society (7.21), *culture* as the foundation for identity and innovation (7.22), the *gender* relations and balance as key factor for society (7.23), *education* between empowerment and integrity as the soil for a balanced world (7.24), media as the probably most influential educator in the modern world of digital communication (7.25) and last but not least the role of belief in *miracles*, which may be a surprising topic for many, but influences the value systems and behaviors of large part of humanity (7.26).

All these topics are always analyzed with the perspective of how they can contribute to Globalance as a world in balance.

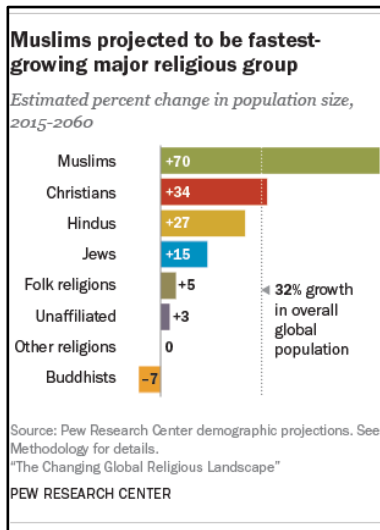
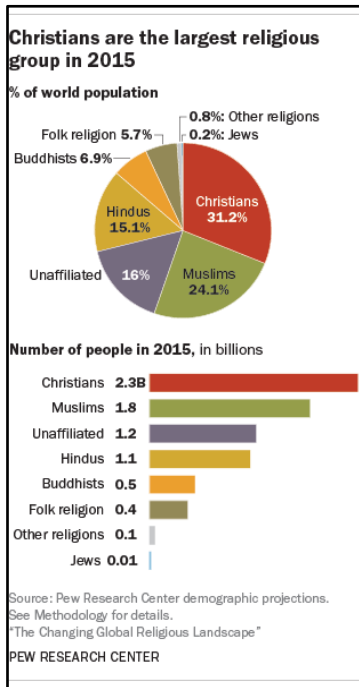
7.20 Religion: Fundamentalism, Liberalism, Reform

7.20.1 Developments: Religions and Spirituality

7.20.1.1 Numbers and trends

The vast majority of humans in the world belong to one of the religions. 7.4 billion people as of 2015 are counted in the graph below, 98% of the world population of 7.5 billion in 2015. A good number of them are de facto not caring about religious praxis or are secular, but still officially belong to one of the religions.

The graphs show the World Religions as share of the world population and estimated growth until 2060.



	Projected 2015 population	% of world population in 2015	Projected 2060 population	% of world population in 2060	Population growth 2015-2060
Christians	2,276,250,000	31.2%	3,054,460,000	31.8	778,210,000
Muslims	1,752,620,000	24.1	2,987,390,000	31.1	1,234,770,000
Unaffiliated	1,165,020,000	16.0	1,202,300,000	12.5	37,280,000
Hindus	1,099,110,000	15.1	1,392,900,000	14.5	293,790,000
Buddhists	499,380,000	6.9	461,980,000	4.8	-37,400,000
Folk religions	418,280,000	5.7	440,950,000	4.6	22,670,000
Other religions	59,710,000	0.8	59,410,000	0.6	-290,000
Jews	14,270,000	0.2	16,370,000	0.2	2,100,000
World	7,284,640,000	100.0	9,615,760,000	100.0	2,331,120,000

Source: Pew Research Center demographic projections. See Methodology for details.
 'The Changing Global Religious Landscape'
 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Religions still play a pivotal role in society and in the lives of many individuals. The graphs⁸³⁹ and the figures⁸⁴⁰ show that even in 2060, the vast majority of humanity will have a connection to a religion, with Islam as the fastest growing in numbers.

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on religions and their role in society? *Religions* are sources of conflicts and mediation, of war and peace, of fundamentalism and tolerance. Religions deeply influences culture, languages, worldviews, art, music and all sectors of life. Religions existed throughout history, in all societies, sometimes very dominant, sometimes more invisible or oppressed. Religious fundamentalists are in the forefront against vaccination, churches bless war, believers and faith leaders are also in the forefront of SDGs, development, ethical banking and much more.

⁸³⁹ Pew Research Center, *The Global Religious Landscape*, 2015. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/> (Accessed 18 Sept 2022)

⁸⁴⁰ https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2017/04/PF.04.05.2017_-projectionsupdate-00-07.png?w=640 (Accessed 18 Sept 2022)

As Globalance strives at overcoming the ‘-isms’, it is important to see religious and secular worldviews as opposites, but which have to be reconciled. It is a fact that a large part of humanity are persons who would call themselves religious, but it is equally a fact that others would call themselves non-religious, meaning they have non-religious faith and beliefs. How to live together as global humanity?

7.20.1.2 Terms: religion and spirituality

We already wrote about religion in several places in this book, specifically about religious organisations in relation to the state and about religious ‘-isms.’ However, what are the *characteristics of religious* versus non-religious? Theology, philosophy, sociology and science of religions of course have manifold and controversial definitions of religion.⁸⁴¹ It is not the place here to discuss them.

In our context, we *define religion* as relation of the human being with a transcendent, true and holistic reality beyond the visible world. This relation is for the human being existentially binding, emotionally nurturing, ethically orienting and life-long committing. This relation is above other relations and the adherent (religious person, believer) needs no justification for it as it is an existential experience and certainty. This relation is expressed and maintained in forms of direct interaction (worship, prayer, meditation), of indirect interaction (study and internalisation of holy texts as windows to the transcendent reality) and of action (behaviour with the attempt of aligning behaviour to the wisdom of the transcendent reality).

⁸⁴¹ *Religion*, in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 7, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, 263-304.

This definition includes the so-called *natural religion* (religio naturalis)⁸⁴², which is to some extent common to all human beings and combined with rationalism, and the *revealed religion* (religio revelata), which is based on the revelation of the transcendent truth to believers in the immanent world. In this chapter we will look more at the revealed religions and human interpretation of the holy, revealed texts.

Our definition includes also religion and *faith*, which in the 20th century for good reasons have been dissociated or at least distinguished. In recent decades, the term *spirituality* became very popular. It has manifold facets. The term was originally used for Christian piety, worshipping praxis and a life in God's spirit. Nowadays it is often used in a multi-religious (e.g. Hindu spirituality) and interreligious way for all kind of praxis of meditation and inner renewal. Secular spirituality means a spiritual philosophy of inner development and peace without relation to a transcendence.

7.20.1.3 Social and legal forms of religion

Religion has very different expressions, social forms and dimensions. They are relevant for the question of whether religions contribute to or hinder Globalance. Let us distinguish seven dimensions.

1. The *individual* human being is the heart of religion and the place where the inner connectivity between this world and a transcendent world happens.
2. *Small communities* such as family and friends. They are the protected space for sharing and expressing spirituality and faith.

⁸⁴² Stolz, Fritz (Ed.), *Homo naturaliter religious: Gehört Religion notwendig zum Menschsein?*, Bern: Peter Lang, 1997.

3. *Formalised communities* such as the community of worshippers in a temple, mosque, church or bible group or religious choir.
4. *Legal entities* such as a parish, a national church, a temple and a religious order. This includes religious organisations from local to national to continental up to the global level. Many of them are not directly a religious organisation, but related to one. A Church-related organisation (CRO) or Religion-Related Organisation (RRO) can be a Christian development organisation, an association of faith-based entrepreneurs or Islamic investors.

5. *Civil Religion, Market Religion, Cyber Religion*

Political entities such as a state can have religious characteristics, called *civil religion* (also called civic or political religion). It does not mean theocracy, but the opposite: a secular state, often with separation of church and state, claims religious dignity of their values, promises a kind of worldly salvation and fulfills religion-like roles in its symbols such as national flag, national festivals, myths, state architecture, state-adoration, transition rites of young people. It especially manifests in periods of nationalism.⁸⁴³ Civil religion was mainly described for the state of USA with its strict separation of state and church and its secular democracy⁸⁴⁴ and for France with

⁸⁴³ A pioneer of civic religion research from a sociological perspective was Bellah, Robert, *Varieties of Civil Religion*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1980; Pfleiderer, Georg/ Stegemann, Ekkehard W. (Eds.), *Politische Religion. Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Problemfeldes*, Zürich: TVZ, 2004, 7-60, 159-176.

⁸⁴⁴ Bellah, Robert, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994.

its laicism⁸⁴⁵ where the state actively sidelines the religions. I observed similar elements of civil religion in socialist China, almost as a mirror to the US. China with its ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ recognizes five religions in the constitution, but formally and strictly separates them from the state. The Communist party claims not only authoritative political leadership, but also ideological and cultural leadership. The “Twelve Core Socialist Values” are the compulsory ethics code for the country, with mandatory teaching on all levels of schooling from primary to tertiary level. When we visited the ethics section in the National Library of China in Beijing, there are only two sections: Marxism/socialism and Confucianism. This is the value-frame of the civic religion of China. Elements of Civil Religion can be observed in a number of secular democratic and autocratic countries in the world such as Russian Communism, Italian Fascism, German National Socialism of Hitler, Chinas Maoism, South Africa’s Apartheid. Eastern European populist patriotism is another form of civil religion. “Patriotism is the religion of the modern state, whereby the state appears as father of the many individuals.”⁸⁴⁶

6. *Economic entities* such as a company or a product marketing campaign can be *Market Religion*⁸⁴⁷ if they obtain cult status, where the consumers adore or ‘worship’ a brand and a product promises not

⁸⁴⁵ Adam, Armin, *Politische Theologie. Eine kleine Geschichte*, Zürich, Pano Verlag, 2006, 135-144; Montenbruck, Axel, *Weltliche Zivilreligion. Idee und Diskussion, Ethik und Recht*, Berlin: Freie Universität, Open Access, 2016.

⁸⁴⁶ Adam, Armin, *Politische Theologie. Eine kleine Geschichte*, Zürich: Pano Verlag, 2006, 139.

⁸⁴⁷ Bolz, Norbert, Bosshart, David, *Kult-Marketing. Die neuen Götter des Marktes*, Düsseldorf: Econ 1995.

only food or clothes, but happiness and salvation and the ‘spirituality of consumerism’ replaces the spirituality of transcendence. In addition to marketing, the free market mechanism can become an absolute truth and godlike. Adam Smith with his concept of the invisible hand regulating the free market saw it neither as a compensation of God nor the ‘Market as God’⁸⁴⁸, but market fundamentalists treat ‘*economics as religion*’ when they say ‘I believe in the market’ as we heard it many times from entrepreneurs, investors and economists.⁸⁴⁹

7. *Digital Entities* such as Big Data, Artificial Intelligence or cyber networks can become *Cyber Religion*⁸⁵⁰, as the trend of *Dataism*⁸⁵¹, the new religion of data, shows.

This short overview aims at helping us to sharpen our eyes for the phenomenon of religion in culture and society.

7.20.2 Value-Poles: From Authority to Freedom

Religions in their diversity as described are key roots for and producers of morality, ethics and values. Three main approaches to ethics and values can be distinguished⁸⁵²: *Philosophical* ethics as applied phi-

⁸⁴⁸ Cox, Harvey, *The Market as God*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

⁸⁴⁹ E.g. Nelson, Robert H/Stackhouse, Max L., *Economics as Religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and beyond*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania state University Press, 2014.

⁸⁵⁰ Various articles on it in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Duggal, Pavan (Eds.), *Cyber Ethics 4.0*, 147-194.

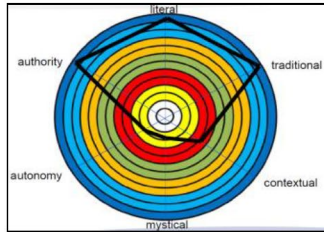
⁸⁵¹ *Ibid*, 147-170.

⁸⁵² For the following see also Stückelberger, Christoph, *Global Ethics Applied, Vol 4 Bioethics, Religion, Leadership*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 16-20.

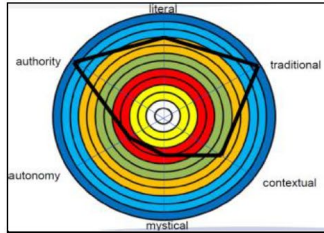
losophy is mainly based on reason and human experience. After enlightenment, this perspective is often explicitly non-religious, secular, or even anti-religious. The *cultural* approach refers to cultural traditions and norms. *Religious* ethics is based on worldviews, which see human and non-human life integrated in a holistic horizon of meaning, of personal and collective processes of salvation and/or cosmic laws. All religious ethics is based on Holy Scriptures (or Holy oral traditions) as source of knowledge and orientation.

Within the religious approach, two main subcategories can be distinguished: in the *cosmic* approach - especially of the so-called Asian religions, Hinduism and Buddhism in forefront - life is seen as part of a cosmic unity and cycle, and human life is only part of all life without a specific position or – e.g. in socially engaged Buddhism – specific responsibility. In the *theistic* approach - with the Abrahamic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam at the forefront - God as a person and as creator is the ultimate reference point of orientation. God is life, the giver and enabler of all life. Human beings, made in God's image, have a specific role and responsibility to play in the world. The Abrahamic religions share the methodological premise that God's will - as it is revealed in the Bible and the Qu'ran - is the ultimate criterium for ethical decisions. This common premise cannot be underestimated in its meaning. Let's consider the five patterns of religious values on the following page:

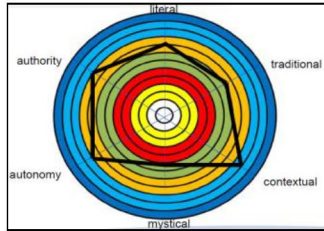
Fundamentalist



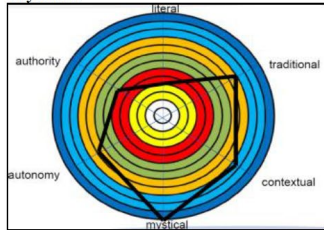
Orthodox



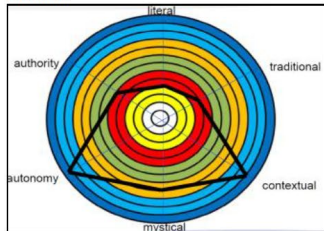
Reformist



Mystical



Liberal



Common basis should be seen as more important than the differences within and between these religions. On the fundament of this common premise, there are substantial methodological differences which then lead to harsh debates and struggles within and between these religions. The main difference is in the different methods of interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the exegesis and hermeneutics. How can texts, seen as revelation from God, but written by human beings in ancient times, become relevant today and tomorrow in political, economic, scientific, environmental and human contexts, which are so different from the time of origin of the Holy Scriptures. This is the challenge and task of theology in general and of ethics in a specific way.

In the theistic (and to some extent in the cosmic) approach, *five main methodological positions* in dealing with the Holy Scriptures as they relate to the transcendental reality can be distinguished:

Fundamentalist positions: “Fundamentalism can be defined as a religious or political movement or attitude with a strict adherence to a set of principles, based on a literal, not adapted interpretation, especially as a return to former principles.”⁸⁵³ The literal interpretation of the Holy Scriptures claims that no contextual interpretation is needed and possible. Literal reading, although often only literal in those verses which coincide with the specific, closed world view and ideological system, are often linked with political interests and power structures for which

⁸⁵³ Stückelberger, Christoph, Introduction, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Hadsell, Heidi (eds.): *Overcoming Fundamentalism. Ethical Responses from Five Continents* 2, 2009, 11.

fundamentalists give religious – I would call it ideological⁸⁵⁴ – justifications. Such fundamentalism exists in all religions and confessional families within religions. In Christianity, there are Protestant fundamentalists e.g. in North America, but also Catholic and Orthodox fundamentalists in various parts of the world. Religious fundamentalism became a global political topic especially since the 1980s⁸⁵⁵ with the American Protestant fundamentalism, the Iranian Islamic theocracy, Islamism in Sudan, then 9/11 as a major jump of actions against extremism and Hindu fundamentalism linked to Hindu nationalism Hindutva.

Orthodox positions: They are faithful to the Holy Scriptures and especially to doctrine and tradition. They accept limited space of interpretation, mainly where there is no clear indication in the Holy Scripture and tradition, e.g. about new technologies and challenges such as artificial intelligence or bioethics.⁸⁵⁶ Such positions exist in all religions and confessional families within religions, including in all Christian denominations on all continents, but especially in church hierarchy in the Roman Catholic Church, in Orthodox churches in Eastern Europe and in evangelical traditions on all continents.

⁸⁵⁴ Ideology in the sense of a worldview, which simplifies and manipulates the perception of reality and value systems (Holy scriptures) in order to justify specific one-sided interests and actions.

⁸⁵⁵ Jäggi, Christian/ Krieger, David, *Fundamentalismus. Ein Phänomen der Gegenwart*, Zürich: Orell Füssli, 1991; on fundamentalism in the different world religions Meyer, Thomas (Ed), *Fundamentalismus in der modernen Welt*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1989, 83-194.

⁸⁵⁶ Breck, John, *The Sacred Gift of Life. Orthodox Christianity and Bioethics*, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000; *Église et bioéthique. La raison de la science et la raison de la religion*, Éditions du Centre Orthodoxe du Patriarcat œcuménique Chambésy/Suisse, 2008.

Reformist positions: They look for translation, contextualization and enculturation of the word of God in today's context. They therefore reconcile tradition and modernity in order to make faith-based ethics meaningful for new challenges. These positions exist in all religions⁸⁵⁷ and confessional families within religions and in all Christian denominations, but mainly in protestant⁸⁵⁸ and some catholic traditions on all continents.

Mystical positions: Mysticism is a form of deep religious spirituality in search for connection and finally unification with the divine. This requires a profound reading and understand of the deeper meaning of holy texts while transcending them by one's own experience and self-surrender. Mysticism exists in all religions (e.g. Christian mystics, Islamic Sufism, Buddhist and Hindu Gurus)⁸⁵⁹ and at the same time goes beyond religious institution, denominations, schools and authorities. It is a uniting spirituality across religions. Sometimes, the term is mixed up with cults or ecstasy, which do not express the core of mysticism.

Liberal positions: They are open and positive to modernity, they emphasize moral autonomy of scientific research, freedom of research and economic development. Self-responsibility of the individual believer with his/her conscience and direct dialogue with God is of higher importance than obedience to the tradition. The Holy Scriptures give more

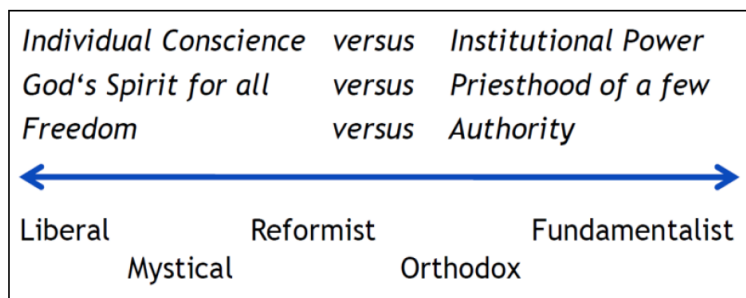
⁸⁵⁷ For Islam e.g. Ramadan, Tariq, *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; Duderija, Adis, *The Imperatives of Progressive Islam*, London, New York: Routledge, 2017.

⁸⁵⁸ Hübner, Jürgen/ von Schubert, Hartwig von (eds.), *Biotechnologie und evangelische Ethik. Die Internationale Diskussion*, Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1992.

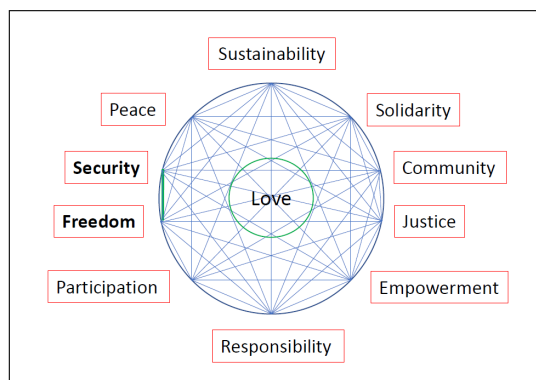
⁸⁵⁹ Schmid, Georg, *Die Mystik der Weltreligionen. Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1990.

a general frame than concrete guidelines. These positions exist in all religions and confessional families within religions and in all Christian denominations, but mainly in some Protestant churches in Europe and North America.

These five hermeneutical approaches of interpreting holy texts and connecting them to one's own life represent a range of values:



All five approaches recognize the authority of the holy texts of their religion, but in very different ways. Individual conscience, freedom of decision and the potential of the presence of God's spirit everywhere



and the need for contextualisation is most emphasized in liberal positions and mysticism, partly in reformist positions and least in orthodox and not at all in fundamentalist positions.

The opposite means that the fundamentalist and orthodox positions emphasize the institutional power of the hierarchy and

leadership, the priesthood as intermediary between divine and human, human priestly authority and scepticism against contextualisation as they claim that their truth is universal and does not need contextualisation. Fundamentalism with literal interpretation of holy text claims to have the only true understanding and does not recognize that they too are influenced by their culture and experience. In our Globalance value circle this spectrum between liberal and fundamentalist positions is reduced to the two opposite poles: freedom and security. Freedom in interpreting holy texts with personal conscience and context. It conflicts with security through a literal interpretation of texts and an authority, which cannot be questioned. The tensions between these understandings of holy texts are of varied strengths in the different countries. Among the most polarised countries is the United States of America. The survey below shows, that two third of the population consider the holy book as word of God, among them almost half see it as literally the word of God, the other half not literally. Interestingly, the answer is almost the same across generations. Among Christians, the differences are substantial; for Evangelical/Pentecostal and Black Protestant Churches, 59/62 percent interpret the Bible literally, but only 22/23 percent of the mainline Protestant and the Catholic Christians do.

7.20.3 Towards Globalance: Strengthening Reforms

These five hermeneutical methods of interpreting and living the meaning of holy texts are very important for the chance of Globalance in dealing with religions and religious ethics.

7.20.3.1 Reformist Positions as the most promising for Globalance

The *fundamentalist* and the *liberal* position in our definition are both extreme positions. Fundamentalism and liberalism are both ‘-isms’, which must be refused from a Globalance perspective if they defend their position as the absolute, only valid ideology as described above (chapter 2.3). We can observe this in the polarised religious landscape such as the USA, some African countries and some Islamic countries where a dialogue and constructive solution often seems impossible. The poles of extreme fundamentalism and extreme liberalism meet. The supposed security and the supposed freedom are fragile as they are not stabilised by value-balance. What then about the remaining three positions: mystical, reformist and orthodox?

Mystics are mainly individuals with great depth and vision. These personalities can play a key role in building bridges between positions in political negotiations and ideological conflicts as they look at common ground water below the surface. Mystics resist building schools and institutions as it would make their experience a doctrinal system thus destroying their approach. The mystical approach can play an important role in the other positions like the salt in bread.

Orthodox positions must be key partners in efforts towards Globalance as they represent influential institutions, often seen as the mainstream position in world religions, be it the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, the Orthodox Christian churches, the Buddhist leadership in Thailand or China, the Shinto leadership in Japan etc. Orthodox positions are tough in negotiation and cooperation and slow in reform, but reliable in carefully looking at possible common solutions.

Reformist positions are often key drivers for reform, cooperation and innovative solutions for new challenges. They are in a position of bridge builders as they must be taken seriously by orthodox positions as long as they have profound knowledge of and respect for orthodox traditions and openness to liberal and mystical approaches.

Views of Scripture					
<i>Scripture is word of God</i>					
	NET word of God	Literal, word for word	Not literal	Not word of God / Other / Don't know	N
	%	%	%	%	
Total Population	63	33	30	37=100	35,556
Ages 18-29	59	28	31	41=100	4,242
Ages 30+	64	34	30	36=100	30,453
Ages 30-49	63	32	30	37=100	11,823
Ages 50-64	62	33	29	38=100	10,484
Ages 65+	70	39	31	30=100	8,146
Religiously Affiliated	71	37	34	29=100	30,236
Ages 18-29	71	35	37	29=100	3,163
Ages 30+	71	38	33	29=100	26,360
Unaffiliated	25	11	14	75=100	5,048
Ages 18-29	26	11	15	74=100	1,034
Ages 30+	25	11	14	75=100	3,913
Evangelical Protestant Churches	88	59	29	12=100	9,472
Ages 18-29	88	47	41	12=100	929
Ages 30+	88	61	27	12=100	8,352
Mainline Protestant Churches	61	22	38	39=100	7,470
Ages 18-29	60	21	39	40=100	528
Ages 30+	61	23	39	39=100	6,743
Hist. Black Protestant Churches	84	62	22	16=100	1,995
Ages 18-29	83	59	24	17=100	356
Ages 30+	84	63	21	16=100	1,586
Catholic	62	23	39	38=100	8,054
Ages 18-29	62	25	36	38=100	926
Ages 30+	62	22	40	38=100	6,930

Source: 2007 U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life

Question wording: Which comes closest to your view? [HOLY BOOK*] is the word of God, or [HOLY BOOK] is a book written by men and is not the word of God? [IF WORD OF GOD, ASK:] And would you say that [HOLY BOOK] is to be taken literally, word for word, OR not everything in [HOLY BOOK] should be taken literally, word for word?

*For Christians and the unaffiliated, "the Bible" was inserted for HOLY BOOK; for Jews, "the Torah" was inserted; for Muslims, "the Koran" was inserted; for members of other faiths, "the holy scripture" was inserted.

Depending on the context, reformist positions lead to reform within a religious institution (e.g. Vatican II in the Roman Catholic Church, progressive Islam, feminist Christians, socially engaged Buddhists etc.) or

lead to a split (Luther wanted to be a reformer within the Roman Catholic church, but then split as his reforms were not accepted; Islamic reforms led to new schools of Islamic theology as Sunni and Shia, Ahmad'iyya and Alevites).

The evaluation of five positions in the perspective of Globalance is valid not only for the classical religions, but also for the civil, market and cyber religion as described above! Neoliberal market fundamentalists, market orthodoxy, market reformists all have their doctrinal 'church fathers' and 'gurus' as their belief system. Sentences like 'the business of business is business' of Milton Friedman was repeated as a mantra, with somehow fundamentalist characteristics of absolute truth. It became a doctrinal belief until economic and political reality brought the corporate social responsibility (CSR) as reform concept back to the market. The same variety of positions can be seen in civil religion. In cyber religion it is early for a clear analysis as cyber religion is only at the beginning stages – and hopefully comes soon to an end. Civil religion, market religion and cyber religion are substitute religions in periods and areas, where religions based on transcendence and revelation lose ground or cannot link their values to new developments. Therefore, a reform of religions by developing ethical answers to new challenges is more appropriate and sustainable than searching refuge in substitute religions.

Substitute religions such as civil religion, market religion and cyber-religion show the thirst of many people for re-ligio, for being linked to an ultimate, metaphysical dimension. But how can this happen in a secular and post-secular world? Two prominent concepts have been proposed almost at the same time: the German Philosopher Jürgen Haber-

mas with his philosophical call for ‘Faith and Reason in a Post-Secular Age’⁸⁶⁰ in 2010, based on his speech on receiving the Peace Prize in 2001, and the Tibetan-Indian Buddhist Dalai Lama with ‘Beyond Religion. Ethics for a Whole World’⁸⁶¹ in 2012.

Habermas looks at modernity as a system ‘out of control’. In the post-secular era we need religion in its social function as a moral resource.⁸⁶² He was criticized for instrumentalizing religion and reducing it to ethics and morality, but I interpret Habermas more as attempt to overcome the dichotomy of secular and non-secular as well as of faith and reason in order to constructively contribute to society through religious values.

The Dalai Lama from a religious perspective looks also at ‘rethinking secularism.’⁸⁶³ He thereby understands secularism not in the Western sense of an existence against or without religion, but of the Indian understanding: “In Indian usage, ‘secular’, far from implying antagonism toward religion or toward people of faith, actually implies a profound respect and tolerance toward all religions.”⁸⁶⁴ Like Habermas, his key goal is to strengthen “inner values which are the source of both an ethically harmonious world and the individual peace of mind” by “thinking about spirituality and ethics that is beyond religion.”⁸⁶⁵ He pleads for a spirituality as “spiritual well-being by ...inner mental and emotional

⁸⁶⁰ Habermas, Jürgen et al, *An Awareness of What is Missing. Faith and Reason in a Post-Secular Age*, Cambridge, MA: Polity Press 2010 (first German edition 2008).

⁸⁶¹ Dalai Lama, *Beyond Religion. Ethics for a Whole World*, Boston: Mariner Books, 2012.

⁸⁶² Habermas, idem, 4.

⁸⁶³ Dalai Lama, idem, 3ff.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid, 6.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid, XV.

strength and balance” and a “religion-based spirituality ... tied to particular beliefs and practices.”⁸⁶⁶

7.20.3.2 *Combining Conviction and Tolerance*

Globalance means to combine conviction and tolerance, confession of one's own faith and respect for others (having another faith or declaring themselves as without faith in a transcendence). This does not mean that mission and conversion are not ethically justifiable. Human beings want to share their convictions and worldviews, independent of them being religious or non-religious perspectives. It is a human right not only to believe, but to share this belief and testify it publicly.⁸⁶⁷ However, this must be balanced with tolerance, which means the respect for other's freedom of thought, conscience and conviction. Tolerance does not mean to accept other positions or to deny differences but to acknowledge that differences and opposite worldviews exist, that the debate about truth must be fair and that open pluralist societies have to be accepted as an expression of the respect for human dignity.

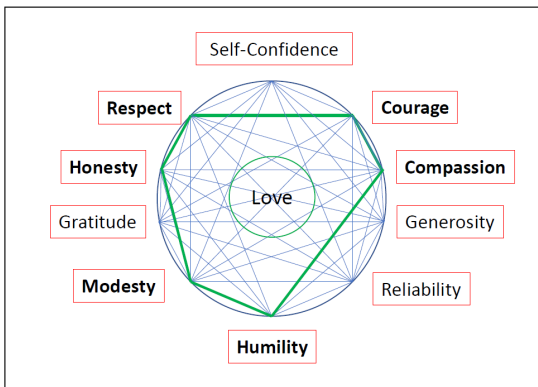
The more a person is deeply rooted in the own faith and conviction, the more open he/she can be for others because the other is then not a threat for their own conviction. The problem of fundamentalism today is that millions of people who've lost or never had a foundation are now looking for security by expressing the faith within the high walls of a strict

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid, 17.

⁸⁶⁷ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 18: “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.”

system. Therefore, fundamentalism and extremism cannot be encountered with a fade tolerance of ‘anything goes’, but only with convincing arguments, better narratives of the non-fundamentalists, respectful dialogue and common action. The World Council of Churches and the Vatican as two of the major world umbrellas of Christianity, have for decades, had fruitful dialogues between Christian denominations and other religions, now more and more combined with common action, e.g. for climate justice.⁸⁶⁸

Peaceful co-existence and cooperation across religious positions needs *core virtues*. It needs the *courage* to resisting extremisms, the *humility* to



acknowledging that divine wisdom is greater than one’s own faith (and therefore one’s own position cannot be the full truth), the *modesty* to look

for moderation, the *respect* to understand others from their own self-understanding and not through one’s own lenses, the *compassion* to place peace above one’s bossiness and the *transparent honesty* to put all

⁸⁶⁸ Example of ‘Ecumenism encounters Religions’ with methods of dialogue and on ‘unity and plurality amid contested identities’: Pierce, Andrew/ Schuegraf, Oliver (Eds.), *Dialogue inside-out: Ecumenism Encounters the Religions, Proceedings of the 17th Academic Consultation of the Societas Oecumenica*, Leibzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014.

interests on the table (and to resist playing power games with hidden interests).

Persons with these virtues and institutions with Globalance values can then cooperate across religious positions, within and between religions. Reformist Islamic positions are then closer to reformist Christian positions than to fundamentalist Islamic positions and vice versa. Islamic and Christian believers and theologians can and have to show that contextual hermeneutics are more faithful to God's will and love than fundamentalist positions. Mainline churches as 'Middle Church' with its middle way are then "reclaiming the moral values of the faithful majority from the religious right."⁸⁶⁹ Globethics.net foundation developed principles for sharing values and cooperate across religions and cultures.⁸⁷⁰

7.20.3.3 *Inclusion of religions in all development efforts and SDGs*

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 2022 Report proposes: "Making people more secure through investment, insurance and innovation"⁸⁷¹, as the graph expresses on the next page.

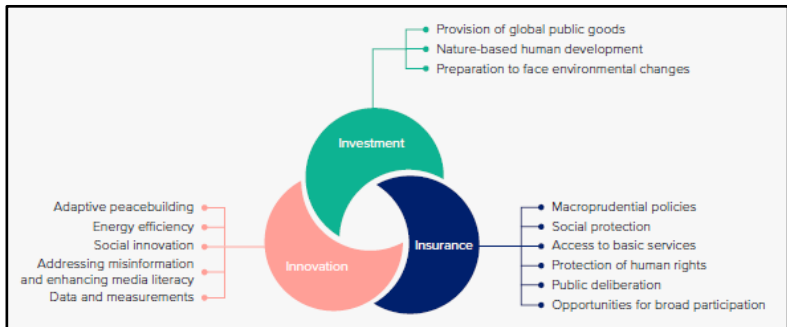
⁸⁶⁹ Edgar, Bob, *Middle Church. Reclaiming Moral Values of the Faithful Majority from the Religious Right*, New York: Schuster & Schuster Paperbacks, 2008. The author was former general Secretary of the National Council of Churches in the US and six-term member of Congress.

⁸⁷⁰ *Globethics.net Principles on Sharing Values across Cultures and Religions*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2012 (in five languages). As scientific background for it: Hentsch Cisneros, Ariane/ Premawardhana, Shanta, *Sharing Values. A Hermeneutics for Global Ethics*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2011.

⁸⁷¹ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2021/2022. Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives: Shaping our future in a Transforming World*, New York 2022, 180.

This perspective is not wrong, but one-sided and far too technocratic. Major sources of stability and security, even of holistic innovation and faith-based investments, are religions and relations (see chapter 7.21)!

In conclusion, this chapter shows a) the importance of religions and religious values for a balanced and harmonious development of our world. It also shows, b) that religions can do a lot of harm and a lot of good; therefore the task is to carefully strengthen the constructive approaches of them and resist and theologically dismantle the destructive approaches as we have shown above.



We have also seen, c) that secularism and laicism in the traditional western understanding have to be replaced by a post-secular modernity, which also includes an inner spirituality, which have various expressions from humanist to traditional (rooted in one religion) to forms of patchwork religiosity mirroring the plurality of modern societies. A further conclusion, d) is that religion in this context cannot be restricted to a private affair. All religions, even the mystical approach, has a public dimension. Inner values need to be shared with others in community and society and only then can their full potential unfold. It is encouraging to observe, that more and more governments – especially in heavy crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and the financial crisis 2008,

count on religious institutions for value orientation but also concrete social and political support. On the other hand, religions take their responsibility during crises such as the pandemic in providing orientation and manifold concrete social support.⁸⁷² Also for reaching the Sustainable development Goals SDGs (chapter 6.2), the national governments, the private sector and the multilateral institutions initiate manifold cooperation pathways with religious institutions, from faith-driven development programs to ethics education and advocacy to faith-consistent investments⁸⁷³ and ‘religious diplomacy’ on the governmental⁸⁷⁴ level and through religious NGOs.⁸⁷⁵ One key contribution of religions to society in addition to ethics is celebrating life through rites and rituals. Especially in times of crisis, celebrating life is almost as important as food..

⁸⁷² Examples: *Role of Religious Leaderships in Face of Crises, Declaration of the Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ICESCO), the Muslim World League (MWL), and the World Muslim Communities Council (TWMCC)*, Rabat, July 2020; Vassiliadis, Petros/ Demacopoulos, George (eds.), *The Church in a Period of Pandemic. Can the Present Pandemic Crisis Become a Meaningful Storm for Renewal in our Churches?*, Athens: CEMES and Fordham Publications, June 2020.

⁸⁷³ Examples: www.faithinvest.org. www.gafoundation.world.

⁸⁷⁴ Steiner, Sherrie M., *Moral Pressure for Responsible Globalization. Religious Diplomacy in the Age of the Anthropocene*, Leiden: Brill, 2018. He analyses the role of religious organisations in interventions at G8, G7, G 20.

⁸⁷⁵ From 5451 accredited NGOs with Consultative Status at UN ECOSOC (18 April 2020), we estimate 10-20 percent consider themselves as religious. Full searchable list, but without religion as search field: <https://esango.un.org/civilsociety>.

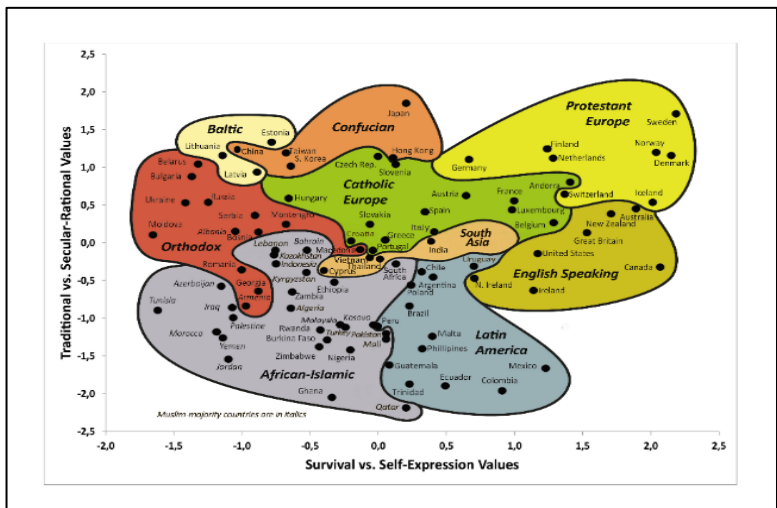
7.21 Relations: Individual, Family, State

7.21.1 Developments: Changing Social Relations

7.21.1.1 Imbalanced human relations in times of uncertainties

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on human relations? Massive! The Corona pandemic where half of humanity was locked down in their apartments with the persons in closest relationship, mainly family members and friends, suddenly makes humans aware of the vital importance of the family and closest relations. Without mobility, what else remains other than closest relatives? How to survive in isolation as a single person? How to survive in separation during wars? And how to survive as humans (whether alone or in relations) with hyperinflation or jumping energy prices?

We look in this chapter at the role of individuals, families, communities and states in the value-priorities around the globe. The stereotype



tells us that western societies are individualistic and Asian, African and, to some extent, South American societies are more family- and community-oriented. Let us look at three indicators: individual freedom of decisions (as an indicator for individualism), the importance of family and the importance of the state. We analysed the data of the latest available World Values Survey (WVS 6). The WVS clusters the world into a number of regions with similar values (more in chapter 4.4). I selected from the 60 countries of the WVS seven, one from each values cluster: Brazil for Latin America, China for Confucian, India for South Asia, Nigeria for African-Islamic, Russia for Orthodox, Spain for Catholic Europe, USA for English speaking, Sweden for Protestant Europe.⁸⁷⁶

On *Freedom of Choice*⁸⁷⁷ the respondents could answer on a scale of ten between “no choice” and “great choice”. More than 70 percent answered that they have quite a large freedom of choice (between level 5 and 8), with substantial differences. They become most visible on level 10, where only 7.4 percent of people in Russia and 38.3 percent in Brazil answer with “great choice.”

Freedom of Choice	Total	Brazil	China	India	Nigeria	Russia	Spain	USA	Sweden
No choice	1.8	2.1	1.2	2.7	1.2	3.6	0.8	0.5	0.3
2	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.2	3.4	0.6	0.6	0.4
3	3.2	2.4	2.7	3	2	7.2	2.6	1.1	1.7
4	4.6	2.2	4.1	5.8	3.9	7.2	3.1	2.2	2.6
5	13	13.3	9.1	13.3	8.5	20.2	15.3	9	9.3
6	12.8	9	11.8	15	12.3	14.3	16.3	8.5	9.5
7	17.4	10.9	18.1	18.1	21.1	14.4	21.7	15.6	19.3
8	18.8	12.6	24.9	14.9	25.3	13.5	15.8	25.1	24.6
9	9.9	6.5	10	10	14.5	4.3	7.4	17.7	11.3
Great choice	15	38.3	11.6	15.9	10	7.4	12.8	18.4	20.4

⁸⁷⁶ Own table, based on World Values Survey, Wave 6, V4: ‘How important is family in your life?’ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp> Wave 6 collected data 2010-2014. The new Wave 7 will be published in 2021.

⁸⁷⁷ Own table, based on World Values Survey, Wave 6, V55: ‘How much freedom of choice and control’ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>

7.21.1.2 Survey: Family globally “very important”

“How important is *family* in your life?” was the second question of interest for our analysis from World Values Survey WVS. The assumption would be that there are significant differences between e.g. a liberal Protestant European and a traditional African country. However, the result shows relatively little differences between 85 percent in Russia and China and 98 percent in Nigeria, with a global average of over 90 percent.⁸⁷⁸

Family	Total	Brazil	China	India	Nigeria	Russia	Spain	USA	Sweden
Very important	90.6%	87.4%	85.7%	94.9%	98.4%	85.0%	91.1%	90.9%	89.2%
Rather important	8.2%	11.3%	12.8%	4.3%	1.3%	12.7%	8.4%	7.3%	9.0%
Not very important	0.6%	1.0%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	1.3%	0.2%	0.8%	1.3%
Not at all important	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	*	-	0.5%	0.2%	0.6%	0.2%

7.21.1.3 Survey: Politics much less important

This shows, that the family as closest network of relations is of very high importance worldwide. It does not mean that differences in daily lifestyles are not substantial. The level of social welfare states also largely influences the responsibilities e.g. in caring for the parents at home or being able to place them in an elderly’s home.

The third question selected for our analysis is ‘How important is politics in your life?’⁸⁷⁹ Globally, roughly 40 percent say politics is very or rather important, almost 60 percent answer that it is not very or not at all important. Between the value regions represented by these selected

⁸⁷⁸ Personal table, based on World Values Survey, Wave 6, V4: ‘How important is family in your life?’ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>

⁸⁷⁹ Own table, based on World Values Survey, Wave 6, V7: ‘How important is politics in your life?’ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>

countries, there are clear differences. In China, Spain and Russia, politics is much less important than in Sweden, USA and Nigeria. It could be argued that politics in democracies is more important than in more autocratic countries, but the figures only partly confirm it. People in Spain as a democracy show very low interest in politics.

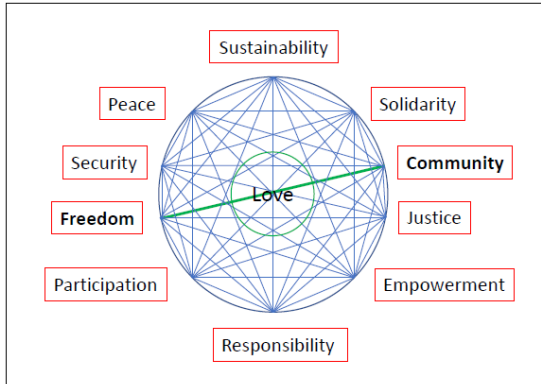
Politics	Total	Brazil	China	India	Nigeria	Russia	Spain	USA	Sweden
Very important	12.4%	12.5%	10.47%	17.0%	21.0%	6.9%	5.9%	11.2%	17.3%
Rather important	28.3%	28.8%	28.3%	26.2%	28.1%	20.2%	15.8%	41.8%	41.8%
Not very important	35.7%	29.6%	46.5%	26.8%	33.4%	40.1%	41.0%	34.9%	34.9%
Not at all important	21.0%	28.4%	7.2%	25.9%	17.4%	30.3%	36.5%	11.0%	11.0%

In summary, all human beings throughout cultures and nations need community, and family is the dearest community. The identification with politics and the state is much more diverse throughout cultures and political systems.

7.2.1.2 Value-Poles: Freedom and Community

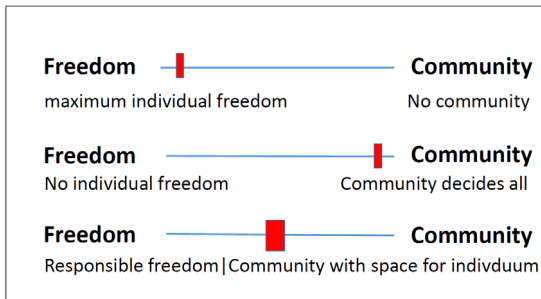
The main value-pole between the individual and the society, in whatever form, are the values of freedom and community: how much individual freedom is possible without endangering the cohesion of the community - and where starts oppression of individual freedom and dignity by the straitjacket of the community? We can refer here to chapter 4.1.4 above where we already looked at this value-balance:

Extreme individualism can be observed in very liberal societies, but also in traditional societies around the globe due to the digital world



offering immense opportunities of individual choices as global consumers, among others through social media. This can lead to a loss of communi-

ty life, to loneliness and lack of responsibility for the community. On the other side, in collectivistic societies, the community (and its rulers) takes



decisions and defines norms, which are binding for every individual with the threat of exclusion as result of violating

the norms and rules. Migration from rural areas to cities and to other countries has also in many cases, been to escape the narrow, restrictive environment of local communities where everybody knows everybody and social control can become overwhelming. Individualism and communalism are two forms of ‘-isms’ (chapter 2.3) which hinder Global-ance.

7.21.3 Towards Globalance: Holistic Human Rights

7.21.3.1 Balance between individual freedom and community

Globalance means to open space for individual freedom, but also to strengthen community life. Individual freedom is only sustainable if it is embedded in a community, which offers stability, care and enables freedom. Individual freedom also brings innovation and creativity to the community which can otherwise be frozen in tradition and die in a fast-changing world.

7.21.3.2 Challenge of broken and patchwork families

A global challenge for the balance between individuals and family community is the high level of divorces, broken families and reconstituted families (so-called patchwork families). It is partly linked with high expectations of professional mobility, international migration, speed of development and zones of conflict. Balancing individual freedom with sustainable small and larger communities will most likely need – in a post-Corona and hopefully still globally interconnected world – less mobility, less speed and more caring for families and communities.

Extremely closed and thus oppressive communities exist in all cultures, be it in form of mafia structures, criminal gangs, religious sects or secret cults. They bind the individual members with secrecy rules, total obedience and use threats of death and exclusion in cases of insubordination. Such communities heavily violate human rights. Members who escape the community often lose their lives, suffer mental illness or commit suicide. It is a responsibility of those engaged for Globalance to

limit such oppressive sects and help its members to find the way back to nourishing and encouraging communities.

The Corona pandemic with its lockdown for billions of people raised awareness of the importance of family and local supporting communities. It also showed that individual freedom and dignity can't be limited beyond a relatively short period of lockdown. The pandemic showed in addition, that the nation-state is vital to coordination and guidance through such a life-threatening time and a state with emergency competencies must be limited in time in order to balance individual rights and freedom.

A guideline and indicator for the balance of individual freedom and community is the holistic integration of human rights (chapter 32.6) in their individual and collective, political, social, cultural and environmental dimension. The community enables identity and belonging, which is the soil and precondition for individual empowerment and opportunities for development. On the other hand, the individual empowerment, strength, identity and energy is the soil and precondition for a living and developing community. With this balance, it is possible 'to create sustainable relationships'.⁸⁸⁰ Everybody can contribute individually to it, but the state can as well with family policies⁸⁸¹, social welfare, security instruments and the civil society with its supporting services are needed.

⁸⁸⁰ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Familienethik. Familien stärken aus christlicher Perspektive*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2015, 51-115: 'Tragfähige Beziehungen gestalten'.

⁸⁸¹ Idem, 115-134: 'Familienpolitik: Typen und Herausforderungen'.

7.22 Culture: Identity and Innovation

7.22.1 Developments: Clash of Cultures?

Cultural factors play a key role in international relations, in business, politics, education, arts, religions and all other sectors of society. Cultures are the cement of societies and the reason for conflicts. Globalance can only work if a way of dealing with cultural diversity and differences can be found. And What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on cultures?

7.22.1.1 *Cultures and Civilisations*

What is culture? There are endless varieties of *definitions* throughout human history.⁸⁸² In our ethical context we define culture as the expression of the values and norms, objectives and faiths, lifestyles and attitudes, institutional settings and communication rules, language and visual arts, scientific foundations and historical myths. Culture is the morality and ethos of a society and builds its identity. Culture is then broken down by sector such as corporate culture for a company, political culture of a parliament, religious culture of a religious institution, negotiation culture in trade etc. The anthropology, ethnology and sociology of cultures describe the values and mechanisms of cultures, the ethics of cultures as a normative discipline and elaborates what should be.

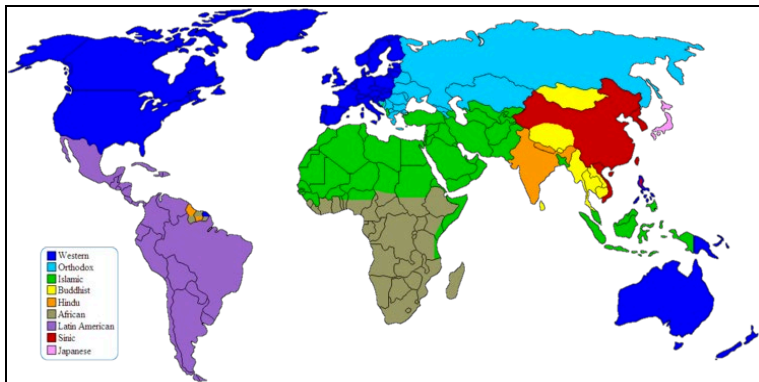
⁸⁸² Famous is the study of Eliot, T.S., *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, 1948/1962, Ebook Edition London: Faber and Faber, 2010; *Art. Kultur*, Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart RGG, 4th Edition, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001, Vol. 4, 1820-1833 (Seven sub-articles with different authors).

Each society has a multiplicity of cultures, but one cultural setting of norms is often seen as the *lead culture* and main identity. This reflects partly the historical and present reality but is often used and abused for ideological and political reasons of domination and exclusion of other cultures. The “Christian Occident” is used as term to defeat Islam in Europe. The official recognition of 56 ethnic identities as nationalities in China shows the effort of harmony in China and simultaneously expresses that the Han culture, representing 92 percent of the population, is the lead culture. *Languages* are a key element of culture. The number of official languages of a country reflects the diversity and unity of a country and its culture. Domination of a majority language and oppression of languages mirror the level of freedom and respect. Crises such as a pandemic are also periods where new terms are created and through language, perception of reality changes. Covid-19 suddenly brought the term ‘lockdown’ up to a global level not used before. ‘Infodemic’ was created by WHO as a term to describe the virus of fake information. The ‘language industry’ is more active in crises and shows how language matters.⁸⁸³ Languages are living, and they express values of respect or hate, innovation or confusion etc. *Language matters for ethics and for Globalance!* Cultures are not static, but *dynamic*, in constant evolution and mixture with other cultures through interaction, especially in the modern globalized world with high migration.

At the beginning of the post-Cold War era after 1990 with the triumphalist, naive view of Francis Fukuyama of ‘The End of History’ in

⁸⁸³ Massey, Gary, *Covid-19 and the Language Industry*, Blog Language Matters, University for Applied Sciences, Zurich: 7 May 2020. <https://blog.zhaw.ch/languagematters/>. (Accessed 12 June 2020).

1992⁸⁸⁴, his teacher Samuel Huntington published his counter thesis in 1992 and 1996 with the prognosis of a *Clash of Civilizations*⁸⁸⁵, whereby cultural and religious identities would be the primary source of conflicts in the Post-Cold War period. Huntington divided the world in nine major civilizations: Western, Orthodox, Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, African, Latin American, Sinic/Chinese and Japanese.⁸⁸⁶



7.22.1.2 *Dialogue among Civilisations*

The book provoked a large controversy. It led to initiatives to avoid this clash and replaced it by a *Dialogue Among Civilisations*, proposed by the Reform President of Iran, Mohammad Khatami, which led the United Nations to declare the year 2001 as the ‘United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations’ and establish the *United Nations Alliance of Civilizations* (AOC) in 2005.⁸⁸⁷ Managing risks and a crisis shows in concentrated form differences between cultures. The Corona pandemic

⁸⁸⁴ See above chapter 6.11.3

⁸⁸⁵ Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London: Touchstone Books, 1998.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid, map from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clash_of_Civilizations.

⁸⁸⁷ <https://www.unaoc.org/>.

showed that the governments reacted with different strategies, speed and measures, even if they had similar scientific information. Cultural, political, economic and religious factors played a role: trust and mistrust in scientist and governments, fear of economic losses, speed of political decisions, denial based on prejudices or populist political leaders, historical experiences with former epidemics, religious leaders' messages that the virus cannot affect believers, health and communication infrastructures, the culture (and economic potential) for making provisions, creative expressions or art and music to psychologically survive the lockdown at home, forms of solidarity and community etc.

How can we handle and jointly act in a globalized world by respecting cultural differences while at the same time challenge each other's cultural norms where needed?

7.22.2 Virtue-Poles: Respect and Reliability

“Values as the building blocks of culture”, says the academic, researcher and former ambassador Miguel Basáñez in his book *A World of Three Cultures*.⁸⁸⁸ Based on in depth analysis of the data of the World Values Survey,⁸⁸⁹ he distinguishes *three types of culture*: Honor, Achievement and Joy.

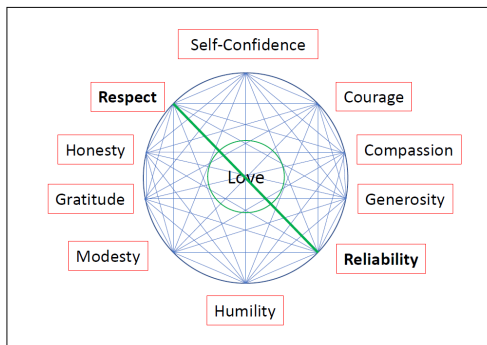
For *Cultures of Honor* he identifies African, Islamic and Christian Orthodox Countries. Respect for tradition and authority are at the centre; the *Cultures of Achievement* strive for punctuality and efficiency as seen in Asian and Confucian countries, Western countries and their offshoots; for *Cultures of Joy* he names Latin American and Caribbean countries

⁸⁸⁸ Basanez, Miguel E., *A World of Three Cultures. Honor, Achievement and Joy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, Kindle Edition, 41-90 (41).

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 1177-194.

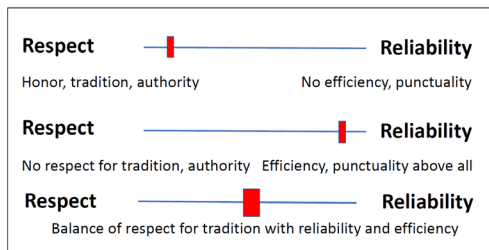
with contrasting values in colonial America, where family and friendship are top values.

This typology is helpful as it matches with manifold experiences. An example: we held a workshop on China-Africa Business relations in



order to reduce conflicts and increase mutual understanding. Eight Chinese and eight African personalities participated, and me as “neutral Swiss” acted as moderator⁸⁹⁰. The Chi-

nese showed their goal-orientation and speed in negotiations, and African partners are put under pressure, or they are overwhelmed by Chinese speed (punctuality and efficiency as culture of achievement).



On the other hand, African participants underlined tradition and respect to authorities, ceremonies and beliefs. While visiting a Chinese car factory in South Africa, we were all impressed. When we asked the Chinese CEO to share challenges he faces, he mentioned, that he does not understand why so many employees and workers are sick on Sunday. All Africans laughed. They answered: ‘as you do not allow us Sunday as a free

When we asked the Chinese CEO to share challenges he faces, he mentioned, that he does not understand why so many employees and workers are sick on Sunday. All Africans laughed. They answered: ‘as you do not allow us Sunday as a free

⁸⁹⁰ *Sustainable Business Relations between China and Africa. Report on the Dialogue in South Africa 25-27 August 2014, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2014.*

day to go to church, we have to claim sick to go to church'. For Africans, faith can be more important than business efficiency and thus an expression of the culture of honor (honoring God, in this case). The three types of cultures can sharpen the view of basic value poles even though they could be abused as simplified stereotypes.

A key virtue in the culture of honor is respect. A key virtue in the culture of achievement is efficiency, keeping promises and punctuality. It can be summarized as the virtue of reliability. Without reliability, no modern business world; without respect, no trust and long-term relationship.

7.22.3 Towards Globalance: Equality of Cultures

7.22.3.1 Cultures: Ethical equality among diversity

Globalance means the balance in valuing both cultures by respecting tradition and efficiency. An example: The new generation of Africans understand that the former excuse of time delay with reference to 'African time' is no more valid and leads to economic and political disadvantages, and a new African culture is already practiced which is as reliable e.g. in terms of timelines as in other continents. On the other hand, many Chinese or Europeans or Americans doing business with Africans understand that they can only be long term successful and sustainable by learning from the strengths of the African culture of honor and their culture of joy.

Globalance between cultures means living the principle of equality of different cultures, without arrogance and superior attitude, claiming that one's own culture is higher, older, more differentiated or more sophisticated than the others - and without subordination and inferiority

complexes telling oneself that the own culture is less developed or rotten by colonialism and corruption.

Globalance means to encounter each other at eye level respecting each other as humans with the beauty of cultural diversity and unity. At the same time, Globalance and cooperation across and between cultures means to be self-critical about one's own culture, which would in turn foster innovation and transformation across all cultures.

7.22.3.2 A great culture is integrating other cultures

A great culture is characterised by the ability to integrate other cultures and thus modify and adapt to a new level of one's own identity. This is difficult to implement, as it needs the openness for reform and change. There must be a strong confidence in one's own identity in order to be strengthened and not lost by new elements from other cultures. There are many historical examples for this. Buddhism came from India to China but for centuries it has been seen as part of the Chinese identity and culture. Protestants came from France to Geneva, the international city in Switzerland, as refugees and became, with Reformer Calvin, a pillar of the identity of Geneva. The USA is a fruit of the British-Anglo-Saxon cultures of immigrants from Europe. And only not long ago I learnt – what I never heard in school – that it was a Greek at the origin of neutrality of Switzerland: Ioannis Kapodistrias, a Greek diplomat, working for the Russian Czar Alexander as his State Secretary, and was the key negotiator for the “always during neutrality” of Switzerland, the international decree of 1815. He was later the first president of independent Greece. To learn in school that one's own country is great also because of support from other countries, would combine pride with hu-

mility. This is a solid foundation for Globalance instead of nationalism standing on feet of clay.

7.23 Gender: Women and Men

7.23.1 Developments: Challenged Gender Equality

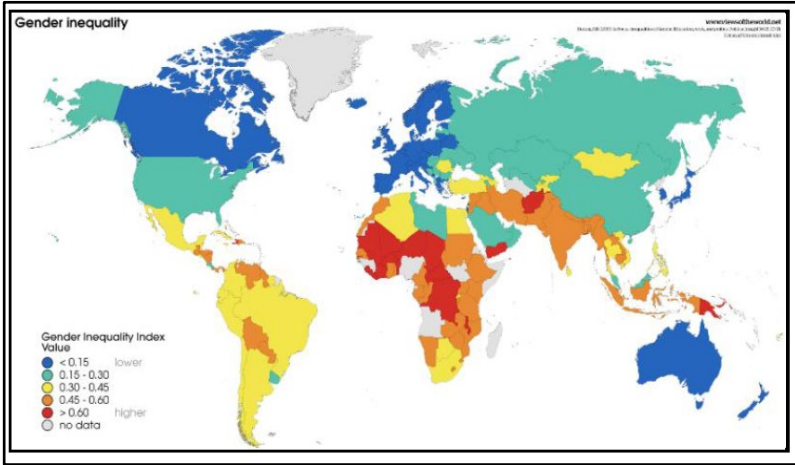
One of the most influential polarities in human life is the pole of male and female, women and men. In addition, some people live complex special identities as lesbians, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT). The relation between women and men is a key factor of each culture and its value system. It is as well a crucial question for Globalance as it includes huge potential and huge conflicts for societies. What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on gender relations? Let us look at two indicators for current developments in gender relations: gender equality and the status of LGBT persons. We will then examine the polarity of two virtues as example with their relevance for gender Globalance.

7.23.1.1 Gender equality

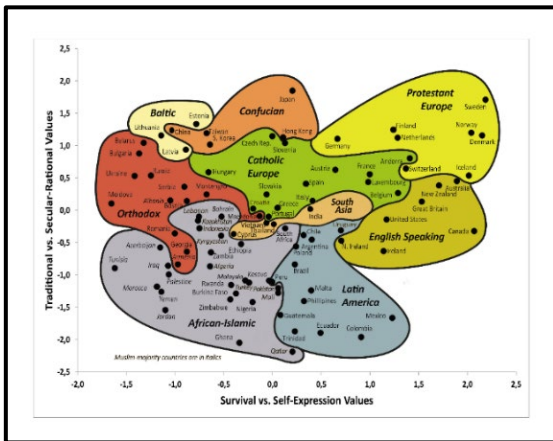
Gender equality is internationally accepted as a human right in terms of equality of all human beings and concretised in various international conventions⁸⁹¹, sector-specific policies and national programs. Nevertheless, it is a controversial topic and a divide between and within na-

⁸⁹¹ International Commission of Jurists, *International Human Rights Law and Gender Equality and Non-Discrimination Legislation. Requirements and Good Practices*, Geneva: ICJ, April 2014; UN resources: www.unwomen.org; www.un.org/ruleoflaw/thematic-areas/human-rights-and-gender.

tions, cultures and religions! The following world map⁸⁹² shows the status of gender equality/inequality as of 2019. It shows substantial differences.



If we compare these differences in the level of gender equality with the nine clusters of values shown in the previous chapter and again here, we see that countries and cultures more on (horizontal) survival values



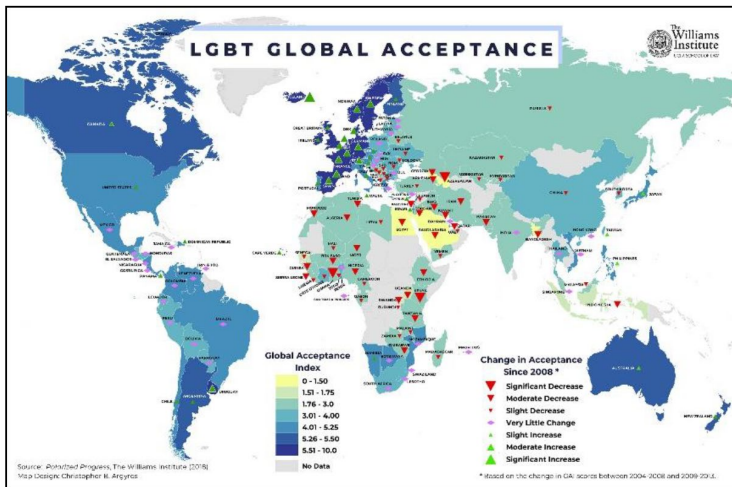
and (vertical) traditional values such as African-Islamic, Orthodox and partly Latin American countries show greater gender inequality.

⁸⁹² *Worldview and politics*, political insight 10 (2), 20-21. www.viewsoftheworld.net.

Countries and cultures towards (horizontal) self-expression values and (vertical) secular-rational values such as Protestant Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world tend to have greater gender equality. We also need to be careful in interpretation because formal equality of rights by law or number of women in parliaments are important indicators, but not yet a full description of the dignity of men and women. For this dignity, indicators such as domestic violence, sharing of workload outside and inside households and many more are relevant.

7.23.1.2 LGBT

The second example of gender-related values is the very controversial topic of *homosexuality*, today broadly called *LGBT or LGBTQ* (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender and Queer for all non-binary or outside the norm gender orientations). People with LGBTQ orientation exist in all societies, but are in some societies openly and legally protected or de facto accepted and in others hidden, forbidden and refused.



The global map shows that the differences in global acceptance is comparable, although not equal, to the gender equality map. The map also shows the change in acceptance of LGBTQ during the decade 2008-2018: the acceptance increased substantially in Western Europe – partly also reflected in the legislation of the European Union, whereas the acceptance substantially decreased especially in Islamic countries in the Middle East and Africa. ‘The first report, “Polarized Progress” found that 80 countries (57 percent) experienced increases in LGBTQ acceptance, 46 countries (33 percent) experienced a decline and 15 countries (11 percent) experienced no change.’⁸⁹³

The development of gender equality shows a slow decrease of differences between countries and modest global increase in gender equality⁸⁹⁴ whereas the development of homosexuality shows an increase of differences between countries.

7.23.2 Virtue-Poles: Self-Confidence and Modesty

What are the ethical differences and poles of values and virtues behind the gender gap? There are manifold values such as equality of rights and obligations; participation in decision making in the private, public and professional sector; justice in terms of legal rights in courts; justice in access to resources such as land and capital (inheritance rules

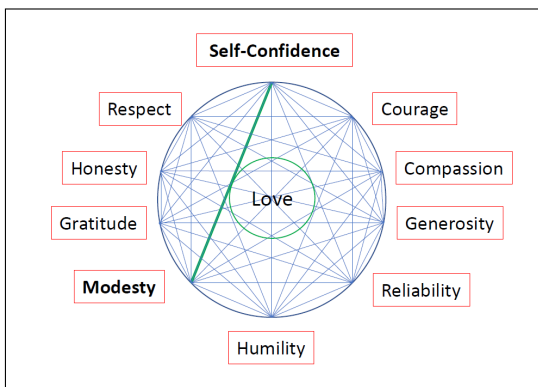
⁸⁹³ Flores, Andrew/Park, Andrew, *Polarized Progress. Social Acceptance of LGBT People in 141 Countries, 1981 to 2014*, The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, Mar 2018.

⁸⁹⁴ World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap. Report 2020*, Geneva: WEF, 15f: Between 2006 and 2019, political empowerment of women doubled (increased by 94.5 percent), but starting in 2006 on a low level. Educational attainment increased by 12.3 percent, but was in 2006 already on a high level especially in primary schooling.

and laws); security of women, men and children; responsibilities in burden sharing and above all the ethical question of power, domination and subordination. Manifold virtues such as respect, honesty, modesty and self-confidence are at stake.

What are the ethical differences and poles of values and virtues behind the LGBTQ controversies? The opponents of homosexuality see the relation of man and woman as the natural order of creation and all other forms as unnatural, a violation of this eternal order, a sickness or unethical bad will. The promoters of homosexuality emphasize the value of freedom of decision; or they claim that diversity of sexual orientation is part of the natural order by birth and is not a sickness or unethical will.

Let us select one pole of two virtues in order to show how a virtue-balance could look: self-confidence and modesty.

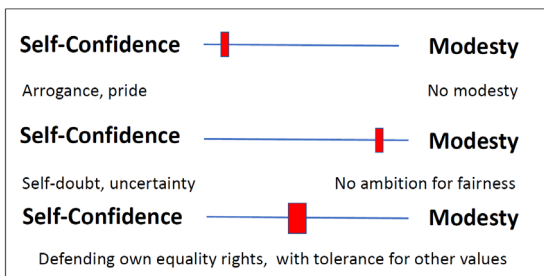


Self-confidence seems a modern virtue, as a result of emancipation and empowerment, but it is a very old, human, deep expression of dignity and identity.

The virtue of self-confidence gives the strength to decide, to act, to take responsibility, and where needed – to resist. It is important for mental health, joy and hope. For religious people, self-confidence is rooted in the faith in God as the root of human dignity. Self-confidence can

become a vice if it leads to overestimation, arrogance, negative pride, selfishness and blindness.

Modesty is the expression of prudence between too much and too little, of frugality against greed, of realistic self-esteem and careful handling



of limited resources. It is a way to inner freedom and less dependency on material or other goods, a virtue, which

enables fair distribution and sustainability. Modesty can turn into a vice if it leads to submissiveness, mediocrity and lack of ambition. Modesty without self-confidence means self-doubt, uncertainty and too much dependency on others. Self-confidence without modesty leads to dominance and arrogance. Balance in human relations does not mean that all must be the same; their characters or gender-related specific gifts often lead to constructive complementarity. But each person must sufficiently integrate and balance the different virtues and values.

7.23.3 Towards Globalance: Unity in Diversity

7.23.3.1 Demanding transformation towards gender balance

In human history, these two virtues and their negative vices have often been and still are distributed between male and female. Males are expected to be self-confident and females to be modest. How does then gender balance look in the perspective of Globalance? Globalance in gender perspective means to balance self-confidence and modesty in

each person, both in men and in women! It means to defend one's own equal rights, to support the equal rights of the other. As men in many countries have still more rights than women, gender equality means to strengthen the rights of women where not implemented. This needs the self-confidence and empowerment of women as well as the self-confidence and modesty of men to support women in this struggle. However, we can now observe the imbalance on the other side: At least in Europe, from two equal candidates for an academic position, it is nowadays clear that the woman is appointed. The man must show that he is substantially better qualified than the woman to get the job. This is understandable in a transition towards more balanced female and male in an institution.

These transformative processes are demanding. However, even more demanding is to live in peace between those who defend this gender equality and those men and women in countries, cultures and religions, which refuse equal rights as incompatible with the natural order and their religious values, which demand subordination of women under men. Globalance cannot mean to keep quiet, close the eyes and tolerate everything. Neither can it mean fighting each other with violence in order to 'eradicate the evil', which is seen in the other worldview. The struggle in favour of tolerance or oppression of LGBTQ is much more violent than on gender equality. There are fundamentalist and missionary positions on both sides. It leads to a deep gap in many religious communities. The Anglican Communion was deeply divided for decades until the Lambeth Conference 2020 and almost split in 2016.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁵ *Homosexuality and the Anglican Communion*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality_and_the_Anglican_Communion. Retrieved 1 May 2020.

The Globalance way towards gender justice combined with gender peace is to listen to each other, to understand the fears of others for losing (religious) identity, community, culture, security and credibility among peers – and then to also acknowledge one’s own fears of losing (secular) identity, community, culture, security and credibility among peers.

7.23.3.2 Dare transformative dialogues

The *Principles on Sharing Values* help in such *Transformative Dialogues*, as elaborated earlier⁸⁹⁶: reciprocity of the Golden Rule, confidentiality, honesty, deep listening, walking in the other’s shoes, suspending (premature) judgement, appreciating other’s beliefs and values, being self-critical of one’s own convictions, acting in openness and transparency, accountability for personal positions and cooperative actions (supporting each other in the corona crisis lockdown helped to overcome prejudices and barriers). These principles are pathways for mutual respect, for careful critique and for mutual peaceful transformation.

7.23.3.3 Religions: female pastors, priests, imams, gurus

A special aspect of gender equality is the role of women in religious functions and institutions. Worldwide, women as Protestant pastors, Catholic priests, Muslim imams, Hindu gurus or others are a hot topic.

⁸⁹⁶ Chapter 5.4.2. See also *Globethics.net Principles on Sharing Values across Cultures and Religions*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2012, 13-19.

In women's ordination as clergy⁸⁹⁷, most advanced are Reformed⁸⁹⁸, Methodist, Lutheran and Anglican churches. In these churches, more and more women are church leaders such as presidents, bishops and moderators. However, in the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox churches, the full ordination of women is still not possible, but lay priest exist. In Islam, women as imams are possible only for restricted occasions, but many women are scholars, jurists, some also muftis. It is a hot debate in Islam as in other religions. In Hinduism, female temple priests are possible e.g. in the South Indian State of Kerala, but much contested in other parts of India. In Buddhism as in all religions, women can be nuns/in a religious monastic order.

7.24 Education: Empowerment and Integrity

7.24.1 Developments: Call for Quality Education

Education is a key driver on the path to Globalance. In each culture, *education* is a process where the persons of the younger generation of a community are familiarized, socialized and critically engaged with the values, norms, attitudes, knowledge and skills of the community to which they belong. In a globalised and digitized world, this process happens not just under the Baobab tree in the village, but up to the global international community.

⁸⁹⁷ Hoppe, Hella/ Walder, Anne, Women Church Leaders in Protestant Churches, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Mugambi Jesse (Eds.), *Responsible Leadership*, Global Series, Geneva: WCC/Globethics.net, 2007.

⁸⁹⁸ World Communion of Reformed Churches, *A Declaration of Faith on Women's Ordination*, Grand Rapids, 2010.

7.24.1.1 *A broad understanding of education*

The *education instruments* are manifold. This process happens in formal education through the schooling system from kindergarten to tertiary education, in informal education between peers, in leisure time and through life-long formal and informal learning. Education is a process in direct human communication or through intermediary media such as books and videos.

The *educators* are manifold: parents, sisters/brothers, grandparents, friends, wise elders, religious authorities, trained and authorized teachers on all levels, media journalists, social media stars and – last but not least – self-education.

I introduce this *broad understanding* of education because nowadays, the understanding of education is often reduced to learning skills in order to be employable, to sustain one's own life and meet the needs of the business or public sector for a highly skilled and innovative workforce that is competitive in international markets. Employability and earning a living is certainly very important for individuals and skilled workforces are crucial for the development of societies. However, education is more than this instrumentalized training of skills.

The *objectives and interests* behind education and formation are crucial. On colonial background, my Kenyan friend and professor of philosophy Jesse N.K. Mugambi defined traditional education 'as a process of cultural socialisation', which was different from the introduction of the colonial 'schooling as an instrument of cultural alienation.'⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁹ Mugambi, Jesse N.K., *Responsible Leadership in Education and Development*, in Stückelberger, Christoph/ Mugambi, Jesse N.K., *Responsible Leader-*

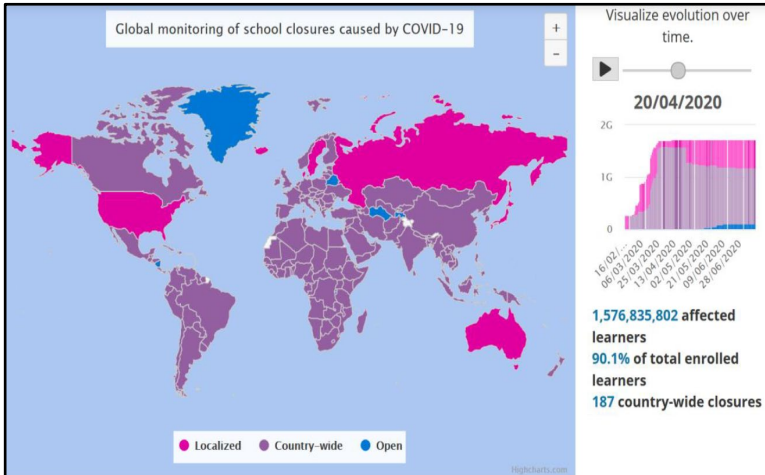
The parents and local communities as teachers have been replaced by professional teachers. In 2020, under conditions of lockdown because of the COVID-19 pandemic, hundreds of millions of parents had their school-age children suddenly at home for weeks and were required to teach and support them in schooling, but with the content of the public or private schools and often mixed with online teaching by school teachers.

Education is always linked to value systems and therefore never neutral. Even behind mathematics and the other STEM topics, which seem to be scientifically objective and therefore ethically neutral, there are value-decisions: it is a value-decision, to decide how many lectures in which subject are in the curriculum.

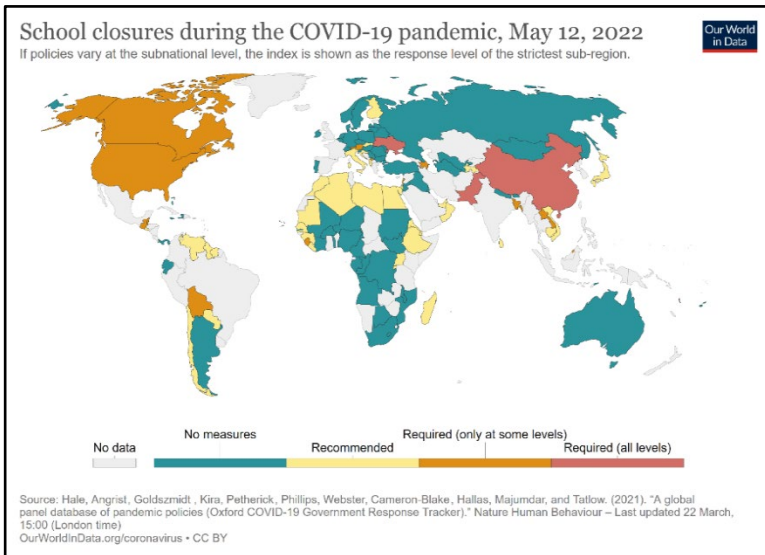
For identifying current global developments in education, let us look at few selected indicators: level of schooling, unemployment of graduates, trends in study abroad and financing education and integrity/corruption. This will then lead us to the ethical questions of value-poles in education and suggestions for Globalance.

7.24.1.2 The influence of the 4C's on education

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on education? Due to the pandemic, millions of students missed school education for almost two years. The following graphs show the dramatic influence of the pandemic Covid-19 on education.



Inequalities increased as those with good internet access and school



online facilities could continue to benefit. New instruments for resili-

ence in such a global crisis have been developed.⁹⁰⁰ The influence of climate change on education may be mainly indirect, such as increased migration and climate refugees and food shortage. The influence of the Cold War on education is immense, especially in limiting student mobility. The influence of financial crises is visible in reduced affordability of education, especially higher education.

7.24.1.3 Access to Education as a Human Right

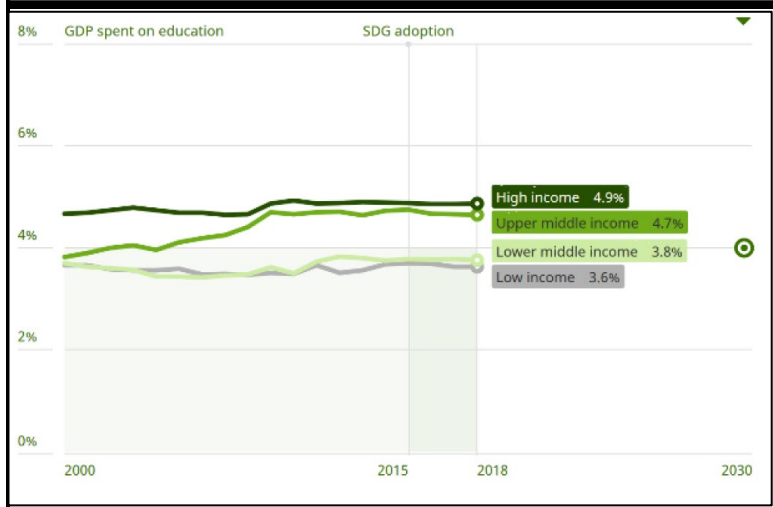
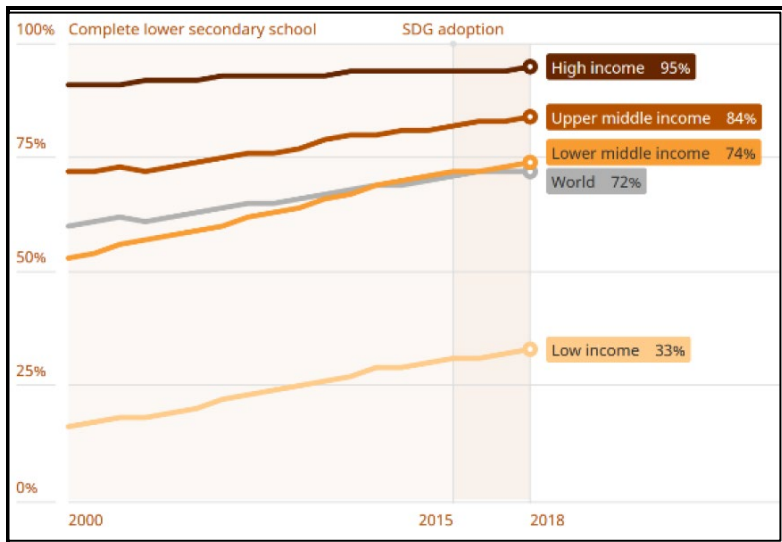
Education is recognized as *a Human Right*. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 calls for compulsory primary education, accessible and affordable secondary education.

The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 “*Quality Education*” sets precise *targets* until 2030⁹⁰¹: “4.1 Ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes. 4.2 Equal access to quality pre-primary education, 4.3 Equal access to affordable technical, vocational and higher education, 4.4 Increase the number of people with relevant skills for financial success, 4.5 Eliminate all discrimination in education, 4.6 Universal literacy and numeracy, 4.7 Education for sustainable Development and Global Citizenship, 4a Build and upgrade inclusive and safe schools (facilities, 4b Expand higher education scholarships for developing countries, 4c Increase the supply of qualified teachers in developing countries.”

⁹⁰⁰ Commonwealth Secretariat, *The Impact of Covid-19 on Education Systems in the Commonwealth*, London 2021 (Accessed 25 Sept 2022).

⁹⁰¹ <https://SDGs4education2030.org/the-goal>.

This SDG 4 now includes not only quantitative targets



of schooling, but also qualitative targets on equality, citizenship and several financial targets of affordability and empowering for employa-

bility and entrepreneurial attitudes. The UN clusters them in five topics: Access, equity, learning, quality and finance.⁹⁰²

Let us look at some indicators:

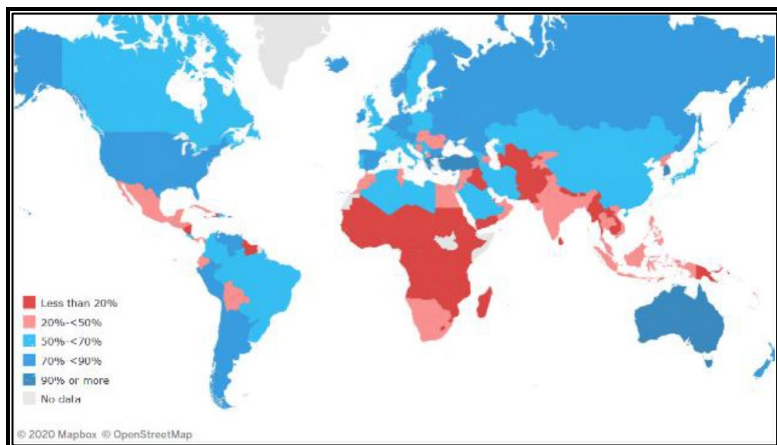
Access: Level of schooling: 88% of children complete primary school, 72% of adolescents complete lower secondary school and 53% of youth complete upper secondary school. The percentage gap to low income countries is high. Economic recession or even depression as result of the corona pandemic can immediately reduce the level of schooling and increase the number of dropouts for financial reasons.

Financing of education: three quarter of the countries meet the target of spending at least 4 percent of their GDP on education. One in four (low and lower middle income) have yet to meet it. The corona pandemic with its economic crisis will likely increase the number of countries who do not meet the target.

Gross enrolment ratio for tertiary education (most recent year available)⁹⁰³ shows, especially in Africa and South Asia, a lower rate than the rest of the world. An increasing number of governments also realize that higher enrolment ratio for tertiary education is not automatically a benefit for a country if a high percentage remain jobless after graduation, and public money should be increased for vocational training as the job market in many countries in the North and South needs more qualified practitioners than academic graduates.

⁹⁰² <https://www.education-progress.org/en>. All following graphs from this source. Data from April 2020.

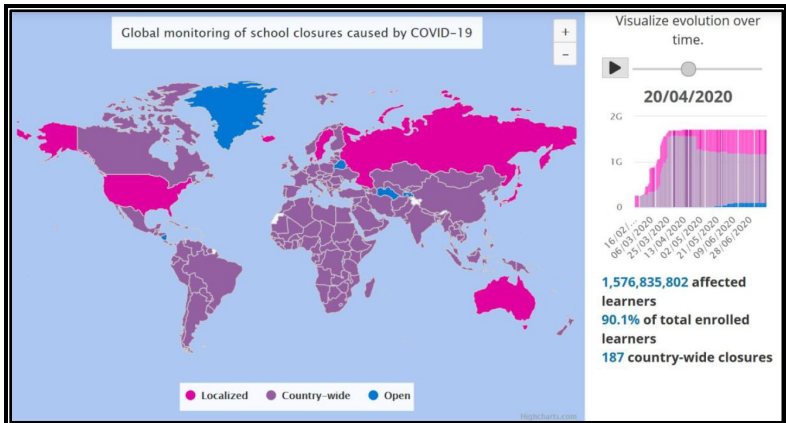
⁹⁰³ <http://tcg.uis.unesco.org/4-3-2-gross-enrolment-ratio-for-tertiary-education>.



Trends in students' mobility: Since the 1990s, globalisation and students' mobility has to be seen as almost synonymous. The number of students (mainly white, often female and from a wealthy background) studying abroad increased constantly. Student mobility grew from 250,000 in 1961 to 5.6 million in 2022! However, with the corona pandemic, 40 percent less students abroad are expected for the academic year 2020/2021. The debate of the impact on higher education is controversial as it is for the economy as a whole; is this just an intermediary period that will soon return to former levels, or will it indefinitely disrupt student mobility? The economic crisis will certainly lead to a drop in scholarships, which have often been the condition for studies abroad. Open is also the question of whether it will lead to massive increase in online education and distant teaching.⁹⁰⁴ During the pandemic, in one point, suddenly equality existed: in May 2020, almost all schools around the world closed. Unesco offers an interactive world

⁹⁰⁴ Leask, Betty/Green, Wendy, *Is the pandemic a watershed for internationalisation?*, University World News, 2 May 2020, 1.

map, where the situation of closing and opening of schools per country can be seen in a given period and updated twice per month.⁹⁰⁵ This lockdown impacted the schools on all levels in very unequal ways, depending on their economic means and online facilities. On 20 April 2020, during the global first peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, over 1.5 billion learners have been affected by closed schools which corresponded to 90 percent of all learners worldwide. This figure went down but affected still over 1 billion students in July 2020. For the impact on e-learning see below 7.24.3.



Brain Drain and Brain Gain is a continuous hot topic. Developing countries still lose a lot of their graduates, especially those studying abroad who then remain in the Global North as they find easier and better paid jobs than at home. The country rankings of brain drain shows in the top ten (highest rate of brain drain) least developed countries in islands, in the bottom ten European countries and Australia and New Zealand. 70 percent of Chinese and Indians who graduated in the US remain

⁹⁰⁵ <https://en.unesco.org/covid19/educationresponse>.

in the US! This is partly due to aggressive acquisitions of northern countries such as Canada.⁹⁰⁶

Unemployment of graduates is a challenge especially in developing countries where millions of graduates do not find jobs and instead serve as taxi drivers or restaurant staff. “How does educational attainment affect participation in the labour market?” asks the OECD-survey on education 2019.⁹⁰⁷ The unemployment rate in OECD countries is relatively similar across levels of education. Education is a certainly a gain for persons, but with unemployment, there is a loss of human capital as well as financial capital of the state and of families who invest in their children. High expectations for “financial incentives to invest in education”⁹⁰⁸ contrast with reality for a portion of the graduates. The harsh struggle for higher certificates at any price is also one of the reasons for the high level of bribery in higher education.

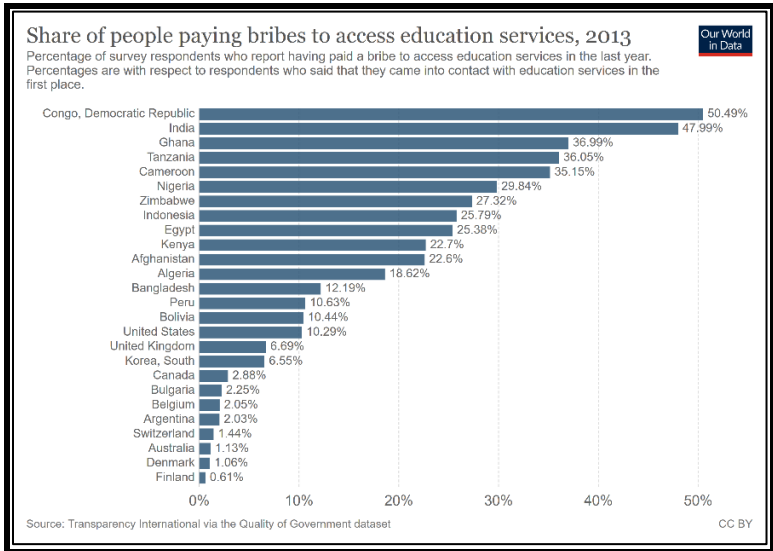
Integrity is a big issue in higher education. Unethical behavior and lack of integrity undermines the credibility of higher education and its institutions. Plagiarism, corruption in form of paid ghost writing, cheating in exams, marks for sex and bought certificates are widespread.⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰⁶ An excellent source for analyses and news on developments in higher education can be found in the weekly independent *University World News* and its biweekly *Africa edition*. www.universityworldnews.com.

⁹⁰⁷ OECD, *Education at a Glance 2019. OECD Indicators*, Paris: OECD Publishing 2019, 64-81.

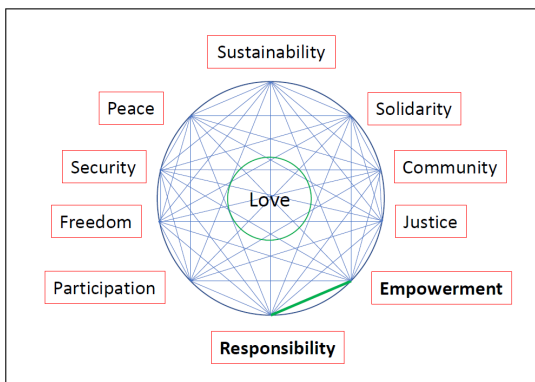
⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 96-113.

⁹⁰⁹ See manifold articles on Ethics in Higher Education in the two book series *Education Ethics* and *Education Praxis* of Globethics.net publishing. www.globethics.net/education-ethics-series.



Paying bribes in order to access education services is widespread. The following data of Transparency International⁹¹⁰ exists for all countries, I selected some of them to show diversity from all continents:

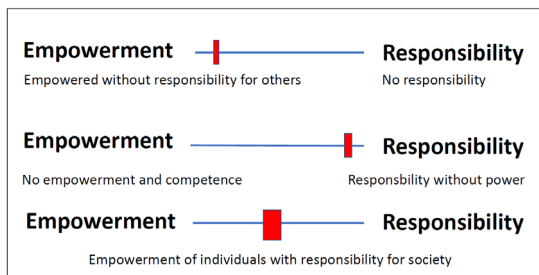
7.24.2 Value-Poles: Empowerment and Responsibility



Education can be liberation or domination, empowerment or restriction. The famous Brazilian pedagogic Paulo

⁹¹⁰ <https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/share-of-people-paying-bribes-to-access-education-services/> (Retrieved 2 May 2020)

Freire⁹¹¹ developed the education of liberation to overcome the education as means of oppression. Education aims to empower young people to take their lives in their hands and manage it on their own in professional, private and public life.



Responsibility includes caring for oneself and those entrusted in private, professional and public life. Empowerment

without responsibility leads to educated, but greedy and selfish persons, responsibility without empowerment leads to overstress, depression and burnout. Balancing the two poles leads to a maximum benefit of education for the individual and the society.

7.24.3 Towards Globalance: Values-driven Education

7.24.3.1 Criteria for values-driven education

The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are the framework of objectives. Quantity of years and quality of content and attitudes are key pillars. Education is a substantial part on the way to Globalance, under the condition that education as values-education is more emphasized than in the past. *Values-driven education* means education for

- Global, human values across cultures

⁹¹¹ Freire, Paulo, *A pedagogy for liberation: dialogues on transforming education*, London: Macmillan, 1987.

- Respect for diversity of values within and across cultures
- Ability to deal with opposites as contribution to progress and peace
- Holistic education⁹¹² with integrated, networked thinking
- Excellency not only in knowledge, but also in character
- Integrity in personal, professional and public behaviour and life
- Balancing the values and virtues, described in this book as Global-
ance
- Skills for employability balanced with skills to becoming truly hu-
man
- Compassion for performance combined with justice and equality
- Faithfulness to one's own tradition combined with openness to the
world.

The list can go on. Many organisations for parents to ministries of education, from global UN organisations like Unesco to private foundations support such values-driven education.

7.24.3.2 E-learning as opportunity for Globalance

The Covid-19 pandemic brought a massive boom in e-learning and online teaching. Not only in high-income countries, but also in emerging and developing countries. Online courses boom not only with classic and new online platforms, but also on WhatsApp and other devices for low bandwidth internet or poor electricity stability. Can values-driven education happen online? Yes, it can, as long the values such as empowerment and responsibility also build the basis for online courses. Of course, face-to face interactions and direct relations between teachers

⁹¹² Asante, Emmanuel, *Holistic Leadership in Education. An African Call*, in Stückerberger, Christoph/ Mugambi, Jesse N.K., *Responsible Leadership*. Op. cit., 2007, 97-106.

and students remain an important part of character education. Integrity through character education is a key goal of education. Is it possible with e-learning? Yes. In e-learning, the relation and personal contact between teacher and student remains important. Integrity in the way of transparent communication, in self-discipline, in reliability for implementing online rules and in honest, monitored exams, with antiplagiarism software and with same quality standards as campus exams are important and possible in e-learning.

Globethics.net Foundation in Geneva⁹¹³, which I founded and lead as President, contributes to values-driven education and online access with its focus on ethics in higher education with online access to resources, online academic courses, online publishing house and a global network. Manifold materials are available through *Globethics.net* to deepen the insights in values-driven education and its instruments. One of these instruments is to revise the global university rankings, which need to include more indicators on values in the system and curriculum of an educational institution. *Globethics.net* is working on it.

7.24.3.3 Politicised New Cold War Scholarships: Globalance answer

In the old Cold War 1945-1990, scholarships and academic exchange was highly politicized and an instrument of the blocks. Exchange programmes such as the Fulbright program and many others have been an instrument of the US and Western countries and the Soviet Union sponsored many scholarships e.g. for African and Latin American students from 'friendly' countries. Colonial powers and current Superpowers all

⁹¹³ www.globethics.net.

use higher education as instrument of influence around the globe. Language courses are normally the entry point and public motivation for important cultural exchange. However, behind are clear political and often ideological objective. The British Commonwealth has its global educational efforts of the British Council in 123 countries⁹¹⁴, France the Alliance française with 800 branches in 133 countries, Spain the Instituto Cervantes, Portugal the Instituto Camoes⁹¹⁵, the US run 80 American universities and colleges on all continents⁹¹⁶. Germany has 157 Goethe Institutes in 98 countries.⁹¹⁷ Russia opened 2007 the Russki Mir Foundation with (2017) 217 centres for Russian Language and Culture on all continents.⁹¹⁸ Turkey opened also in 2007 the Yunus Emre Institute for Turkish culture, with 43 centres in 35 countries.⁹¹⁹ China established since 2004, within only 18 years, 525 Confucius Institutes in 146 countries.⁹²⁰ As result of the new Cold War, a good number of them had to close as they have been criticized to be too much propaganda instruments of China. Similar critique was expressed against cultural institutes of other countries such as Turkey.

These cultural institutes are normally instruments of soft power for the respective countries.

⁹¹⁴ <https://www.britishcouncil.org/about-us/how-we-are-run>

⁹¹⁵ List of National Cultural Institutes: https://second.wiki/wiki/liste_nationaler_kulturinstitute

⁹¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_American_universities_and_colleges_abroad.

⁹¹⁷ <https://www.goethe.de/en/wwt.html>.

⁹¹⁸ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stiftung_Russki_Mir

⁹¹⁹ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yunus-Emre-Institut>

⁹²⁰ <https://www.heritage.org/homeland-security/commentary/confucius-institutes-chinas-trojan-horse>.

Economic and political sanctions against a country violating international law such as Russia invading Ukraine, should not be adopted to academic cooperation! Academic cooperation and exchange is a key bridge for mutual understanding, mediation and joint efforts to find scientific solutions. E.g. Russian researchers are vital to dealing with the Arctic and Siberian climate change, which affects the whole humanity. “In this new, tragic and uncharted academic and scientific environment [of the New Cold War Ed.], we must be firm in condemning the institutions and academic leaders supporting the war, but keep the door open for contact and perhaps collaboration with those who share common values of integrity, mutual understanding and academic freedom.”⁹²¹

A Globalance answer to academic cooperation in the New Cold War is well summarized by Simon Marginson, Professor of Higher Education at the University of Oxford: “*What can universities do?* In response to this new Cold War, what can we do? The answer lies in looking to *common academic values*:

- Separate questions of university autonomy and academic freedom from general political and civil freedom.
- Strongly assert a common position on academic freedom of thought, speech, teaching, learning, writing, research and communication.
- Advance the value of plurality of thought and method, between disciplines and within disciplines.
- Quarantine off from this regime of freedom the small portion of research where national security is primary.

⁹²¹ Philip G. Altbach/ Hans de Wit/ Jamil Salmi, *In a New Cold War, academic engagement is still necessary*, 12 March 2022, 3.

- Strongly assert the partial autonomy of universities and their obligation to shape teaching and research agendas.
- Defend and advance cross-border academic mobility.”⁹²²

7.25 Media: Freedom and Fact Checkers

7.25.1 Developments: Social Media Explosion

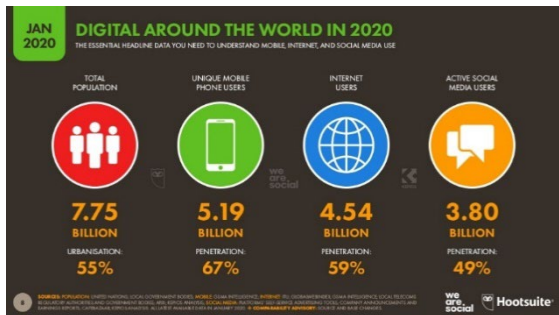
A medium is a tool of communication between two or many persons. The voice, the eyes or the hands are immediate means to communicate verbally or non-verbally. In this sense, media exists for human and non-human beings and even plants communicate.

7.25.1.1 Always digital around the world

What is the influence of the 4C’s (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on Media? The lockdowns during Covid-19 definitely increased the use of internet and social media massively, as a means to communicate with the world outside one’s four walls. The New Cold War increases the political instrumentalisation and the polarisation of media and social media (see also chapter 1.1.10). The impact of climate change and the financial potential and real crisis is less obvious. We will come back to it.

⁹²² Simon Marginson, How should universities respond to the new Cold War? *China United States Paper*, 16 Nov 2019, 6.

During the development of humanity, oral means of communication from drums to messengers bringing news on a horse to another place



have been used, written media in form of handwritten and copied manuscripts, up to the Gutenberg revolution in the

late 15th century with the printing press. Another jump of mass media has been newspapers, radio, telephone and television. The internet age of the cyber world then created an explosion of mass media for communication through online media in publications such as online newspapers, blogs, tweets, audio devices, visual devices etc.

An estimated 5.19 billion people, 67 percent of the world population, use mobile phones, 49 percent are active on social media!



The Covid-19 Pandemic lockdown created a big jump in digital use in the first quarter of 2020, especially in countries with the strictest lockdown and mainly in video calling via social media. The number of active social media users increased between April

2019 and April 2020 by 304 million people (+8.7 percent).⁹²³

Every fourth human being on this planet, over 2 billion people, have a Facebook account. Facebook majority owner Zuckerberg at the age of 33 was much more powerful than the Greek Emperor Alexander the Great, also at the age of 33 at the peak of his Empire, from Greece to India. He controlled much less of humanity than emperor Zuckerberg can influence. Election campaigns around the world and the Corona pandemic made this influence and responsibility of social media very visible. In 2020, millions of communications on mass media happen every minute. Let us take WhatsApp with Facebook Messenger in the graph below⁹²⁴: 59 million messages are sent per minute, 85 billion per day.

This corresponds to 31 trillion messages per year, on this platform alone. If we look at the Chinese sister platform WeChat⁹²⁵, 45 billion messages are sent per day and 16.4 trillion per year (2018). An estimated 1 billion people actively use WeChat daily, six times more than three years ago, with 420 million audio and video calls per day, in addition to text messages. A total of 50 trillion messages per year on WhatsApp/Messenger and WeChat alone— and this is only a fraction of the current reality on social media!

⁹²³ Data Report, *Digital 2020. Global Digital Overview*, Jan 2020. Update April 2020 for changes during Covid-19. www.datareportal.com. (Accessed 13 June 20)

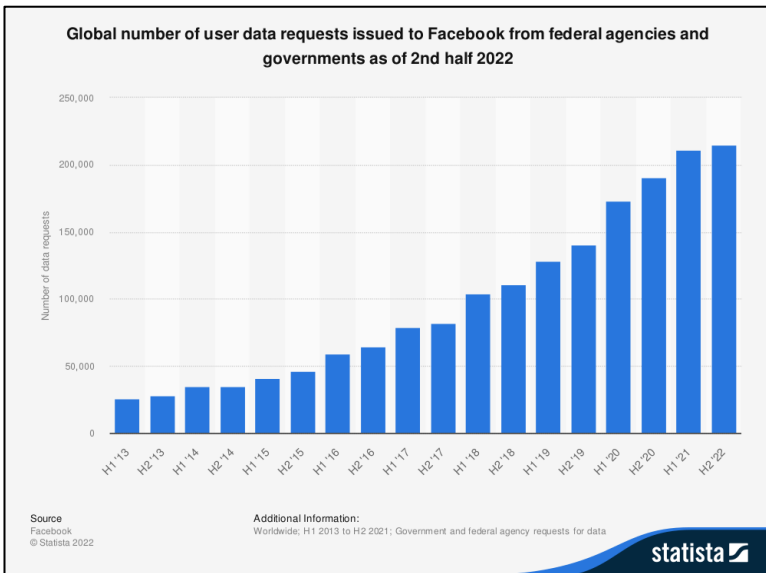
⁹²⁴ <https://www.bondhighplus.com/2020/05/14/what-happen-in-an-internet-minute>. Posted 14 May 2020. (Accessed 13 June 2020)

⁹²⁵ <https://www.zdnet.com/article/daily-active-user-of-messaging-app-wechat-exceeds-1-billion>. Published 9 January 2019. (Accessed 13 June 2020)

7.25.1.2 Political use and information war

President Trump with his ‘tweet diplomacy’ did not rely on the communication department of the White House, US ambassadors in other countries or traditional media, but sent daily ‘tweets’ to the 80 million people subscribed to his account, from where his own administration, other governments and the classic media get information – at minimum the ‘breaking news’ and daily morning emotions. Since then, many politicians use Twitter as channel to announce their messages, decisions and calls—from the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterrez to state presidents, military, academics and many more.

Facebook closely cooperates with governments and gives data of Facebook users on their request, often from police. The requests explode since a decade, as the graph shows. Is Facebook becoming another arm of a voluntary ‘information army’ for governments?



Is it the price Facebook pays for such extended access in almost all countries? And where is the thin border line to privacy protection of the Facebook users?

These are only few flashes, which show the great importance of traditional media and social media for global communication and for our perspective of Globalance. Let us select three *ethical topics*⁹²⁶ of current media developments before we look at the values-poles and post-pandemic proposals.

*Fake News*⁹²⁷ is no laughing matter, for it can cost lives, especially in times of the COVID-19 pandemic, and hot/cold wars. Fake news can lead to false medical advice and deadly consequences. Today, social media plays a key role in sharing information. An interesting video clip can be forwarded to a friend in one click. We read an online news article and post it on Facebook. Did we check for fake news? Are we complicit in the lie if we unknowingly forward fake news? What is our obligation to check news before sharing?

The *information war* works not only with fake news, but Fear, Uncertainty and Doubt (FUR). Mainstream media then seems suspect per se, and those who do not agree with mainstream media see themselves as victims. This setting is the soil for conspiracy worldviews. Nothing is true and everything is possible, is the result for media consumers. This

⁹²⁶ Classical media ethics deals with journalism ethics, information and communication ethics etc. E.g. Wieglering, Klaus, *Medienethik*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1989. Digital media ethics is the main newer field of research, e.g. Ess, Charles, *Digital Media Ethics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.t

⁹²⁷ For this topic see also Stückelberger, Christoph, Ethical Responses to Fake News and Conspiracies during and post-Covid-19 Pandemic, in Vassiliadis, Petros/Demacopoulos, George (eds.), *The Church in a Period of Pandemic. Can the Present Pandemic Crisis Become a Meaningful Storm for Renewal in our Churches?*, Athens: CEMES and Fordham Publications, June 2020, 122-126.

conglomerate of FUR leads people to search for certainty, ‘truth’ through leaders, autocrats and saviours, a very dangerous and politically explosive situation (see also chapters 7.17 and 7.18).

Gossiping and spreading rumours is as old as humanity. It is a form of entertainment and the person who shares a rumour receives attention and if he/she is a good storyteller and exaggerates a bit, receives even more attention and prestige. But in a village or oral tradition, gossip was shared with a few friends or a limited group. Today, gossip can travel with a click to thousands or even millions of Twitter or Facebook ‘friends’. Former US President Trump has used Twitter for twelve years as his main communication tool and had in the peak time, 80 million direct followers. It is documented that he sent out many lies through the platform (30,573 lies have been counted by analysts), but on 27 May 2020 for the first time in history, Twitter took action against the misinformation and lies spread by President Donald Trump by adding fact-check warning labels to his false claims. The President became furious and threatened to heavily regulate or close down Twitter. After his presidency, he created in 2021 his own media channel ‘Truth Social’. Behind is the debate of the responsibility of platforms like Twitter and Facebook. Are they just offering a technological service, or do they have an editorial responsibility like a publisher or a journalist?

Moreover, what about present and future *owners of these media*? The hick-hack about the attempt of entrepreneur Musk to acquire Twitter shows very frightening trends. Imagine, a single entrepreneur owning 12,000 satellites and one of the most influential social media platforms. Is he genius innovator, environmental saviour with electric cars or a dangerous autocrat?

So called social media are no longer primarily networks for exchange among friends, they have rapidly mutated into mass media platforms for media consumption, ads, campaigning, and is a key part of the information war and therefore main political instruments.

On the other hand, the immediate availability of information and manifold channels allow a never seen opportunity for diversity of information. Apart from political abuse and commercial exploitation, millions of people are engaged as volunteers, bloggers, analysts, academics, creative performers and media networks to contribute to clarity, transparency and orientation in the very complex media situation. An example is Wikipedia. It started as an affordable, free online encyclopaedia made by volunteers. It has become the most consulted encyclopaedia in the world with thousands of contributors, and remains free and with high transparent quality standards.

7.25.1.3 Trust in media and social media

Trust in mainstream media such as newspapers and new social media is important because without trust media cannot survive.

The Edelman Trust Barometer published, in addition to the annual barometer, a spring 2020 update due to Covid-19.⁹²⁸ The search for reliable and accurate information related to the pandemic has driven trust in news sources to an all-time high with traditional media (+7 points) and owned (+8 points) seeing the biggest gains. Traditional media (69 percent) lead the way as most trusted, followed by search engines (64 percent), owned media (52 percent) and social media (45 percent). Concerns about fake news still loom large; 67 percent worry that there is a

⁹²⁸ *Edelman Trust Barometer Special Report Spring 2020*, 5 May 2020. See graphs in this book chapters 1.1.8 and 7.30.1

lot of fake news and false information being spread about the virus, the wars, the climate and more. The trust-in-media barometer shows an increasing and worrying gap between low income and high income media users (see graph in chapter 1.1.9.3).

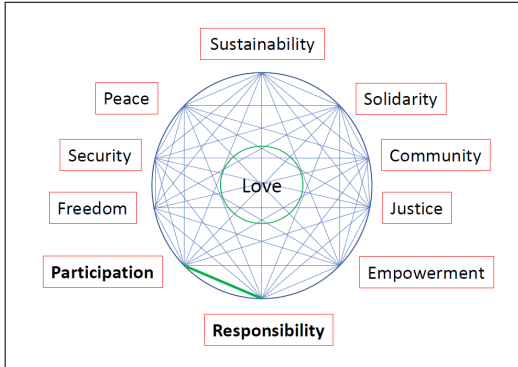
Capital: State owned media fulfil a public service and play a political role. Quality private media like newspapers for centuries have been publish for representing a specific world view and thus influencing the political discourse. They still exist, but for decades, the majority of media and especially social media are owned by conglomerates mainly for money making purposes. The term ‘social media’ is misleading even though it enables social interactions. However, their owners like the GAFAs and BAT giants (US: Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon. China: Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent) are primarily top capitalised, profit-seeking global companies, although they preach a first goal to improve the world. Making money with information and communication is not bad per se, but the “brainwashing machine”⁹²⁹ linked to it - with the illusion that these platforms are free, when in fact the users become mainly a consumer product – makes it dangerous.

7.25.2 Value-Poles: Participation and Responsibility

Media ethics has manifold facets. It is part of business ethics, as we mentioned the capital structure as a key element. It is part of cyber ethics as media are mainly on the internet and social media are strongly based on Big Data processes and Artificial Intelligence. Media ethics is linked to education, to behavioural psychology, global governance and

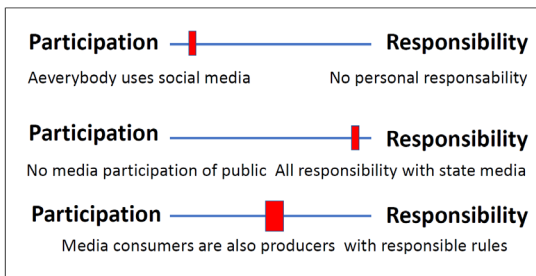
⁹²⁹ Harari, Yzuval, Noah, *21 lessons for the 21st Century*, London, Jonathan Cape, 2018, 242 (chapter 17 on Post-Truth and Fake News).

their legal regulations ethics on privacy and data protection etc. In our context of Global values and virtues, let us focus on only one values-pole: participation and responsibility.



The new media landscape enables – as never before – billions of people to participate not only in personal communication, but in creating, modifying and sharing information,

through comments, videos and audio in real time. This is a great potential gain not only for democracy and global interaction, but also for



the rights and dignity of humans. However, these participation rights must be combined with responsible use of this freedom

to participate (even where freedom is limited or restricted). It means the obligation to thoroughly check the source of news before sharing, it may include paying for information services in order to support quality information and support investigative journalism. Responsible production and use of media include numerous levels responsibility as users, owners, legislators, supervisors and judiciary as we see in the next chapter.

7.25.3 Globalance: Responsibility of Users, Companies, States

Fake news and ‘you shall not lie’ finds new importance and will be more important in the post-pandemic New World Order. What are the ethical guidelines to overcome fake news and what are practical measures?

7.25.3.1 Ethical guidelines to overcome fake news

Honesty is worldwide promoted as a virtue. It is key for all human relations. Without honesty no trust, without trust no family and business. The ninth biblical commandment ‘you shall not lie’ is basic in children’s education. “You shall not give false testimony against your neighbour” (Exodus 20:16) is not limited to court cases, but for all situations of sharing information in a truthful way.

The cyber world kicked the issue of truth and lie to a global level of massive, for many years, unregulated communication. As key instrument of globalisation and free market, every person can act as journalist and editor and spread to the world whatever news he/she wants. *Ethical principles* to handle news and fake news are:

1. *The Golden Rule* of reciprocity as universally accepted rule in all world religions and philosophies: Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you. Or in the positive version of the New Testament: “Do to others what you would have them do to you” (Mt 7:12).
2. “*Do not lie*”. Lies undermine trust, destroy relations, are short term, cannot survive in the long term and contradict the virtue of honesty and the value of justice and fairness.

3. “*Do no harm*”. Fake news can destroy the reputation of people, groups and institutions.
4. “*Do not kill*”. Fake news can take lives. Not only that, they push young people, e.g. in cases of bullying or false accusation, to suicide, but during the pandemic, spreading news about unproven or clearly false cures against the corona virus can have lethal consequences.

7.25.3.2 Practical measures on three levels

Practical measures against fake news are needed on all three levels of ethics: individual, interpersonal and institutional. On the *individual level*, the right to information includes also the responsibility to be informed which means to collect as much information as digestible from different sources. On the *interpersonal level*, it includes caution in sharing information; to think twice about the truthfulness of the information and if unsure, not to share it or include remark for caution. But fake news, even fake videos with image manipulation e.g. of personalities, are so professionally done to near perfection with Artificial Intelligence tools, that it is often difficult for lay persons to distinguish lie from truth. On an *institutional level*⁹³⁰, media education and training in critical analysis and thinking is a special responsibility for higher education. Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon (the GAFSA companies. In China BAT: Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent) as big data collectors, with their global social platforms have a duty to filter fake news and the regulators oblige them to do it. It is of course a sensitive effort as it can violate the free-

⁹³⁰ I thank Dr. Simon Stükelberger, lecturer in political science, for inputs in this part.

dom of expression and freedom of press.⁹³¹ However, classic media has clear rules and regulations, which must be adapted to these new platforms. Facebook, like Tencent, already employs ten thousand staff to wipe the platform clean of fake news daily. The corona pandemic lead to a clear increase of information through public, recognized media and decrease in social media, including among young people. In times of vital threats like a virus, reliable information is crucial. More and more initiatives of volunteers, often younger academics and journalists, and non-profit NGOs offer fact checking services⁹³² and news literacy trainings⁹³³. The European Union presented on 10 June 2020 its new strategy against disinformation where companies like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube will be obliged to increase their fact checking capacities; the new European Digital Media Observatory supports fact checkers and the Consumer Protection Cooperation Network supports media consumers. The European Commission adopted in 2018 an ‘Action Plan against Disinformation’⁹³⁴. These are positive step towards media responsibility in Globalance perspective.⁹³⁵

⁹³¹ <https://www.poynter.org/ifcn/anti-misinformation-actions/>

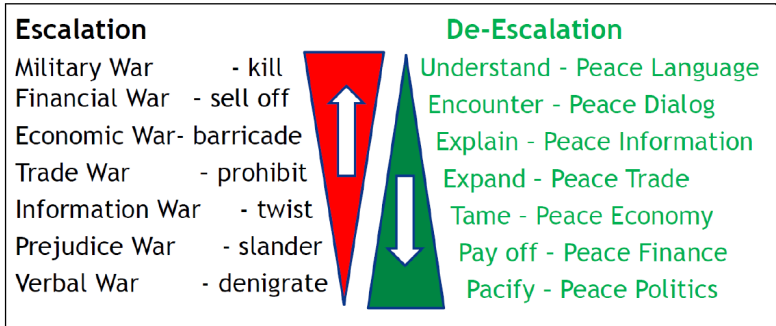
⁹³² E.g. www.factcheck.org, a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. In Germany <https://correctiv.org> as non-profit, independent research center for fact checking.

⁹³³ The US News Literacy Projects seems to be one of the most advanced: <https://newslit.org/about/>.

⁹³⁴ European Commission, *Action Plan against Disinformation*. Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, December 5, 2018.

⁹³⁵ *Coronavirus: EU strengthens action to tackle disinformation*, EU Media Release 10 June 2020. Also *EU Action Plan against Disinformation*, Dec 2018.

Language is a key element in media responsibility. Languages are living and they express values of respect or hate, innovation or confusion etc. Language matters for the ethical use of media and conflict resolution.



Escalation of conflicts and polarisation normally start with (hate-)language, de-escalation and overcoming polarisation normally starts with (peace-)language. The first three steps in escalation and de-escalation are linked to language and media (on the connection with military escalation see chapter 7.15.3).

7.26 Miracles: Supranatural and Natural

7.26.1 Developments: The Hidden Power

The readers may ask why we include a chapter on miracles to this book on Globalance in a post-corona world. The reason is that the belief in supranatural miracles influences the world much more than we normally expect. It concretely influences millions of people in their behav-

ior. What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on belief in miracles?

7.26.1.1 Dealing with uncertainty

Populism and Pentecostalism as a major denomination for miracles have much in common. This is one reason to look at the belief in miracles also with its political relevance.⁹³⁶

The 4C's include massive uncertainty due to lack of information, the complexity of connectivity, the speed of changes and the lack of ability to find answers with the normal instruments and values at hand. In such situations, two main attitudes become visible in order to handle and overcome uncertainty. First: to collect and share as much information as possible, systematize and understand them in teams and take rational decisions by those authorized, adapting the decisions as frequently as needed and taking responsibility; second: to reduce confusing complexity by giving simple answers based on predefined world views, with simple recipes and putting responsibility on others by blame and shame game and conspiracy theories.

The first attitudes was implemented by the majority of governments, religious leaders and many other actors during COVID-19. The second attitude was implemented mainly by populist governments (US, Brazil, Tanzania) and some religious leaders. Pentecostal, Catholic and orthodox pastors and bishops, prophets of indigenous churches, Muslim leaders (including the President of Tanzania) and some Hindu called their believers to continue gathering for worship and Holy Communion de-

⁹³⁶ See also above chapters 3.3.13 on populism, 7.18.2 on fundamentalism and 7.6.3 on health.

claring that God/the Deity is stronger than the virus and believers are protected by God, not by masks and social distancing.⁹³⁷ A special challenge across religions have been the annual mass celebrations and events such as Christian Easter, Muslim Ramadan, Jewish Pessac and Hindu celebration of Ram in Uttar Pradesh, all of which should have happened between March and May 2020 during the height of the pandemic. Governments around the world restricted religious mass gatherings and had to threaten some religious leaders who wanted to resist, however the majority of them accepted and supported the government restrictions.

7.26.1.2 Populism and Pentecostalism: what they have in common

There are obviously parallel attitudes between political populist and influential religious movements, here exemplified with some wings of Pentecostals, as the following chart shows.

Whether political leaders propagate a simple disinfection product as protection against the corona virus (as President Trump did) or religious leaders propagate their prayer as safe protection against the virus, in both cases they believe in miracles as a supra-natural, scientifically unproven act of God’s ‘supra-natural’ wisdom or of the intelligence of the political leader above scientific knowledge. In both cases, trust in the leader is the key and miracles are expected.

	<i>Populism</i>	<i>Pentecostalism</i>
<i>Representation</i>	“We are the true people”	“We are the true believers”
<i>Crowd</i>	Mass political events and mass media	Mass worships in sport stadiums and mass media
<i>Opposition</i>	Opposition to main-	Opposition to main-

⁹³⁷ Kirby, Benjamin/Taru, Josiah/Chimbizikai, Tinashe, *Pentecostals and the spiritual war against coronavirus in Africa*, The Conversation, 30 April 2020.

	stream parties	stream churches
<i>Trust in Leader</i>	One strong leader	One strong leader
<i>Reductionism</i>	Reduction of complex reality to simple solutions	Reduction of complex reality to simple solutions
<i>Relation to science and rationalism</i>	Critical to science and rationalism	Critical to science and rationalism
<i>Promises of leaders</i>	Economic and financial promises and wonders	Supranational miracles of healing and solutions
<i>Accepted behavior of leader</i>	Financial exploitation by leader, unethical behavior	Financial exploitation by leader, unethical behavior

There are also obvious differences between religions and denominations. In Christianity, supernatural miracles play a substantial role in Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Pentecostal traditions whereas in Protestant churches the adoration of natural miracles is more dominant. The Roman-Catholic Church has detailed procedures of a commission of experts, which must examine miracles e.g. in places of pilgrimage like Lourdes in France before a supernatural miracle is recognized.⁹³⁸

Pentecostals represent about one third of world Christianity and are widespread especially among poor people in South America and Africa, but also in the USA. Believing in miracles and healing is central part of their faith.⁹³⁹ Statistics show that a large part of societies, beyond the

⁹³⁸ *International Medical Committee of Lourdes* CMIL. <https://www.lourdes-france.org/en/medical-bureau-sanctuary>. Schmid, Andreas, *Behörde für Unerklärliches*, NZZ am Sonntag, 21/2020, 6-11.

⁹³⁹ Stolz, Jörg, "All Things are Possible". *Towards a Sociological Explanation of Pentecostal Miracles and Healings*, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol 72, N4 (2011), 456-482.

above-mentioned denominations, believe in miracles.⁹⁴⁰ A representative PEW poll in USA in 2007⁹⁴¹ showed: 79 percent of the population answer that “miracles still occur today”, almost with the same percentage across all ages: among all religiously affiliated 83 percent, among the evangelicals and Black Protestants 88 percent, among religiously non-affiliated still a majority of 55 percent! Another survey, commissioned by BBC in 2018, resulted in 62 percent of British adults believe “that some form of miracle is possible today.”⁹⁴² Yujin Nagasawa, professor of Philosophy in Birmingham, gives three explanations⁹⁴³: 1. Miracles happen also today, in principle, but not regularly; 2. Miracles are a projection of wishful thinking, which give hope especially in desperate situations; 3. Belief in miracles has the origin in a cognitive mechanism of ‘minimal counter-intuitiveness’ in early infancy. Even though miracles seem to be incompatible with modern scientifically explained life, “it seems unlikely that they disappear any time soon as they have deep cognitive roots in human psychology.”⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴⁰ *International Social Survey Programme: Religion III*, ISSP 2008, V38, Q18d: Do you believe in Religious miracles?

⁹⁴¹ *Religious Landscape Survey*, Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, US, 2007.

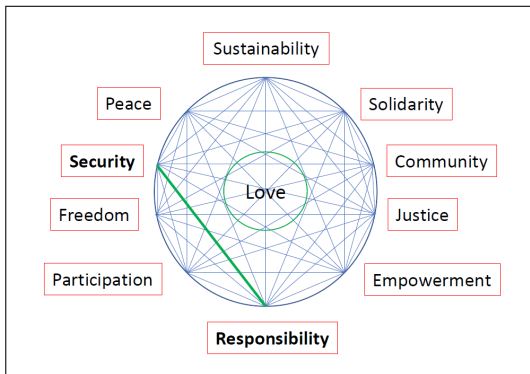
⁹⁴² Strangways-Booth, Alex, *Three in Five British adults say miracles are possible*, BBC News, 30 Sept 2018.

⁹⁴³ Nagasawa, Yujin, *Miracles. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

⁹⁴⁴ Nagasawa, Yujin, *Why do so many people believe in miracles?* OUPblog, 6 Oct 2017.

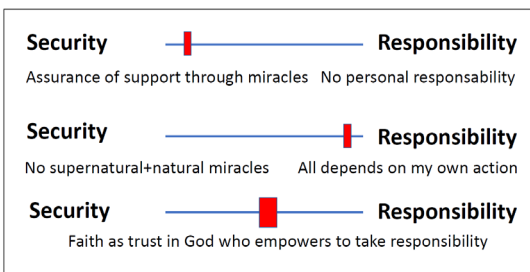
7.26.2 Value-Poles: Security and Responsibility

The hope for and belief in miracles give security that solutions are possible if one's faith is strong enough. Personal responsibility is dele-



gated to God, because of lack of means or capacity or fatalism. The opposite, in ethical terms is, to count only on human responsibility and ability to solve

problems and expectations in natural or supranatural miracles do not exist.



The balance is faith in God, the divine benevolence and providence, which gives security and at the same time

empowerment to use the means and charisms provided by God to act.

7.26.3 Towards Globalance: Trust is a miracle

Human behavior is never the result of a simple rational decision but a complex decision-making process of rational, economic, emotional, social, religious, psychological, biographical and historical factors. Behavioral economics shows that a consumer is not a simple homo oeco-

nomicus who always buys the best and cheapest. More so in situations of crises, stress and pressure.

7.26.3.1 Natural miracles more relevant than supernatural miracles

Believing in miracles has existed for thousands of years in all world orders including before, during and after the Corona pandemic. The question is then, how do religious and political leaders deal with this thirst for miracles in times of uncertainty. Let us first look at the abuse of power by religious and political leaders by promising miracles from heaven and exposing the flock even more to threats and exploiting them to get their votes, money and subordination.

The question is then what do we understand by miracles? From a theological and ethical perspective of Globalance, we look at the meaning of natural and supernatural world as this is the background for miracles. Miracles are usually understood as a supernatural, very rare event that contradicts the laws of nature or human experience and therefore elicits admiration. The origin of miracles is seen in divine or supernatural powers. Miracle offenders cling to the aura of the divine. The Bible, like most of the Holy Scriptures in religions, contains many stories of such supernatural miracles. The story of Jesus begins - albeit only in two of the four Gospels - with the virgin birth and ends with a supernatural resurrection and ascension. However, miracles are always contested, or efforts are made to explain miracles with natural phenomena. Joseph was just the biological father of Jesus and the resurrection can be explained medically: "After anesthesia, Jesus just got up."⁹⁴⁵ *My theologi-*

⁹⁴⁵ "Nach der Narkose ist Jesus einfach aufgestanden". Interview of Sven Behrisch with the historian Johannes Fried, *Das Magazin*, 16, April 2019, Zürich 23-27.

cal thesis is: God prefers the infinite number of natural miracles of his creation over the rare supernatural miracles! Faith is strengthened by the many natural miracles. There may be supernatural miracles, but they are not necessary from a faith perspective. However, many people, especially in situations of need and hopelessness, are looking for the supernatural, spectacular event and disregard the great miracles in the natural world as they may only experience misfortune. We can interpret the manifold miracle stories in the Bible, from birth to resurrection, from healings to Pentecost, from faith to love as miracles from a supernatural and from a 'natural' perspective.⁹⁴⁶

7.26.3.2 Cultural differences related to miracles

In the religious communities of certain cultures, supernatural miracles are more important than in others. In Nigeria, miracles are a daily topic. In China, Confucianism and Socialism with Chinese characteristics offers little space for the supernatural (except in the traditional popular religion). In Judaism at the time of Jesus, the belief in supernatural miracles was important as an expression of a person's natural, divine powers. Jews could only see Jesus as a savior if he was able to perform supernatural miracles. On the opposite side, in the philosophers' Greece, Paul could not win followers by telling such miracles. He could win the Greeks only with philosophical precision in his famous speech at the Areopagus in Athens (Acts 17: 22-31).

Even if Jesus had 'supernatural' powers with a high probability, he always expressed criticism of the belief in supernatural miracles. His

⁹⁴⁶ More in Stückelberger, Christoph, *Jungfrauengeburt: Nein. Wunder: Ja.* Manuscript, 24 December 2019.

public life started with the famous temptation story (Mt 4: 1-11; Lk 14-13) according to which God's adversary tested Jesus three times by saying he was very hungry and by way of miracle, could have bread out of stones. Jesus could have jumped off the rock without injury and could have built a political empire. Instead, he rejected all three 'devilish' attempts to use supernatural powers as the temptation of Satan! Belief in him should not be based on supernatural powers, but on his humanity and love. In the same line Jesus criticized his followers and the masses of people who wanted to see miracles of healing from him, like a circus show that evokes astonishing admiration. Jesus criticized this harshly: "You all only trust me if you see miracles and tremendous deeds!" (Jn 4:48). He called for people to follow him based on trust in his message and his ethical values, not based on supernatural miracles. He performed healings, but because of suffering people, not as proof of his divinity. Jesus' message was: Trust in God (faith) is the greatest miracle.

7F PEOPLE: GENERATION, URBANISATION, MIGRATION, CIVIL SOCIETY

People matter: Human history is driven by people. Technology, politics, economy, religions and culture are at the end of the day driven by human beings. People matter in their age, location, movements, and gender composition .

In this section we specifically look at demographic developments and intergenerational relations, urbanisation and rural development, migration and mobility as well as Civil Society as expression of people's participation for the development of societies. In all of these topics, the question of balancing poles remains at the center: Globalance of old and young, urban and rural, formal democracy and informal civil society, mobility and stability. The Covid-19 pandemic has an influence on these balances as on the other topics in this book.

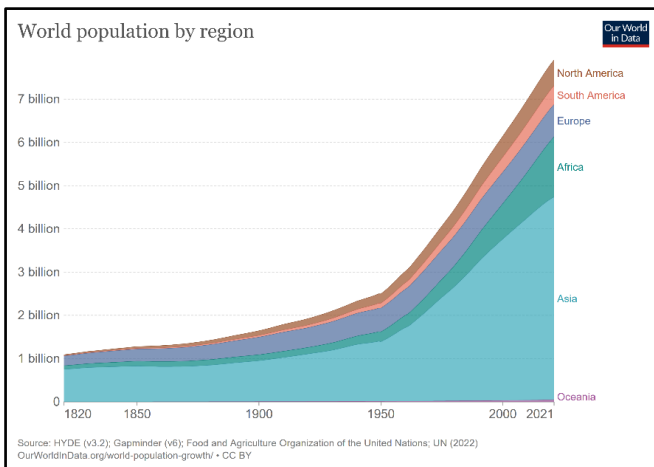
7.27 Demography: Intergenerational Solidarity

7.27.1 Developments: Tripled World Population

Globalance between generations: what does it mean? Balancing the interests of generations by intergenerational solidarity? Balancing the different dynamics between fast growing and young populations and little growing and ageing populations? And what are specific challenges of intergenerational solidarity during the lockdown of the corona pandemic, and after the pandemic with economic recession or even depression, or with long term climate warming and short term shocks of the financial systems? Let us look at some demographic and intergenerational trends, before coming to related ethical questions and value-poles.

7.27.1.1 Global demographic development

The *global demographic development* shows that the world population since the Second World War more than tripled in the last seventy years from 2.5 to 7.8 billion people in 2020!



This explosion was never seen in human history. Food, settlement, education, communication, environmental protection and security for this growth is an enormous challenge.



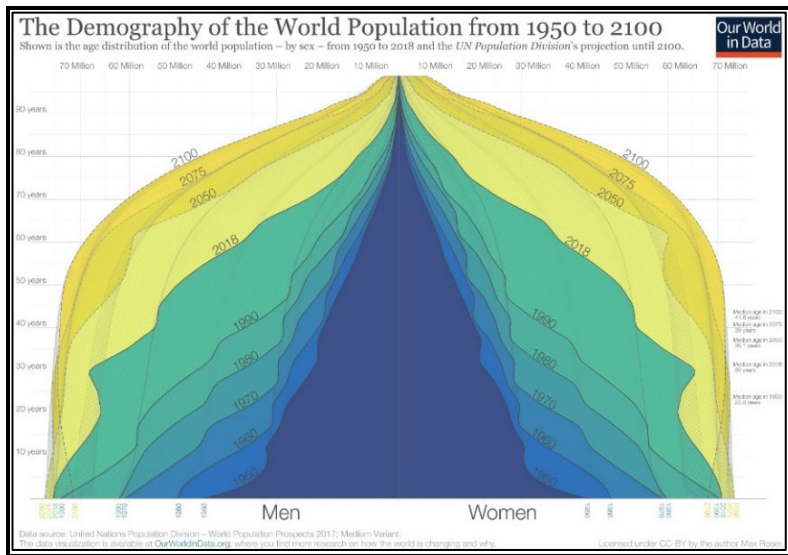
The size of the country corresponds to its population. Source: UN Population, 3 Oct 2018.

Humanity can somehow be thankful – with all terrible losses of lives of children and adults and the destruction of the environment – that it is not much worse today due to enormous technical, political, educational, economic and social-religious efforts. The graph shows that the 21st century as the Asian century is not only a political term, but a true demographic term. An estimated 60 percent of the world population live in Asia, 35 percent alone in the two giant countries India and China. In talking about world economy, we should recognize that the total number of middle-class consumers in the Asia-Pacific region is higher than all other continents combined. This region is expected to count a 3.5 billion middle class population by 2030, almost double of the rest of the world.⁹⁴⁷ Even if the pandemic pushes back many people from lower middle class into poverty, it will be on all continents.

⁹⁴⁷ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/255591/forecast-on-the-worldwide-middle-class-population-by-region/>.

7.27.1.2 The age distribution and intergenerational challenges

In order to reflect on future intergenerational relations, let us first see the age pyramid 1950 to 2100. The graph shows not only the massive growth of the world population but also the massive ageing. The group of the 50-80 years old persons grew massively from 1990 to 2018.

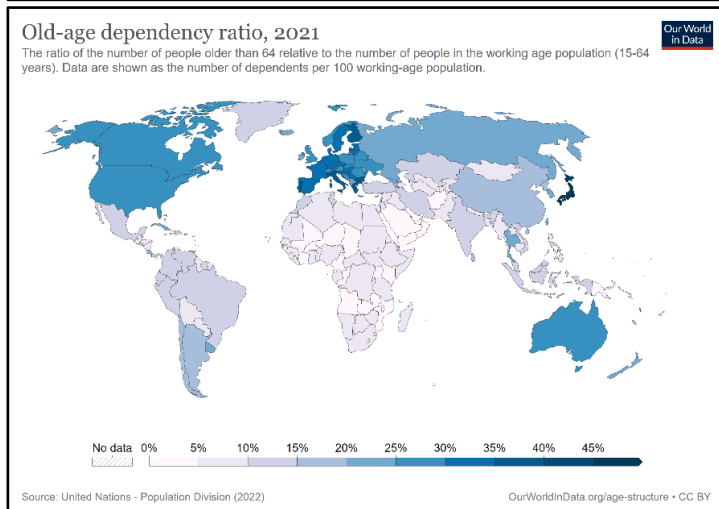
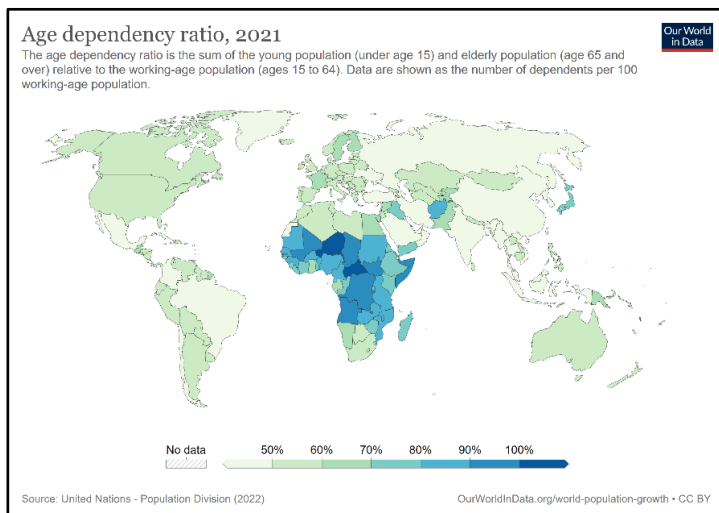


Even the number of centenarians on top of the pyramid will expand. These calculations are based on birth and death rates, with hopes that there will not be mass starvation through pandemics, poverty, climate, war.

Intergenerational economic challenges

The population is statistically often divided in three groups: the young population (under age 15), the working age population (age 15 to 64) and the elderly population (older than 65). The economic challenge is: Who cares for whom? The working age population must care for

children and – in terms of pension funds, nursing homes or other forms of caring – for the older generation. The graph below shows the age dependency ratio. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 80-120 young and old persons depend on 100 persons in the working age. In China and Saudi Arabia, it is only 20-40 of 100, in the Americas and Europe 40-60 per 100.



The second graph shows the old-age dependency: in high income and emerging countries, 20-30 persons older than 64 depend on 100 persons in the working age. In Africa with a very young population, only 5-10 persons above the age of 64 depend on 100 persons in the working generation. It shows that intergenerational solidarity has a different demographic meaning and weight in different contexts.

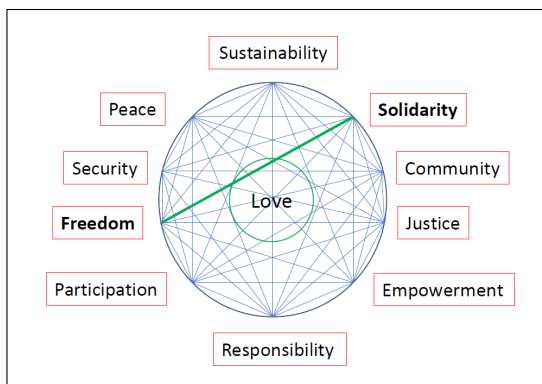
Intergenerational cultural challenges are linked with social, cultural, religious, educational and economic changes in lifestyles and to great extent also by urbanization and migration which often lead to the physical separation of generations of a family.

7.27.1.3 *Declining world population due to 4Cs?*

Most of the projections of world population (e.g. UN) expect an increase up to 10 billion by 2100 or even by 2060. However, with the retro-development due to Covid and the uncertainties with climate change, new pandemics and conflicts, we should also consider the *outcome of a decline in world population in the coming decades*, not as result of wealth and reduced birth rates, but as a result of disasters. A study concludes: “Climate change may have played a more important role and imposed a wider ranging effect on human civilization than has so far been suggested.”⁹⁴⁸ It is the obligation of all to take all possible measures to avoid it, but we must consider our limitations.

⁹⁴⁸ David Zhang et al, *Global climate change, war and population decline in recent human history*, PNAS; 4 Dec 2007, <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.0703073104>. (Accessed 17 Sept 2022). See also above chapter 1.1.01.

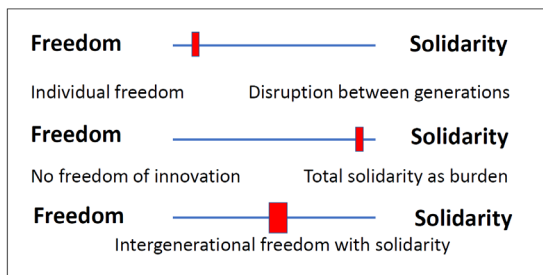
7.27.2 Value-Poles: Solidarity and Freedom



Intergenerational conflicts are often value-conflicts. The virtue of respect (for the older generation) can conflict with the virtue of self-

confidence (of the younger generation), the value of justice as equality

(e.g. as gender equality) with the value of community-orientation, the virtue of self-confidence. Some of the value-poles



described under culture (chapter 7.20) and gender (chapter 7.21) are often also intergenerational value-poles.

One of the main intergenerational value-poles are freedom and solidarity. Individual freedom means empowerment, participation and innovation in new directions. It often clashes with the value of solidarity with the family and clan. It is an intergenerational conflict in the same family between the Culture of Honor (chapter 7.20.2) and the Culture of Achievement e.g. of young successful businesswomen and men where efficiency is more important than asking parents for advice. Individual

freedom can lead to disruption between generations. The opposite is forced solidarity, which leads to oppression of freedom, escapism or depression.

7.27.3 Towards Globalance: Burden sharing

Globalance in intergenerational relations means the balance between freedom and solidarity, space for change and innovation and caring for the other generations. Fair burden sharing is an important principle of intergenerational ethics. It is difficult to implement. Intergenerational solidarity as intergenerational burden sharing may include in high income countries, a generation of wealthy retired persons that would require the conversion rate of pension fund money to be lowered in order to allow the current working generation to receive a pension and not be left with empty hands after retirement, as many young people for good reasons fear. Intergenerational solidarity must also always include fair gender burden sharing so that not only women care for elderly parents and at the same time their own children. The COVID-19 pandemic challenged also the existing models for care of elderly people. Lockdown of nursing homes without contact between adult children and their aged parents, along with high rate of mortality in nursing homes in some countries led many people to reflect, on whether they want to have their parents in a nursing home in the future. Under the shock of the virus, the pandemic also exposed how much the support for intergenerational solidarity through such homes depends on millions of migrant nurses from low-income countries. Intergenerational solidarity means on a macroeconomic scale, to limit indebtedness of countries to a level where the next generation can carry the load. Covid-19 also enforced stereotypes

of “the old” which have been portrayed all as vulnerable and at risk, which “reinforces our already age-divided societies.”⁹⁴⁹ Young behavioural scientists showed ways of intergenerational solidarity and ethics in times of a crisis such as the pandemic where physical distancing does not have to lead to emotional distancing and the age-gap.⁹⁵⁰

7.28 Urbanisation: Urban and Rural

7.28.1 Developments: Post-Covid De-Urbanisation?

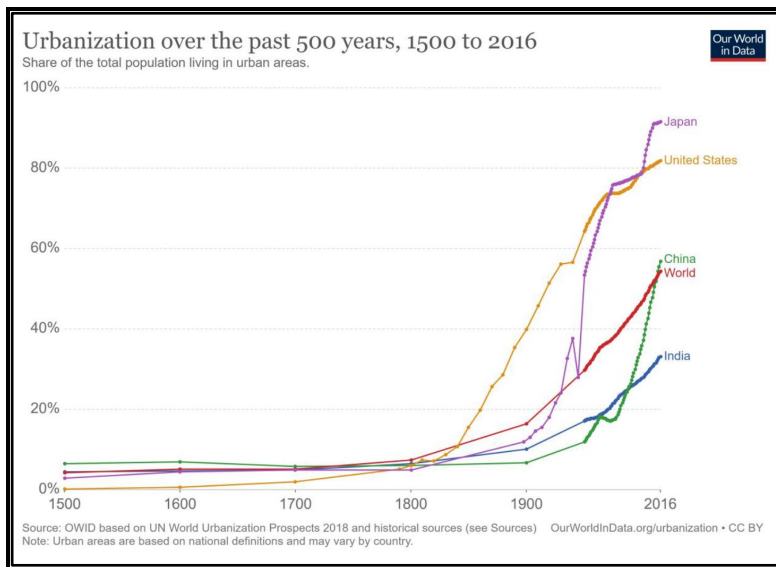
7.28.1.1 Still growing urbanisation

More than four billion people live in urban areas, which corresponds to almost 60 percent of the world population. Urban world population has grown five times, from 751 million to 4.2 billion in 2018⁹⁵¹ and It is expected that by 2050 almost seventy percent of the world population will live in urban areas – unless the COVID-19 pandemic changes the trends! In Japan, almost 90 percent live in urban areas, but the population of Tokyo seems to already be on the decline. Almost one third of the urban population worldwide lives in slums!

⁹⁴⁹ Ayalon, Liat et al, *Aging in Times of the COVID-19 Pandemic: Avoiding Ageism and Fostering Intergenerational Solidarity*, published 2020 by Oxford University Press, downloaded from <https://academic.oup.com>. (Accessed 5 May 2020), 3.

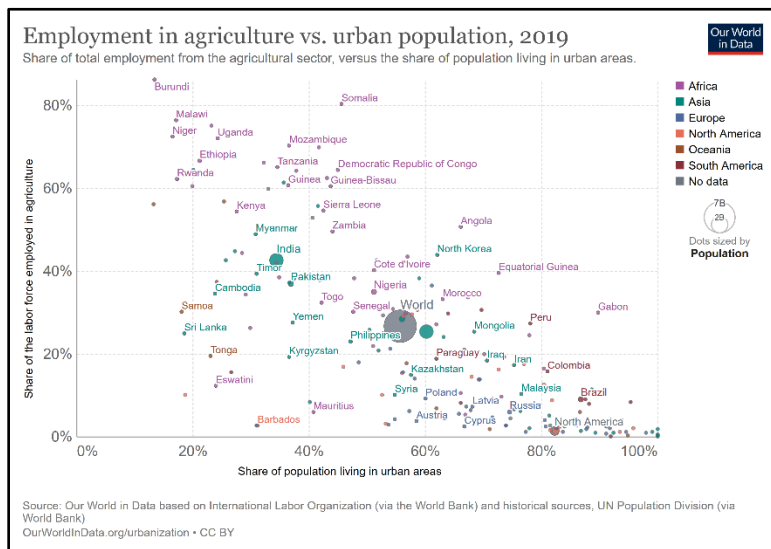
⁹⁵⁰ Ibid, 4.

⁹⁵¹ Figures from the UN DESA, *UN World Urbanization Prospects*, <https://population.un.org/wup>. Graph from ourworldindata.org. Also UN Habitat, *World Cities Report 2022*. <https://unhabitat.org/wcr>. (Accessed 25 Sept. 2022)



7.28.1.2 *Urban-rural: Access to jobs decisive*

Major factors for urbanisation are access to jobs (internal migrant workers, see next chapter 7.26); higher security of cities in countries with conflicts; access to infrastructure such as electricity, transport, hospitals, education and financial services; low prices and income from agricultural products. The percentage of the population working in agriculture varies from 2-5 percent in industrial countries to 50-90 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa (91 percent in Burundi)! Migration to cities and lack of income opportunities from agriculture are directly linked!



7.28.1.3 Historical waves: Future de-urbanisation?

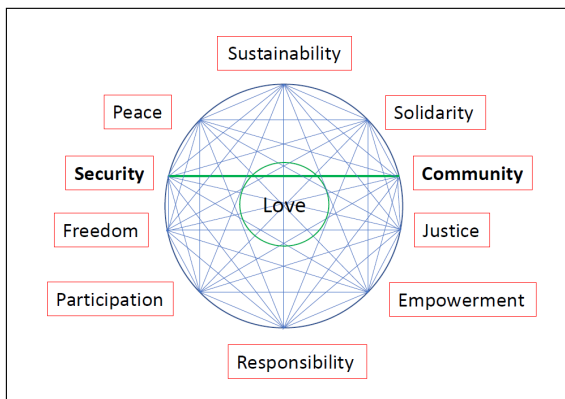
The history of cities shows that until the 19th century cities have been centres of diseases, epidemics and poverty, as even Engels in his criticism of capitalism still describes. They became attractive as megacities only with improved sanitary facilities. Could the Covid-19 pandemic be the beginning of a new period of de-urbanization back to the rural areas?

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on urbanization? During the Covid-19 pandemic, millions of internal migrants in China and many countries had to go back to their villages and rural areas. Millions of cross-border migrants have been blocked, separated or had to leave the country before closure of the border. Will this traumatic experience of the pandemic slow down the process of urbanization or even accelerate it as humans search for the security and health facilities in cities? Climate change may force

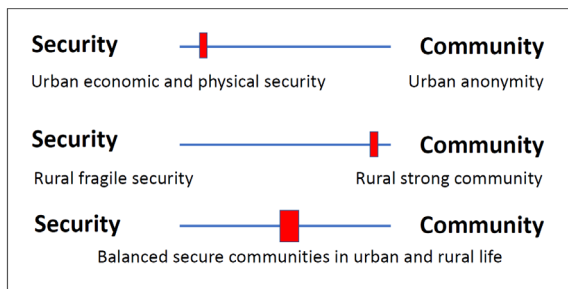
people to flee the heat waves in cities and go to rural areas. Energy shortage for transport, light, heating may have a similar effect. There are so many factors that predictions and prognoses are very difficult to develop.

7.28.2 Value-Poles: Security and Community

Rural villages offer strong communities. They offer identity and care, but are often also controlling, oppressive and excludes relations.



Migration to urban areas is often linked, as we have seen, with the need for security: job security, security for health and education and protection from violence. But urban higher security is often linked to more anonymity, isolation and lack of community,



therefore opposite to rural higher level of community; balancing the basic needs for security and community is possible by increasing rural

security and urban community in order to reach balanced secure communities in urban and in rural contexts.

7.28.3 Towards Globalance: Decrease Urbanisation

7.28.3.1 Slowing down the speed of urbanisation and planned cities

From a Globalance perspective, urbanisation is a chance for human development as it allows more people to live in dignity. At the same time, it is a threat to human dignity as one third of urban populations live in slums and poverty under much worse living conditions than they would have in their village. The biggest challenge of urbanisation is the environmental impact of megacities with air pollution, related cancer and health problems, collapsing transportation systems, poverty which exposes the population to diseases and criminality, dangers of epidemics and much more.

Slowing down the speed of continued urbanisation is needed in order to re-establish a balance between urban and rural areas. In order to reduce urbanisation, the improvement of access to infrastructure is vital, especially to electricity and energy, to quality education, to affordable transportation to neighbouring cities and decentralised health services. As the vast majority of people in rural areas live off agriculture (subsistence economy), improvement in productivity, in food processing and conservation and increased income from agricultural products are crucial.

Manifold encouraging projects show the way: The programme of the Indian government for Indian villages with solar power⁹⁵² is successful,

⁹⁵² Joshi, Smita B., *Role of Solar energy in Developing Smart Villages of India*, Jetir Vol 5, Issue 11, Nov 2018, 146-149.

but needs to be expanded. The internet accessibility and affordability in rural areas by broadband satellite access has developed a lot, but still needs much improvement. Cellular coverage for the rural population has reached almost 90 percent, but 2-2.5G mobile technology is used, which serves to send a SMS, but excludes smartphones or tablets.⁹⁵³ Access to broadband would even allow telemedicine for rural areas.

The *SDG Cities*⁹⁵⁴ programme aims at reaching the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 25 cities by the year 2025, even before the target year 2030 of the UN. It can demonstrate that urbanisation and reaching the SDGs can be reconciled, but it needs manifold decisive efforts. Another approach to handle urbanisation is *planned cities*: new models are in discussion and tested not only for free trade zones, but ‘sustainable development zones’, ‘private cities and prosperity zones’ or new concepts and policies for migrants.⁹⁵⁵ As de-urbanisation may not happen as mentioned, new concepts of sustainable urban development are needed.

7.28.3.2 *Urban-rural solidarity through complementarity*

We described a scenario (in chapter 7.17.3), that countries could split into regions as independent countries or that even city-states would declare their independence. The huge size of megacities, with populations of 10-30 million people, shows that they are larger than middle sized

⁹⁵³ International Telecommunication Union ITU, *Broadband Situations in Rural and Remote Areas*,

⁹⁵⁴ <https://www.ungei.org/SDGs-cities>.

⁹⁵⁵ Günter Nocke et al (Eds.), *Cities, not Camps. The Contribution of Planned Cities to Development and Migration Policies*, Zurich: Innovatio Verlag, 2022, 40ff, 72ff, 140ff; UN Habitat: *World Cities Report 2022: Envisaging the Future of Cities*, UN Habitat, Nairobi/Kenya, 2022.

countries and often much wealthier, from San Francisco to Tokyo, from Lagos to São Paulo, from New York City to Jakarta. A populist city major and government could defend the privileges of the city citizens against solidarity with poor rural areas. Megacities could easily be a country and/or state on their own in terms of GDP, productivity and even defence and security needs (a city could have its own cyber army!).

From a *Globalance perspective*, urban area and city states can be a viable and legitimate form of state in order to have manageable entities. However, the ethical criteria are still the same: the solidarity with the rural population and their needs for infrastructure and social services, the fair pricing etc. urban areas need also in future the agricultural productivity of rural areas and the CO₂-emissions transformation in forests and landscapes. The solidarity between urban and rural areas could also be heavily threatened the other way round: with climate warming, the heat in megacities already in 2022 became sometimes unbearable, the lack of renewable or non-renewable energy for cooling and transport and water scarcity may move people back from cities to the countryside and their village of origin. But then the village population may refuse them, angry that they have been left alone and now in crisis time want to benefit from the small remaining water sources in the village. These are reasons, why urban-rural solidarity is an ethical imperative, so that all people can live in dignity, and it is even from a utilitarian perspective simply a necessity for mutual survival and avoid violent conflicts.

7.29 Migration and Mobility: International + Internal

7.29.1 Developments: Future Mobility?

People who dislocate from one place to another is a reality as old as humanity. Today, *long-term international migration* means settling in another country than the country of birth, *short-term cross-border dislocation* happens with the boom of travel e.g. for holidays and business. *Internal migration* within a country is mainly linked to urbanization by job-seeking in urban areas.

What is the influence of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on internal and international migration?

7.29.1.1 International migrants

The global number of international migrants increased in the last fifty years more than threefold, from 84 to 271 million people.⁹⁵⁶ As a percentage of the world population it increased by fifty percent from 2.3 to 3.5 percent. This is substantial increase. However, the polarised political debates about migrants could give the impression as if the whole world is on the move, which is with 3.5 percent not at all the case. About 74 percent of international migrants are 20-64 years old, 48 percent are women.

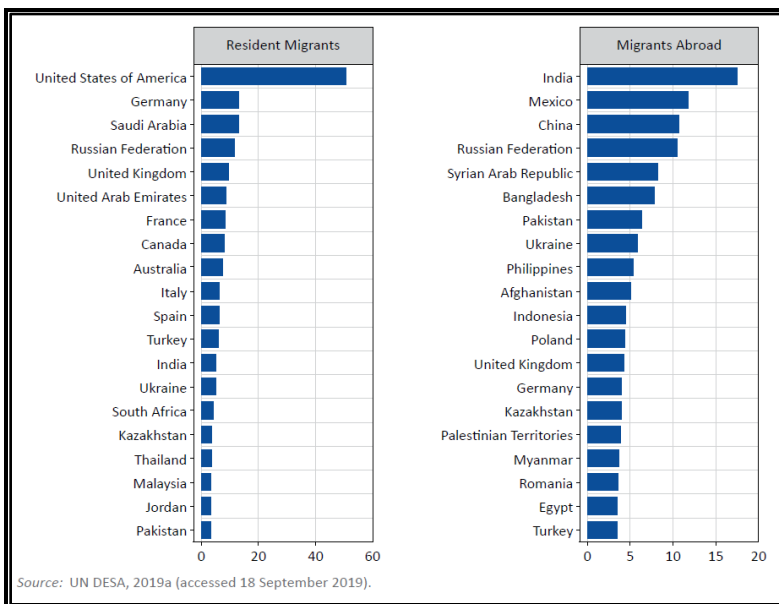
⁹⁵⁶ International Organization for Migration IOM, *World Migration Report 2020*, Geneva: IOM 2019, 21.

International migrants 1970-2019

Year	Number of migrants	Migrants as a % of the world's population
1970	84,460,125	2.3%
1975	90,368,010	2.2%
1980	101,983,149	2.3%
1985	113,206,691	2.3%
1990	153,011,473	2.9%
1995	161,316,895	2.8%
2000	173,588,441	2.8%
2005	191,615,574	2.9%
2010	220,781,909	3.2%
2015	248,861,296	3.4%
2019	271,642,105	3.5%

Source: UN DESA, 2008, 2019a, 2019b.

Note: The number of entities (such as States, territories and administrative regions) for which data were made available in the 2019 UN DESA Revision of International Migrant Stock was 232. In 1970, the number of entities was 135.

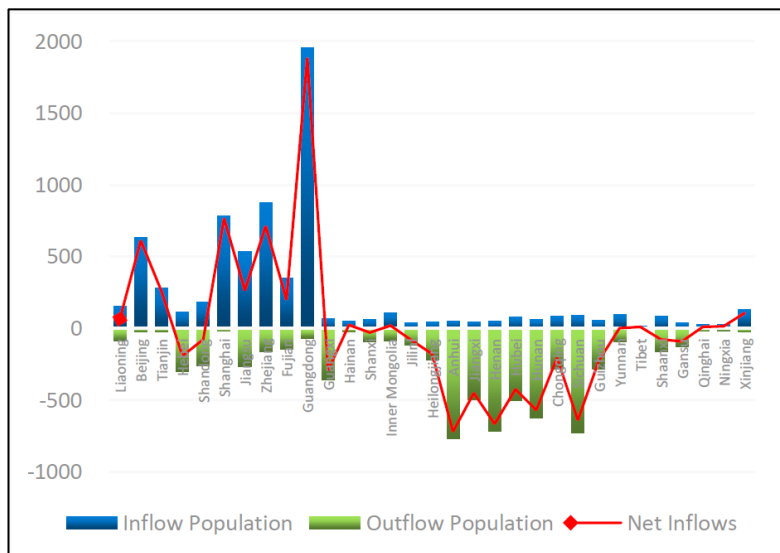


The top emigration country of origin is India with 18 million emigrants by 2019, followed by Mexico, China, Russia, Syria and Bangladesh. The top immigration countries are the USA with 50 million immi-

grants by 2019, followed by Germany, Saudi Arabia, Russia, UK and the Emirates. The global number of refugees was 25.9 million by 2018, of which 20.4 million under the UN mandate of UNHCR and 5.5 million under the UN mandate of UNRWA. About 52 percent of them are under 18 years old. In 2019, internally displaced persons due to violence and conflicts reached a new high of 41.3 million people, stateless persons are 3.9 million.⁹⁵⁷

7.29.1.2 Internal migrants

The internal migration within a country is much less discussed than the international migration, but in terms of numbers, internal migration is as important.



⁹⁵⁷ Ibid, 4.

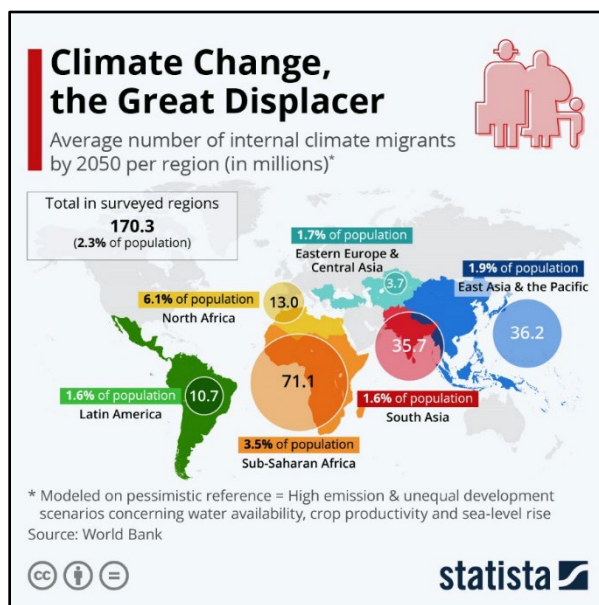
China alone counts about 340 million internal migrants from rural to urban areas in the last thirty years since the opening policy of 1979.⁹⁵⁸ The graph shows migrant population outflows from rural to inflow in urban provinces of China, 2010 (unit: 10,000 people).⁹⁵⁹

7.29.1.3 Climate migrants

Environmental migrants are persons or groups of persons who are displaced within their country or have crossed an international border for reasons of environmental degradation or destruction. Disaster displacement refers to forced displacement due to an immediate natural

disaster.

Climate-related migration with floods and droughts will be a huge challenge in future and is already happening. Most climate-related migra-



⁹⁵⁸ The figures vary. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Migration_in_China.

⁹⁵⁹ Zhang, Yinghua, *Improving social protection for internal migrant workers in China*, Geneva/Beijing: ILO and IOM, 2019, 5. Data source: Sixth Population Census of People's Republic of China, 2010. On the topic also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Migration_in_China.

tion is expected to be internal within countries. Good case studies exist, but for reliable global figures and future prognoses it is very difficult as multiple factors are mixed. However, the chart, based on World Bank data, tries to model, with a pessimistic reference, the percentage of internally displaced people per world region by 2050.

Behind the figures are women and men, children and old people along with their personal belongings, identity, beliefs and material needs. A lot of conflicts can occur, as I have personally experienced: Once while teaching at the University in Enugu/South Nigeria, the road was blocked by thousands of cows and the tall Fulani shepherds, nomads coming from the extremely dry far North of Nigeria to feed their cows in the fertile South, 1000 km far from the North-East.

7.29.1.4 Migrant workers and specialists *Migrants with specific professional backgrounds* such as students, highly qualified specialists, unskilled work force, have specific migration paths, durations and attitudes. As an example: first observations estimate that the number of international students studying abroad may decrease substantially due to the Corona pandemic. During the pandemic, 40 percent of students wanted to change their study abroad plan.⁹⁶⁰

Migrant workers are among the most affected, as the Christian Conference of Asia stated: “Among the most vulnerable in wake of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) in Asia and the Arabian Gulf are migrant workers – especially those who are semi-skilled workers, those employed in domestic work, and those in labour camps. Internal migrant workers and overseas workers across Asia are among the many who are

⁹⁶⁰ Mitchell, Nic, *40% of students changing study abroad plans, says survey*, University World News, 14 April 2020, 1.

bearing the worst brunt of the pandemic’s consequences,” opined and analysed the panellists of a virtual conference facilitated by the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA) on ‘Plight of Migrant Workers amidst the COVID-19 Crisis.’⁹⁶¹ The remittances of migrants to their families of origin will slump around 20 percent in 2020, falling from 554 billion USD in 2019 to 445 billion in 2020, according to the World Bank estimation!⁹⁶²

Migration is directly linked to *airplane transport capacities, open borders (with or without visa) and flight costs*. In 2018, “IATA forecast predicts 8.2 billion air travelers in 2037”⁹⁶³, double of 2018 and creating an additional 100 million jobs. And then, only a year later, 90 percent of airplanes are grounded due to the pandemic, 4.5 million flight cancellations in 2020 until 30 June, 314 billion USD (55%) in lost revenues!⁹⁶⁴ Estimations of post-corona air travel are still controversial. As some analysts expect, aviation will never return to the level before the pandemic and use of smaller airplanes will rise, other analysts expect a recovery in due time.

⁹⁶¹ Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), *The Plight of Migrant Workers amidst the COVID-19 Crisis*, Webinar, 30 April 2020. www.cca.org.hk.

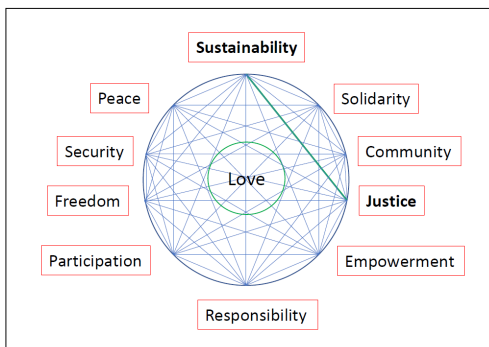
⁹⁶² World Bank/KNOMAD, *Covid-19 Crisis Through a Migration Lens*, Migration and Development Brief 32, April 2020, 6-12.

⁹⁶³ IATA, Press Release 24 Oct 2018. www.iata.org/en/pressroom/pr/2018-10-24-02/.

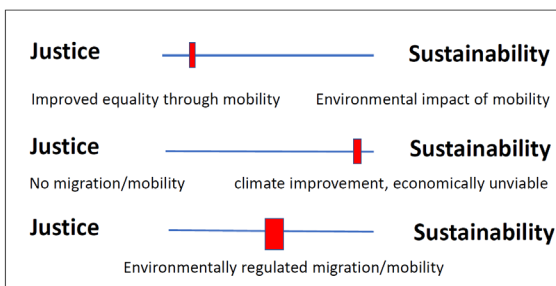
⁹⁶⁴ www.iata.org, front page (accessed 8 May 2020).

7.29.2 Value-Poles: Justice and Sustainability

Which values are at stake or in conflict with migration and mobility?



First of all, moving and migrating is a human right: the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state (internal migration) and to leave any country and return.⁹⁶⁵



Migration is seen as an expression of political and economic freedom and human rights in

general are valid also for migrants as for all human beings independent of their status. Migration connects people and therefore contributes to the value of peace, but at the same time creates conflicts and risks for the value of security. Mobility can contribute to the value of empowerment as it enlarges worldviews, experiences, connections and opportunities. Mobility and migration can strengthen solidarity by re-uniting separated families, and at the same time can weaken communities, which are spread internationally. Let us select specifically one value-pole: jus-

⁹⁶⁵ Article 13 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The article is of course not a right for unconditional crossing of national borders.

tice/equality and sustainability. Justice is a key value for migration⁹⁶⁶: Mobility and migration can increase the equality of chances (e.g. for a job) as a key element of justice as fairness. A farmer in a remote rural area can earn income by migrating to a city, an Asian nurse by migrating to Europe. A student from a slum has a chance to make a career abroad. However, migration and mobility has a high environmental and social price and therefore can threaten the value of sustainability. Energy consumption for transportation and construction of new mega-cities, air pollution through daily car mobility, the migration of goods and services by shipping them around the world or communicating services via the energy consuming cyber world are a threat to climate change and sustainable development.

7.29.3 Towards Globalance: Reduced mobility

7.29.3.1 Migration and Mobility as a Human Right

Migration and mobility in the perspective of Globalance first of all, requires us to recognize the right of migration and mobility as a *human right* and an instrument for *justice as equality*. Migration was for centuries the privilege of aristocrats, military and the elites of aggressors. With mass consumption and mass communication, migration became a mass phenomenon not only in mass mobility in tourism, but mass migration in settlement. It does not mean unlimited free movement without any border control and other restrictions, but it underlines the ethically, economically and politically positive side of migration and not only the

⁹⁶⁶ Sankieme Lusanga, Ange, *Ethique de la migration. La valeur de la justice comme base pour une migration dans l'Union Européenne et la Suisse*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2012, 184-335.

dangers and constraints as the political discourse in many countries suggests. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognize international migration as an integral part of sustainable development. Globalisation and international cooperation are inseparably linked to migration.

Migration as part of urbanisation from rural areas to cities and to other countries has its roots in economic and security needs, but also in the thirst for freedom by escaping the narrowness and force of communities of families, tribes or political systems where everybody knows everybody and social control can become overwhelming. On the other hand, new nationalism and ethnicism has roots among others in the thirst for community and guiding leadership. Corruption in the country of origin is another reason to migrate, for which a survey from Ukraine gives evidence: “Apart from the traditional migration driver - income differentials between source and destination countries – corruption is also a driver of migration aspirations.”⁹⁶⁷

7.29.3.2 Channelling migration with values-driven migration policies

Globalance as balance of values means on the other hand, that the limits of migration lay in the environmental negative effects. The post-corona and climate world needs also a reduction of physical mobility and most probably of migration. *Climate change* may lead at the same time to substantially increased migration due to droughts, floods, diseas-

⁹⁶⁷ Lapshyna, Iryna, *Corruption as a driver of migration aspirations: The Case of Ukraine*, Economics and Sociology, Vol 7, No 4, 2014, 113-127 (113). Based on a EU-funded survey of 2011-2012 of 14-30 year old persons in the Ukraine.

es, food shortage (7.29.3.1). Development implications of such “climate refugees” can be urban invasions, hollowed economies, political instability, racial and religious conflicts and negative impact on health and gender.⁹⁶⁸

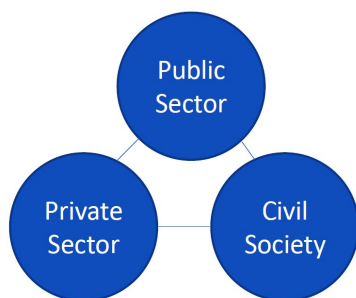
Globalance in migration means to take fears seriously, but to overcome prejudices, populism, fundamentalism and other ‘-isms’. National and international negotiations on migration and mobility policies need a factual, rational, relational and values-driven approach.

7.30 Civil Society: Empowered People

7.30.1 Developments: Revival of People’s Movements?

7.30.1.1 Definitions and Concepts of Civil Society

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) means non-state and non-business-actors in society where citizens act voluntarily in organisations to improve life in society and influence its development. This happens



by development work, advocacy, cultural, sportive, religious and manifold other activities. *Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)* is another term to describe civil society and emphasises more its independence from state-actors.

The term *Non-profit* or *not-for-profit organisations (NPOs)* underlines

⁹⁶⁸ International Organization for Migration IOM, *Migration and Climate Change*, Geneva: IOM, 2008, 31-35.

the difference of civil society to the private sector. It is controversial, if *religious organisations* like Christian churches or Hindu temples are part of civil society or a separate category. The answer depends on the legal status of these organisations and their relation to the state. A church under public law as it is the case in many European countries should not be seen as an NGO, which is normally registered under private law as foundation, association or trust and has no legal obligations as a religious organisation under public law.⁹⁶⁹

Various concepts of civil society (CS) and its role in state and society can be distinguished⁹⁷⁰: The liberal concept sees CS as part of the liberal globalisation process and of global governance. The Marxist concept looks at CS critically, as a liberal arm but also as a potential ally in overcoming existing power structures. The Kantian concept sees CS as contributor to a cosmopolitan global governance of principles and values. The anti-globalisation concept sees CS as globalized anti-societies⁹⁷¹ resisting globalisation and as alternative to it.⁹⁷² We have to add now the crisis concept based on experience of the Corona pandemic and strong national governments. In this situation, CS is called to align with the government measures and support them with social, educational and philanthropic actions.

⁹⁶⁹ More in chapter 6.17 on the relation between State and religions.

⁹⁷⁰ Perret, Virgile, *Civil Society in the international system: a typology of roles and political functions*, paper, 2006. (Accessed on www.researchgate.net, 20 April 2020), 3ff.

⁹⁷¹ Rist, Gilbert (Ed.), *La mondialisation des anti-sociétés. Espaces rêvés et lieux communs*, Geneva: IUED, 1997, 23ff.

⁹⁷² Brand, Ulrich et al, *iGlobal Governance. Alternative zur neoliberalen Globalisierung?*, Münster: Westfälisches dampfboot, 2000, 199-129.

7.30.1.2 Historical development

Historical development: Civil society as participation of private organisation into public life and society existed in many forms for centuries, e.g. in the 19th century in form of diaconal social institutions against poverty, alcoholism, as workers unions or sports clubs. After the students' rebellion of 1968, in the 1970s to 1990s, manifold forms of 'extra-parliamentary opposition' and movements came up, against the Vietnam war, for disarmament and peace, against nuclear power and for non-fossil forms of energy. The current term of CS became famous after the collapse of the bipolar world 1991, globalisation and the push-back of governments. On the global level, international NGOs have taken roles in advocacy, global governance as partners of international organisations and opponents or partners of private sector companies.

The development of civil society is linked to the position and strength of the state and private sector: The more dictatorial a state, the more oppressed is the CS. The more democratic a state, the more developed and free in action is the CS. In multilateral institutions, CS often play a role for innovative proposals and advocacy. The largest boom of new civil society organizations (CSOs) worldwide, especially in the Global South, happened between 1990 and 2010, parallel to globalisation. Since then, restricting and limiting legislations against NGOs grow in some countries. The Arab spring, which was driven by movements of citizens and supported by CSOs, was one turning period in the CS development, together with new protectionism and nationalism.

7.30.1.3 Roles and Types, Platforms and Trust

Roles of Civil Society and their NGOs

- Complement existing or compensate lacking social welfare state instruments by philanthropic projects and initiatives
- Research and innovative concepts for
- Raising awareness and educating the population or specific target groups on new or underserved topics and trends through information campaigns, formal and informal education and social media
- Advocacy towards decision makers with a mono-thematic or multi-thematic approach on national, regional or global level through campaigning, lobbying, social media work
- Partnerships with political or private sector institutions in implementing solutions in concrete projects
- Replacing governmental actors where they are missing, e.g. in failed states or rural areas where state infrastructures are almost absent
- For-profit, jobs and income generating business activities in order to generate funds for non-profit grants (social entrepreneurship).

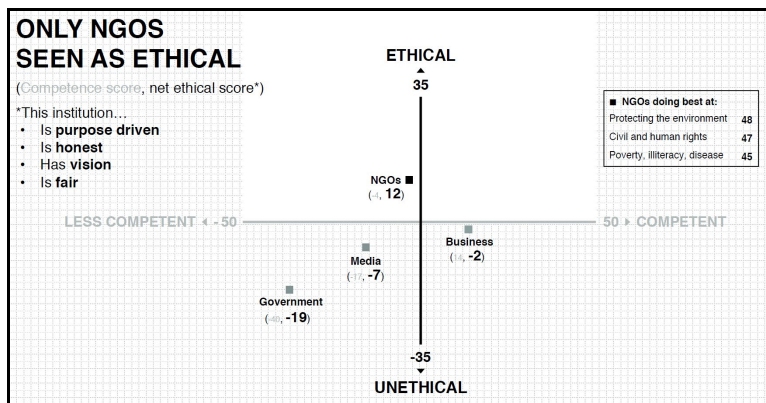
Different types of NGOs reflect their geographic level of outreach level and different sectors:

- INGO International Non-Governmental Organisation
- (IGO) (International Governmental Organisation)
- BINGO Business and Industry NGOs
- RINGO Religious NGOs (term of the author)
- GONGO Governmental NGO (NGO but owned by national or local Governments)
- WANGO World Association of NGOs

- Networks of NGOs on all levels and topics, such as networks on water, cancer, specific animals, artificial intelligence etc.

Civil Society Alliances and Coalitions are platforms of thousands of non-governmental organisations. The *UN Integrated Civil Society Organizations (iCSO) system*⁹⁷³ is a database of 24,000 entries, 12,000 non-governmental organisations of which 5,500 have consultative status with UN ECOSOC and can as such participate in manifold ways in the UN system. They build the *coalition of NGOs (CONGO)*.⁹⁷⁴

Trust in NGOs has for many years been higher than trust in governments, business and media. Good part of the population recognizes ethical intentions, contributing to the common good, but acknowledge less competence than the business sector, as the following graph shows.⁹⁷⁵



The same Edelman Trust Survey, done during the COVID-19 pandemic in May 2020, showed that respondents in seven of the eleven markets of the survey believe that their local NGOs are not prepared to

⁹⁷³ <https://esango.un.org/civilsociety>.

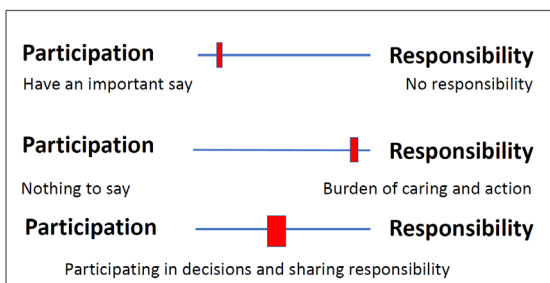
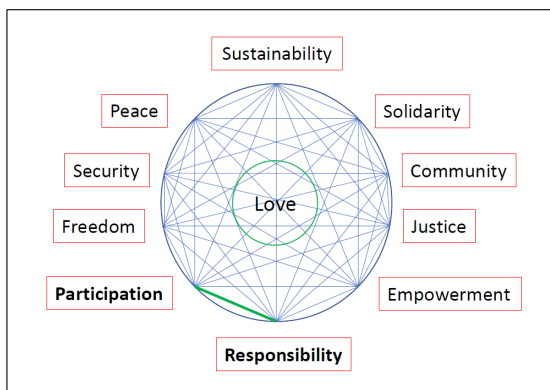
⁹⁷⁴ <http://ngocongo.org>. See also above chapter 7.11.1.

⁹⁷⁵ 2020 Edelman Trust Barometer. Global Report, 22.

deal with the crisis, including in countries with strong NGOs such as Germany, the U.S. and Canada.⁹⁷⁶

7.3.0.2 Value-Poles: Participation and Responsibility

The republic, *res publica* in Latin and the Roman empire, means that the state and public life is the affair of its citizens. Civil society is complementary to the state and its powers a representation and activity of citizens in their own right. Civil Society empowers people to contribute to society with their respective talents wherever they can, in addition to their political rights and obligations. An active Civil Society



increases freedom, peace through managing societal conflicts, increases the feeling of community and belonging.

⁹⁷⁶ Government Trust surges to an all-time high amid COVID-19 pandemic making it the most trusted institution, 2020 Edelman Trust Barometer Spring Update, Edelman press release, 5 May 2020.

Let us look at two values specifically: participation and responsibility. Civil society is an expression of voluntary participation of people in the development of society. Participation means to have a say, small or large. This is an important ethical value. How much responsibility is linked to it? An elected member of the parliament or the government has legal obligations. A volunteer in an NGO has rights, but what about responsibilities? To demonstrate for a cause in the street is a legal right. But what are the obligations in terms ethics of consequences? Participation without responsibility leads to lack of constructive ownership of developments. Responsibility without the possibility to participate in decisions leads to burden for caring, service and is humiliating as it was and to some extent still is for women who carry many responsibilities without corresponding possibilities of participation in decisions. Participating in decisions and sharing responsibilities leads to the balance of these value-poles.

7.30.3 Towards Globalance: Balancing three sectors

7.30.3.1 The important contribution of Civil Society to Globalance

Let us summarize the role of *Civil Society* from a Globalance perspective in five points:

1. Civil Society plays *various important roles* in society for empowering people, participation, innovation, stability and peace of a society. It has a role in advocacy and in caring, in community-building and in critical partnership with economic and political powers. Civil

society organisations often also play the role of soft power⁹⁷⁷ for civil conflict resolutions.

2. Civil society contributes to Globalance *as one of the three pillars of governance* beside state and private sector. The borders between these sectors become more and more fluent as civil society can be in business and business with its philanthropy and Corporate responsibility is active in civil society organisations. The ambitious UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the huge post-corona challenges show that civil society has to play an important role together with state and private sector. Civil society is part of the *governance of society on all levels*, from local to national, regional and global governance. The UN Commission on Global Governance described this 25 years ago: “Governance is the sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest. ... At the global level, governance has been viewed primarily as intergovernmental relationships, but it must be understood as also involving

⁹⁷⁷ Fischer, Martina, *Civil Society and Conflict Transformation: Strength and Limitations*, Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2011. Online: www.berghof-handbook.net (accessed 13 June 2020). Chitty, Naren et al (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*, New York: Routledge 2017.

non-governmental organizations (NGOs), citizens' movements, multinational corporations, and the global capital market."⁹⁷⁸

3. The role and position of *Civil Society* depends on the role and position of *religious organisations* (which I distinguish from Civil Society. See chapter 7.17). In societies with strong religious organisations, these in fact often play the role of citizens' organisations for the common good by caring, sharing and advocating, whereas in secular, pluralist societies with a reduced religious sector, the Civil Society often plays this caring, sharing and advocating role. In many societies, civil society and religious institutions strongly cooperate and also overlap, which contributes to harmonious development.⁹⁷⁹
4. The fast-developing forms of Civil Society needs also a revision of some *country-stereotypes of Civil Society*, e.g. 'Western democracies have a strong Civil Society and Islamic countries or China do not have'. The reality is much more differentiated. Islamic countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh or Iran have extended non-governmental sectors. China has over 7000 legally registered philanthropic private foundations⁹⁸⁰, online accessible in the database of the private China Foundation Center in Beijing⁹⁸¹, often created and

⁹⁷⁸ Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 4.

⁹⁷⁹ Herbert, David, *Religion and Civil Society. Rethinking Public Religion in the Contemporary World*, Burlington: Ashgate, 2003, 29-94. With four case studies in Part II.

⁹⁸⁰ Liu, Baocheng/Zhang, Mengsha, *Philanthropy in China. Reports of Concepts, History, Drivers, Institutions*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2017; Li, Jing/Stückelberger, Christoph, *Philanthropy and Foundation Management. A Guide to Philanthropy in Europe and China*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2017.

⁹⁸¹ China Foundation Center (CFC), Beijing. <http://en.foundationcenter.org.cn/>.

supported by wealthy entrepreneurs. China has over 800,000 officially registered NGOs, called ‘social organisations’ in China.⁹⁸²

5. The *Cyber-World with its digitalisation* leads to manifold new forms of Civil Society participation in social media, international advocacy platforms collecting online signatures for petitions and other forms of crowd-lobbying and digital democracy. From a Globalance perspective, these citizens’ activities are welcome, as long as they respect this balance of participation and responsibility. The cyber world needs a high level of self-responsibility as every citizen is also a journalist on social media and can spread fake news or conspiracy theories like viruses or on the contrary, can contribute to dismantle fake news with investigative research.

7.30.3.2 In crises: More space and cooperation of three sectors

What is the influence of the 4C’s (Climate, Cold War, Covid-19 and Crash/financial markets) on civil society? Some governments – mainly authoritarian, but also some in liberal democracies – use a crisis to limit or shrink the space of action for civil society. To a certain extent, it is understandable, that crisis management sometimes needs centralised and quick reactions. At the same time, civil society does not aim to be a troublemaker and adversary of governments, they are on the contrary, vital to help mitigate a crisis, proposing and implementing solutions.

⁹⁸² *How Many NGOs Are There Really in China?*, China Development Brief, 2 Aug 2019. <http://www.chinadevelopmentbrief.cn>. (Accessed 13 May 2020); Liu, Baocheng, *Chinese Civil Society*, Geneva: Globethics.net, 2016. One of the most recognized NGO research centers in China is the *NGO Research Center* at the School of Public Policy and Management of the Tsinghua University in Beijing.

Especially in a crisis, all sectors of society and all resources are needed. Governments should therefore intensify instead of reducing the interaction with civil society. On the other hand, NGOs should avoid the arrogant belief that they can better handle a crisis than the government or even replace it (except in failing states or absence of states in some regions, where Civil Society indeed has to replace the state). The same is true for the business sector: neither arrogance nor submission is appropriate. Globalance in crisis situations means to strengthen the cooperation and mutual support of the three sectors: public, private, and civil society.

The *balance between the three sectors* is a sign of harmonious and sustainable societies. Where Civil Society is oppressed, freedom and human rights are oppressed. Where Civil Society is too strong and plays governmental roles, the state is too weak, and stability is endangered. Where private sector is stronger than the public sector, economy dictates politics, which leads to plutocracy, money as ruling power. A state, which controls private business and runs economy mainly with state-owned enterprises, cannot develop the full potential of economy.

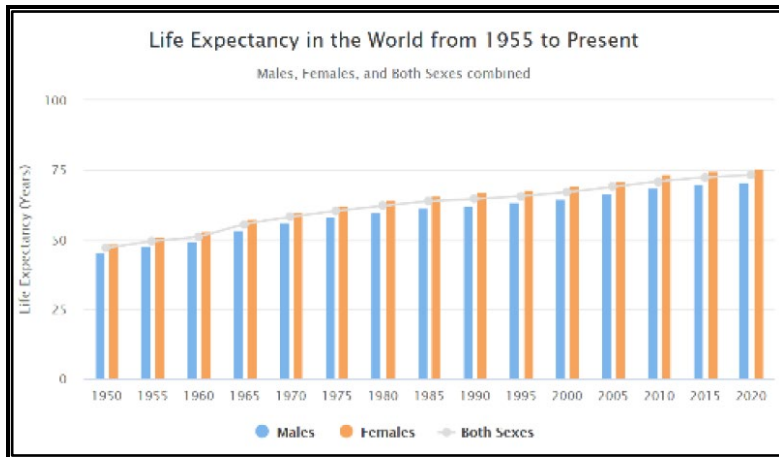
FUNDAMENTALS: DEATH, LIFE, LOVE

Towards the end of the long journey of this book in search of Globalance for a value-driven New World Order, let us look at three fundamentals: death, life and love. Birth and death are the fundamentals in life. The view of life after death – be it believed as nothing or rebirth or resurrection – influences life between birth and death! With the term love we want to look at the key center, which should guide life between birth and death.

8.1 Death: Time from Chronos to Kairos

8.1.1 Doubled Life Expectancy

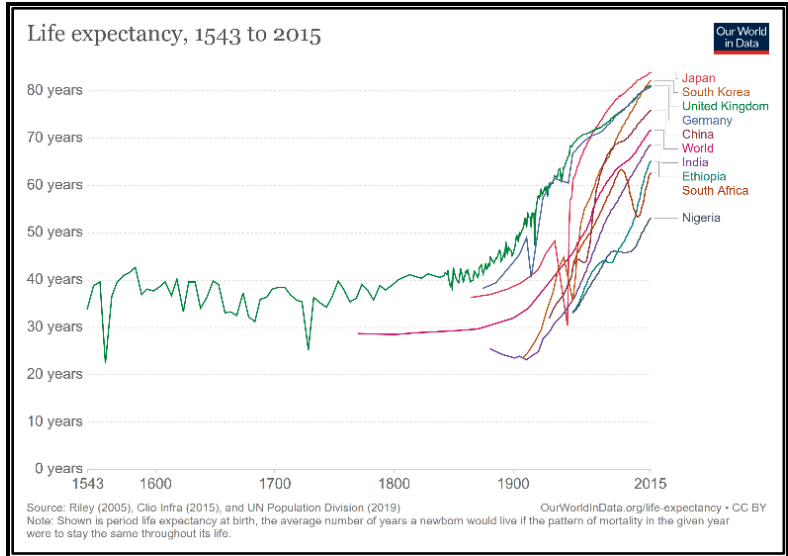
In the modern world and with the spectacular progress in medicine and with economic development, life expectancy jumped and increased



by over 50 percent in the last seventy years since the 1950s from 45 to 75 years⁹⁸³, from 30 to 60 in developing countries and from 40 to 80 years in so-called developed countries! For centuries, life expectancy was around 40 years, as the data of UK, gathered since 1543 and visible in the graph below, show. Living longer is in most cases a blessing. It is an increase in quality of life, but it also influences our relation to death. In ageing societies, death is less present among young persons and a

⁹⁸³ <https://www.worldometers.info/demographics/life-expectancy/#countries-ranked-by-life-expectancy>.

forty-year-old person does not need to think about death, whereas for many centuries, it was the average age to die.



8.1.2 From Chronos-Time to Kairos-Time

Life expectancy is an indicator for *Chronos-time*. Chronos time is the linear, quantitative time, measured in seconds, minutes, hours, months and years. Each unit has the same duration. Chronos-time, now measured from nanoseconds up to billions of light years in the universe, is a key instrument for science and technology and many functionalities of modern life and interaction in society.

The *Kairos-time* is the non-linear, qualitative time, measured e.g. in festivals, ceremonies and happiness indicators. Confronted with a danger, a minute ‘seems like an eternity of fear’ and a few seconds of a kiss can be perceived as intense ‘everlasting happiness’. Kairos means to do the right thing at the right moment at the right place with the right people for the right purpose. It is fulfilled time.

In modern society, the Chronos-time became predominant. Kairos-time is still important in private life, but plays a minor role in public sectors such as development and health strategies because it is subjective and difficult to measure.

The distinction between Chronos and Kairos, both Greek words, is essential e.g. in Christian theology. Under different terms, all religions know the distinction such as Kala in Sanskrit and Kala in Hinduism as God of time who creates everything and dissolves everything, also as additional name for Yama as God of death and Shiva as God of destruction as part of new beginning. Kairos in Christian faith is an expression for the fulfilled time (*erfüllte Zeit*), for fulfillment of a goal or task, for a blessed, God-wanted time. Kairos therefore also stands for the end-time and eternity. Eternity in the Jewish, Christian and also Muslim faith is not an expression of Chronos as it is often misunderstood as unlimited Chronos-time! It is an expression of the unlimited qualitative fulfillment of life. Past, present and future is not seen as a chronological continuum but interpreted in the light of God's salvation story. The interest of religions in history is not historical data, but the interpretation of personal and societal life under the aspect of liberation as salvation and fulfillment of life and God's will. Religious rites, worship and liturgy means to leave the space of Chronos-time and enter the space of Kairos-time, in Christianity most developed in the Orthodox liturgical traditions. Critics can see it as escapism and opium of the people as Marx and Feuerbach described it. Religion can in fact can be abused as such. But the core energy is not to escape Chronos-time, but to transform it to a fulfilled Kairos-time.

Why do we talk about it in a chapter about death? Because it fundamentally changes the relation to death. In the perspective of the Chronos-time, longevity and increase of life expectancy is the goal, assuming that a longer life is a happier and a more meaningful life. Of course, most people want to become old – as long as they are healthy and wealthy; but this longevity ideal is questioned, with the corona pandemic and an increasing number of elderly people who look for ways of euthanasia ‘exit’ as a voluntary ending of life in case of suffering.

Let us look at an example of a life in Kairos-time: Jesus was active in public life for only three years and was killed at the age of 33, far too young in Chronos-terms. However, he initiated a world revolution and was at the origin of a profound worldwide transformation. For believers, his life was ‘fulfilled’, ‘mission completed’ as he fulfilled God’s mandate. Jesus started his mission, right after his baptism, with the word “The time [Kairos] has come/is fulfilled. The Kingdom of God is near” (Mark 1:15) and he completed his life with the last word “It is done/completed/fulfilled” (John 19:30). This example shows life and death in the Kairos-perspective: from beginning to the end, life is seen as a mission to do the right thing at the right time and the right place with the right people.

8.1.3 “Do not be afraid”: Death Fears Laughter

If the whole lifecycle is seen in this Kairos-perspective, the perception of death changes. The question is then no more how long I can live, but how I can fulfil my mission during the time I am alive. The ideal would be to live this fulfilled life (of love) in each moment, which means to be ready to die at each moment of life as it is already fulfilled.

Of course, no human being is able to achieve it in its fullness, but to strive for it already changes the perception of death.

To continue with the example of Jesus: “Do not be afraid” is an encouragement Jesus used to console his friends when they feared oppression, sanctions, hunger or death. “Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul”, he told his disciples (Mt 10:26). The expression is also a divine expression for the believers to follow the mission, not to give up, to remain courageous. The expression occurs over 70 times in the Bible, from God’s covenant with Abraham in the first book (Gen 15:1) up to the last book in the Bible for Christians who feared prison and persecution (Rev 2.:10). Care for your health – but do not be afraid of death. Be faithful to your values, virtues, integrity and wise in your mission, but do not be afraid of pressure and oppression.

This *inner freedom towards death leads to laughter*. “Laughter is the only thing that death fears. You laugh death to scorn and it leaves you and runs away. If you fear death, this master and mistress of darkness comes always by your door to constantly remind you of its powers and presence and to keep you in check” says Obiora Ike.⁹⁸⁴ The smile or smirk of the seated Buddha is the expression of overcoming the suffering and disengagement from the attachment to the world.

From the perspective of the Christian faith, laughter has a deep *spiritual and eschatological dimension*⁹⁸⁵; it is through laughter that the

⁹⁸⁴ Obiora Ike, professor of ethics, grown up as ‘hunger child’ in Biafra War in Nigeria, in a personal dialogue with the author.

⁹⁸⁵ The following paragraph is taken from my article Stückelberger, Christoph, *More Laughter of the Holy and the Fools. More Courage for Anger and Tears*, in Okolo Chudi, Johnpaul (ed.), *Our Stories. Telling His Story*. Obiora Francis Ike, Enugu: CIDJAP, 2016, 269-270.

destructive energies of the world, called 'death' and 'sin', are overcome by the Risen Christ. It is the deep inner certainty that life is stronger than death. It is the joy of the promise of great blessing from God. It is a fearless laugh, because the fear of the powers and might is overcome (even if the specific fear may still exist). It is "eschatological laughter."⁹⁸⁶ It is known in all Christian denominations. Christian laughter is the "*laughter of the Holy*". It is a paschal laugh (in latin: risus paschalis), a tradition in church history. Easter is the feast of hearty laughter about the redemption of the world. Therefore, I hope that the Christian artists finally replace the grouchy, sad, suffering Jesus on the cross with the laughing Risen Christ! In addition, the question of whether the meal after a funeral should be cheerful, or if it should remain serious out of respect for the dead is also answered: the funeral meal is in memory of the dead/deceased and demonstrates gratitude and joy over their new life. Reason enough to laugh. The resurrection means for believers that death is a coward that makes people fear and disappears.

Laughter is an expression of *joy*. Joy is the expression and fruit of faith, as expressed throughout the entire Bible, especially in the Psalms: "You show me the path of life. In you is the fullness of joy" (Ps 16:11). God has turned my mourning into dancing and ... clothed me with joy" (Ps. 30.11). Mary's gratitude for her pregnancy and her song of praise is an expression of the joy that God provided the world with Jesus' birth from head to toe (Lk.14f). The German theologian Jürgen Moltmann not only wrote a theology of hope, but also a "*theology of joy*."⁹⁸⁷ He re-

⁹⁸⁶ Ebd, 133f.

⁹⁸⁷ Moltmann, Jürgen, *Theology and Joy*, London: SCM, 1973. Deutsche Erstausgabe 1971.

ferred to it again in his last publication in 2016.⁹⁸⁸ Moltmann, as a theologian who was affected by the horror of World War II and engaged in opposing the world's suffering, said through laughter and crying, joy and suffering, belong together in God: "The God who can rejoice, can also suffer, The God who experiences happiness and bliss also feels pain and grief. A God who cannot suffer cannot be a God of joy, either."⁹⁸⁹ Therefore, Good Friday and Easter are one unit. The Easter laughter is the fuel - the energy source - for ethical action!

8.1.4 New Perspective of Risk Management

The consciousness of one's own death changes the perception of life. This truth exists throughout human history. In the Jewish-Greek-Roman-Christian world it was expressed the condition of human mortality or "if it is God's will" ('*deo volente*') and in Christianity known as '*sub conditione Jacobi*', which refers to the letter of James (Jacob) in the New Testament: "If it is the Lord's will, we will live and do this or that" (James 4:15). All our human planning, risk management and health efforts should be done in light of our own mortality. Remembering death and mortality leads to humility. Many persons signed their letters and publications with '*SCJ*' (*Sub Conditione Jacobi*).

This does not mean to have no insurance and abstain from risk management but just trust God every day, as some pastors preach. No, a harmonious, balanced attitude towards life and death means to carefully

⁹⁸⁸ Moltmann, Jürgen, *The Living God and the Fullness of Life*, Geneva: WCC, 2016, 87-102: "Life in the Wide Space of God's Joy".

⁹⁸⁹ Ebd, 93.

plan, assess risks, build reserves, prepare insurances, make business plans as if all depends on human efforts alone. At the same time, it means ‘to be not afraid’ and to trust the community and the energy beyond human energy – called God. This is the meaning of the first of the beatitudes: “blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven” (Mt 3:3). Poor in spirit has nothing to do with poor in planning or disabled intellect. Poor in spirit means “blessed are those who stand in front of God with empty hands”, “God blesses those people who depend only on him” as some Bible translations correctly interpret the same verse.⁹⁹⁰

One tough lesson the corona pandemic told humanity is to recognize the vulnerability of life even in modern times. It is time to become humble in acknowledging that life is only to some extent in our hands and our planning can be disrupted at any time. Persons and societies, which integrate death in private and public life, have better resilience for life.

8.2 Life: Life after Death and Happiness

8.2.1 Fullness of Life: Before and beyond Death

We dealt first with death (chapter 8.1) before we now deal with life, which is unusual. Human beings normally follow the biological way: we are born, live and with age or in a life crisis or danger we think about death as the end of life. Here we look at life in the spiritual and in the next chapter again in the ethical perspective. We started with death because, as we said, the relation to death fundamentally influences our

⁹⁹⁰ *The Poverty and Justice Bible*. Contemporary English Version, Bible Society in Australia, 2008.

perception of life. The perception of death is like the plus or minus before the bracket in mathematics. If death as part of life $+(1)$ or as enemy and end of life $-(1)$ makes the whole difference. Today, in most of the countries, the question of life after death is mainly seen as a private question of religious or non-religious world views. Business, governments and civil society shy away with the argument that they do not interfere in private matters. It is left to believers, theologians, priests, experts of science of religions or ethnology. At the same time, religious festivals and public holidays such as Easter refer to the issue also in public.

What is after death? Four main answers exist: a) death is death and nothing of the person continues to exist after; b) life is an eternal cycle of birth and rebirth as reincarnation. The level of reincarnation depends on the behavior of the person; c) life of believers is resurrected in eternal life (immortality), united with God, depending on God's grace or human behavior during lifetime; d) there is no life after death, but the person continues to 'live' - to be present - in the memory of others and society. Each of the four answers have a massive influence on the ethical behavior during life on earth. On the question, if religion makes sense for life after death or in this world, the World Values Survey shows substantial differences between value-cultures.

Question: Meaning of Religion: to make sense of life a) after death, b) in this world. In %									
	Total	Brazil	China	India	Nigeria	Russia	Spain	Sweden	USA
After death	21.3	26.4	10.1	10.8	68.4	12.8	16.1	13.1	28.5
In this world	55.3	69.6	24.5	49.3	31.6	71.2	70.8	78.3	68.9
both	5.4	-	-	22.0	-	-	-	-	-
Do not know	14.7	3.1	62.5	11.9	-	11.9	11.9	5.2	-

We select again, as in earlier chapters (see 7.19.1) from each value culture one country as example.⁹⁹¹ What is the understanding and meaning of life before and after death in the world religions?⁹⁹² The understanding of life in its fullness is influenced by the worldviews of life after death. Let us look at six of the world religions and at Confucianism:

Fullness of life is reached in *Hinduism* in the status of enlightenment, the cosmic consciousness through adoration of the deity (Bhakti-Yoga), the good ethical behavior (Karma-Yoga), knowledge and wisdom (Jnana-Yoga) and the royal path (Raja-Yoga). The behavior during lifetime increases or lowers the Karma and influences the status of salvation (Moksha) and reincarnation.

In *Buddhism*, Karma also plays a key role as the capacity and capability to act positively or negatively and thus influences the incarnation in a next living being after death. The eightfold path to enlightenment (Bodhi) is the path to the fullness of life with the Nirvana as the highest fulfillment. Mindfulness (Ahimsa), non-violence and overcoming greed and hate are important virtues on this path.

In *Confucianism*, which is a philosophy and ethics system and not a religion (except in some Confucian schools), persons should not be afraid of death if they live a life according to the moral Confucian principles. Confucius himself did not explicitly refer to afterlife, rather em-

⁹⁹¹ World Values Survey, Wave 6, own table based on data. <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>.

⁹⁹² Articles from representatives of world religions in Runzo, Joseph/ Martin Nancy M. (Eds.), *The Meaning of Life in the World Religions*, Oxford: One-world, 1999.

phasized respect and even worship for ancestors as deeply rooted in the Chinese culture.

In *Taoism* immortality after death can be reached by meditation. In China, the answer on life after death for many people is a mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and traditional folk religion.

In *Judaism*, life after death is controversial. A good part of Jews believe in life after death, others emphasize the coming of the future world at the end of the time. The doctrine is less clear on this question than in Christianity and Islam. However, the main emphasis is on a good, ethical life, which has not a direct link to eventual merits beyond death but a value in itself.

In *Islam*, life after death (Aakhirah) is part of Muslim faith. After the day of judgment, Allah decides on the resurrection of the body, depending on the earthly life.

In *Christianity*, resurrection and eternal life in unity with God belongs to the credo, faith fundamentals, of Christians. Eternal life is reached by faith and God's grace and not a remuneration for an ethical life, as especially the reformers emphasized. But in Christianity and in most of the religions, the belief is predominant that life after death can directly be influenced by good behavior. In Christian faith, life after death is not the main interest as it was preached for centuries. More important is to have "life and life in its fullness" (John 10:10) already during the earthly life, through following Jesus Christ. Fullness of life therefore is not directly linked to material wealth, relations or happiness. Fullness of life can also be reached in sickness, suffering or oppression, as long as life is in line with the mandate given by God and the responsible use of the gifts and charisma received from God. Life in this per-

spective is a continuum from life before death to life after death. Death is 'only' the short shock-moment of transition from life to life, from life with a body to life in God's light. Death also exists during life on earth before the heart stops to beat, in form of resignation, fear, selfishness or isolation.

In conclusion: Christian faith means defeating and overcoming death in its falseness (1Cor 15:55) and promoting and saving life in its fullness (Joh 10:10).

8.2.2 Human Development: Happiness as Indicator

How can the fullness of life be measured? In today's world, only what can be measured exists and is valuable. For this reason, efforts are made to measure the influence of yoga on health and of faith on life expectancy. Can happiness be a measurable indicator for the fullness of life and for Kairos-time of life?

Life expectancy, Gross National Product (GDP), number of years of schooling or rates of unemployment are important quantitative indexes to measure the development in a country. These indicators have been predominant in the first three development decades 1960-1990. However, for decades these indicators, especially the GDP, are criticized as being not holistic enough in reflecting the quality of life. Since 1990, the *Human Development Reports* of the United Nations Development Programme UNDP is based on additional qualitative indicators in measuring human development such as inequalities, gender capabilities, governance, environmental impact, regional disparities within countries

etc.⁹⁹³ Inequalities became over years, especially in the recent report 2019, a major concern.⁹⁹⁴ The coronavirus pandemic may boost the next debate how we measure the quality of life and the transformative impact of development measures. The UNDP with the International Science Council already launched the “global call for new perspectives on human development”⁹⁹⁵ in the light of the SDGs and Covid-19.

Can *happiness* be more appropriate indicator for quality of life? The King of Bhutan with the background of his tiny Buddhist country declared as early as 1972 that Gross National Happiness is more important than the Gross Domestic Product. Bhutan then developed the *Gross National Happiness Survey* with quarterly reports.⁹⁹⁶ The *economics of happiness*⁹⁹⁷ related to consumer satisfaction and behavior started around 2000.

The *World Happiness Report* was for the first time released in 2012. The table below shows the country ranking of happiness.

Seven criteria are used in the country ranking report 2019: 1. GDP per capita, 2. Social support, 3. Healthy life expectancy, 4. Freedom to make life choices, 5. Generosity, 6. Perception of corruption, 7. Dystopia and residual.

⁹⁹³ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990: Concept and Measurement of Human Development*, New York 1990, shows the conceptual background of this then new Index. www.hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1990.

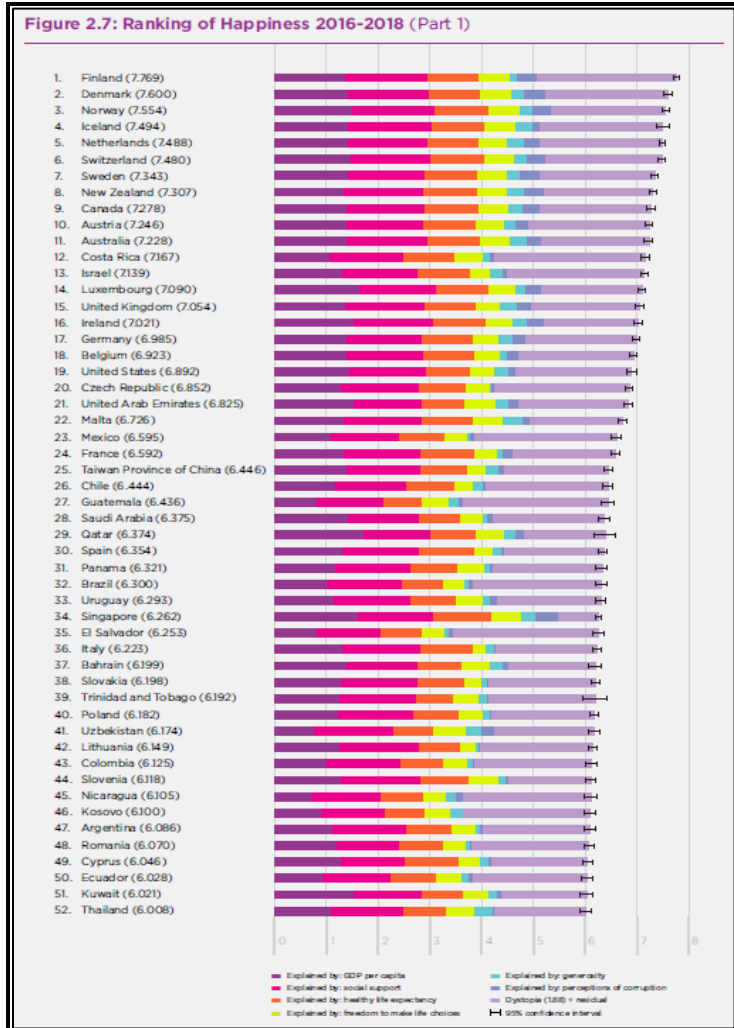
⁹⁹⁴ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: inequalities in human development in the 21st century*, New York: 2019.

⁹⁹⁵ <https://council.science/human-development/call-for-inputs/>.

⁹⁹⁶ Bhutan Gross National Happiness Commission <https://www.gnhc.gov.bt/en>.

⁹⁹⁷ Frey, Bruno S./Stutzer, Alois, *The Economics of Happiness*, World Economics Vol 3, No 1, 2002, 1-17; Frey, Bruno, S., *Economics of Happiness*, Berlin: Springer, 2018.

We publish below only the first and last part of the list of the 2019 ranking⁹⁹⁸:



⁹⁹⁸ *World Happiness Report 2019*, eds. Helliwell, John F./ Layard, Richard/ Sachs, Jeffrey D., <http://worldhappiness.report>. (Accessed 23 May 2020).

The list shows that material standards are still highly weighted influences not only GDP but also this happiness index. The role of community, governance, social security, equality, dignity, access to digital technology must be taken (more) into account. Many studies confirm what is also shown in this index: less corruption means more happiness; more corruption means less happiness!⁹⁹⁹ A main factor of unhappiness is inequality as humans always compare with peers and others. Equality increases happiness. The report puts more emphasis on quality of life than quantity of life.

Another indicator than happiness is used by Switzerland by measuring *welfare*. Ten indicators build the basket for the index: material situation, work, leisure time, education, health, social networks, political participation, physical security, environmental quality and subjective welfare.¹⁰⁰⁰

8.2.3 SDG 18: Celebrate Life

What gives happiness and joy in life? The Buddhist Dalai Lama the Christian Archbishop Desmond Tutu, two spiritual and political leaders, answered in their bestseller book on joy with “The Eight Pillars of Joy”: “Perspective, Humility, Humor, Acceptance, Forgiveness, Gratitude, Compassion and Generosity.”¹⁰⁰¹ This is a list of virtues and values, not

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid, 24: Ranking of Happiness 2016-2018f.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bundesamt für Statistik der Schweiz, *Indikatorensystem Wohlfahrtsmessung. Schaffung, Verteilung und Erhalt der Wohlfahrt. Ausgabe 2019*, Berne: 2019. Download www.bfs.admin.ch.

¹⁰⁰¹ *The Book of Joy. Lasting Happiness in a Changing World*, Dalai Lama and Desmond Tutu with Douglas Abrams, London: Random House, 2016, Kindle Edition, 193-290.

a list of the best films. The deepest inner joy does not come from entertainment and distraction but from values, commitment and faith: trying to do the will of the Eternal/ Almighty/ Benevolent/ Christ or whatever name one gives, leads to true happiness and fulfilment and gives energy.

The Corona pandemic in 2020 led to the lockdown of over two billion people in their apartments for weeks and months.

Many people missed celebration of religious festivals and open-air concerts. In order to compensate this tough isolation, many reacted with creative actions such as singing on their balconies or online choirs with each singer from home and connected via internet. It showed that celebrating life is a central human need and gift. Celebrating life in community is as important a basic need as food, education and political rights.

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) should be completed by an additional goal 18: *Celebrate Life!*¹⁰⁰² Development is then not only measured by GDP, years of schooling and number of patents registered, but the number of choirs in a region or country, the number of festivals not only as an obstacle to economic productivity, but as a contribution to joy. The hours of volunteering for society and the level of charity contributing to the fullness of life is equally important. In the comparison of the cultures of achievement, cultures of honor and cultures of joy (see chapter 7.20.2), the cultures of achievement are currently best rated with best economic development. In Globalance perspective, a more holistic and balanced perspective of life in fullness is needed!

¹⁰⁰² This idea was expressed by my friend Martin Palmer, President of FaithInvest.

8.3 Love: Becoming Human

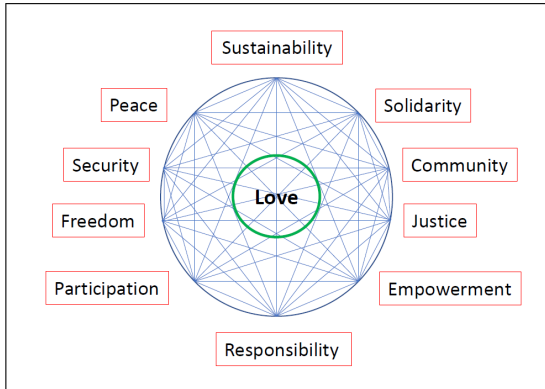
“Ultimately our greatest joy is when we seek to do good for others”¹⁰⁰³, said Desmond Tutu in the Book of Joy quoted above. This leads us straight from the chapter on death and the chapter on life to the chapter on love as the summary and centre of all values and virtues, which are the foundation of this book on Globalance.

In daily life, we experience three forms of love, which can be expressed in three Greek words *philia*, *eros* and *agape*. *Philia* is friendship with peers, relatives. A philanthropist is a friend of humans. *Eros* stands for the erotic and sexual love. *Agape* means the highest form of love of the other as oneself. In Christian faith, *agape* is God’s love to humans and the whole creation and human love responds to God’s love. *Agape*-love goes beyond sympathy and empathy, it includes compassion for the suffering, the disadvantaged, it leads to struggle for justice as far as love for the enemy. *Agape*-love is forgiving, generous, joyful and fair. *Agape*-love is peaceful and courageous on the side of the poor in case of conflicts, it is mindful of creation and willing to sacrifice if needed for the common good. *Agape*-Love holds together and balances all the values and virtues of this book. Many more characteristics are included in this all-encompassing *agape*-love. Let us select eight aspects and connect them to Globalance.

¹⁰⁰³ *The Book of Joy. Lasting Happiness in a Changing World*, Dalai Lama and Desmond Tutu with Douglas Abrams, London: Random House, 2016, Kindle Edition, 59.

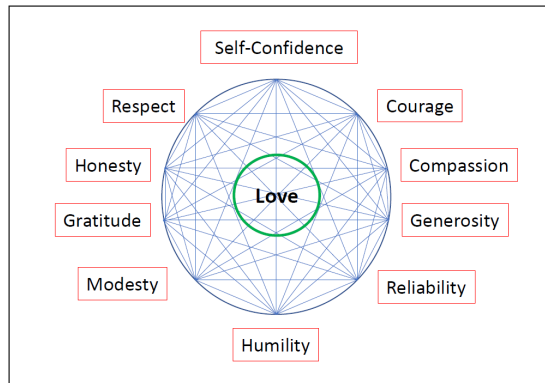
8.3.1 Agape-Love: centering

Agape-love is not an attitude of a few religiously pious softies. Agape-love is at the centre of the world. It holds together all what is



created. It is the unifying energy and spirit. It is at the centre of all values and virtues as shown across this book. It is like the hub on the wheel.

Without it, the wheel cannot roll. It is the most important energy, which enables balancing the opposites when they drive away into polarisation



and extremism and all other isms (chapter 3.2). The same is true for the virtues. Agape-love enables the right balance between virtues and it

helps to find the right level between too much and too little to prevent a virtue from becoming a vice: too much self-confidence leads to hubris and pride. Too much humility leads to submission or aggression. Agape-love is the balancing factor, always alert, dynamic and at the same time

stable, like the dancer that turns and yet doesn't fall as she/he is centred at the navel.

8.3.2 Agape-Love: Holistic-balanced

At the beginning of this book, we elaborated thirteen Characteristics of Globalance (chapter 2.2.14):

Opposites as the two sides of the same coin

Life from the centre of being

Dialectic, not dualistic

Monistic, not imperialistic

Dynamic, not static

Evolutionary and revolutionary

Balance in body and natural law

Inclusive, not exclusive

Values-driven, not values-denying

Unity in diversity, diversity in unity

Religious and non-religious

Self-critical, not autocratic

Holistic, not fragmented.

Agape-love includes and integrates all these aspects. The universal Golden Rule of reciprocity (chapter 4.2.7) is also a rule of agape-love: Do to others what you want them to do to you. One could argue that this is a minimum rule as it only does to the other as much as one expects from the other, a kind of fair contract and business deal. However, we know how difficult it is to live even this basic rule. In addition, it is not only a rule for individual and interpersonal ethics, but also for structural ethics. If the Golden Rule of reciprocity was implemented in a marriage

quarrel, the US-China trade war or fair election campaigns, the world would already be much better. During the Covid-19 pandemic, agape-love became a very political topic. Some heads of governments, especially populist leaders, acted even during the pandemic as if they do not care for their people, and instead cared only for their own re-election or increase of personal power. The simple question one should ask the Heads of State and Ministers: Do you love your people? Do you really love your people? More than yourself?

A higher level of agape-love than the Golden Rule is the double commandment of love in the New Testament. The scholars and lawmakers, the Sadducees and Pharisees, asked Jesus “Which is the greatest commandment in law?” Jesus replied: “Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.” This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: “Love your neighbor as yourself” (Mt 22:36-39). It is a triangular balance of love where loving the eternal truth and wisdom in God leads to the ability to love the other as oneself. The first of the two commandments shows another aspect of holistic love: love with heart, soul and mind means the whole existence, undivided, in every second and every place is surrounded by and embedded in this love. Such agape-love is Kairos-time and fullness of life. As love provides inner security, one is “able to discern what is best and may be pure and blameless” (Phil 1:9-10) and can even evaluate one-self self-critically in order to constantly learn and improve behavior.

8.3.3 Agape-Love: Respecting and Transforming Rules

What is the relation between love and law, love and rules? Love is often seen as a spontaneous or sustainable emotion of sympathy. Agape-

love is much more. It respects laws and rules, breaks them in rare cases and modifies and transforms them where needed. Love is not above the law, but at its centre as love seeks to implement the intention of the law.

Compliance officers have nowadays very powerful positions in banks and companies. They must check the activities of business for whether they are compliant with national and international laws, rules and regulations as well as internal standards and control mechanisms. New transparency standards such as the Automatic Exchange of Information (AEOI) of the OECD since 2017¹⁰⁰⁴ and thousands of regulations lead to the understandable attitude of leaders in private and public sector, to be ‘better cautious than courageous’. Laws and regulations from local to national and international level are important and force human beings to behave more ethically since based on free will, it would often not happen. It can be said that law is the implementing and enforcing arm and hand of ethics.

However, laws and rules need a ‘soul’. Law is empty and short-sighted if it is not combined with love. Law can degrade to a mechanical mechanism like a machine, which fulfils its task in a schematic way. Love on the other side always puts the human being, the other in the centre of consideration. Love wants to do, not only things right, but the right things. Love is combined with compassion, care and – in Christian understanding – also with forgiveness, which means offering a second chance after failure. ‘Better courageous than cautious’ is the motto of love. Love takes risks, because it wants to improve lives and cares for the weaker. This is meaningful in public and professional as well as pri-

¹⁰⁰⁴ <http://www.oecd.org/tax/transparency/automaticexchangeofinformation.htm>.

vate life. Strict rules without exceptions e.g. in family can choke the flow of life.

Love is the soft power of the law and the soul of ethics. It brings a deep and long term, sustainable motivation to do the right things and to do them right. Love needs law for enforcing and implementing love in a binding, reliable and not only subjective, spontaneous way. In specific cases, love may also lead to break the law when a law or rule is inhumane. The right or even obligation to resist is rooted in this value-order. In many cases, the impulse of love leads to transformation of laws and rules by democratic processes such as the love for creation to new environmental laws or the compassion for minorities to new minority rights.

Law and love compete with each other and complete each other. Both serve for a better, more effective and more sustainable way to overcome unethical behaviour. 'Law and Love are twins.'¹⁰⁰⁵ They have different roles, but they need each other. Only with love, does law become human. Only with law, does love become binding. Law with love translates also into respecting the rule of law, but with compassion, mutual respect and solidarity as expressions of love. It is also concretized in political power-relations by not searching for imperialist dominance, where in the long run both sides lose. Multilateral cooperation does not aim at the maximum for oneself, but aims at the best for all, which then brings peace on earth.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Stückelberger, Christoph, *Law and Love: Competitors or Twins?*, Geneva Agape Foundation, Newsletter No. 1, 2017, 1.

8.3.4 Agape-Love: Liberate, Remember, Repent, Forgive, Forget

Agape-Love means to be free

Love is sometimes a burden, an obligation to care for others and forget personal needs, a restriction to be virtuous whereas one wants to be wild.

Does love restrict freedom? Agape-love in its Christian context is a deep expression of freedom. Agape-love sets humans free from fear about oneself, from vices and despair. The Spirit of Life liberates from sin and death (Romans 8:2). God's spirit is the spirit of freedom (2Cor 3:17, Gal 5:1). For people centred in agape-love, "everything is permissible for me – but not everything is beneficial. Everything is permissible for me – but I will not be mastered by anything" (1Cor 6:12). This love is not libertarian freedom, but the self-mastering freedom where the will and the action are united. The reality is that humans have good ethical intentions but are often not able to implement them. Agape-love enables to overcome the gap between good intention and real action.

Freedom is often limited by individual or collective memory of the past and by unsolved reality of guilt, which makes life like a prison. How to remember the past without being fixed on it? How to forget the past without offending the victims? How to overcome guilt by forgiving? How to find the right balance of remembering, forgetting and forgiving? These are key questions for Globalance.

Agape-love means to remember

The identity of an individual as well as the cultural identity of a people or a nation are built on memory. Memory is an amalgam of historic facts, legends, stories, myths and perceptions. Remembering thus builds and reconfirms identity and belonging. Birthdays, family feasts, reli-

gious festivals and national memorial days play this important role of strengthening identity, community and unity. Examples: The Myth of Wilhelm Tell, the Swiss National Hero at the origin of Switzerland in 1291, became famous as myth mainly since the 19th century in order to build the Swiss nation-state.¹⁰⁰⁶ For Jewish people, the story of the exodus from Egypt (Ex 1-15) is the key story of origin and confession of faith, with probably a small part of historical fact, but important as the collective memory of Judaism and its identity.¹⁰⁰⁷ Remembering the holocaust on Jews “is a human right imperative ... remember the past in order to remain vigilant for the future”, as the Commissioner Human Rights of the Council of Europe said.¹⁰⁰⁸ The same is true for the holocaust on Armenians, the genocide in Rwanda, the killing of millions in DR Congo, the humiliation of China by the West and other crimes. But how to remember in a way that opens doors to the future and how to prevent victims from using atrocities as political weapons of pressure, which render them untouchable and blocks the way to the future? How to remember with the energy of agape-love?

Agape-love means to repent

Being able to repent wrongdoing is a great expression and strength of agape-love. Repentance is the foundation for forgiveness. It is important on the interpersonal level, but also on the inter-institutional level e.g. between churches or believers and authorities of different religions. It is especially powerful when governments repent, e.g. when the Ger-

¹⁰⁰⁶ “*Wilhelm Tell hat echten Mythencharakter*”. Interview with the Historian Roger Sablonier, SWI Swissinfo, 27 July 2008.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Works of Aleida and Jan Assmann. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kulturelles_Gedächtnis.

¹⁰⁰⁸ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/why-remembering-the-holocaust-is-a-human-rights-imperative>.

man Chancellor Willi Brandt in Poland on 7 December 1970, asked Poland to forgive the Nazi cruelties. It opened the way for new cooperation between Germany and Poland. Other examples are known in South Africa and other countries. But why not from the Russian Orthodox Church towards Ukraine due to the war in 2022? Of course, it may be too early as the war is still ongoing, but the gesture would be most impactful during the war. And why not Japan towards China for the cruelties seventy years ago? Related to Russia, a mother of a soldier gave the answer: “Without forms of repentance and remorse, violence will continue - as it did after the last wars. Russia suffers from winner syndrome: mass killings have never been atoned for. If army misconduct remains secret, if Russian society does not speak up about military crimes, if criminals go unpunished, wars cannot be overcome.”¹⁰⁰⁹ The French President Emmanuel Macron spoke on the time after the Ukraine war: “We will need to build new security balances and we will need, together, to never give in to the temptation of humiliation, nor the spirit of revenge, because these have already in the past wreaked enough havoc on the roads to peace.”¹⁰¹⁰ Indeed, the humiliation and revenge of the winners of WW1 against Germany became one of the reasons for WW2. Europeans learnt the lesson. After WW2, reconstruction rather than re-

¹⁰⁰⁹ Nadeschda Moltschanowa (name changed) in Berneys, Ueli, «*Vielen russischen Männern fehlt der Sinn für die Menschenwürde*», Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1 July 2022.

¹⁰¹⁰ Emmanuel Macron, Speech at the Closing Ceremony of the Conference on the Future of Europe, held 9 May 2022. <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/news/speech-by-emmanuel-macron-at-the-closing-ceremony-of-the-conference-on-the-future-of-europe/> (Accessed 6 Aug 2022)

venge against Germany with the Marshall plan was the successful solution.

One serious worry I have with the shift of values from West to East, is that this Christian tradition of repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation is not rooted in Asian traditions. Conflicts between China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and others have continued for over seventy years and a word of pardon and a gesture of reconciliation is yet to be done.¹⁰¹¹

Agape-love means to forgive

Remembering and forgetting is not enough, as the suffering of a victim and also the suffering of a perpetrator can continue over years, even generations. Forgiveness is the voluntary act as result of a longer process during which the feelings of hate, anger, vengeance and resentments of the victim are transformed into the offer of forgiveness. The request of the perpetrator for forgiveness is an important step in the process. Signs of restorative justice can facilitate, but are not a condition for forgiveness. Forgiving is an offer as individual daily option and as collective action during specific religious festivities.

Agape-love means to forget

To forget and put aside can be important too. Mourning a person who died means also to let the dead person go and reorient one's own life. The same for collective memory. Regression is negative and returns through the backdoor but forgetting in form of progression of the past is liberating. To be fixed on remembering the past can cause neuroticism. It can be the case with Jews, but also Chinese who are still fixated on the

¹⁰¹¹ See also chapter 8.3.4

national humiliation hundred years ago instead of finding a balanced way looking to the future.

In the cyber world with social media and big data storage, forgetting gets another relevant meaning: The *right to be forgotten* is the right that negative private information about oneself be removed from internet searches under certain circumstances, as it is the case with limitation periods in extracts from criminal records. It is still controversial, if this right to be forgotten is a human right. The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in its article 17 includes the right to erase personal data under certain circumstances, as right to be forgotten.¹⁰¹² In our context, we consider here less the legal and cyber-aspects, but the ethical and psychological aspects: the human brain has the capacity to sort and filter impressions, information and emotions including each night through dreaming and during one's lifetime. This capacity is a key characteristic of human existence and being human. Technical means like writing, photography and sound registrations can help the human brain to remember. But the human brain also remembers what a person would like to forget. How can the same technical means be used not only to remember but to forget where appropriate? Remembering is a blessing and a burden. Forgetting is a burden and a blessing. To find the *right balance of remembering and forgetting* is a daily task of individuals, but also collectives from groups to nations and cultures. This balance means health and happiness. To reach this balance is a blessing and gift.

Agape-love means to 'vaccinate' against hate speech

“Here the most challenging but also the most effective aspect of solicitude for those who are verbally assaulted comes into play to counter-

¹⁰¹² <https://gdpr-info.eu/art-17-gdpr/>.

act hate speech: the daily care of relationships. It is here that the contagion of good practices is effective in counteracting the spread of hate in the social fabric. It is here that prevention can achieve decisive success in purifying the soft air we breathe. By creating ever-widening resistance and resilience garrisons, the contagion of the verbal hate virus can be reduced. In daily practice, in the family, at school, in the ecclesial communities, in the social spaces in which we live, we can bring the “vaccine” of civil coexistence, of political confrontation, of cultural exchange, into the circle. It may seem trivial, but the non-violent fight against hatred, verbal and physical, is conveyed in the way each of us personally relates to the categories normally subject to media pillory and social injustice.”¹⁰¹³

Agape-love means to celebrate

Celebrating, singing, dancing and eating together are strong expressions of community, peace and reconciliation. In Christianity, the strongest expression is the Holy Communion. However, it is painful, that exactly at the deepest act of unity, division still exists. Important efforts are made for common understanding and mutual recognition of Holy Communion/ Eucharist/ Holy Sacrifice (even a common term would be a progress). The 11th General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in August 2022 in Karlsruhe/Germany was an example of further growing together.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹³ Guido Dotti, *New Forms of an Ancient Evil: Hate Speech and Its ‘Vaccination’*, in Fernando Enns/ Stephen Brown (Eds.), *Hate Speech and Whiteness*, PJP Series, Geneva: WCC/Globethics.net Publications 2022, 95-102.

¹⁰¹⁴ Gazer, Hacik et al (Eds.), *Reconciliation in Remembrance of Jesus Christ. Treating Holy Communion, Eucharist and Holy Sacrifice with Ecumenical Sensitivity. A Contribution to the 11th Assembly of the WCC, August 2022*. Zürich: LIT 2022.

Agape-love examples of remember, repent, forgive, forget

In the Abrahamic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam, forgiveness is offered as an option to overcome this suffering. The Christian request “Forgive as the Lord forgave you” (Col 3:13) meaning: The ability to forgive is not a heroic act of an ethical person with his/her strong personality. It is ‘only’ responding to the forgiving agape-love received from God and passing it over to others. The ability to forgive is a gift, which enables freedom and love. Forgiveness has an immense healing potential and is key part of agape-love.

In the Dharmic religions Buddhism, Hinduism and Taoism, forgiveness is also important on the way to overcome hate, anger, which has a negative effect on the karma. Meditation, charity, purification and compassion are the Dharmic way towards forgiving.

It is never too late to forgive. On 7 December 1970, 25 years after the end of World War II, The German Chancellor Willy Brandt, knees in Warsaw in front of the memorial of the Jews victims, as a sign of asking the people of Poland for forgiveness.

Churches gathered impressive experiences for *reconciliation processes*, especially between denominations, in order to overcome historical fights and separations. Examples: The Reformed Churches in Switzerland and the Lutheran Churches in Germany asked the Mennonites/Anabaptists 500 years after reformation for forgiveness for executing their members during reformation.¹⁰¹⁵ It opened the way for healing memories and reconciliation between these churches – after 500

¹⁰¹⁵ Christus ist unser Friede. Schweizer Dialog zwischen Mennoniten und Reformierten 2006-2009, Bern: SEK 2009. www.ev-ref.ch/publikationen. (Accessed 16 Aug 2022)

years.¹⁰¹⁶ Another example was the Lutheran-Roman-Catholic common commemoration of Reformation.¹⁰¹⁷ The ‘Ecumenical Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace’ (PJP) is a long term programme of the World Council of Churches (WCC) with member churches on all continents through encounters. It aims at contributing to peace¹⁰¹⁸, companionship¹⁰¹⁹, healing¹⁰²⁰ and reconciliation.

8.3.5 Agape-Love: Sustainable and Long Lasting

We described agape-love as the hub of the wheel and the centre of the circle of values and virtues in order to enable their balance. The same is true for the circle of the sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A key message of the UN in 2015 while adopting the 17 SDGs was that they are not isolated stars but build an interconnected system. In this systemic approach, agape-love as central hub builds the hermeneutical

¹⁰¹⁶ Lutheran World Federation, *Healing Memories. Implications of the Reconciliation between Lutherans and Mennonites*, Geneva: Lutheran world Federation, 2016. The Lutheran World Federation/ The Mennonite World Conference, *Healing Memories: Reconciling in Christ. Report of the Lutheran-Mennonite International Study Commission*, Geneva: LWF, 2010. www.lutheranworld.org. (Accessed 16 Aug 2022).

¹⁰¹⁷ *From Conflict to Communion. Lutheran-Catholic Common Commemoration of the Reformation in 2017. Report of the Lutheran-Roman Catholic Commission on Unity*, Evang. Verlagsanstalt/ Bonifatius, Leibzig/Paderborn, 2016 4th edition.

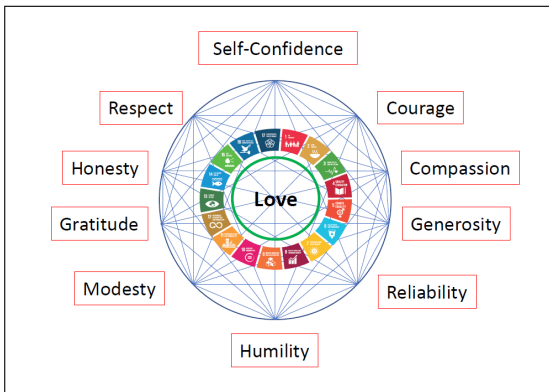
¹⁰¹⁸ Wushishi, Ibrahim/ Kim, Jin Yang (Eds), *Our Feet into the way of peace. Holistic Approaches to Peace-building in the context of the Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace*, Geneva: WCC/Globethics.net, 2022. Free download: <https://www.globethics.net/pjp-series>.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Companionship. A Study Document for the Ecumenical Pilgrimage of Justice and Peace*, Geneva: WCC/Globethics.net, 2022. Free download: <https://www.globethics.net/pjp-series>.

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid*, 17-32: *Truth and Trauma. Holding together Both Pain and Hope*.

key to understand the 17 SDGs from their inner intention and in their unity and interdependence.

In Globalance perspective, Agape-love is not something separated for a few pious circles or esoteric dreamers. Agape-love is rather the motor for compassion, the energy to mobilizing all forces for the SDGs,



the hope in moments of despair that these SDGs can never be reached. Agape-love is the creativity to overcoming barriers, the willingness

to think and act out of the box, the courage to reorient business and finance to impact, the commitment for personal and political forgiveness in processes of polarisation, the humility to acknowledge that we cannot succeed alone but only in cooperation with the others.

Agape-love enables us not to lose track in the complexity of figures and strategies, but to simply remember what it is all about: to become human!

8.3.6 Agape-Love: Becoming Truly Human

What is Globalance all about? It is about “Learning to Be Human”¹⁰²¹:

**Enable a life in dignity of all human beings
in harmony with the whole creation
through balanced values and virtues.**

This fundamental objective is simple. We can reduce the complexity of the world by concentrating on this objective. We can then counter all kind of fundamentalisms that want to reduce complexity to ideologies. We ask in each decision and action if it helps to become more human. Of course, the discussion about what is truly human has to go on and will never end; but the one centre of agape-love shows what truly human means. I once received a card with the sentence: “Do it like God: Become Human.” “Ecce homo”, said Pilate when showing Jesus to the crowd (John 19:5): This is the truly human being. Or as Augustin said: “Love, and then do what you want.” In all diversity of religions and worldviews, as the picture shows¹⁰²²: As long as we love, we are truly humans.



¹⁰²¹ “Learning to Be Human” was the theme of the XXIV World Congress of Philosophy in Beijing, 13-20 August 2018. <http://wcp2018.pku.edu.cn>.

¹⁰²² Copyright of Collage: Globethics.net.

OUTLOOK

GLOBALANCE TOWARDS A NEW WORLD

How can we transform disruptions and imbalances through a new dynamic world order and global balances? How can ethics contribute to this transition by a balance of values and virtues? This was the leading question at the beginning of this book in the introduction.

We started the book with the impact of the 4C's (Climate, Cold War, Covid, financial Crisis) and three scenarios of a possible New World Order: 1. Back to normal, 2. Total disruption, revolution, 3. A new normal with substantial adaptation in specific sectors.

Even though this handbook includes a lot of tables and empirical data, the leading question is not the speculative question what will be or may be, but *the normative question what should be and what we strive for!*

Overall, the influence of such crises and uncertainties on values should not be overestimated. The wish to go back to normal is strong, which also means back to the normal values and virtues, non-values and vices. The 4C's are like a storm, which whirls priorities around like dust, but can settle as dust after the storm. However, trees may fall, stronger

protective walls may be built, and new behaviours and attitudes may be discovered by chance or innovation. In ethical perspective, a world of dynamic balance cannot mean ‘back to normal’ as in scenario 1. ‘Normal’ included too many environmental risks, income inequalities, political tensions and technological disruptions. Scenario 2 in ethical perspective may be needed in specific areas such as a much more decisive shift to green economy. The scenario 3 in Globalance perspective shows promise in taking the opportunity of re-strengthening multilateral cooperation as it was needed during the pandemic, in overcoming the dangerous power play between US and China, and by strengthening online cooperation in education, communication, health, finance and so many other sectors.

Most important in this third scenario is *to re-discover and strengthen core values and virtues and to catch the opportunity of a new paradigm and world as a more ‘globalanced’ world*: during lockdown, we discover the benefits of self-discipline, focus and selection, in our digital time where everything anytime everywhere for almost free seems to be at disposal. We appreciate the value of community when we suffer from isolation. We strengthen the work-life balance by experiencing how important it is not only to work, but to sing, dance and celebrate life. We recognize how vital credible, reliable, anticipatory, rational and empathetic leaders are. We also re-discover that not only leaders matter, but the billions of people in the shadows like cleaners, servants, cooks, nurses and information technicians who work like armies of ants and make life possible. We recognize that Globalance means looking with one eye towards the leaders and decision-makers and with the other eye on the workers and decision-implementers. This also opens the eye to

the fact that 'black lives matter', that jobs matter and that job-less growth is no more an option. We acknowledge with the social unrest during the 4C's-crises that reducing inequalities is not just an egalitarian leftist ideology as some call it, but an ethical and political requirement for social stability, economic prosperity, inner happiness and Globalance.

We experience during times of uncertainty that governments are able to govern, to mobilize within few weeks trillions of dollars for economic emergency measures in their own countries during the pandemic and to counter Russian invasion in Ukraine. Globalance means to be as decisive in mobilizing capital for climate mitigation and the SDGs for oneself, and for the disadvantaged countries as we are all in the same boat. We realize that more economic and financial disruptions may be ahead of us as result of the 4C's . Globalance means overcoming the polarisation between over-spending lifestyles and people beyond the available means.

The 4C's show us that superstition threatens life. Humility and modesty combined with civil courage are the brand of the new world. We are reassured, that the Golden Rule of reciprocity (do to others what you want done to you) is crucial for survival, helping others in need as we may need them. We discover and experience that freedom and responsibility, freedom and justice, freedom and discipline are not opposites, but that their balance is life-enhancing and vital for a stable world. We suffer from the power-race and military race of superpowers with its destructive results and become even more committed and engaged for fair competition and cooperation.

We recognize in phases of crises and emergences that we need an emergency stock of values and moral guiding principles. We must con-

stantly build and nurture this stock in daily life in order to have it available in times of crisis. Only the values we've internalized and learnt through education, faith and experience before the crisis will lead us during and after the crisis. Therefore, ethical education and training in schools, universities, families, business and public services are not optional, but rather like an emergency plan, which must be prepared and practised in 'normal' times in order to be ready in times of stress. We recognize the importance of ethical principles and benchmarks for personal life and society and we experience the need for flexibility and ability to adapt. This balance of principle-led ethics and situation-led ethics with contextualisation allows a life-enabling ethics and hinders a life-restraining ethics. Ethics helps us to swim in the river of life.

We acknowledge that religions are important in this stream of life as faith and spirituality provide energy, hope and orientation; we also strengthen the commitment for serious theological research and education in all religions to support religious believers and leaders in resisting life-threatening practises of religions such as fundamentalisms and anti-science religious movements.

We experience that fake news can provoke panic and take lives. We call for transparent, qualified, investigated information and more regulated instruments to restrict and filter fake news as it is vital for trust, a healthy society and ethics in a balanced global information society. We are alert to conspiracy theories as they always arise during periods of uncertainty. We are committed to work for a world order where ethics withdraws any legitimacy of conspiracies. The pandemic also teaches us that speed matters. Every day for deciding the lockdown counted and every day of delay costs lives. Every month of continued environmental

damage costs lives. We rediscover in the pandemic the vulnerability of life even if we have all risk analyses, insurances and social security. It opens the eyes that the Chronos time of longevity may be less important than the Kairos time of fullness of life and love here and now.

I started this Ethics Handbook for Globalance with the text “I still have a dream.” I close it with the same text, as we covered all these topics in the book. The text has the form of an egg, the symbol of life. A golden egg.

I have a dream

Superpowers cooperate

Suspicion is converted to trust

Escalation is turned to de-escalation

Domination is replaced by participation

Innovation is balanced with conservation

Competition is combined with cooperation

Polarisation is defeated by respect of opposites

Power and leadership are executed with integrity

The Golden Rule of reciprocity becomes true

Self-confidence is balanced with modesty

Soft water is stronger than hard stones

Freedom and justice kiss each other

Hate is transformed into love

Death is integrated into life

Love will never end

A New World

I still have a dream

I dedicated the book at the beginning to all those engaged for the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals). I close it with the same letters SDG, as done by the Reformer Calvin in Geneva in all his books, as letters of thankfulness:

SDG

Soli Deo Gloria - Glory to God alone

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Without ethics and trust, our societies are in deep trouble. Current global turbulences are chances to reflect. Stückelberger gives us an overview with a lot of background information. The book helps us to be aware of risks, opportunities and our responsibility. It encourages to more international cooperation. Many thanks!

Doris Leuthard, Former Minister of Environment of the Government of Switzerland, twice its President, Member of the Kofi Annan Foundation

When the global village is facing disintegration and globalisation is heading towards the cliff, how can the human heart and ethics return to the trust of the global family? Stückelberger is a profound observer and theorist of global ethics. He ignites the torch of people's conscience. This handbook book is very enlightening.

Cui Wantian, Entrepreneur in e-health, Professor of Economics, China

An inspiring read, providing thought-provoking opportunities for Africa to re-envison its cumulative position and continental role in the new 'globalanced' world order Post-Covid.

Divya Singh, Prof. Dr, Chief Academic Officer, Stadio Holdings, South Africa

One of the foremost global authorities on ethics, Stueckelberger, presents extremely interesting and new perspectives. This book is very relevant for various stakeholders in the global ecosystem, especially with Covid challenges.

Pavan Duggal, Dr, International Cyber Law Expert, Advocate Supreme Court of India

Very few books provoke to think and to get insight. This book Globalance does it!

Alex Ageev, Professor of Economic Strategies, Russia



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