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# Mediating the Global Common Good

## Catholic NGOs and the Future of Global Governance

*Kevin Ahern*

Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, countless innocents have been killed and over nine million civilians have been forcibly displaced from their homes in a crisis that has created ripple effects far beyond the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> This humanitarian catastrophe illuminates in a palpable way the inadequacies of the present international order. Despite the mandate of the United Nations to prevent war and a range of agreements pledging to protect civilian life, our international institutions have been slow to respond to this humanitarian disaster.

The current refugee crisis shows very clearly what David Hollenbach describes as a “tension between the need for a vision of globally shared goods and the lack of institutions to seek such goods.”<sup>2</sup> In other words, despite a growing awareness of an interdependent global reality and the articulation of universally agreed-upon commitments to human rights and humanitarianism, the human family remains divided in a context that Pope Francis has frequently decried as the “globalization of indifference.” Fueled by this indifference and constrained by notions of absolute state sovereignty, the global political infrastructure appears unable to effectively respond to a rapidly changing context. Finding ways to coordinate a multi-stakeholder response to the problems facing people and planet is not easy, but it is increasingly urgent in a world of “problems without passports.”<sup>3</sup>

As one of the oldest and most geographically widespread institutions in the world, the Roman Catholic Church has much to offer, including the experience of hundreds of international Catholic NGOs that are actively

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<sup>1</sup>Migration Policy Centre, “Syrian Refugees,” 2015, <http://syrianrefugees.eu>.

<sup>2</sup>David Hollenbach, *The Common Good and Christian Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 212.

<sup>3</sup>Kofi A. Annan, “Problems without Passports,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 132 (2002): 30.

engaged with the UN system. Through advocacy, humanitarian assistance, and citizenship formation, groups such as Jesuit Refugee Service and the International Young Christian Workers play an important role in shaping the future of global governance.<sup>4</sup>

Entering into its eighth decade, the United Nations remains the world's most authoritative and representative structure. Nevertheless, the system is far from perfect. New reforms are needed to build a more equitable, just, and participatory system of governance that can truly serve the global common good. To this end, representative expressions of civil society, including Catholic NGOs and other faith-based groups must be a part of any proposed changes. This paper explores the transformative potential of these agents and their role as mediators of the global common good. Building on David Hollenbach's pluralistic approach, I propose a "webbed model of NGO participation" to highlight the significance of Catholic NGOs in the development of a participatory system of global governance. But first, what is global governance and why does it need mediators?

### A WORLD IN NEED OF MEDIATORS

Although intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as the International Labor Organization, have been around for nearly a century, the term *global governance* surfaced only recently with the Commission on Global Governance (1992–95). According to Thomas Weiss, the concept emerged as a response to three factors: (1) the growing complexities of the problems accompanying globalization; (2) the growing influence of nonstate actors including IGOs, NGOs, and transnational corporations (TNCs); and (3) a move away from proposals for a singular world government.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the earlier proposals for a world state, *global governance* speaks to a system or a network of different stakeholders cooperating in formal and informal ways at different levels of society in service of both people and planet.

The concept has two important dimensions familiar to students of the Catholic social tradition. First, the idea of global governance, unlike a world government, fits well with notions of the common good. As the recent report of the Commission on Global Security, Justice and Governance (2015) points out, "government, though important, is not the totality of

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<sup>4</sup>See Kevin Ahern, *Structures of Grace: Catholic Organizations Serving the Global Common Good* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2015).

<sup>5</sup>Thomas G. Weiss, *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013), 10–25.

governance, let alone human experience. . . . In an age of globalization, international organizations as well as nongovernmental actors . . . are significant contributors . . . with the potential to contribute to security and justice across the globe”<sup>6</sup> In other words, the common good is much broader than the state, the UN, or the collectivity of governments. For decades, Catholic social teaching has spoken about the dangers of reducing the common good only to the state. Rather, it embraces “the sum of those conditions of the social life whereby people, families and associations more adequately and readily may attain their own perfection” now and in the future.<sup>7</sup> As such, the global common good cannot be safeguarded only by states, horizontal networks of states, and IGOs.

Second, the notion of global governance corresponds to the principle of subsidiarity, which invites society to be structured so that decisions are made at the lowest levels when possible and the highest levels when necessary. Thus, higher levels ought to assist local communities and get out of the way when possible. But the principle does not stop there, as some libertarian interpretations describe it. Aided by solidarity, subsidiarity also recognizes that some problems demand global solutions. Pandemic diseases, international criminal and terrorist networks, climate change, and international migration are just some of the many problems that no city, state, or grouping of states can address alone. At its best, global governance seeks to address these transnational problems by engaging a multitude of legitimate agents, including leaders of cities, members of parliament, businesses, local civil society groups, and NGOs.

After some experiences of partnership with the League of Nations, organizations at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, including several Catholic NGOs, called for a formalized relationship to be established within the UN. Their lobby efforts resulted in Article 71 of the UN Charter, a groundbreaking provision which created a consultative status for NGOs within the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).<sup>8</sup> This status enables accredited organizations, within certain parameters, to observe

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<sup>6</sup>Commission on Global Security, Justice, and Governance, *Confronting the Crisis of Global Governance* (The Hague: The Hague Institute for Global Justice, 2015), 13.

<sup>7</sup>Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), no. 74, [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va).

<sup>8</sup>See Jean Gartlan, *At the United Nations: The Story of the NCWC/USCC Office for United Nations Affairs (1946–1972)* (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, 1998). Catholic NGOs were also instrumental in the formation of the European Community. See Bernard Cook, “Pax Romana and the Reconstruction of a United Europe along Christian Lines,” in *Une Europe malgré tout, 1945–1990: Contacts et réseaux culturels, intellectuels et scientifiques entre Européens dans la guerre froide*, ed. Antoine Fleury and Lubor Jílek (Brussels: Peter Land, 2009), 9:267–79.

meetings alongside governmental delegations and present oral and written interventions on agenda items. In some cases, it even allows NGOs to propose items to the agenda.<sup>9</sup> Catholic organizations, and in particular those recognized by the Vatican as “international Catholic organizations,” were among the first to take advantage of this groundbreaking arrangement, long before an official status was given to the Holy See.<sup>10</sup>

Although sovereign states remain the lead agents, NGOs have become “an integral part” of nearly every United Nations process.<sup>11</sup> The growth of international NGOs has been remarkable over the past few decades. For example, in 1988 there were 827 NGOs with ECOSOC status, including 28 Catholic NGOs.<sup>12</sup> Today, there are over 4,000, with over 100 Catholic NGOs.<sup>13</sup> For nearly seventy years, these and other NGOs have used this status to bring the concerns of their members into the international agenda. They have been instrumental in efforts to create the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the introduction of the special procedure mechanisms to investigate human rights abuses, and the campaigns to abolish land mines and establish the International Criminal Court.<sup>14</sup> Armed with official passes, representatives of NGOs observe and participate in official UN meetings, lobby delegates, and consult with UN officials.

Though important, the process for engaging NGOs and TNCs is currently haphazard, inconsistent, and limited at best. Different IGOs and offices within IGOs have different criteria for and expectations of partnership. NGOs have no formal way to address the UN General Assembly or UN Security Council. The process for granting consultative status can often be politicized and is often opaque. And the growing number of accredited organizations makes it difficult for any one group to be heard. Nevertheless, NGOs play an important role by advancing efforts for the global common good. As Peter Willetts writes, “A global political system that excludes civil society would be a system of intergovernmental diplomacy and not one of global governance.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>See Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, eds., *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996).

<sup>10</sup>See François Blin, *Repères pour l'histoire de la Conférence des organisations internationales catholiques (1927–2008)* (Paris: Editions Eclectica, 2008).

<sup>11</sup>Weiss and Gordenker, *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*, 18.

<sup>12</sup>*Yearbook of the United Nations* 1988, vol. 42 (New York: United Nations, 1988).

<sup>13</sup>*List of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council as of 1 September 2014*, vol. E/2014/INF/5 (United Nations: Economic and Social Council, 2014).

<sup>14</sup>Peter Willetts, *Non-Governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance*, Routledge Global Institutions 49 (New York: Routledge, 2011), 161.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 150.

The state of global governance today makes it clear that the human family has a long way to go to achieve a just order for people and planet. Among the challenges facing our institutions is what has been described as a “democratic deficit” between the experiences and needs of human beings around the world and our global decision-making structures.<sup>16</sup> Ambassadors, delegates and heads of governments do not necessarily represent the will of the majority of people in their countries. In some cases, and in particular in the powerful UN Security Council, the structures of global governance are skewed toward the powerful, a process that, at best, minimizes the voices of the most vulnerable nations on the planet. Pope Francis addressed this problem directly in his 2015 address to the UN General Assembly in which he called for “greater equity” in “those bodies with effective executive capability, such as the Security Council, the Financial Agencies and the groups or mechanisms specifically created to deal with economic crises.”<sup>17</sup>

Efforts to address these inequalities and to create an effective form of global governance, armed with what Pope Benedict XVI described as “real teeth,” is hampered by five “gaps” enumerated by Weiss.<sup>18</sup> First, there are knowledge gaps. These are evident in a lack of clear information on the nature of some transnational problems and the failure of national and international agents to communicate with one another about issues of common concern. There are also normative gaps that surface in the absence of universally agreed-upon values regarding global problems such as climate change and forced displacement. Action to address a global issue is nearly impossible without consensus on fundamental guiding values. Third, even when there is adequate information about a problem and a shared set of values or norms, there are policy gaps that inhibit the international community from agreeing on concrete principles and goals and the steps needed to achieve those goals.<sup>19</sup> The failure to come to consensus on effective goals and policies is linked to a fourth gap, the institutional gap, or the absence of effective and properly funded

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<sup>16</sup>Joseph S. Nye, “Globalization’s Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable,” *Foreign Affairs* 80, no. 4 (2001): 2–6. See also Jens Steffek, Claudia Kissling, and Patrizia Nanz, *Civil Society Participation in European and Global Governance: A Cure for the Democratic Deficit?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>17</sup>Pope Francis, Address to the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, New York, September 25, 2015, [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va).

<sup>18</sup>Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009), no. 67, [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va). See also Pontifical Council of Justice and Peace, *Towards Reforming the International Financial and Monetary Systems in the Context of Global Public Authority* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011), [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va).

<sup>19</sup>Weiss, *Global Governance*, 51.

institutional mechanisms to promote and protect the common good. Here, Weiss offers a sobering diagnosis: “Intergovernmental organizations are the weakest link in the chain that collectively underpins global governance. . . . Paradoxically, IGOs seem to be more marginal at exactly the time when enhanced multilateralism appears so sorely required.”<sup>20</sup>

In other words, the UN system is simply not equipped to live out the missions and the expectations placed on them. The Commission on Global Security, Justice, and Governance agrees with this assessment and stresses the point that “a business-as-usual approach to address today’s global governance challenges will not work.”<sup>21</sup> This is not to say that the existing institutions are without power or lack impressive track records in development, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and education. More efforts at coordination, capacity building, integration, and creative thinking, however, are urgently needed to make the UN truly “fit for purpose.”

Finally, the ability to respond to the needs of people and planet today is hampered by compliance gaps. Constrained by notions of state sovereignty, the present intergovernmental system depends largely on the political will of states to comply with international norms, policies, and agreements. “Solemn commitments,” as Francis reminded the UN, “are not enough.” Justice demands that we take “concrete steps and immediate measures.”<sup>22</sup> However, the present system cannot guarantee compliance even to the most universally agreed-upon norms. If states fail to comply, “the international community of states typically lacks the strength of conviction or commonality of interests and purpose to enforce agreements.”<sup>23</sup> The absence of enforcement mechanisms is made worse by the structure of the UN Security Council and especially the veto powers reserved to the victors of World War II, as has been seen in recent events in Sudan, Syria, and Ukraine.

Within this context, powerful economic, social, and political forces benefit from the existence of these gaps. Few governments, for example, want to voluntarily give up power and sovereignty, even if only partly, to another entity. With all of these gaps, where will effective change come from? Perhaps more than any other group, NGOs are in a position to envision and mobilize efforts to reform the present system, and they are already involved in filling in the gaps when our public institutions fail to serve the global common good.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>21</sup>Commission on Global Security, Justice and Governance, *Confronting the Crisis*, fig. 7.1.

<sup>22</sup>Pope Francis, Address to the UN, September 25, 2015.

<sup>23</sup>Weiss, *Global Governance*, 149.



## BUILDING BRIDGES AND CROSSING BORDERS

What makes NGOs, and Catholic NGOs in particular, important ingredients for the global governance recipe? In other words, how might Catholic NGOs contribute to a participatory form of global governance that can address the democratic deficit and inequality in the present global order? There are several frameworks that can help explain their transformative potential. Weiss, for instance, describes NGOs as the “third UN,” a complement to Inis Claude’s distinction between the “first UN” of sovereign member states and the “second UN” of international civil servants and secretariat staff.<sup>24</sup> NGOs could also be described as agents of “soft power,” in contrast to the “hard” coercive power of states with military and criminal justice systems.<sup>25</sup> They might also be seen as agents of “multi-track diplomacy,” through their direct engagement in peace building and diplomatic negotiations, spaces usually reserved for sovereign powers.<sup>26</sup> The often-cited example here is the work of Sant’Egidio, an international Catholic movement that successfully facilitated and hosted the peace talks that ended the brutal Mozambican civil war (1977–92).<sup>27</sup>

With his “peace-building pyramid,” John Paul Lederach offers yet another model applicable to the work of NGOs.<sup>28</sup> Looking primarily at national peace-building efforts, he highlights the transformative potential of civil society agents that occupy a middle-range position between the grassroots and top-level political leadership. Such middle-range actors, he argues, have the greatest potential to effect change at the top while also engaging the needs of people and communities at the grass roots.

Drawing from this model and the teachings of Hollenbach, I propose a

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<sup>24</sup>Inis L. Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York: Random House, 1959), 126. See also Thomas G. Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis, and Richard Jolly, “The ‘Third’ United Nations,” *Global Governance* 15 (2009): 126.

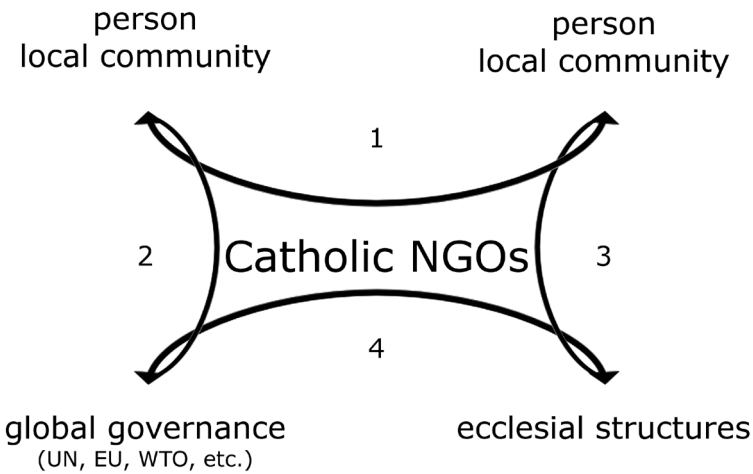
<sup>25</sup>See Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

<sup>26</sup>See M. J. Zuckerman, “Track II Diplomacy: Can ‘Unofficial’ Talks Avert Disaster,” *Carnegie Reporter* 3, no. 3 (2005), [www.carnegie.org](http://www.carnegie.org); Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, 3rd ed. (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1996).

<sup>27</sup>See Andrea Riccardi, Régis Ladous, and Jean-Dominique Durand, *Sant’Egidio: Rome and the World* (London: St. Paul’s, 1999).

<sup>28</sup>Weiss, Carayannis, and Jolly, “‘Third’ United Nations.”

webbed model to highlight the mediating power of Catholic NGOs.<sup>29</sup> At their best, these organizations operate in complex networks of relationships, bridging local communities with influential agents, translating ideas through the religious and secular divide, and connecting people with one another across borders. In their engagement with the intergovernmental system, it is precisely this mediating role that makes them important in the future of global governance. Although not all organizations function in the same way, it is possible to identify four ways that Catholic NGOs facilitate participation and mediate the global common good.



Webbed model of Catholic NGO participation (K. Ahern)

First, NGOs mediate between local communities across political and cultural borders. They serve as conduits of information and foster relationships that can disrupt dominant social and economic narratives. In the face of a disaster or conflict on the other side of the planet, NGOs can communicate experiences that may not otherwise be easily accessible. For example, during the decade-long conflict in Iraq, the Dominicans for Justice and Peace disseminated information from Iraqi Dominicans about what was occurring on the ground. In this regard, *Gaudium et Spes* no. 90 affirms the role of Catholic organizations in “instilling a feeling of universality, which is certainly appropriate for Catholics, and to the formation of truly worldwide solidarity and responsibility.” Among other things, such a universal worldview can confront notions of absolute state

<sup>29</sup>See Ahern, *Structures of Grace*, 22–24.

sovereignty and nationalism while lending grassroots support to effective structures of global governance.

Second, Catholic NGOs operate in an important intermediary position between persons and power structures. This is perhaps the most visible role played by NGOs with consultative status. On his first visit to the UN, Pope John Paul II spoke to this directly:

No organization, however, not even the United Nations or any of its specialized agencies, can alone solve the global problems which are constantly brought to its attention, if its concerns are not shared by all the people. It is then the privileged task of the non-governmental organizations to help bring these concerns into the communities and the homes of the people, and to bring back to the established agencies the priorities and aspirations of the people, so that all the solutions and projects which are envisaged may be truly geared to the needs of the human person.<sup>30</sup>

The mediating role here, as John Paul II suggests, moves in two directions. On the one hand, NGOs bring the ideas, hopes, and experiences of local communities to international deliberations. In this way, they have contributed much to deliberations and decisions on important international issues, in particular in the human rights system.<sup>31</sup> A surprisingly successful strategy adopted by NGOs is to “name and shame” states that commit abuses. Few governments want to be publicly named as failing to live up to norms or policies.

This contribution can be truly effective only if it is grounded in the experiences of the local communities. In this way, NGOs help bridge the knowledge gaps as they serve “as alternative sources of information,” bringing the perspective of people, especially those whose voices are otherwise not heard, to global public attention.<sup>32</sup> This has been particularly powerful on questions of human rights abuses where they have brought worldwide attention to violations committed by or with the support of a state.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Pope John Paul II, Address to the Representatives of Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations, New York, October 2, 1979, [www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va).

<sup>31</sup>See William Korey, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Curious Grapevine* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

<sup>32</sup>Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 19.

<sup>33</sup>Felice D. Gaer, “Reality Check: Human Rights NGOs Confront Governments at the UN,” in *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*, ed. Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), 54.

On the other hand, NGOs also have a role to play in bringing information from the large political structures down to the grass roots through formation programs, publications, trainings, and campaigns. NGOs are critical agents in educating about human rights norms, sharing UN reports with citizens whose governments may not want to disclose, and drawing attention to the commitments made by governments. Commenting on the mediating role of movements, Hollenbach writes that they “empower people. They mediate between individuals and large social structures, giving the individuals who work together in the movement greater power to bring about social change than they could have alone. . . . They can play this mediating role in local, national, and even international settings.”<sup>34</sup> NGOs, in short, both enable opportunities for people to participate in international processes so that their concerns can be heard and provide people with the information and tools necessary for them to do so effectively. Indeed, some of the most successful efforts spearheaded by Catholic NGOs, such as the Jubilee 2000 and Make Poverty History campaigns, coordinated both grassroots mobilization (from below) with targeted international lobbying efforts (from above).

Third, in addition to mediating between local communities and global political structures, NGOs play a similar role within the church as they engage both local Christian communities and those in official ecclesial positions. Global ecclesial structures, such as the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, the Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences or the Synod of Bishops, can appear as impersonal and detached from the local reality of believers. NGOs and movements within the church can go a long way to help bridge those gaps.

As middle-range agents, Catholic NGOs have more flexibility and adaptability than some other top-level ecclesial structures. This has allowed them to be doctrinal innovators, as their experiences and ideas in addressing social issues “trickle up” and sometimes get incorporated into official social teaching. From human rights to climate change, they have worked on and developed theological reflection on key themes years before they make it into an encyclical. They have also introduced the “see, judge, act method,” which John XXIII adopted as the official method of Catholic social teaching in *Mater et Magistra*. Catholic organizations also help transform the grass roots by communicating information from above and assisting in the reception of ecclesial teaching. Many people,

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<sup>34</sup>David Hollenbach, “Sustaining Catholic Social Engagement: A Key Role for Movements in the Church Today,” ed. Cheryl Handel and Kathleen Shields, *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* 10, no. 2 (2013): 434.

for instance, learn about Catholic social teaching by engaging in an organized group.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, Catholic NGOs mediate between intergovernmental structures and the church. Both the UN and the church operate with specific cultures, complete with customs, specialized languages, values, and aspirational visions for a better future. Catholic NGOs operate in both cultures at the same time, making them ideal agents to translate religious ideas into global public discourse and to bring issues on the international agenda to the attention of the church.

At their best, faith-based NGOs, including Catholic organizations, mobilize religious ideas for the common good. As such, they exemplify what David Hollenbach describes as “dialogic universalism.”<sup>36</sup> By engaging the UN directly and by cooperating with non-Catholic organizations, Catholic NGOs affirm basic commonalities on questions of human rights, peace, and justice that are common across cultures and religions. There is little room for exclusivism in this work. Yet Catholic NGOs are generally not afraid to bring in their own specific tradition into the dialogue on issues of common concern. For example, NGOs may cite official Catholic social doctrine in their interventions at the UN. They may also draw from the Catholic intellectual tradition to find creative responses to contemporary issues. A clear example of this is the advocacy work of NGOs at the Human Rights Council. These organizations may be inspired by the Catholic tradition’s affirmation of the dignity of the human person, but they operate within the universal human rights framework adopted by the community of nations.

Again, this is not just a one-way street. NGOs also bring ideas from international discourse into ecclesial circles. For instance, the Augustinian Order, which is also an accredited NGO, has selected seven days from the UN list of observances to include in its own calendar of prayers and feast days. In this way, Augustinians and their sponsored institutions around the world are encouraged to celebrate the days through prayer, reflection, and action.<sup>37</sup> They also help introduce broader points of reflection to the Christian community.

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<sup>35</sup>Pontificium Consilium de Iustitia et Pace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2004), no. 550.

<sup>36</sup>Hollenbach, *Common Good and Christian Ethics*, 152.

<sup>37</sup>“Augustinians Support Seven International Days” (Midwest Augustinians), [www.midwestaugustinians.org](http://www.midwestaugustinians.org).

## MEDIATING CHANGE

Catholic NGOs are and will continue to be important players in the system of global governance. Developing a better understanding of their role as agents in a participatory system of global governance should engender greater support for their work, which, in turn, can help bring about the creation of more effective and equitable structures in response to the needs of people and planet today. Although imperfect and always in need of reform, Catholic NGOs are among the most visible expressions of Catholic social teaching and public theology in action. They form and help empower local communities; they bring religious ideas into the public square; they transform indifference into solidarity; and they bridge some of the gaps that inhibit the current systems from serving the common good.

The presence of even the best NGOs is by itself not enough, however, to bring about the “structural change” called for by Pope Francis. The protection of the global common good demands the creation and support of institutions with the power and vision commensurate to their mission. Real political change, however, as Francis indicated in his recent address to popular movements, cannot be left to leaders of governments, business, or intergovernmental organizations. Rather it will come from the ability of people to organize.<sup>38</sup> Herein lies the great potential of Catholic NGOs and other communities with the ability to mediate the common good in an indifferent world.

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<sup>38</sup>Pope Francis, Address of the Holy Father to the World Meeting of Popular Movements, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, July 9, 2015, [www.radiovaticana.va](http://www.radiovaticana.va).