

PROMOTIO IUSTITIAE



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Bolivian Crisis
Xavier Albó S.J.

Social Apostolate
in East Asia
Ando Isamu S.J.

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Editor:	Fernando Franco S.J.
Associate Editor:	Suguna Ramanathan
Layout:	Liliana Carvajal
Artistic Layout:	Daniele Frigeri S.J.

EDITORIAL

As the year comes to an end, we seem to be farther away from the worldwide longing for peace that shook the entire world a year ago. Blind to this yearning, our world political masters seem to be moving into new and unfamiliar forms of violence. Attacks on the foreign forces in Iraq and on specific targets outside that country have unmasked a new and brutal form of protest: the absolute readiness to die in the certainty that others, mostly innocent civilians, will also be killed. This amounts to an unreserved and unmitigated disregard for the value of life. If many among us grumbled at the ill effects of heavy ideological positions during the mid 80s, the new millennium is witnessing the effects of a deadlier kind of ideological orthodoxy that sacrifices life in the name of religion. The separation between 'us' and 'them' is becoming an unbridgeable gulf.

In this context I would like to invite all of us to reflect on the challenging words written by Jose Ignacio Gonzalez Faus:

"According to the prophet Isaiah 'the effect of justice will be peace' (32/17). It has become more or less fashionable to quote this sentence, but it has serious implications. For example: a terrorist act will always be immoral or criminal; but besides being a crime it is likely that often it might also be a symptom. The liberal Western tradition always denies this possibility: terrorism is only immorality and never a symptom¹."

We need to join many others in condemning the crime and simultaneously looking at the symptoms. The long article on the recent popular upsurge in Bolivia presented in this issue of *Promotio Iustitiae* points in this direction. The distressing and yet restrained reflection of Ando Isamu on the development of the social apostolate in East Asia during the last decade mirrors similar sto-

ries all over the world. In a symbolic manner it serves as a bridge to the issue of the social apostolate discussed in the debate.

For us Jesuits, the year has ended with a significant moment: the review of the state of the Society presented by Fr. General to the procurators gathered at Loyola and the ensuing discussion. We must be absolutely clear in understanding the implication of Fr. General's words:

"the social sector, strictly speaking, risks extinction, if we do not make special efforts without delay²".

At this critical juncture it is time for action. From the perspective of the social apostolate, the Congregation dealt with globalisation and the dynamic relationship between faith and justice. Given the importance of these issues for the social apostolate, and for the entire Society, we have initiated a debate by asking some participants to write a personal account of how they lived these issues at the Congregation.

As the year comes to an end, we need to be grateful to the Lord for all the inspiration, courage and vision poured out in abundance on Jesuits and companions committed to the struggle for justice. While accepting the danger of omitting the obvious or the more deserving, it is a time to acknowledge specifically certain outstanding achievements of the social apostolate in each Assistency.

The growing sensitivity and the manifold response of Jesuits from the US to the pastoral and social need of Hispanics, other minorities, refugees and migrants; the efforts to lobby for more just housing conditions for all; the campaign towards the creation of an Ignatian Solidarity Network; the increasing involvement of our universities; and the establishment of stronger channels of communication and decision-making between the two Americas on issues of peace-justice and migration are all beacons of light illuminating the path of the future.

The advent of Lula owes a great deal to the solid and coordinated work of the Church and

the Jesuits in Brazil for the cause of the poor. One can discover in Latin America solid reasons for hope. We mention some of these: the success of the campaign against ALCA; the promotion of successful attempts to fight poverty; the creation of concrete models of planning and collaboration at provincial levels between the university, the pastoral and the social sectors; the vigorous apostolate with indigenous people; the decision to respond to the issue of migration; and the document of the CEPAL asking for the development of a new theoretical horizon as an alternative to the present neo-liberal market approach.

New life and hope have been brought in by many young Jesuits into the European Social Centres. There is a dream of finding new areas of collaboration among Eurojess (the Association of European Social Scientists), the Workers' Mission, and JRS-Europe; there is already an established mechanism, a federation, to coordinate the work of many Jesuit-related NGOs in Southern Europe; there is a Task Force studying the way to make our work with refugees and migrants more meaningful and effective; there are a number of young Jesuits more and more interested in establishing contacts across the Christian and Muslim cultures of the Mediterranean; and finally, mention must be made of the growing awareness among Jesuits from Eastern Europe, in the midst of a rapidly evolving socio-economic and political situation, of the urgent need to deal with the pervasive social and cultural dislocations experienced by their societies.

The fight against introducing GM food because of the effects on small farmers, the renewed efforts to fight against the intolerable and unjust burden of foreign debt, the silent effort to consolidate peace processes and build bridges of reconciliation, the determined efforts to consolidate a democratic culture among new leaders, and the commendable efforts of AJAN, the network on HIV/AIDS, to help the Church, are some of the signs of a renewed interest in Africa on the issues of peace, justice and sustainable development.

The effort at coordinating and promoting a massive participation of Jesuits and grass-root activists in the World Social Forum at Mumbai in January 2004 is a further expression of the serious commitment of the South Asian Assistancy to Dalits, Tribals, Women and Youth ('*Action Statement of the Jesuits*', October 2001). It also reflects the compassionate and courageous labour of accompanying marginalised communities in difficult and hard conditions all over the continent. This participative endeavor is meant to be an occasion to ensure that these voiceless and marginalised groups have a role to play in a public forum, at a time, when fundamentalist forces are closing these spaces.

Creative responses to violence, war and ethnic or religious conflict in East Asia crisscross this wide-spread and varied Assistancy. Jesuits in new regions are combining pastoral and humanitarian assistance. There is a growing awareness of the need to pay more attention to the increasing number of 'people on the move' within and across national boundaries. There is a renewed effort to strengthen the apostolate among indigenous people.

During the past year, we have felt, as a group of Jesuits, "the strength of the Crucified and Risen Christ, and [the group's] own weakness; this has been a time of testing for us, but also a time of great grace" (GC 34, D.2, n.1).

The feast of the Incarnation, so dear to St. Ignatius, should be a moment of grace for all of us to renew our faith in God's continuous support in the commitment to a faith that does justice.

We would like to wish all of you Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year with a new format for *Promotio Iustitiae*. It is an attempt to introduce some joyful comeliness into this struggle for justice which, more often than not, may appear too dour for our taste.

Fr. Fernando Fernandez Franco S.J.

¹ *Aldea Global, Justicia Parcial- '¿Pobres o empobrecidos?'* ED Centre d'Estudis Cristianisme i Justícia, Barcelona, 2003, p. 57

² *Status SJ, News and Features, Vol 31, no. 2/3, November 2003, p. 19.*

REFLECTION

CONVULSED MULTIETHNIC BOLIVIA

Xavier Albó S.J.

Demographic and geographic context

With twice the area of Spain (or a third of India), and a population half that of Holland (barely 8.3 million inhabitants), Bolivia has two clearly differentiated regions: the Andean region, which is mountainous, cold and dry, but rich in minerals; and the tropical region, which is an immense plain with forests, savannahs, agricultural land and zones rich in hydrocarbons. Although the tropical zone occupies more than two thirds of the surface, it has barely a third of the whole population. Many who live there are immigrants from the highlands.

Along with Guatemala, Bolivia has the greatest proportion of indigenous inhabitants of all countries in Latin America. In the 2001 census, 62 percent of people over 15 years declared themselves to be members of some indigenous group, mainly Quechuas (31 percent) and Aymaras (25 percent). Both groups live largely in the Andean region, the Quechuas in the valleys, and the Aymaras in the Andean high plateau at a height of about 4000 meters. Some others also live in the newly colonized areas in the lowlands where the region of Chapare stands out by reason of its famous cocaine leaf. This coca, which has sacred, ritual and curative value for the indigenous people, is the raw material of the cocaine produced for the First World.

The 1.5 million who constitute the main urban mass are distributed in two ecological and socio-cultural halves: "La Hoyada" (a kind of Colorado Grand Canyon filled with houses) which is the city of La Paz, capital and centre of the government, with a 50 percent Aymara and 10 percent Quechua population; and El Alto de la Paz, surrounding La Hoyada, at a height of 4000 meters, the poorest city in the country, with a 74 percent Aymara and 6 percent Quechua. Towards the end of the colonial period, in 1781, the rebel Aymara, Tupaj Katari, arrived to El Alto with thousands of indigenous people and laid siege to La Paz for six months. This image still lives in the unconscious of the great-great-grandsons of those who participated in the incident.

A brief history

This indigenous population which formed a clear majority was marginalized from the political and economic life of the country until 1952-3, the years of the National Revolution, promoted by the party of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR). This brought about, among other measures, the nationalization of the mines, by this time the main export resource of the country. It also brought important agrarian reforms that suppressed the large landholdings (or *haciendas*) in a significant part of the Andean region. That revolution was also the beginning of a new geographical expansion. The development of Bolivia had till then been concentrated mainly in the Andean region, but now there began what was called the "marcha al Oriente" ("march toward the East"), that is, a march to the lower tropical regions where a great deal was invested to expand the area under agriculture and to develop agribusiness. From the 60s onwards massive migrations were promoted. But at the same time, a new type of large landholding was

A massive popular protest against the increase of water charges without any matching improvement in the services, forced the State to terminate a contract with the powerful multinational Brechtel

initiated by an emerging agrarian bourgeoisie. It resulted in a split between the "cambas" or old settlers of the zone, and the "collas", the immigrants from the Andean region, chiefly the indigenous Quechuas and Aymaras who came in search of land and work.

As the years went by, military regimes established after 1964 weakened the achievements of the previous decade. 1982 saw the restoration of democracy, but a deep economic crisis led to uncontrolled inflation and to social and political chaos, which in turn led in 1985 to a neo-liberal model as a stopgap arrangement.

Throughout the 80s the rural indigenous leadership passed into the hands of the coca producers—or *cocaleros*—as a reaction to the unrelenting pressure from the U.S. government to destroy coca cultivation as part of its ambiguous "war against drugs". The thrust of U.S. politics in Bolivia considered the *cocaleros* to be the weakest link of the drug-chain. The *cocaleros* had only migrated to Chapare in search of better work opportunities, but all at once they were made out to be the main enemy of the "anti-drug war". In reality they were the least guilty party in the drug trafficking business and those who got the least out of it. In spite of their argument that "coca is not cocaine", a long drawn-out conflict began in which the army would destroy plantations and the producers would re-plant them in another area. The result was the strengthening and

radicalising of the organization of coca producers. Paradoxically, the president Paz Estenssoro who had brought about the National Revolution three decades earlier with his party MNR, now introduced changes leading towards a global neo-liberal model. By his side, as minister of finances and main advisor, was the affluent mining businessman “Goni” Sánchez de Lozada, who in 1993 was to become president. Also part of the team was the first vice president of Aymara origin, Víctor Hugo Cárdenas.

The most significant adjustments took place between 1993 and 1997, when Goni and Víctor Hugo tried to give a more human face to the model. The constitution was modified so as to recognize, at least in theory, the multiethnic character of Bolivia. Educational reform with an intercultural and bilingual approach was introduced; and the Law of Popular Participation strengthened the role of rural municipalities where more than 500 indigenous members exercised local governing functions. One of the sectors closely associated with it was a new party, at first named ASP (Sovereign Assembly of the Town) and later renamed MAS (Movement to Socialism). This party was created by the native farmers of Cochabamba under the leadership of the Aymara-Quechua and coca leaf producer Evo Morales. Encouraged by their municipal success in 1995 they contested the 1997 national elections, obtaining six seats, including that of their leader Evo. But it was this same Government that consolidated the privatisation of the main companies and national resources.

The euphoria generated by the neo-liberal model did not last long. April 2000 marked the change, with the so-called “water war” in Cochabamba during the rule of the general and ex-dictator Hugo Banzer (1997-2001). A massive popular protest against the increase of water charges without any matching improvement in the services, forced the State to terminate a contract with the powerful multinational Brechtel. That company has since then slapped the Bolivian State with a million dollar lawsuit in the World Trade Organization

In January 2002, under President Jorge “Tuto” Quiroga², a greater conflict began in Cochabamba, in opposition to a decree prohibiting the sale of coca leaves from the Chapare in the local market. Besides the blockades, there were massive marches by *cocaleros* on the city and a conflict with the police resulting in several deaths on both sides. The Government accused the deputy Evo Morales of the deaths of the policemen and proposed his expulsion from Parliament. This was made possible by the support of the other parties that hoped to form the government without having to present any proof of such an accusation. In this affair, the influence of the

U.S. ambassador was clearly visible.

The rural blockades organised in the first days of the year 2003 were the first sign that the truce between the new government and the social sectors was over. Several parts of the country were paralysed for almost two weeks, and several farmers killed in the course of confrontations with the police. Thereafter, a dialogue took place in which the Government made a commitment to implement several agreements. But in a few weeks, on 12 - 13 February, 2003, a much more serious political crisis erupted when a law proposing higher taxes on salaries to increase the state collection was accepted. without increasing proportionally the taxes of the highest income group. The police, supported by some other group, revolted and virtually took over Government Palace. The army was called out and the police revolt was put down; there was firing in front of the palace. But meanwhile, taking advantage of the chaos among the police, other more spontaneous popular groups continued sacking and setting ablaze public buildings, headquarters of the governing parties and shops, mainly in the cities of La Paz and El Alto. At the end of those two days, 33 persons were dead, 17 of them civilians and 11 policemen, and more than 200 were injured.

By then the statements of the leader of the Opposition, Evo Morales, had become increasingly more popular. The Government tried to dismiss him as a “leader of the coca producers”, but he had the ability to express the claims of various poor sectors and even of international movements such as the international Social Forum of Porto Alegre with his stirring proclamation: “another world is possible”. It is in this context that a new crisis developed in the next few months, leading to the resignation of Sánchez de Lozada.

For the sake of clarity it may be useful to present first the main chronology of events and turn thereafter to interpret and analyse them.

September-October 2003: “The Gas War “

Significant sections of the middle-class also participated.

September 8: The “Mallku”, Felipe Quispe, head of the MIP, and a carefully selected group of leaders sat themselves down in the auditorium of Radio Aymara San Gabriel (belonging to the La Salle Brothers, in the network ERBOL) and started a hunger strike demanding 70 points, which had remained unfulfilled since the blockades of the 2001. On September 19, the MAS organized huge marches of people shouting slogans in several cities of the country against the sale of gas. This was the beginning of what has been called the “gas war”. The demand was chiefly that, before signing any international contract, the Law-1689 dealing with petroleum and its derivatives currently in force (30-IV-1996) be modified. A second demand was that decree

24806 (4-VIII-1997), signed by Goni two days before concluding his first mandate, be repealed for the reason that it gave too much power to the big multinationals which could then use this strategic resource as their property. Except in Tarija (where the main wells are located), everybody rejected outright the proposal to export the oil through a port in Chile, as desired by the multinationals because of lower costs and the interests they already have in that country. In addition, the people demanded that the country's need of gas for its own industrial purposes be met before exporting it. The effective mobilization was a matter of some surprise, though it proves indirectly the effect of more than hundred years of an anti-Chilean campaign in schools and military barracks after the loss of the coastal stretch in 1879. The marches were peaceful, though noisy, perhaps because the MAS hoped for an optimal result in the municipal elections at the end of 2004.

Wednesday October 8: An indefinite civic strike began in the city of El Alto de la Paz (where 75 percent of the population are Aymaras), promoted by the local Workers Union and the local boards, again focussing on the subject of gas. This was seen in the popular imagination as a version of the historical siege of Tupaj Katari in 1781. The traffic was paralysed, including the approaches to and from La Hoyada (the city of La Paz), the shops were closed, and bonfires were lit at many crossroads as local organizations marched through the city. The agitation was forceful and the brutal response of the Government only succeeded in radicalising the movement.

Thursday October 9: There was a clash in the main approach to the city in which two miners and a boy were killed and 21 injured as police stopped the advance of people towards a mass meeting of miners. Two deputies and a priest who approached the policemen asking for greater consideration towards the people were also attacked and the priest was even hit by a small bullet. But the greater conflict began on Saturday 11. To deal with the gasoline shortage in La Paz, the Government sent the Army to open the street to a convoy of cisterns which swept through the city streets under cover of army fire, and later the military took over the city of El Alto. This gasoline "stained with blood", in the final analysis, did not reach the regular citizen but the military barracks. In the afternoon the Government declared the city of El Alto under army control, the troops occupied the main avenues during the night, and on Sunday 12 they travelled through from one side to another, shooting at sight.

Monday 13: The conflict spread to the city of La Paz.

Wednesday 15, a column that had already been walking for several days from the city of Oruro was blocked by the army in Patacamaya, about a hundred Km from La Paz, and two more people died. Since then, the central point of contention was no longer the gas, but "Goni killer", and the president's resignation was vociferously demanded.

Black humour was in evidence in some of the legends, for example: "Goni, make gas!" We may add that in that "Gas War", tear gas was also used to disperse the multitudes and that the gasoline thirst in the richest districts was what led the Government to replace tear gas

*To favour a pact
among elitist groups
treating the Nation as
their own property,
and seeking to satisfy
their personal and
partisan interests*

with bullets. The victims are now called the "gas martyrs" or the "defenders of our natural resources". The number of victims steadily increased with the passing hours. The final number is about 80 dead since the 20th of September. The final list, including names certified by a forensic expert (which could not be done in all cases) is somewhat smaller: 59 dead—including 4 women and 2 children—, 12 other names under investigation and 411 injured. During the incidents the people feared that the corpses would be taken away and made to disappear without trace.

Outside La Paz and El Alto, there was mobilization in Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí, Sucre and Santa Cruz and the cry for the President's resignation came from all over the country, but the repression in these cities did not reach the same levels of violence. At the same time, all through that week new political factors kept multiplying. The Vice President Carlos Mesa was the first to distance himself from the Government. On the morning of Monday 13, he broadcasted a live message in which he declared that his attempt to find a solution had failed and also that he was distancing himself from the Government in view of the unacceptable violent ways it had adopted. Immediately the U.S. ambassador went to visit him, very irritated by that statement. But the Vice President stood firm. A little later the ambassador called Mesa again and asked him if he had "the anger to kill". Mesa had the courage to respond, in a new public message, that neither then nor ever would he have such anger. He added that in addition to his repudiation of the government's violence, he was opposed also to a state of chaos. It turned out that, as the events followed one another, the Embassy later softened its stand.

On the afternoon of Wednesday 15 something else happened. The former Defender of the People (ombudsperson), Ana María Campero, initiated a picket and hunger strike with a select group of professionals and intellectuals, including a Jesuit, in a central parish that was symbolically located between the central

headquarters of the police and the Ministry of Defence; they were asking for the resignation of the president, because he had lost legitimacy after so many deaths. In a few hours pickets had spread to La Paz, El Alto and to many cities in the interior, so that in two days their number increased to 70 with almost a thousand strikers. This movement underscored the fact that the confrontation was not only between the Government and working classes, though they were without doubt the protagonists. Significant sections of the middle-class also participated.

At night Goni, accompanied by his two allies MIR and NFR, held a press conference in which he reiterated his speech defending democracy against a well organized

Their cultural roots give them a potential that immigrants in other large Latin-American metropolises do not have

plot and sedition. He also said that he was not going to resign. Thursday 16, in the midst of new marches, Goni made his last mistake. In an interview with the CNN, he insisted that he was the victim of an undemocratic conspiracy, and spoke about a survey carried out by Radio Fides (associated with the Society

of Jesus), according to which two thirds of the participants still supported him. He was talking about a survey on the Internet (to which could the poor and working class sectors could not accede), showing initially that two thirds of the respondents were asking for his resignation. It became known the same morning that two virtual pirates entered the Web site and distorted the results. The first person to express indignation was the director of the radio station, who until then had managed a balanced coverage of the various conflicting factions. A few hours later, the government spokesman left his charge, although he didn't make a reference to the radio incident.

Finally, Friday 17 at dusk, Congress sat in session, while Goni, his relatives, Sánchez Berzain¹ and other close friends who had already left the presidential house (for days the Government Palace had been empty), went in a helicopter to the airport, thence to Santa Cruz, still in the presidential airplane, and onwards to Miami on a regular flight of the Lloyd Aéreo Boliviano.

Analysis

The story thus far shows that neither the discredit of the governing class nor the indigenous and popular movements have arisen overnight, but have had a long

gestation period, although the process accelerated since 1997. The downfall of the ruling party comes because from the promise of building a "pact to govern", from "being in favour of democracy",-- slogans adopted after the political change of 1985--, they have shifted in practice to favour a pact among elitist groups treating the Nation as their own property, and seeking to satisfy their personal and partisan interests.

Whichever party forms the government has a very narrow margin within which to manoeuvre because of the strong dependence of each group and government on the exigencies of the Government of the United States and its ambassador --frequently labelled "the viceroy". The government has to take into account not only the U.S. obsession with eradicating the coca leaf without contemplating its social cost or any possible alternatives, but also the economic interests of the multinational companies linked to that country, including the oil companies, with which many of our governing elites have connections. It is not just a case of Goni still having a strong "foreign" accent, or of his immediate predecessor "Tuto" Quiroga having a "foreign" wife who was the First Lady of Bolivia. Both of them studied in the USA, lived there for many years, and established their own business connections. This narrow margin within which governments have to negotiate is also true of their relations with the IMF, the World Bank and other large international finance companies. It must be also added that the low management capacity of the country must share the responsibility for this failure.

On the other side, the working and poor sector has also had a history of having grown in democratic consciousness, and political action. There is, however, a difference between the indigenous mass of rural peasants and other sectors. Both of them have had long political histories, the fundamental milestone being the National

The other new feature of these movements from below is the resurgence of the miners, of the trade unions, and in general, of left-wing urban groups

Revolution of 1953, which created the Bolivian Central Trade Union (COB) and unionized the peasantry. With the ideological collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, and the economic restructuring brought about by neo-liberalism, the working class sector caved in. The indigenous peasant movement, with its ups and downs, was rising and, at same time, and was also asserting its diverse identities and ancient ethnic roots. These became helpful to fortify its own organizations in which

authority is legitimized by its proximity (kinship ties), and by its service, not by its power. It must also be accepted that the cocaine leaf conflict, artificially magnified by North American pressure, has strengthened the organizations of that region, giving them a perception about the role that international dependency plays in

their problematic. It is no accident that the name they first gave to their party was “Sovereign Assembly of the People”.

What catches the eye lately in this movement from below is the manner in which it has expanded to other popular sectors using different appeals. This is not unique and the same phenomenon has taken place in Ecuador and in Chiapas, Mexico.

To begin with, the movement spread from the plateau of the Aymara (who underscored more forcefully their ethnic identity in a context of extreme poverty) to those parts of the city, especially El Alto, where there is a concentration of migrant Aymaras living in poverty. The community’s traditional organization is reflected in the new local boards, which have been the main instruments for their most recent mobilizations. Those who feel threatened by them usually seek to undermine their power by arguing that the people at the base act only out of compulsion and fear of being fined. There are certainly pressures on the people to attend, as is the case everywhere in Bolivia where mobilization of any sector or ideology takes place. In El Alto, the leaders or the assembly usually impose a fine on the guilty. The fine may be in kind or money. If they have no resources they have to pay with communal work. Once mobilized, however, the people are seldom unenthusiastic; there is high participation on the part of men as well as women, at least when it is a matter of causes dear to them, as in this crisis. The bases themselves check their own leaders or even change them if they do not find them ready to take to the streets.

On the whole, organizing urban immigrants is even more difficult if they work in the informal sector. Their roots and their sense of social affiliation with their place of origin weaken once they are in the city, and they feel isolated in the midst of a multitude of people of many different origins. Strong components of competitive individualism, of cultural and social alienation and even of anomie prevail. All this is true of El Alto, La Paz and other cities, where problems of this kind abound, gangs spring up, and popular movements are marked by acts of vandalism. But at the same time, the fact that many of them have the same roots and language (Aymara, or Quechua) and that they maintain certain ties with their places of origin, is partly reflected in the new district organizations. Their cultural roots give them a potential that immigrants in other large Latin-American metropolises do not have.

The other new feature of these movements from below is the resurgence of the miners, of the trade unions, and

in general, of left-wing urban groups, so diminished since 1985. This may be attributed largely to the failure of the neo-liberal model in improving, at the very least, their conditions of survival. To this we must also add the ability, mainly of the MAS and its leaders, to incorporate the leaders of other groups with their demands. After 1985, there was no lack of mining leaders to support the increasingly strong *cocalero* movement (of the coca growers); some of them were also responsible for raising awareness in the indigenous towns in the lowlands, making it clear that certain links already existed.

The inverse process also took place. With the compulsory eradication of cocaine plants (1997-2001), they even began to affirm that the goal “zero coca” had been achieved, and there were those who foretold that the end of the *cocalero* movement was at hand. That was not how it was. But what the leaders of the MAS did see then was the need to diversify their speech more and to extend the social spectrum of their followers and supporters. A key moment for this was the electoral campaign of 2001, in which they

accepted the challenge of putting up candidates for all types of positions, and were forced to open themselves to accept candidates coming from urban sectors-- low class as well as professionals.

The combination of a discredited traditional political class supported by the economic interests of local and international groups, and the emergence of a popular movement with a strong indigenous component drawn also from the left-wing, has led to a polarization and increase of existing contradictions in Bolivia greater than anything since the foundation of the Republic, however much the dominant class might ignore such hidden contradictions.

Now more than ever they talk about “the two Bolivias”, a phrase heard earlier, but one that has recently being interpreted differently, largely since the Mallku Felipe Quispe began repeating it. In fact, there are several intercrossed versions of those two polarized Bolivias: white/racially mixed *versus* indigenous /native; urban *versus* rural; rich *versus* poor; and even “colla” or Andean *versus* “camba” or oriental. There is an ethnic component in all of them, although only the first and last groups refer specifically to it. But this dimension cannot be isolated from the others which put greater emphasis on the socio-economic component. The contrast between those who do and those who do not place that emphasis acquires a new emotional charge when it is between those who are indigenous and those who are not, and/or among collas and cambas.

Behind these polarities there is another that goes beyond

In fact, there are several intercrossed versions of those two polarized Bolivias: white/racially mixed versus indigenous /native; urban versus rural; rich versus poor; and even “colla” or Andean versus “camba” or oriental

the national borders: globalized Bolivia *versus* the deep Bolivia. The first covers the richest sectors that have direct or indirect ties with the present economic globalization process emanating from the world's economic centres; this is part of a capitalist model, or, in the parlance of these latitudes, neo-liberal model. The second (deep Bolivia) includes those who, being the poorest and more marginalized, are also more deeply rooted in the country, their land and their history. They are literally the *indigenous* and *originals* who, nevertheless, were excluded and made to feel "foreign in their own land". However, their emergence is also part of a world-wide movement towards this "other possible world". It is globalization the other way around, from below, and from the big local diversity, in which new seeds of alternative renewal are discovered as against the dominant exclusive model.

What then is the final interpretation of everything that happened last October in Bolivia? There are four ways of looking at it:

- (i) It was a seditious, corporatist and trade unionist conspiracy against democracy. This is the position of the ex president and those who supported him. It was even repeated by the *Washington Post* and other international media, mainly in the first flush of the moment.
- (ii) It was an indigenous rebellion. That is how various international reporters perceived it, impressed as they were by the images of the land and of El Alto.
- (iii) It was a conspiracy in which some parties and other sectors (working class or not) participated, as indicated by their preparatory meetings forcing the resignation of the president. This position appeared in several opinion articles of Bolivian analysts, even after Mesa assumed power.
- (iv) It was the result of the inefficiency and subsequent violence with which the Government put down the massive protests.

I am inclined to the last interpretation and it was as a reaction to the government's violence, that other elements given priority by the other explanations followed. But these are the effects, not the cause.

The way in which the protest against the gas issue, the ALCA, etc. turned into a massive request for the President's resignation was not a coolly planned strategy, as the departing government bitterly claimed, but largely the response to the needless show of force and violence with which they tried to stop the popular manifestations of protest. The incorporation of certain sections of the middle-class and of the governing parties in the last phases of the process was

***It was the result of
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clearly a reaction against the massacres, particularly those of the 11 and 12 October in El Alto and the popular districts of La Paz. Without these a massive reaction is not likely to have taken place.

Goni and those who supported him in his hardline position had lost their legitimacy and their continued governance was an intolerable prospect for the future. Can a government that kills defenceless citizens in order to maintain its power be called democratic? Until the last moment, some thought that Parliament itself could take charge of forming an interim government and the issue of Goni's continuing or resigning as president could be settled by means of a referendum. But at that moment this was wholly unacceptable to the hurt and irritated people and to the majority of their allies. "You arrived late, Marqués (marquis)", the former ombudswoman would say once more.

The Role of the Church and the Society

In Bolivia the hierarchical church has for years played a public role as mediator when the conflicts among State and social actors reach a breaking point. This role was more understandable in the time of the military dictatorships but it has not disappeared in these times of democracy, a fact that points up the weakness of democratic institutions to generate participation and dialogue. For example, at the request of the conflicting parties, the Church, along with the ombudsperson and the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights played a mediating role in the blockades of 2000 and 2001. For example, in the campaign called "Jubilee 2000", in which many working class sectors participated from all over the country to express their support for the "Bolivian Strategy to Fight against Poverty", the Church had taken the initiative to ensure that this was financed with resources derived from the United Nations programme of external debt-cancellation for poor countries (HIPC 2). These actions partly explain the high credibility that the Church has in the public eye.

When in 2003 the conflict between the Government and the Opposition was intensified, the Catholic Church implemented one of several proposals of mediation, through dialogue with leaders of all the parties, in a process known as the National Encounter. When the conflict became more violent in October, the Cardinal and the Archbishop of La Paz were in Rome, from where they brought a brief message of the Pope to Bolivia. But the main local spokesman was the secretary of the Episcopal Conference, who is also bishop of El Alto. He was present when the protesters of Luquisani arrived, and he underlined the contrast between that peaceful resolution through dialogue and the one dealt with by force with its rising

death toll. He later made various calls for disarmament and dialogue, and when all attempts failed and the hunger strikes began, he received the main leaders of the uprising and made sure that temples and parishes were available for the strikers. The Methodist Church joined hands with him and also organized a big picket in which several native Aymara authorities participated along with others. The bishop of Patacamaya –himself a former Aymara miner– served as mediator between the marching columns of protesters moving towards La Paz and the soldiers who held it, until the latter agreed to let them pass.

Many parish priests from El Alto found themselves suddenly in the middle of the crossfire, removing the dead and injured, accompanying the town in its hour of agony. One of them received a small bullet as, draped in with his stole, he was talking to the police requesting that the repressive measures be stopped. The parish priests were among the first who, after this experience, signed a public letter joining in the demand for the president's resignation and asking the Government to stop using the National Encounter Document that had failed to produce a consensus. Subsequently they have been qualified witnesses of what really happened before the commission investigating the matter.

The Bolivian Church has an extensive network of radio stations, with different characteristics and audiences. A significant group of them –including the radio stations ACLO, Tarija and Santa Cruz, linked with the Society of Jesus– are part of the network ERBOL (Radio Education of Bolivia), and are in close touch with workers in the whole country. During the conflict, the radio stations of this network, along with others, played a fundamental and risky role, providing information and first hand testimony, and making their microphones available to all those who wanted to phone. They also created simultaneously an emergency network for actions of solidarity, enabling the articulation of that which cannot easily go through the ordinary channels. One of them –Radio Pio XII of Oruro– was silenced with a dynamite explosion, drawing a strong reaction from all of them. The central headquarters of ERBOL was the object of threats. Thereafter, the bishop of El Alto went to its premises to say a touching mass for the dead that was broadcasted; he pleaded for peace, and publicly expressed his support. All of this was in startling contrast with the lukewarm coverage by most of the TV channels. At that time the state TV channel relayed the Rosary, praying for peace and reconciliation, in the presidential residence, with the participation of another bishop and the First Lady. There is room for everything in the vineyard of God.

The Jesuits have not been on the margins in all this commotion, particularly those from El Alto and those involved in mass media. One of the main points of

conflict in El Alto is located at the boundary of our parish. Providentially, during those days Enrique Zabala, a parish priest, had the support of four other Jesuits who were prevented by the blockade from going to their usual activities, two of them students of philosophy who were caught when they were returning from an experience of our Aymara rural community of Qurpa. We hope that Enrique and these students will soon relate their own experiences in detail. In the meanwhile, we offer some brief notes on what transpired. On Sunday 12, a procession headed by the raised cross was organized, asking for peace and justice, but it was suddenly stopped when they were surprised by a firing army vehicle that was shooting its way through an avenue. The temple was the place where they stood vigil over two unidentified corpses until relatives arrived the next day and took them in procession to their neighbourhood. The parish church was full of the injured, including two officials forced by the irritated people to descend from their motorcycles as they were shooting their way through. They were about to be lynched when some youths, the Jesuit students among them, made the people see sense and saved them. During the nights it was necessary to accompany the neighbours in organizing watches throughout the neighbourhood to avoid being surprised by the army or by members of gangs.

It fell to me to be in El Alto in those first days of the conflict. I cannot forget how, while walking with all my belongings from one neighbourhood to another, I accompanied for some minutes a group in the middle of the street, standing vigil over Roxana, a young Aymara girl of about 19, who had climbed to the roof so she could see what was happening, and as she reached for a parapet of bricks what reached her was a bullet that crossed her head and hit the opposite wall, leaving a great puddle of blood and fragments of her hair. On Wednesday I had to walk for three hours to the lower part of the city for a meeting with a Danish mission. Later with the director of CIPCA –the institution of rural promotion in which I work– we heard about the first hunger strike, and went immediately to visit them, offering to join them or to support them in some way. They asked CIPCA to help them organize strikes and pickets in other cities, which was done, and they also asked me to travel through the pickets to talk about my experience of 25 years ago. They were referring to another historical hunger strike initiated by four mining women in the Archbishop house, supported by a Human Rights picket with the miner Domitila Chungara, my Jesuit companion Luis Espinal, myself, and seven others. In a few days, more than a thousand strikers had already joined all around the country. It had marked the beginning of the fall of the military dictator Banzer and the first step towards democracy. In the days that followed this request to talk about that experience, I went

walking to temples, and public institutions, to wherever there was a picket, talking about our previous experience with the most varied groups—young and old, students, natives, professionals, all full of idealism but uncertain about what could happen to them.

The parish of El Alto also organized one of the hunger strikes in which three Jesuits participated. In the first one, initiated by the ex Defender of Peoples' Rights (ombudsperson), Ricardo Zeballos, a Jesuit working with the University pastoral team was present. From the beginning, he had been very active in the network of ERBOL, gathering testimonies of the injured and relatives in the city hospitals, and helping the people to reflect. In our school, San Calixto in La Paz, we offered facilities for another picket. In Cochabamba our two Jesuits, "Arturo" the superior who is director of the Conference of Religious, and the person in charge of the Centre 'Cuarto Intermedio', also joined the hunger strike. Further on, in the picket at the Centre Vicente Cañas, next to our parish in the working class district of Valle Hermoso, there were other Jesuits who have always maintained contact with the many sectors now mobilized. With the support of CIPCA and ACLO other strikes were organized in different cities of the country.

We have already mentioned the fundamental role played by the network ERBOL, which includes several Jesuit-sponsored radio stations promoting education and having large audiences. The other radio network associated with the Society is called "Familia Fides", with well know news bulletins and with 24 FM subsidiaries that reach out to many cities and smaller towns. Among these, one in the troubled Aymara region of Achacachi, closely covered the blockades and massacre of Warisata on September 20. During the conflict, Fides maintained permanent contacts with the various protagonists, the mobilized people as well as government officials, so as to present several viewpoints without defining, however, its position with sufficient clarity. It was likely for this reason that the mobilised groups never considered it as supportive as ERBOL, although others were grateful for its role in disseminating a wealth of information mainly in the interior where the news coming in were confused. As we mentioned before, the survey by Fides on the Internet about whether the President should resign or not had, at least, an important boomerang effect against the Government when it tried to manipulate it in its own favour.

The new president Carlos Mesa Gisbert has had a long standing relation with the Society. He studied in Jesuit schools (primary school in San Calixto and high school in San Ignacio) and, as of now, he recognizes the track that his early Christian and humanist formation has left in his life. In fact, he asked one of his old Jesuit professors to attend the first cabinet session so that he

could start it with a prayer. He shared his enthusiasm for the movies with the Jesuit Luis Espinal, and after the latter was murdered by the soldiers, he wrote the book *El cine boliviano segun Luis Espinal* (Bolivian cinema according to Luis Espinal). When, at the beginning of 2000, the province of Bolivia went for a planning and discerning process, he was invited to take part in a panel discussion and he underscored the strategic importance of the Society's education apostolate.

El Alto, the 222nd anniversary of the death of Tupac Katari.

¹ Until August 2001, he officiated as Vice-president of Bánzer, and succeeded him when the latter had to resign because of sickness.

² Later it came to be known that he had already removed a week earlier and that he had offered to remove the First Lady, Mrs Ximena, but she refused to abandon Goni in those circumstances

(Translation by Janette Ojeda Estrada)

Fr. Xavier Albó S.J.
Casilla 283
La Paz - BOLIVIA
<xalbo@caoba.entelnet.bo>

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF JESUITS IN THE EAST ASIAN REGION

Andu Isamu S.J.

I have been invited by the Editor of *Promotio Iustitiae* to explain how the Jesuit social apostolate developed and flourished in the East Asian countries in stark contrast with the actual low profile it now has in the region. Historians like to talk of golden periods and of periods of decline, a distinction that applies to Jesuit involvement in this area. An analysis of the situation and the underlying causes may be helpful. To be completely honest, I am somewhat reluctant to touch this whole issue, but as it may be useful to Jesuits in other regions, I have decided to express my frank view. After all, I leave the field open for a fruitful discussion.

Jesuit networking in the social field in East Asian countries started very successfully as early as 1960. Jesuits from Japan, Hong Kong, Philippines and Indonesia took the initiative to gather in Tokyo in October 1960, and their reflections led them to conclude that there was a need to start a pan-Asian centre of information and social action. Their major superiors were informed about the matter. All six Jesuits had experience in their countries of involvement with Labour Unions, Rural Development, Economics and Industrial

Relations and Credit Unions. They were missionaries, not native Asians, and they committed themselves to start together new ways of alleviating poverty and promoting justice and respect for human rights in this part of the world. An organization called the Committee for the Development of Socio-Economic Life in Asia (SELA) was created with a coordinator, and a central office established, first in Hong Kong, then Bangkok and eventually located in Manila. The coordinator was given the task of promoting social apostolate activities through East Asian countries and frequently visiting all the Jesuit Provinces. With the approval of major superiors, regional committees began to be organized throughout the region. An account of the historical circumstances in which SELA worked through the decades may be helpful at this point.

A Historical Perspective

The birth of SELA and the unfolding of its activities took place during very stormy times in East Asia. Most countries of the region were extremely poor, except Japan, which had started to dominate the Asian countries as an economic and financial power. During the late 60s and 70s, military regimes and dictatorships spread all over the region from Thailand and Indonesia in the West to the Korean Peninsula in the Far East. The American war in Vietnam, involving several other countries including China and Russia, took a turn in favour of North Vietnam with the Paris Peace accord in 1973, but the war continued till April 1975. Prominent military support for North Viet Nam from the Soviet Union and the Republic of China was a sign, almost a symbol, of the worldwide East-West ideological confrontation. The triumph of communism in the Indochina region and in the two other Asian strongholds, China and North Korea, pointed to the danger of its spreading to Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and other countries. This became an excuse to strengthen anticommunist military regimes there. At that time, hundreds of thousands were killed in Indonesia under the so-called "communist purge," and oppressive militarist rule under the anticommunist banner provoked popular anti-government movements in Thailand and South Korea, leading to the loss of thousands of young people. It was at this time that Indonesian military troops invaded East Timor to keep it "free from communist rule."

Oppressive communist systems, on the other hand, resulted in millions of deaths in Cambodia, North Korea and China, while over a million and a half refugees left Vietnam by boat in search of freedom. New political regional bodies like ASEAN with strong anti-communist ideological profiles were created. With

the establishment of Free Trade Zones during the 70s, American and Japanese Multinational and Transnational Corporations dominated the trade and economic development of many countries in East Asia, from Indonesia and Thailand, to Taiwan, South Korea and the Philippines. And as development started to succeed, the oil crises of the early 70s brought home clearly the message of what today is called economic globalization.

Diversity and Similarities in East Asia: Tasks of Jesuits

East Asian countries differ greatly from each other in practically all aspects: economy, religion, culture, language, social structures, and political systems. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, they also have many common characteristics and share a number of problems. Whatever the local needs, differences and difficulties, we Jesuits have a universal role to play in order to serve people who are unable to come out of poverty by themselves. This important element was missing in East Asia despite running a number of educational and pastoral works.

A group of Jesuits from different countries and with various skills were convinced that the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church had to attend to such universal needs. The inhuman, intolerable situation of most people in the East Asian region gave urgency to the mission. The miserable life of slum dwellers and the desperate condition of the majority in the rural areas demanded immediate attention and effective action. The ideological confrontation in East Asia brought violent wars and guerrilla warfare, killing thousands of innocent people, or denying them their most basic civil and human rights. Multinationals, interested only in their own profit, encouraged the corruption of influential politicians who, by using local military establishments, denied the workers their right to organize themselves into unions. When all kinds of injustices were perpetrated, the defence of people's basic human rights was considered subversive, western, "non Asian."

At the same time, there was no visible Catholic network in the region to address such issues, and the Jesuit Provinces were all acting independently, immersed in their own local concerns. The fact that they were "missions" helped them to strengthen their links with other Jesuit Provinces in Europe and North America from where they could obtain personnel and finance. Such assistance, however, served also to downplay the importance of establishing linkages among themselves. One other important limitation was that Jesuits had not yet explored working in collaboration with other organizations and groups, and were not familiar with lay

*East Asian
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other*

cooperation.

New Trends in the Catholic Church and in the Society of Jesus

While East Asian countries were going through such drastic changes and all kinds of unknown social and political turbulence, the Second Vatican Council raised a series of decisive challenges for the Catholic world. Catholic social teaching, which had increased in importance from the time of Leo XIII, exerted a strong influence on some of the contents of the *Constitution of the Church in the Modern World*, one of the best-known documents of Vatican II. John XXIII, who called the Council, published two Encyclical letters, *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*, both of which brought creative and fresh messages to the non-Christian poor and oppressed masses of East Asia. Paul VI, who closed the Council, continued the work of John XXIII, and in his *Populorum Progressio* offered a new vision on human development, emphasizing the need for development assistance. The roles to be played by

lay people figured prominently in their messages.

For more than 30 years the work of SELA was mainly inspirational

Nevertheless, the heated debates of the Second Vatican Council that provoked much discussion and many divisions in Europe and Latin America passed unnoticed in our part of the world. The document of the

Bishops' 1971 Synod, *Justice in the World*, strongly challenging Catholic education and pastoral training, as well as the credo of Liberation Theology, met with a similar response here. In East Asia a few groups were sporadically alert to these new trends but, in general, East Asian countries remained by and large untouched by the strong winds of change sweeping through the church.

Missionary activities, pastoral or educational, are usually traditional; they favour undisturbed status quo, and are suspicious of the justice ministry and the formation of our Christians in civic, social and political activities. The establishment of associations for workers has, as a rule, been considered taboo, and Jesuit works have followed the same trend.

The First Jesuit Network in East Asia

Such was the milieu in which SELA, the first regional Jesuit network in East Asia began in 1960 with a plan for a flexible organization that would promote social apostolate activities in the East Asia region. It was motivated by the deprivations of people at grassroot level in most Asian countries and the serious injustices

to workers and the poor. Believing that churches in East Asia could raise the awareness of people by using the new and, at that time, unfamiliar social teaching of the Catholic Church, the Jesuits in SELA attempted to alleviate the wretched poverty in city slums and country hovels. At the same time, in most Jesuit Provinces of the region, they promoted Social Centres that were based on Jesuit Superior General Father Janssen's *Instruction on the Social Apostolate* (1949), and also on the guidelines of the General Congregation that elected his successor, Pedro Arrupe, in 1965.

The initiative taken by those socially minded Jesuit priests grew flexibly but systematically. A full time coordinator was appointed and Major Superiors agreed to nominate a delegate from their Provinces. In some countries like Japan, local committees closely linked with SELA were also established.

The work to be done was of three kinds:

1. Scholarly work in the form of original research, publications and lecturing so as to present perspectives of natural law on socio-economic matters in influential circles.
2. Promotion of socio-economic projects such as credit unions, cooperative societies, labour schools, organizations for workers and farmers.
3. Social education and training programs for priests and lay people, aimed at increasing social consciousness and developing leaders for social action.

The full time SELA coordinator remained in close touch with each delegate and other social apostolate co-operators by visiting each Province once a year and by publishing a monthly newsletter. The world of the Internet and email networks was unknown at the time.

An important task of the coordinator was to prepare the annual SELA meetings that were held each time in a different country of the region. A four person consultative team that met with the Coordinator ahead of the annual meetings was responsible for the agenda of those meetings and long-term planning.

International workshop-seminars were held every three years, starting with 1963, a series that continued till 1974¹.

For more than 30 years the work of SELA was mainly inspirational. In its own humble way, it helped bishops, priests, religious and many men and women of good will to promote a more human, social and economic order for Asian countries. It also urged fellow Jesuits in education and mass media to work towards closer regional cooperation. To make this initiative a strong reality, a Secretariat for interprovincial cooperation among Jesuits, called the Bureau of Asian Affairs (BAA) was set up in 1968. The BAA became the Jesuit Conference of East Asia. At that time, Jesuit Provincials did not meet together periodically as they do nowadays.

The Social Apostolate in East Asia Today: an Awkward Situation

When I became part-time General Secretary of SELA in 1990 I knew well that the sword of Damocles hung overhead, ready to disband SELA. In Japan, our Tokyo social centre, convinced of the need for closer cooperation among Jesuit social institutes throughout East Asia and the Pacific, wanted to start a Jesuit network and begin links with centres in the region. A weeklong preparatory seminar was planned. I was then appointed Secretary of SELA, a post that had lain vacant for several years, and was told that a seminar like this was the work of the Assistancy. The seminar with 19 Jesuit delegates and some laypersons representing about 19 different organizations was held in Thailand. The follow up could not work. From 1993, the post of Secretary for the social apostolate has remained vacant.

An analysis of such an awkward situation runs the risk of generating an emotional clash of experiences and opinions. That is why I mentioned at the start that I was

I regret the lamentable lack of Jesuit networking in social apostolate matters in our Assistancy

reluctant to touch this whole issue, notwithstanding its seriousness. As a former insider in this process and as one who has been working full time in the social justice ministry for many years in Japan, I regret the lamentable lack of Jesuit networking in social apostolate matters in our Assistancy. There is certainly more economic development now in most of the countries than there was 20 years ago, but there is also more poverty than before. JRS started its work from this region with the outcry of the Boat People and Khmer refugees, and several former SELA Jesuits contributed greatly to JRS and its development. There are other new huge problems in our countries, like foreign migrant workers and human trade that need coordinated efforts. Jesuits, if willing, could together address issues of poverty, of how development aid and multinationals affect the people, the environment, and other related issues. At present, citizen groups and many NGOs convinced of the need to work in networks for the alleviation of poverty, development programs, peace, ecology, the defence of human rights, and migrant workers, are active in most countries of our region. Since the time of Father Arrupe, we Jesuits as a body have had till now clear inspiration and strong motivation to select the option for the poor together. This has also been the trend in the Christian churches. What has happened then? Several answers could be

given: for instance, lack of active interest in social apostolate matters on the part of both the superiors and Jesuits in general. Perhaps again, such big Asian issues are too much for superiors already overburdened with many local responsibilities. Again, perhaps we are unable to see the wood for the trees. I believe that there were also times when SELA activities over expanded and collided or interfered with other Jesuit tasks.

Final Suggestions

Let me end here with the following analogy. In the matter of transportation by railroad and subway, Tokyo is one of the world's most advanced cities. One of the oldest railroads here circles the metropolis of Tokyo. We call it the "Yamanotesen." You get on the train in Tokyo Station and after about one hour of circling around the city you get off at the same station. This train offers very good service, taking a circular route. It never goes out of its usual path but always follows the same route. We also have practical and modern lines, like the "Shinkansen" or Bullet Trains that, also leaving from Tokyo, reach all Japan, going East and West, serving Tokyo as well as the whole country. Our Assistancy has officially selected the Jesuit "Yamanotesen" approach. I would like to see a "Shinkansen" approach, at least with regard to the social justice ministry. Some of us have been taking this latter route, convinced that with that we can reach Jesuits and the non-Christian majority. Perhaps this is where I should stop, but I would like the debate to continue.

¹ The first, one-month seminar on basic economics, credit unions and labour unions, and on social awareness was held in Bangkok in 1963 with 75 participants from 15 different Asian countries. It was followed in 1965 by a one-month seminar for about 60 priests on Social Action, in Hong Kong. In 1968 a 10-day international seminar was held in Singapore. About one hundred leaders and decision-makers from governments, business, labour and media attended this workshop on Justice and Human Progress in society. In 1971 a one-month Educators' Social Action Workshop was held in Kyoto (Japan) with the assistance of 200 educators from countries in East Asia and the Pacific. In 1974 a three-week seminar on the Development of Human Rural Resources in Asia was held in Bangkok, with the assistance of 150 farmers and rural leaders. A centre for the development of this workshop was established in Manila with working units in Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan and Korea. These lay groups are still active in several countries.

Fr. Ando Isamu S.J.
 Director of Jesuit Social Center
 Kawada-cho 7-14, Shinjuku-ku
 Tokyo 162-0054 - JAPAN
 <selasj@kiwi.ne.jp>

DEBATE:

THE CONGREGATION OF PROCURATORS, GLOBALIZATION AND THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

The Congregation of Procurators, Globalization and the Social Apostolate: a Debate Fernando Franco S.J.

In the opening homily Father General reminded all that a Congregation of Procurators (CP) “is not a large board of directors of a multinational corporation, but a company of men whom the Lord has chosen to continue his salvific undertaking, by making us partners in his mission in the world, not by a contract, but by a ‘yes’ to his person.” It is out of a deep conviction of the gratuitousness of his call and of the primacy of a loving compassion in our response to his call that we decided to focus this debate of *Promotio Iustitiae* on the two ‘social’ themes discussed by the Congregation: globalization and the faith-justice dyad.

We have succeeded in conveying the intensity with which certain views about our apostolic commitments are held, the broad elements which may guide the efforts of the social sector in the future, and the urgency for the Society to find creative apostolic responses to the issue of globalization

In organising this debate we have followed two principles. The first is representativeness: we decided to ask 10 members of the Congregation representing all Assistancies to write on globalization and on the dynamic interaction between faith and justice. The second is related to the manner of dealing with the topic. The purpose of writing an article, we suggested, was not to have a report on what was said or discussed at the CP, but rather to describe, on the basis of their lived experience at the CP, their personal opinion on these questions: What is the image/symbol that the process of globalization evokes in you? What are the most serious/significant effects of globalization affecting our life and our apostolic mission as Jesuits? Which would be the essential elements of a strategy to be adopted by the Society (and more specifically by the Social Apostolate) to deal with globalization? Which are the most important/decisive choices we ought to make as an international and apostolic body, at the affective and effective levels, to remain faithful to our commitment to faith and justice? A few admissions are in order. Though not all those invited were able to accept, we have been able to ensure an almost even coverage of all geographical areas.

While the questions mentioned above were meant to be indicative, we had expected that writers would follow the suggestions given more faithfully. But perhaps what the debate loses in terms of logical clarity it gains in creative diversity. All those contributing to the debate, with one exception, had been elected to the CP. The lone non-member sent a comment to the short note prepared by Fr. Ildefonso Camacho, and we felt it might be relevant to include his contribution for what it says about young Jesuits. All these limitations notwithstanding, we believe that we have succeeded in conveying the intensity with which certain views about our apostolic commitments are held, the broad elements which may guide the efforts of the social sector in the future, and the urgency for the Society to find creative apostolic responses to the issue of globalization.

It is clear that all Jesuits do not hold the same views on globalization. It is also evident that without a sufficiently large and important Jesuit critical mass of thinking and feeling converging on a common understanding of globalization and its effects, the Society may not be capable of developing an affective and effective response to the challenge. This debate is a humble attempt to help Jesuits all over the world to enter into a dialogue on issues which are crucial to our future.

Fernando Franco SJ

Globalization and Faith-Justice from Bolivia Fernando Alvarado Castro, S.J.

In this paper dealing with the theme of globalization and faith-justice from Bolivia’s perspective, I would like to focus on the negative effects of economic globalisation in the lives of the poor. At the same time, I would like to highlight some of the challenges and liabilities that this complex process of globalisation poses to Jesuits and the Social Apostolate. Bolivia is a multicultural and multiethnic country, very rich in natural and human resources, with great geographical, social, economic and cultural contrasts. These differences, especially those existing between the rich and the poor have grown further with globalisation and neo-liberalism.

What do I mean when I say that the gap between the rich who enjoy ‘all’ the benefits of modern globalisation and the poor who can barely survive with less than two

dollars a day has been increasing? In the sense that the quality of life of the vast majority of Bolivians has continued to deteriorate, and it has reached sub-human conditions. Their basic human needs have not been satisfied. Right now our country has high rates of unemployment (13%), illiteracy (30%), infant mortality¹ (60 per thousand), internal and external migration, and corruption at all government levels. These are some of the problems arising from the existing critical situation we are facing at the social, economic and political levels.

According, however, to the official reports of the INE (Bolivian National Institute of Statistics), the 2001 Census showed that poverty in Bolivia has gone down by 27%. In other words, in 1976 the level of poverty in Bolivia was around 85%, in 1992 it went down to 70% and in 2001 it reached around 60%. Even if this were true, 60% of the Bolivian population continues to be poor today.

Of this percentage, more than 90% are in the rural areas or are peasant-farmers and indigenous people.

Given this context, we need to ask, how does the phenomenon of globalisation affect in particular the impoverished and hungry masses in Bolivia? It has an impact on them by driving Bolivians deeper into poverty, exclusion and marginalization. It affects them by maintaining an unjust distribution system of goods, services and resources. The image which we can use to describe the relationship between globalisation and the poor in Bolivia is that of a beggar asking for alms outside a big supermarket or mall, or that of poor Lazarus who has to be satisfied taking the crumbs falling from the rich man's table.

Last October this critical situation provoked the reaction and the uprising of poor sectors of the population, especially in the city of El Alto, La Paz, Bolivia. As a result of these protests, marches and strikes, now we have a new President who intends to be closer to the people and who wants to respond to their most urgent needs. Yet the economic, social and political crisis continues. There are, however, some hopeful signs of better days, such as the announced referendum on the sale of gas and the Constituent Assembly to reform the constitution.

Returning to our theme: in the end who really profits from modern globalisation and neo-liberalism? Those who have power, and the large transnational and financial corporations. This is what has happened with the "capitalisation" (joint ventures, "shared risk") or the

"privatisation" of the large Bolivian state enterprises, such as the Telecommunications Enterprise (Empresa de Telecomunicaciones), Electrical Energy (Energía Eléctrica), and Bolivian Oilfields (Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos), to give just a few examples.

Given this situation, what can or should we Jesuits do? What should the Social Apostolate do within the Society? If we are honest and committed to the Gospel, to the Social Teachings of the Church and to our option, we have no choice but to put ourselves on the side of those who suffer: the poor, the uprooted, those who are marginalized and excluded in our world.

We have to build with them a world which is more just and human. We need to build with them the Kingdom of God here and now, as foreshadowing the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ at the end of time.

Even though, currently, the strength of the Social Apostolate is being weakened by the influence of the values and counter-values of the globalisation of markets and by the neo-liberalism which 'leave the poor without hope', yet, I believe that we are invited to a deep reflection of our actions and of apostolic options. The reason lies in the what Father General says in his "Report on the State of the Universal Society" read before the most recent Congregation of Procurators which took place in September in Loyola: "(...) **in the Society the Social Sector strictly speaking RISKS EXTINCTION, if we do not make SPECIAL EFFORT without delay.**"² (Bold and all emphasis are mine).

For this reason, in order that the globalisation of the markets does not generate the globalisation of poverty and "leave the poor without hope," Father General citing John Paul II's *Novo Milenio Ineunte*, appeals for "a **new charitable imagination,**" through **the globalization of affective and effective solidarity with the poor.** Without this previous condition – continues Father General – all other aspects of globalization will destroy us (*Caritas Internationalis*, 09.07.03)."

For this reason, continues Father General, "**we must try unceasingly to find again the path of solidarity with the poor- who always risk being the last to be served in our choice of apostolic priorities and in the choice of our personal and community style of life.** We should have the courage to be the voice of the voiceless multitude in the name of Him Who is their Friend, and to **strengthen our social centres, by personal and by economic means,** so that they may exercise **competent and efficacious influence.**"³

In other words, if our apostolic choices do not reflect a serious commitment to the poorest, our apostolic action and our religious life lose credibility. It is not enough to increase the social dimension of our works and apostolic activities, but it is also very important to commit ourselves with "effective and affective" solidarity to

*Differences,
especially those
existing between the
rich and the poor
have grown further
with globalisation
and neo-liberalism*

support the poorest in action.

On this point, Father General tells us: "Over the range of ministries and activities of the Society, **there is a growing conviction that the privileged service of the poorest and most deprived (VC 75) constitutes an integral part of Christ's which we are called to continue. We are to live with Christ in the poor and to embrace with Him the cause of the poor (VC 82).**As with all consecrated life, the Society, **in following Christ, is impelled to serve the poor**, in the humble and free gift of ourselves and, at the same time, **to influence human society with its sinful structures.** Most importantly, we must, on this **genuine mission,**

The image is that of poor Lazarus who has to be satisfied taking the crumbs falling from the rich man's table

be ever aware of the divine image that misery and injustice have DEFORMED on the faces of our brothers and sisters (VC 75)."⁴

In short, given Bolivia's reality of poverty we cannot accept easily the statement that globalisation offers great advantages to work side by side with the poor. Instead it has exacerbated poverty, and has

worsened marginalization and exclusion. As a consequence, the great mobilisation of the past "black October" led to the fall of a fully neo-liberal and pro-globalisation government. We are, therefore, invited to review our actions and apostolic options in the light of our people's poverty, the Gospels, the Social Teachings of the Church and the orientations of our last General Congregations with respect to our commitment in the defence of faith and the struggle for justice.

¹The infant mortality rate is defined as the probability of dying between birth and exactly one year, expressed per 1,000 live births. It is interesting to note that the rate in Cuba is 7, 24 in Mexico, and 31 in Brazil. The maternal mortality ratio is the annual number of deaths of women from pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births. In Bolivia the maternal mortality ratio is 550; in Cuba, Mexico and Brazil is 24, 65, and 260 respectively.

² *News and Features*, November 2003, p. 19

³ *Ibid.*, p.20

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.19.

(Translation by Jenny Cafiso)

Fr. Fernando Alvarado Castro S.J.
ACLO-Potosi
Casilla 227 Potosí - BOLIVIA
<intisj@yahoo.com>

Seeing the Globalised World from Both Sides of the River

Frank Brennan S.J.

At the Procurators' Congregation in Loyola, 100 Jesuits were able to jet in, from all over the globe, meeting together for a week. Back home we can keep in touch by email, enjoying the benefits of globalisation. The modern ease of travel and communication are a blessing and opportunity for our mission. But these benefits are not shared equally in our world. New chasms between the rich and poor are carved out. New criteria distinguish the "haves" and "have not."

The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development noted:

"The rapid integration of markets, mobility of capital and significant increases in investment flows around the world have opened new challenges and opportunities for the pursuit of sustainable development. But the benefits and costs of globalisation are unevenly distributed, with developing countries facing special difficulties in meeting this challenge. We risk the entrenchment of these global disparities and unless we act in a manner that fundamentally changes their lives, the poor of the world may lose confidence in their representatives and the democratic systems to which we remain committed, seeing their representatives as nothing more than sounding brass or tinkling cymbals."

Typical of the NGO sector, the Society for International Development pointed out in its Hague Declaration in November 2002, that globalisation has "the potential for greater human development and prosperity on the one hand, or alienation, disempowerment, impoverishment and polarisation on the other."

Years ago in 1985, I attended a meeting of Aborigines living on a riverbank in Northern Australia. The Aborigines had

lived on a government reservation which was run by a church and which had since closed. Some of the people moved to government housing in a nearby town but they did not like it much and their neighbours liked it even less. Eventually they became fringe dwellers on land they regarded as their traditional country. They were seeking land title and money for houses from government. At the end of the meeting, the convenor pointed across the river and said, "See that house: that is Mr X's weekender. They don't come very often but when they do they come by helicopter. See that helipad on the roof. It cost \$3/4 million." That was almost twice the amount they were seeking for basic permanent housing.

Which side of the river are you standing on as you ask your questions?

I have often told this story in schools. I once told the story to the final graduation class in one of our Jesuit schools. The teacher tried to reassure me with the observation that the boys asked the very same questions that all young people would ask about this situation. He thought the school had succeeded by providing the trusting space where the students could ask their questions. I was wondering what the effect of hours and hours of classes dedicated to social justice had been when the questions were the same at the end of the process as you would have expected at the beginning. Especially in the more wealthy schools, there are many

***Jesuits in a
globalised world
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of the river***

questions: Why don't the Aborigines build their own houses if they want them? What are they complaining about? If the white man didn't come, they wouldn't even have a water supply. If it weren't for Mr. X paying his taxes, there would be no money to pay these people welfare. After many years, I

gave up trying to answer these questions or to refute these comments. In response, I ask only one question: Which side of the river are you standing on as you ask your questions?

There is never any doubt about which side of the river people are standing on. Can you see that there are just as many questions that can be asked from the other side of the river? They are just as unanswerable. They are likely to make you just as upset and powerless and confused. Where you stand depends on where you sit. Jesuits in a globalised world need to be able to stand on both sides of the river. We also need to assist with the bridge building needed so that others can move more readily from one side of the river to the other. Moving on both sides of the river, the moral actor is able to understand the interdependence of those on either side of the river and then to take a stand in solidarity with those who are marginalised, disadvantaged or dispossessed in any situation of political conflict and historic injustice. The bridge analogy works very well for many social conflicts when "globalisation" is such a buzz word. It is simply an application of Jesus' invocation to the first disciples in John's gospel; "Come and see." When pacifist American Jesuit Daniel Berrigan was distressed by the activity of some of his Latin American Jesuit brothers who had identified with armed struggle and revolution, he found there was no substitute for responding to the invitation, "Come and see."

At the recent Procurators' Congregation, the image of the river proved useful as we wrestled with the intellectual content and the practical challenge of globalisation. In the discussion that followed there were

some splendid additions made to the image of the river. Those with strong ecological concerns pointed out that the river was being poisoned all the time no matter which side of the river we were standing on, and this environmental damage was a disaster for everyone, regardless of the side of the river on which they stood. Others surmised that in the global village, the water mass was now more like a lake than a river. We move around finding many different perspectives on the water and on the shore.

In a globalised world, old borders are being removed or weakened, while new borders are being erected or strengthened. Those who have the wealth and the passport to enjoy the benefits are moving into a more borderless world. Being part of an international Order, we Jesuits can readily avail ourselves of the benefits. But we need to have a discerning eye for the detriment, especially to those who do not enjoy our mobility or shared spirituality and commitment that render transnational dialogue more achievable and less threatening to identity. When there is a fair exchange across the borderless world, all is well. But the removal of borders can also cause a one-way flow of benefits, swamping the weaker partner. For example, in my home country Australia, there is at present a strong concern being expressed by the local film industry. They fear that a free trade agreement with the US could kill off the local industry, eventually undermining the strength of local arts and culture, subjecting all Australians to a "McDonalds" style culture diet.

At the same time, new borders are being erected where none existed before. First world governments are competing with each other to design more stringent tests for the admission of asylum seekers. Mandatory detention of asylum seekers who have no visas, interdiction on the high seas followed by repatriation without the checking of asylum claims are becoming more acceptable practices. Border security in a post-September 11 world impacts most on *bona fide* asylum seekers and travellers from the world's

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trouble spots who will be more readily excluded. Globalisation produces new divisions of rich and poor, including the information-rich and the information-poor. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall, we no longer live in a bipolar world. In the past, we accepted refugees who came from the same side of the bipolar conflict as we did. For example, Australia was generous to Vietnamese refugees because we fought on the same side as those

who fled. But in the new world, refugees do not flee from conflicts backed by the bipolar superpowers. They flee inter-ethnic conflict in failing states. We have no public reason to treat them in any way than as foreigners having no special claim on our concern.

In a bi-polar world, we could define everyone as "us" or "them." In the new world, some want to distinguish between the Americans and the rest of us. Such categorisation hurts us all. Our globalised world is increasingly identified as a world dominated by one superpower advocating democracy and free market capitalism for all.

Jesuits in the first world are likely to be the natural, easy winners from increasing globalisation. Jesuits in the third world are likely to be more attuned to the downside, appreciating at first hand the exploitation and cultural death threatened by cash crops, junk food and culturally neutered mass media.

At the Procurators' Congregation we reflected on the need to study the light and darkness of globalisation in the light of gospel values. We need to display effective and affective solidarity. In the past, we have taken a uni-dimensional view. We Jesuits are strongly placed to be on both sides of the river, locally and internationally. We are uniquely positioned to use our position and to speak out. We are at our best when we have credibility with those who own the helicopters as well as with those who are dispossessed. We need to distinguish globalisation from the ideological dimension associated with the rebirth of liberalism, acknowledging that many of the world's problems pre-date globalisation.

Groum Tesfaye, the procurator from Ethiopia noted: "You can take the boy out of the village but you cannot take the village out of the boy. We can now keep the boy in the village by offering him better education *in situ*. Globalisation is presently degrading the villager's local life, but it could enhance local life. This faceless predator is affecting our ministry. With inter-provincial collaboration, we could do much for distance learning, bringing education into the village directly." Whether the waters around us be a pond or a river, we Jesuits need to keep mobile and grounded, surveying the water and terra firma from all perspectives, before acting with effective and affective solidarity with those caught in the mud of their circumstances or denied access to the bridge of other possibilities.

Fr. Frank Brennan S.J.
 St. Canice's Presbytery
 28 Roslyn Street
 Elizabeth Bay, NSW 2011 – AUSTRALIA
 <Frank.brennan@uniya.org>

Faith-Justice and the Social Apostolate Perspectives from the Congregation of Procurators¹

Ildefonso Camacho S.J.

I. On a possible decline or crisis in the social apostolate

1. There is a certain awareness that the social apostolate is losing strength in the Society and is diminishing, an awareness confirmed by Father General's address "*de statu Societatis*."
2. The Congregation considered the possible causes of such a decline and noted several (fewer human and material resources available in the Society, a greater emphasis on evangelization due to the drive of secularism, people who have suffered from burn-out in the social apostolate, insistence on the social dimension at the expense of social action properly called, lack of leadership, lack of visibility in the sector, financial problems, etc.).
3. This decline can be interpreted as a reduction in the activities, personnel and institutional resources dedicated to the sector, but also (and this would be of greater concern) as a weakening in the preferential option for the poor.
4. Some suggest a study be undertaken, at the level of the whole Society, to determine if there is such a decline in the social apostolate, what is its scope in general and in the different continents and regions, what are its causes, what are its consequences.

II. From the crisis of the social apostolate to the opening of new perspectives

5. This awareness of a decline in the social apostolate needs to be accompanied by recognition that there has also been a certain reformulation of the same and the opening of new perspectives and approaches, often very enriching. These new paths should be analysed, evaluated and, whenever possible, encouraged.
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- Recognition that there has also been a certain reformulation of the same and the opening of new perspectives and approaches, often very enriching*
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6. Above all, it is recognised that we have advanced in our understanding of justice: from a more ideological vision to one that is more evangelical; also there has been progress in overcoming certain polarizations that were blocks for many in the past.
 7. The promotion of justice has opened out to new fields, become more pluralistic and should continue to identify new groups in whose interest one should work.
 8. In redefining the social apostolate, one must accept the need to articulate it along three dimensions: reflection (university centres, study centres), action (institutions for social promotion or pastoral work), and insertion (direct contact with reality including sharing living conditions).

9. We are also aware that the social sector needs to have greater visibility. In the past this visibility has been absent in a number of cases because the sector has benefited from individual vocations and personal initiatives, lacking in true planning at a provincial level. For this reason there should be a co-ordinator of the social apostolate in each Province and/or Assistency.

10. The social sector should enter into a much closer relationship with other sectors and activities: with the educational sector (where there are very valuable initiatives to help the marginalised), with the intellectual sector (to provide social action with a rigorous analysis of the problems and initiatives it confronts), and with theological centres (for a better theological understanding of social action, of the promotion of justice and its relation to faith, and of the preferential option for the poor).

11. This invites careful handling of the distinction between social dimension and social sector. It is important to maintain it, but recognising there are situations when a too rigid interpretation could hinder opportunities for action (for example, the theme of immigrants could be taken up by many institutions that do not belong to the sector). In any case, it is not sufficient to guarantee the social dimension of all our activities (as the 32nd General Congregation asks): if there is not an active social sector, there is a fear the social dimension will end by disappearing.

12. The interpretation given by the Society to the dyad faith-justice could help overcome the crisis of religion in our world which often struggles between the extremes of fundamentalism and a disincarnate spirituality. Could not a faith which inspires a struggle for justice, in the sense understood by the Society, offer a different picture of religion in our world?

13. Some have also suggested that, in view of the crisis of the State and politics, we work for a revaluation of political commitment and of contacts with economic agents, and that training initiatives be launched for political action and citizens' commitment.

III Social Centres

14. It is recognised that they have been a great help to the social apostolate. For this reason it is desirable to continue supporting them. But it is also desirable to carry out an assessment of them to see if they continue to fulfil their function, bearing in mind that today the university is the place where opinion is mainly fashioned.

15. It is also desirable to assess whether they should be open to other realities which in the past were not objects for their attention: special mention was made of the cultural dimension.

IV Communities of insertion

16. We recognise the need to promote them, especially at provincial level. It is clear they were often the result of individual and even charismatic initiatives, but at the same time we recognise they were an indispensable element giving life to the social apostolate (both the social sector and the social dimension). For this reason, we ask that provincials be charged with looking after them, evaluating them, promoting them and guaranteeing their relationship with other communities and works of the Province.

V Social Apostolate, young Jesuits and formation

17. In general we observed in young Jesuits a lesser attraction towards the social apostolate, though with exceptions. We also observed that the possibility of living the preferential option for the poor is one of the major attractions for vocations in different countries: however it is not uncommon that this motivation loses strength during the years of formation.

18. We request there be a study of the ways the social apostolate can be more present during formation, connecting it with spiritual life and discernment, with intellectual training and experiences during the time of formation, without excluding the destination of scholastics to live in communities of insertion and/or to study the social sciences and so prepare themselves to work in the social sector.

VI Central government and the social apostolate

19. We appreciated very much the report on the social apostolate prepared by Fr. Fernando Franco for the Congregation of Procurators and the suggestions made at the end of it.

20. At the same time we assessed the process culminating in the meeting at Naples and asked how to make use of the book of *Characteristics*, apparently relegated to oblivion. We request a study be made of how to recover and better profit from all the positive elements it contains.

21. In this sense, someone asked that the Society draw up a "*Ratio Educationis Socialis*" which could collect our experiences during these decades using an inductive method, in the style of what in the past was the "*Ratio Studiorum*."

¹ The text of Fr. Ildefonso Camacho is a personal summary prepared by him at the request of the Secretary of the Congregation of Procurators. It reflects the work that was done in groups and the debate held in the hall on the themes of globalization and faith-justice. In some way it has kept the freshness associated with some quickly taken notes, and with an annotated personal reflection of what happened at Loyola (Note of the Editor).

Fr. Ildefonso Camacho Laraña S.J.
Facultad Teología, Apartado 2002
18080 Granada - SPAIN
<icamacho@moebius.es>

This invites careful handling of the distinction between social dimension and social sector

Globalisation: Openings or Crushing Defeats?
Jean-Yves Grenet S.J.

Globalisation, a process born in the 16th century in a period marked by various conquests and discoveries that opened the frontiers of the world, and inspired by people who promoted, among other things, world travel and the exchange of information—how difficult it is for us not to be interested in this process!

Among the various aspects of this phenomenon, and here I will mention only a few, I pick up one based on the first image that comes to mind: the contraction “space-time”.

We are quickly transported to other universes: physically (through travel— for those who have the means, those who do it to survive, for economic reasons, for humanitarian missions, whatever); or in our imagination (through our television screens or computers...).

In what way are we communities of solidarity?

At the same time, these are occasions to rediscover “the same” everywhere: current consumption products, hotel chains, department stores, information regarding the same events repeated practically all over the world, identical economic objectives pursued in different places....

That which is far – often so close! – can be the source of wonder, of discovery, of encounter... But it can also be the place of calculation, the search for short-term profit, for the realization of personal objectives. Similarly, events occurring both near and far can serve as an invitation to contemplation, to intellectual work, to action, to political commitment... but they can also be an occasion to recover ideological positioning, or the source of weary incomprehension, disillusionment and resignation.

How can we then choose, or invite others to choose, life in the midst of all of this?

One way might be to develop more strongly the habit of encountering the Other, both among those who are near and those who are “far”, seeking to give greater prominence to Him, taking into consideration Him Who comes to the world in ever surprising ways because he makes everything new.

We do it by choosing concrete and institutional translations of these objectives which may seem very general:

- Seeking encounters with the different worlds frequented by all of us in the Society (and this assumes first of all that we want to maintain this diversity of encounters) both at the local and at the

international levels.

- Being present and active in those contexts where men and women gather to find or promote new ways of living together in our world. Given our awareness of some of the existing ambiguities, what is our actual presence at different levels (local, national, regional, international) in the forums searching for a different type of globalisation? Or encouraging political involvement?
- Being active where men and women come together to talk about their suffering and being particularly attentive where they do not have the means or words to do so (in what way are we communities of solidarity?)

Inventing and promoting a type of media that highlights the multiple initiatives (both highly local as well as international) in favour of peace and justice where we can undoubtedly sense the presence of “the Risen Christ who is constantly active in all dimensions of the world’s growth” (CG 34, D.4, n.16).

(Translation by Jenny Cafiso)

Fr. Jean-Yves Grenet S.J.
 128 rue Blomet
 75015 PARIS - FRANCE
 jean-yves.grenet@jesuites.com

Reflection on the Social Apostolate
By Eugène Goussikindecy, SJ

The reflection that follows interests me much more than it does my province, which I represented at the Congregation of Procurators. Paradoxically, the perspective that I take has been affected as much by my experience at the Congregation as by my engagement in the province (AOC). Of the themes discussed at the Congregation of Procurators, those of “the faith that does justice” and “globalisation” are, without doubt, the ones that are most relevant to the social apostolate. The fact of having

Extensive social conscience of the young generation of African Jesuits

treated them separately is, in itself significant and indicated a disquiet: that of a progressive eclipse of ‘the faith that does justice’ by the dominant theme of ‘globalisation’ and thus the relegating to the background of a priority which is constitutive of all of our engagement in the Society. To be more positive, one could say that the fact of distinguishing ‘the faith that does justice’ from ‘globalisation’ indicates a concern to

maintain the option for the poor and to forge ahead with our commitment to justice.

Evidently, this reveals a discrete tension at the heart of the Society of Jesus regarding an agreement on the general orientation that a 'struggle for justice' should take today. The rapid transformations that affect the current world are no longer only economic; they touch upon the fundamental values by which societies were

The discontent was less about the option for the poor than that of an option for a poor life which seemed to betray our style of life and the desires we had of formation

formed and affect as much those in the north as in the south, in the west as in the east. Everywhere, a rise in individualism, marked by hedonistic interests under the cover of legitimate pluralism, displaces community values and attacks the social fabric of society. Paradoxically, one

simultaneously witnesses the, often intolerant, aggressive or violent resurgence of identities formed along national, ethnic, racial and religious lines. These social transformations have, in their course, increased the complexities of human relationships in the heart of society and, at times, between those in the same family. One senses this more sharply in Africa. In young states that emerged from the end of a colonial regime, the 'dawn of independence' forecast a new reclaiming of initiative and responsibility. The re-composition of the social matrix, fractured by the 'trade in slaves' and de-structured by the colonial process, was the priority everywhere. Under the banner of 'unique parties', one spoke casually of national unity and of the rehabilitation of African cultures. The political consensus was of short duration because the economic crisis of the 1970's revealed a fragility in the social fabric that has, unfortunately, continued to deteriorate. The one time that a General Congregation has focussed on the situation in Africa it described it in apocalyptic terms by speaking of an "ocean of misfortunes" (GC 34, D 3, no. 12).

Echoing this, one can, without mistake, note the extensive social conscience of the young generation of African Jesuits. This is evident in the growing number of those who ask to do studies in social science. Also, thanks to an evolving sensitivity, insertion into unfavourable or disadvantaged environments has developed during the course of formation. It is important to recognise that for some years, young African Jesuits derived their sense of what it was to be close to, and engage with the poor, from an ideological

interpretation passed on to them from older Jesuits coming from Europe. Basically, the discontent was less about the option for the poor than that of an option for a poor life which seemed to betray our style of life and the desires we had of formation. Today there is little doubt that the prospect of a resolute engagement with the poor is less a desire for heroism than a desire to join with them in order to bring about a better life. In my opinion, our insertion close to the poor in Africa mustn't be complacent about a situation which is humanely degrading. It is a struggle at the side of and with the poor so that the image of God may shine on the faces of those for whom it has for so long been obscured.

The option for a 'faith that does justice' through the specialised sector of the social apostolate still has a future on the African continent. Our insertion close to the poor must go beyond the denunciation of structural injustices, even if this denunciation is orchestrated through a network of non-governmental organisations. Our contribution should extend itself to the concrete transformation of the conditions of the poor by valuing their talents and resources. If our choices are well made we will not find ourselves in competition with the existing multitude of NGO's, and neither we will supplant the work of the state. It is likely that by having this attitude we will contribute to the transformation of the social sphere that, in the present course of globalisation, tends to be structured according to a jungle of profits and interests where the economically strongest and the most militarily powerful dominate under the complicit eye of the 'media'. In my opinion we are not confronted by two separate worlds that must be brought together, but by one unique world that has lost its common values or is in search of them. We need then, a preferential choice of action towards the poor, that doesn't see itself necessarily in antagonistic opposition to the rich, but that deliberately and vigorously promotes conditions for the emergence and liberation of the poor. It will display an

understanding of human beings in which the dignity of each person and of all is sacredly valued and thus merits one's devotion.

We must rediscover what is signified by the idea that man is the image of God (cf. Gen 1:26-27). In doing so, the social apostolate could root itself more in this theological vision, as is suggested in the book of Genesis and as is taken up and developed by the Fathers of the Church. (cf. St Irenaeus). In the context of globalisation, this highlights the common

origin of all. It may, therefore also suggest the tasks that our shared belonging demand of us. If we add to this, an interpretation of Vatican II on Divine Revelation (*Dei Verbum*,) that affirms that the 'mystery of the will' of

Our contribution should extend itself to the concrete transformation of the conditions of the poor by valuing their talents and resources

God is that all of us are graced ‘participants of the divine nature’ (DV, #2) then we realise that we have not only a common origin but also a common end in God. In virtue of this double belonging (a common origin and a common destiny), therefore, it is important

The Social Apostolate on the continent must change its strategy, or rather redefine it, building on these foundations. It will be a question of re-humanising our relationships

as much for the rich as for the poor to understand themselves as embarking on the same historical venture.

It comes back to the social apostolate to stress everything that valorises the recapturing of the human initiative: from the point of view of the poor, this means taking full charge and responsibility. From that

of the rich, it entails them exercising a true and authentic solidarity. An ecclesiology of communion, reinforced by a Christology that privileges reconciliation (cf. 2Cor 5: 17-20, Rom 5: 6-11) under the guide of the Holy Spirit, would be useful for the social apostolate in these times of profound social change. If the social sector wants to actively participate in fashioning the destiny of the African peoples, the Social Apostolate on the continent must change its strategy, or rather redefine it, building on these foundations. It will be a question of re-humanising our relationships which have, in their course, been disfigured by the unending thirst for profit and gain and by the preservation, at any cost, of individual interests; the indefinite accumulation of goods by some, to the detriment of others.

(Translation by James Conway S.J.)

Fr. Eugène Goussikindey S.J.
 Hekima College—P.O. Box 21215
 Nairobi - KENYA
 <egoussik@hekima.ac.ke>

Some Comments **Joseph Joblin S.J.**

The report of Fr Franco to the Congregation of Procurators and the conclusions drawn from it by the Spanish language working group (Fr. Ildefonso Camacho) are very frank and allow us to understand better the difficulties that need to be overcome in order to maintain and develop social action in the Society. You will find below some of the

comments that suggested themselves to my mind as I read it.

At the heart of the reflection of Frs. Franco and Camacho was a double statement: on the one hand, fear of an increasing lack of interest in studying deeply the problems of society, posed either by globalisation, by scientific progress, or by the transformations influencing international relations; and, on the other hand, the tendency of young scholastics and fathers to limit their service to the most deprived to an assistencial kind of action. There is perhaps a link between these two positions. Is it not right to say that the young value assistencial work the most because they no longer see the apostolic implications of scientific work, be it in human sciences or in theology?

Can we also say that assistencial activities run the risk of appearing more and more like purely secular (human) activities, all the more so because young Jesuits often work under the command of lay people, and because humanitarian organizations possessing often large resources take on the same activities with a devotion comparable to their own?

Hence the identity crisis experienced by young Jesuits, indeed their despondency, because they no longer see the need of accepting the constraints of a religious commitment in order to devote themselves only to social service.

The foregoing remarks are not meant to devalue assistencial activities; these belong to the history of the Church and the Society, whether they are of an occasional kind like providing shelter to refugees, or of an ongoing kind like the educational works of Fe y Alegria.

Is the diminishing interest shown by young Jesuits in social science research to be attributed to the wearing away in their mind of the apostolic reason for engaging in it? Convinced of the duty to follow a general obligation toward solidarity, they have trouble linking this with a Christian vision of life that gives priority to the development of the social and religious dimension of each and every person.

At the close of these reflections, would it not be advisable to ask ourselves whether the motivation given to young Jesuits to take up responsibility at a social level resonates fully with the demands of the present situation? The discourse of the Society in this matter continues to rely on the faith/justice relationship as it was defined by GC 34; but this relationship was defined as a function of the specific conditions of that epoch. While this had the merit of reminding us that action for justice flows necessarily from a sincere faith, it does not answer the

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actual need to specify exactly what the content of that justice should be in the face of diverse political programmes. Or this content may have to be drawn from charity, which is an imitation of Christ in its mission of universal reconciliation. Anyone who is engaged in social action must then ask himself constantly which actions related to justice are required by his ideal of charity. In this way he locates himself in the perspective of a changing world, some of the characteristics he already knows.

(Translation by Suguna Ramanathan)

Fr. Joseph Joblin S.J.
Univ. Gregoriana
Pzza della Pilotta, 4
00187 Roma - Italy
<joblin@unigre.it>

The challenge of globalization

Franc Kejžar S.J.

I have been asked to write an article on an unfamiliar subject 'globalisation'. I write therefore as much from my own uncertain knowledge as from the uncertainty that this global process generates in all of us.

I will not deal with the concept of globalisation; rather, I wish, first of all, to enumerate all the effects that globalisation has brought in its train. I refer to the situation at home in Slovenia (somewhat the situation, I believe, that is present all over Eastern Europe): the fall of communism, political freedom and democracy, the opening up of the world (especially the Western world), the liberalisation of the market, the upsurge (in certain respects savage) of capitalism and consumerism, the weakening of the binding force of (religious) tradition as well as the moral influence of the Church, and the change of "convictions" (in effect, they are not true "convictions"). Just before joining Europe we are faced with one major question: will our national identity be preserved?

In a certain way globalisation evokes a Christian universalism, that is to say: the world is a whole, we are all members of the same human race, there is a single God Creator and Saviour of the whole world, the love of God is poured out on all humanity. Modern technology is nothing but a very efficient means of realizing, little by little, this unity of space that is our earth and its inhabitants.

Also, with these modern technological means, all of humanity's problems are more capable of being solved.

However, the actual problem is that this globalisation exists only in our mind; the reality is quite different. Globalisation is in the hands of the strong and the rich who have the technological means to enlarge their own way of thinking and their own interests. An egoistic capitalism and consumerism threaten values, justice and human dignity. It is as if, little by little, we have reached the situation described by one of the characters in Dostoevski's novel *The Brothers Karamazov*:

"The world has proclaimed freedom especially in the last few years, but what does this freedom mean? Nothing but slavery and suicide! Because the world says 'you have needs, satisfy them, you have the same rights as the great and the rich; do not fear therefore to satisfy them'. That is what is taught nowadays. Such is their idea of freedom. And what can result from this satisfaction of needs? Among the rich, solitude and spiritual suicide: among the poor, envy and murder, because one has conferred on them rights but not shown them the means of satisfying their needs. One is assured that the world, in shortening distances, in transmitting the thought through the air, is more united, that brotherhood will reign. Alas! Do not believe in this union of men. Conceiving of liberty as enhancing needs and promptly satisfying them alters their nature, for it gives birth in them to a crowd of mad desires, practices and absurd imaginings. They live only to mutually envy each other, for sensuality and ostentation." (*The Brothers Karamazov* Book VI, On the Russian religious and his possible role).

What is it that the Society of Jesus can do? First of all, the Society is already a "globalised" body, present in the whole world, and is announcing the Gospel a little everywhere. Communication of information is, and will remain, more important and necessary in the Society itself.

The Society represents, and should represent even more the "globalisation" of values embodied in Christian universalism and human rights. On questions of justice or injustice the Society can and should have a prophetic role in speaking the truth, in working for faith and justice, in helping people (the marginalized, minorities, tribals...) who are in difficult situations.

(Translation by Suguna Ramanathan)

Fr. Franc Kejžar S.J.
Magdalenski trg 3
2000 Maribor – SLOVENIA
<sj.skupnost.mb@rkc.si>

Globalisation is in the hands of the strong and the rich who have the technological means to enlarge their own way of thinking and their own interests

Globalisation-Faith and Justice
Albert Longchamp S.J.

What is the image that the globalisation process evokes in me? One word: Bilbao! One place: The Guggenheim Museum. Explanation: the architect of this place comes from the United States. The owner of the museum is American. Visitors come from all over the world. Moreover liners are made to stop in this sector because *everybody* wishes to see this building. But twenty years ago, Bilbao was a poor town, lost, ignored. Globalisation *can* be a source of development. It remains to be known *who profits from it*. The problem is both ethical and political. On the whole, the Basque country is an example of *economic development* taking place in the midst of a *deep identity crisis* (the problem of regional terrorism is really on the table).

The most serious *negative* effect of globalisation influencing our apostolic mission as Jesuits is the digital divide that reveals itself notably around the

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“World Summit of the Information Society” (Geneva—where I live—10-12 December 2003). For the cause of evangelization we have access to the fantastic cultural, relational, spiritual instruments included in it. Those

deprived of them are excluded from it. A gulf has opened up. Jesuits are fascinated by its novelty, they are friends of modernity, but they have to be the defenders of *fraternity* and of *solidarity* with the poorest. Our mission is to have them accede to the *global* culture without losing the *richness* of their own identity (linguistic, cultural, religious, and political). An immense field opens itself before us.

Our strategy? To stake a great deal on educational networking; to sensitize our pupils and students. Our engagement with the media and communication professions ought to be reinforced. We must be constantly aware of the risk of excluding *certain social categories*.

What are the choices to make, the ideas to set going? Is it not possible to call a “World summit of Jesuits engaged in the information, media and communication?” Can we have them working *with* those Jesuits engaged *directly* with the *promotion of development* and *justice*? Putting it in general terms: the global sensitization of the Society of Jesus to the globalisation of society seems still weak. It might be the fear of setting out on the discovery of *terra incognita* (unknown territory). But our Fathers were

never afraid of the unknown! They went to meet it. Let us try to follow them.

(Translated by Suguna Ramanathan)

Fr. Albert Longchamp S.J.
18, rue Jacques Dalphin
1227 Carouge-Genève - SWITZERLAND
<alongchamp@choisir.ch>

A world to shape
Jesús Orbegozo S.J.¹

A world to shape” is the slogan for the work of Fe y Alegría (FyA) during 2004. And this is the challenge that comes to my mind when I think about globalisation.

It is true that the mere word “globalisation” generates, in many circles with at least some social conscience, strong feelings of rejection and condemnation. There are serious reasons for this. Economic globalisation, feeding on its own dynamics and without any ethical control, has not been able to reverse the poverty of the greater part of humanity, but has rather produced a notable increase in the number of poor and the levels of their poverty.

At the same time there are new threats to the possibility of sustainable life on our planet, and this, in at least two directions. In the first place, there exist countless powerful arms of mass destruction capable of bringing about the annihilation of all life: and

secondly, a particular way of conceiving and promoting development is severely limiting universal access to prime goods closely linked to life, such as water and air itself. We are living in contradictory situations since we find ourselves in real contact through the means of

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communication with far off peoples and situations which provoke emotions and feelings of compassion yet, at the same time, there is an abyss of a lack of human communication and social responsibility between social sectors within a country or between countries with different levels of development. In this ‘globalised’ world the poor don’t count or, if they do count, it is only as objects of attention or as statistics in some problem or other. Social and international indifference is the most extreme expression of this abyss.

With regard to ‘globalisation,’ as Jesuits we have a specific tradition nourished by our traditional spiritual sources and our concept of an apostolic body. In the Spiritual Exercises

we are invited to become involved in the world with all its variety and diversity from the viewpoint of the most holy Trinity: "Let us bring about the redemption of the human race, etc." (107) which becomes concrete in the following of an incarnate Jesus. As an apostolic body, since the times of St Ignatius, the Society, inspired by this Trinitarian vision and conscious of its universal mission, has resolutely taken on apostolic responsibilities in all the known continents, sending Jesuits and opening up houses and colleges. The sense of the apostolic body of the Society is continually shaped by the option of universality proper to our vocation.

Doubtless times have changed, but it has always been a characteristic of ours to note, together with the problems, the opportunities they offer to carry out our mission. It is true that problems have become global but there can be no doubt that new possibilities and ways have emerged to pursue our mission. Recognising the novelty and seriousness of the problems we meet in a globalised world, as cultural, political, economic and social facts, new opportunities present themselves to struggle for the life of the poor.

In a world of growing social inequality, with the massive increase in the number of the poor, the Society of Jesus, faithful to Christ's mission, must re-examine the way it carries out its own mission and with great seriousness revise its priorities. We cannot be timid when the lives of our brothers are at stake. Our faith will neither allow it nor let us rest.

We are called to create and recreate paths of solidarity with the poorest who, as Father General said in his recent State of the Society address, "run the risk of being the last in the choice of our apostolic priorities and our personal and community living styles." When grave problems of justice affecting the poor are discussed and solutions decided beyond the limits of Provinces and countries, the Society must seriously question its effective commitment in the struggle against unjust structures. Nor can we reduce our efforts and be content with solving mini-problems without these having their rightful influence and impact both on the Society of Jesus and society as a whole.

In this globalised world it is becoming urgent and necessary to draw up diagnoses and work plans for national, regional and global problems with the help of professionally competent teams of Jesuits and lay people where networking and alliances with highly professional institutions and popular movements (wherever they may be) are vital to find and put in movement alternative solutions.

In insisting on our commitment to faith and justice, we must confirm our profound faith in the poor and their capabilities and their necessary participation in any

alternative solution, for the poor are not the problem but an essential part and subjects of an effective solution to overcome unjust situations.

I take the liberty to describe the opportunities we are developing through Fe y Alegría (FyA) in this globalised world. As a movement of popular education and social promotion, FyA operates in 14 Latin-American countries and Spain with an educational project in which the poor find space to realise themselves as subjects respected and worthy, with a clear policy of social transformation in which dialogue, sharing and negotiation are the invariable methods of the Movement.

We have around 1,000 centres for education, 2,700 service units, situated in 2,000 different places and attended by 1,200,000 students and programme participants. 31,000 helpers are involved, the vast majority lay, with 757 religious (belonging to 152 congregations), and only 77 Jesuits with varying degrees of commitment. Such work is only made possible through the combination of functional autonomy in the running of FyA's in each country and centre with a strong feeling of identity and common purpose in the Movement.

To realise these ends, FyA is organised in a Federation which has its own legal base and administrative centre. In addition, to give meaning to a joint action sponsored by the Federation, FyA has a Global Plan which is broken down into 16 international objectives (www.feyalegria.org). Here I offer three, among others already functioning, as samples of work being done and which are possible because of the opportunities offered by our globalised world.

1. Programme of access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)

The aim of this programme is to breach the digital gap which excludes the poor from access to ICT. To achieve this, we are working with FyA teachers in 14 countries who have reworked the humanistic and integral aim of FyA education and linked it to the new technological challenges and requirements of the working world. The goal is to build up in each country models of school computer graphics which can be learning tools for the children and youth in the schools as well as tools for work. We are confident that these models, developed in working-class backgrounds, can be taken up and used in the public education sectors of the different countries.

2. Training working-class teachers

FyA has proposed training 20,000 working-class teachers for schools and programmes in 14 countries with the aim of improving the quality of their education. For this, a training outline² and a training programme have been drawn up. The training programme is based on live sessions, with written material, the use of CD's,

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discussions and specific courses on the Internet. A coordination has been set up at the international and local national levels. The generally positive impact of the Programme and growing requests of different types from both catholic and public educational institutions is leading to the development of a second phase and a massive offering of the Programme outside the Movement, with the aim of always trying to have an impact on the best educational elements in working-class sectors.

3. Information networks

The use of the Radio for education and communication is still valid. Since 1975 FyA has relied on the Radio as an educational means for young and adults with no school, and has continually been developing this aspect of its work. I would like to explain how a daily radio programme links in real time via satellite all Latin-American radio stations belonging to ALER (The Latin-American Association of Education by Radio). Any day of the week at 8.00 am local time radio stations in, for example, Cordoba, Asunción, La Paz, Lima, Quito, Caracas, Dominican Republic... can be linked and giving news on current issues (the Presidents' Summit in Sta. Cruz de la Sierra, the National Strike in the Dominican Republic, the Constitutional Referendum in Venezuela,...). There are weekly discussion sessions on relevant themes to inform and explain for working-class audiences complex issues such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas and others. It is clear that these communication networks are powerful platforms for work in human rights, for refugees and any type of work in defence of the life of our peoples, especially the poor. These three illustrations are sufficient to show how, in this globalised world, there are important opportunities for us to counter the evil effects caused in the name of "globalisation." I have no doubt that today more than ever we have a world to shape.

¹ Until a month ago, Fr. Jesús Orbeago was the General Coordinator in the International Federation of Fe y Alegría.

² The training outline has four sections: (1) Training in motivation and skills for further learning. (2) Personal training of the teacher. Knowledge and assessment of oneself, of others and of nature. Openness to spirituality and the transcendent. (3) Social, political and cultural training. Democracy, engagement in citizenship. Sharing of cultures. Globalization and Post-modernity. (4) Training in education and pedagogy. Working-class education. Working-class pedagogy. Centre projects and programmes.

(Translation by Campbell-Johnston S.J.)

Fr. Jesús Orbeago S.J.
 Director Nacional de Fe y Alegría
 Caracas - VENEZUELA
 <jorbeago@etheron.net>

A move from globalisation to localisation A Jesuit response to globalisation Ambrose Pinto S.J.

At the outset, it is important to recognize that globalisation is another name for the loot and plunder of Third World resources by the corporations of the wealthy nations in the name of free markets. Different terms are used in different countries to describe the phenomenon of the markets. While some term it neo-liberalism, others call it neo-colonialism. People in the Afro-Asian nations label it the Americanization of the world – a conspiracy to re-colonise the former colonies--a project in the name of development undertaken through institutionalized violent means, primarily by the corporations of First World countries. It needs hardly be added that they are backed by their political regimes in a unipolar world. To legitimize the market economy, positive terms like 'free markets', 'liberalization' and 'privatization' are used. But in the final analysis they all mean the same-- various schemes evolved by private Western companies to garner for their own profit the natural and economic resources of poorer countries. Markets, as we all know, can never be free. Their aim is neither charity nor philanthropy. Their prime object is profit-making through exploitation.

It is not that we do not need markets. We do need markets, but of a different kind. Village or local markets are a social necessity, bringing people together and fostering community spirit, catering to the specific needs of the community and protecting their livelihoods. Markets exclude millions of people around the world through a non-inclusionary model of development and the exploitative practices of capital. Corporations market their products through the vast media machine, manufacture desires for them, and impose them on communities and countries without any respect for the traditional food and occupations of the people.

What makes the situation worse is that the corporations are accountable to none. They undermine the sovereignty of states and virtually dictate their agenda. Corporations are anti-democratic in their functioning, refusing to follow any environmental standards or norms of health and hygiene. The Bhopal gas tragedy, the recent discovery of pesticides in Coke and Pepsi in the country and of worms in Cadbury's chocolates, to say nothing of the unhealthiness of fast foods, all show how the products of MNCs cannot be trusted despite their claim that they follow the highest quality norms on the planet. All development remains homogenized within a single model of development that is Western and European, and poor countries pay a heavy price in terms of lost livelihoods, destroyed environments, demeaned cultures, and an adopted way of life. In the name of free markets

transnational and multinational companies dump goods in poor countries and create unemployment. Afro-Asian economies are all geared to meet the needs of the first world.

Such processes have, not unnaturally, contributed to social conflict and violence. Globalisation is intimately linked to violence and hate. While glorifying capital, it destroys labour. Material insecurity and loss of permanent jobs have made ordinary life more volatile and unpredictable. People search for security in desperation, and since economic insecurity is ever on the increase, they need to hold on to something stable, even rigid. This is why some of the more rigidly structured and sectarian religious and social groups have attracted large followings in recent years in Afro-Asian countries; beliefs, myths and dogmas offer a much-needed security. In India, we see this in the growing power of hard-line, reactionary tendencies and groups within both Hindu and Muslim communities. These groups in turn use religious and sectarian sentiments as a means of political mobilization. The Hindu right in India has developed this to a fine art as may be seen from the way the party ruling the country uses it to divert attention from their shortcomings in governance. The strong undercurrent of violence threading this skein is sporadically spewed out into the open. The growing tendency towards violence of various sorts towards other communities or caste groups, and especially towards women, casts yet another light on the economic and social aspects of globalisation. The insecurity and sheer difficulty of ordinary life, the complications and worries involved in providing for basic needs, all make for much greater levels of everyday irritation, pressing for release and expression.

In addition, the massive increase in inequality, the growth of rampant consumerism and the explosion of new media that bring lavish new lifestyles into open public view, all serve to add to the resentment and frustration of the have-nots. The gap between aspiration and reality has become ever wider. Is it surprising that there is a strong urge to somehow get at those who are seen as responsible? The real agents of these processes --unresponsive governments, large companies, multinationals and the foreign investors--are too powerful to be touched. It is easier to direct one's anger against those who are seen as easy targets--minority communities, dalit and tribal groups and women, all easy scapegoats. The substantial increase of violence against minorities and women in India may be traced not only to rising rightwing politics but to the rising power of corporations as well. Agencies of the state

have begun increasingly to protect the perpetrators of violence and deny minimal justice to the victims. Market fundamentalism thus breeds religious and social fundamentalism.

My own impression from the Congregation of Procurators is that the Jesuits of the First World are loyal citizens of their land. As citizens of capitalist countries, they owe allegiance to their land and their economy. Theirs is a capitalist economy. But on the other hand, they also have concern for the poor because of the mission of the Society. Is it possible to negotiate between the two--the preferential option for the poor and citizenship of a capitalist economy? Once capitalism becomes the way of life for the state in which one lives, the option for the poor can become diluted. It may be difficult for the Jesuits of the Western world to think of a world outside capitalism. Perhaps they too, with their fellow citizens, rejoiced at the collapse of the bipolar world without understanding the implications for the economy and for Third World countries. I mean to cast no aspersions. In no way does it mean that Jesuits of the First World are not serious about their mission. They are surely serious; yet they are conditioned, and they define their option for the poor in their own capitalist context. Conditioned by capitalism, their approach to justice has been developmental, or one of charity. This is understandable. Once one

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lives in a particular economic and political system, it is difficult to look at reality from another window on the world. That other view simply does not exist. Opposing globalization for most of them means expressing concern through aid as donors to poor countries, initiating projects in Third World countries and taking care of migrants. They make donations from a position of power without fully knowing what they donate is only a small part of what should legitimately belong to the poor of the world; that their wealth was accumulated through robbing colonized countries, and later through unjust trade practices. What the First World enjoys today in terms of material comforts and consumerism owes a great deal to the exploited resources of the colonized world. And in this post-colonial era, attributing higher value to currencies of the first world has continued the exploitation. Under the market economy, the same kind of oppression is on. As beneficiaries of the exploitation of the poor countries, it may be difficult for Western Jesuits to think of another world outside globalization. The First World is highly unlikely to wage a battle against corporations from which they have benefited. Thus the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are victims of both colonialism and globalization. It is natural therefore that we resist the very process of

globalization (as we opposed colonialism) and think of the possibility of creating another world without corporations. Third World countries, along with Latin America, have not accepted the argument that there is no alternative to globalization. We do indeed hold that another kind of society without exploitation by the markets is possible and that humankind should strive towards it. The need is to move away from corporations to local communities. Corporations cannot be made sovereign; it is the local communities that should become sovereign, taking responsibility for their community and life, resisting what is imposed from above.

This is why the South Asian Assistancy has actively worked with the World Social Forum, which holds that voices from Latin America, India, China and other Caribbean countries, along with voices from the progressive forces of the world, can create a new society and humanity. There are more Jesuits from the South Asian Assistancy speaking out against imperialist globalization than from any other Assistancy.

In fact, the stand against globalisation has to be a stand of all Jesuits if we hold on to our mission. As believers in the Lord, we belong to both the city of humans and the city of God. The challenge before us is how to transform the city of man into the city of God, here and now. It is God's desire that all should share the resources of the earth. Appropriating resources and livelihoods in the poor countries through advanced technology, or in the name of 'civilizing the natives', is not building a city for God. If human greed needs to be denounced, then capitalism as a way of life must be seen to be against the divine plan. I am not sure whether as a Society we have denounced capitalism as an ideology that attacks the very values of the kingdom, of fellowship, sharing and equality.

It is indeed unfortunate that the ideology of globalization has also penetrated the Jesuit way of life in the Third World. Most Jesuits in Third World countries hail from poor families, but once in the Society, their way of life changes, and there is little or no reflection on their former poverty and their mission. We join the Society to contribute to the values and goals of the kingdom. Our obsession should be to work with the poor and on their behalf by inserting ourselves in their life, researching and acting for them; it is thus that we can carry forward the inaugural message of Jesus. Whether a Jesuit is in a university or in a social centre, whether he is in a retreat ministry or functions as a researcher, whether he works in a slum or is involved with theological issues, our mission is of one faith and justice, of working to transform structures that impoverish the poor. But this is not happening. Once we join the Society, our way of life is not the same as it was. Life in the Society actually alienates us from the

poor. Our friends too are not the same. We do not associate with the poor or sufficiently reflect on the deep causes of their plight. Strange as it may seem, commitment to serious academic life has suffered due to the invasion of information technology. Information that is easily available on the internet is accepted as knowledge, and no questions are ever asked about the kind and nature of that knowledge and from where it comes. Knowledge is never uniform. It is diverse. Each group of people has a heritage that they have inherited and it is unique. To accept the Western technological knowledge that is easily available as the only knowledge system is to undermine local and indigenous systems.

Globalization has affected South Asia in another way. The entire mission in the Third World, by gearing itself to the needs of the First World, has unconsciously accepted globalization as inevitable, and as Jesuits, sections of us function as local elites or agents of that globalization process. In all Jesuit colleges and centres of higher education, at least in India, courses in computers, electronics, informatics, commerce, finance, biotechnology and microbiology have been initiated. There are more schools of business management in the country now than a decade ago. All these courses and programmes are geared to meet the needs of multinational and transnational corporations. In our business schools, we primarily prepare students to work for the corporate sector. To denounce globalization on the one hand and to prepare students to work for big companies is to betray our option. Discussions about education invariably revolve around ways in which our educational institutions can meet the needs of the new economy. In the last decade we have concentrated on preparing people for the markets. The consequence is that the study of the Social Sciences and the Basic Sciences has declined, and the development of the nation, which relies heavily on these has been sacrificed at the altar of profitable commercial courses. Critical thinking, analysis, and reflection are on the wane, and the public perception of our colleges with their expensive self-financed courses is that we cater to the transnational and multinationals.

Our social centres have no political agenda and have turned into charitable organizations or centres of development of the poor. We no longer walk with the poor, eat or dine with them, nor visit and stay with them, nor fight and struggle with them for their rights. Unable to understand political and economic events, or to engage in social analysis, we are ignorant of the causes of poverty. Dependence on donor agencies from abroad influences our life styles and determines our preoccupations. They, and not the poor themselves, are the ones we consult; and reliance on them in money matters makes taking an oppositional stand difficult. This is not to say that a lot is not done for the poor; much is

done but the poor are left out of the planning process; their voices go unheard. We need to join those who protest and revolt, participate in marches, demonstrations, organize conferences, distribute leaflets, and in every possible way raise awareness of capitalism and its ill effects. We could initiate people's right-to-know campaigns and protest against globalization by joining local groups, and by unifying their voices we can engage in advocacy and lobbying.

If we are to be credible witnesses of the gospel, the Social Apostolate must express itself in a more radical form. Recognition of the fact that impoverishment is the result of the corporate sector's stranglehold over the economy, and that its globalization agenda is not only racist but generative of communalism in Third World countries can spark off a productive anger and a readiness to fight. No Jesuit, for that matter, no person, can feel good when the world's richest 20% receive 86% of the world's domestic product and the poorest 20% have only one percent. The world's three richest persons today have assets greater than the combined output of the 48 poorest countries. This is intolerable. Rebellion and revolt, and then the creation of an alternative are necessary. We need to denounce corporations and individuals who accumulate so much wealth when thousands are dying of malnutrition and starvation. At the same time, our task is also to announce God's kingdom. This prophetic role calls the Society of Jesus to be committed to build a world of equality, fraternity and justice; to realize that international financial institutions and corporations are 'fascist' in nature, and not ready for dialogue. We cannot engage in dialogue with them, only denounce them. But destructive criticism is not enough; we need a new model. The model that we uphold is the model of the kingdom where everyone is recognized as a member of a single human family, the family of God. This means that the Society must take a stand against globalization, which by its very nature fosters inequality, racism and communal hatred.

How do we do it? A strategy for action needs a mission statement. The Society needs a mission statement, evolved from below by making every Jesuit, starting with the Novitiate, a participant. At present all the members of the Society do not understand our mission in the same way. The mission statement embodies our values, expresses our options and proposes ways and means of implementation. It should raise and answer questions such as: Why am I Jesuit? What is my mission? What binds me to the Society? What are the challenges we face and how do we all respond to it? What does our mission of faith and justice mean to me as an individual? What are the political dimensions of this mission? How do we, as a global body and as friends of the poor, battle against the very ethics and

philosophy of imperialist globalization and work towards a better world? At present, Jesuits who sit in the top business schools preparing students for the corporate world, counsellors and psychologists of the order catering to the needs of the affluent clients, principals of elite institutions, and those struggling in the remotest corners to operationalise the faith and justice mission all claim that they are committed to the same mission of the Society. And yet the fact is that all those who claim that they are promoting the cause of justice are not necessarily doing so. The Society as a whole needs sharper social analysis to realize that we are sinners, and at times, our lives are the opposite of what we proclaim as a body. But at the same time, choices have to be made, some of them difficult, if the Society has to be credible.

Once we are clear what our mission is, we need to build global solidarities together with people of goodwill. The Society of Jesus is a global religious order. We can make a difference if we build international networks to further our mission, but prior to international networks, we need local and national networks and local organization. 'Local, not Global' should be our war cry, making the local work against the global. Jesuits of the Third World countries can present powerful evidence of corporations that destroy the environment, exploit labour and cause serious health hazards, and can thereby strengthen international opinion against these corporations. Research, lobbying and protest—these are our means. The Society can also plead for an international tribunal to try corporations that use unethical means for profiteering and cause death and destruction. We need to oppose both the forces of globalization and war, which are actually merging across the globe. Understanding that economic fundamentalism is closely linked to other kinds of fundamentalism, we can add our voices as a body, and become a part of the joint struggle along with the ordinary people across the world. In our institutions we need to be more focused on our mission and to raise consciousness. Our joining the larger forces could well mark not just a beginning but a qualitatively new phase in the opposition to international capitalism and a whole new form of resistance to the corporate world. There is already a global resistance of unprecedented spread and organization. Adding our voice to it can accelerate the revival of global progressive forces and add to the quality of life of the victims. If the next General Congregation takes up this single challenge and responds to it effectively, the Society, I believe, would regenerate itself, revive and remain relevant for our times.

Fr. Ambrose Pinto S.J.
 Indian Social Institute
 10 Institutional Area, Lodi Road
 New Delhi 110 003 - INDIA
 p_ambrose@hotmail.com

EXPERIENCES

THE SUMMER AT CERGY¹

Rubén Corona S.J.

The attempt to digest an experience

The request to write about my experience this summer at Cergy has made me realise it is a difficult time to share, to discern and also to reread. It was a very rich time but also obscure. Sometimes I didn't want to return too much to this moment of insertion because it contained a living and sacred core. I was afraid of vulgarization and therefore of diminishing it. If I digest this test too much, I risk destroying it. But this fear also came from a certain modesty that I believe excessive; so I decided to make an attempt, of which the following lines are only a beginning. Let us say that I begin to speak out loud...

Why go to Cergy ?

Quite simply because it was suggested to me and I accepted. To be honest, I didn't have any plans. Jean-Jacques Guillemot suggested I live for a month during the summer in the Cergy community; Antoine Kerhuel suggested I work as a painter at Bativert, a work of insertion in the second stage of building. I was happy at that moment to let things follow their course. The suggestion seemed to me good for the following three reasons: the possibility of inculturation in France, to experience another way of being a Jesuit in the Province, and finally the opportunity to deepen this "option for the poor" which I consider central to my religious life.

I was seeking in fact to know the life of people in France in greater depth: working conditions, customs, the culture of workers and even their slang: all this attracted me greatly. "France in depth" remained mysterious and enticing, especially for a Latin American trying to understand better the reality of his own cultural mix. I find the experience of a small community very refreshing. It helps me greatly. Sometimes I think I have already identified life in a small community as an authentic way of living as a religious. A big community helps in opening one out to wider possibilities, but I have to say that in a small community I really feel at home. The option for the poor is the difficult yet rich aspect of this experience. This option has been there all my life as a Jesuit, even if it hasn't always been welcome. At the same time I can affirm that I am unable to conceive religious life without this option, even though aware that it is always relative and some-

The option for the poor is therefore the option of someone who wishes to be challenged

thing that depends on God. So it is useful to unveil what remains hidden behind the option for the poor, and then to write about what moved me.

The poor and life as a Jesuit

In the Mexican Province, the option for the poor has always been taken very seriously by the Society of Jesus. It is a key issue because our Province has followed a difficult and painful path to put into practice an authentic service towards the most under-privileged. In addition, for a long time we have taken the option for the poor as a criterion: it is in the Gospel, so there is nothing to discuss, just to act. Clearly this statement is a caricature. However such a caricature shows what the option for the poor has produced in Mexico: the central role of ideology. Our point of departure remains totally valid: it is almost impossible to free oneself from ideologies; better therefore to choose one than to claim naively to be "impartial." But we have forgotten both to criticize the ideology we have chosen and also to look for new beginnings.

This said, it is also true that there is much generosity in the way many Jesuits live their commitment to the poor. This has been very inspiring for me and has strongly shaped my spiritual life. Their witness has left an indelible imprint on my life. The mixture of ideology and spirituality has also shaped my life: I have found it necessary to separate the two. I don't think I have yet fully succeeded in doing so. What has guided me in the spiritual and apostolic journey towards a life devoted to the poor has been Father General's phrase: "a preferential love" for the poor. It is more a

way of living an insertion rather than a one hundred percent ethical option. Is it possible to learn how to love someone? I believe it is possible. I even think Ignatian spirituality is geared towards that. Number 313 in the Spiritual Exercises offers in its English version: "Rules by which to perceive and understand to some extent the various movements produced in the soul: the good that they may be accepted, and the bad, that they may be rejected."²

The Spanish version helps to understand better what St Ignatius was proposing. He wrote "Rules to feel (the various movements)..." and not "Rules to "perceive and understand." Rules to feel the movements. To discern is to learn to feel, to learn to love. In this apprenticeship of love, the Christian's life comes close to God's life. But this hardly explains why a love of and for the poor.

A reading of Mark's gospel

While I was in formation in Mexico, a theological commentary on Mark's Gospel impressed me greatly. It helped

me understand the Gospel better and the goodness of the news. It is the book of Carlos Bravo: *Jesús, hombre en conflicto* (Jesus a man in conflict).

In chapter 16 of Mark's Gospel, the original text finishes at verse 8. It is the end of the Gospel. I am not concerned with the exegesis of the passage nor with the legitimacy of different commentaries. The hypothesis of seeing what follows (Mk 16, 9-20) as something added on after the original gospel is sufficiently accepted in the biblical world. One cannot affirm categorically that the original end of Mark is verse 8. But it is nevertheless a plausible hypothesis.

When a reader finds such an end to an account, this encourages him to underline several points:

1. *When the Sabbath was over, Mary of Magdala, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought spices with which to go and anoint him.*
2. *And very early in the morning on the first day of the week they went to the tomb, just as the sun was rising.*
3. *They had been saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the entrance to the tomb?"*
4. *But when they looked they could see that the stone - which was very big - had already been rolled back.*
5. *On entering the tomb they saw a young man in a white robe seated on the right-hand side, and they were struck with amazement.*
6. *But he said to them, "There is no need for alarm. You are looking for Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified; he has risen, he is not here. See, here is the place where they laid him.*
7. *But you must go and tell his disciples and Peter, "He is going before you to Galilee; it is there you will see him, just as he told you."*
8. *And the women came out and ran away from the tomb because they were frightened out of their wits; and they said nothing to a soul, for they were afraid...*

First, I note this contradiction felt by a believer who belongs to a Christian community on reading the end of the passage: "they said nothing to a soul." Nevertheless the text brings us this episode from the tomb. Yet the Gospel's title is quite explicit: "the beginning of the Good News about Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Where is the good news for these women who don't want to say anything?

The young man at the tomb said to them, "He is going before you to Galilee: it is there you will see him, just as he told you." Why Galilee? Mark gives theological

weight to this place: "After John had been arrested, Jesus went into Galilee. There he proclaimed the Good News from God" (Mk 1, 14). The meeting place with the risen one, Galilee, is also the place of Jesus' ministry. The fear of the women comes from this meaning of Galilee. They are afraid because it is not just a matter of going to a meeting place; they are also invited to make a choice of life. In the text, life follows death: after the death of John the Baptist it is Jesus who takes his place. After the death of Jesus, it is the women (and the reader) who are invited to Galilee to take up the ministry of the crucified one. And in accomplishing this, they are also invited to meet the one who has risen. This is very important.

A following of Christ that takes up a whole life can be easy to say, or very romantic. But taken seriously, the Good News can produce the reaction of the women. For me, faith begins with this episode. Life taken in its totality is the meeting place of the believer with Jesus, but on condition of setting out for Galilee, of taking the place of the risen one. He, who is thus sent, the apostle, will have to discover the meaning of the messianic secret. Mark develops this very well, but we are already far away, in another episode. It is the situation of the useless servant, which is also part of the Good News.

This theological meeting place is not always necessarily the same. To find Galilee is the fruit of discernment. Furthermore, to decide to go to this meeting, I have to truly love Jesus, something that is not always obvious.

Life seen in this way

The option for the poor is therefore the option of someone who wishes to be challenged. To find people who have another way of life is to accept that one's own way of life should be questioned. The fact of seeing a different reality is already the beginning of the journey. The meeting with Jesus, as apostle, begins where I am no longer in charge, where I don't control the situation. The situation I was in at Cergy as a painter required some flexibility on my part to take on my own need to learn: the knowledge and practice of the job, but also the knowledge of the obscure side of life. I also had to face up to my own powerlessness and incompetence.

One of my work companions made me face up to the imminence of death. Seeing me start painting at the age of 32, he repeatedly told me: "One must learn a trade and establish oneself in it because learning a trade becomes more and more difficult with age. And what have you done with your life? At your age you should not play the fool" he said to me.

I shared with the painters their work, food, jokes and worries. And in addition to all that happened, I think I also experienced part of their outlook. I cannot share the outlook

Sometimes I shared the same feeling as the women who came out of the tomb and said nothing to anybody. God's presence warms the heart and sometimes burns it.

of a worker completely. Nobody could after twenty years of study. But the effort to do so is also the effort to learn to love these people who ask nothing from me and who don't want, at least at the outset, to hear anything about Good News.

Finally I cannot claim either to have found peace of soul or consolation. Sometimes I shared the same feeling as the women who came out of the tomb and said nothing to anybody. God's presence warms the heart and sometimes burns it.

¹ In *Lettre des Jesuites en Monde Populaire*, n.184 (May 2003).

² Saint Ignatius of Loyola: *Personal Writings*, Penguin Classics, London, 1996.

(Translation by Campbell Johnston S.J.)

Sc. Rubén I. Corona Cadena S.J.
Communauté Pedro Arrupe
15 rue Raymond Marcheron
92170 Vanves FRANCE
<rcorona@jesuites.com>

ACCOMPANYING POOR FAMILIES: SCHOLASTICS IN JOGJAKARTA

Dionisius Prihamangku Setiohadi S.J.

The 'Yayasan Sosial Soegijapranata' (YSS) or Soegijapranata Social Foundation was founded in 1966 by scholastics doing theology in Jogjakarta, Central Java, Indonesia.

The area chosen for its initial work was Pingit, a little stretch of land by the side of the river Winongo (Kali Winongo) in Jogjakarta. At that time Jogjakarta was overwhelmed by homeless people who slept out in the open and wandered round the city. The plan was to accommodate the homeless in housing provided by YSS for a period of two years. During those two years, YSS provided assistance, especially for income-generating activities, in the hope that by the end of that period they could live on their own with dignity.

Over the years YSS has provided several other kinds of assistance such as civil administration that would enable them to qualify as ordinary city dwellers, help with family matters such as marriage and divorce, and education for their children. Those who leave YSS try their luck and use their newly acquired skills elsewhere. Some still live in the nearby areas in Jogjakarta. Others have chosen to join government-promoted migration schemes to Sumatra, or re-

turned to their hometowns and villages and started all over again. However, there are always some who return to their old way of life, that is, homelessness.

At the moment there are eight families supported by YSS. They work as pedicab drivers, garbage collectors, and street singers. Some of them came to us by themselves, asking for shelter. Others were found sleeping out on the city streets. Once a week, YSS volunteers patrol the city to find homeless people who are willing to live under the care of the foundation.

They live on the streets because they cannot afford to buy or rent a house. When they come to the shelter, prospective participants (usually families) promise to abide by the rules that have been set down, and we encourage them to fight for their own future. It is expected that in two years they will be able to support themselves, live a normal life, and take care of their children's future, especially their education. We help children to study, not only those under the care of the foundation but also those living in the nearby kampong. Most of the children go to school. The volunteers help them to become self-confident through various activities, such as helping with school homework, dancing and singing practice. For children who want to go to school but cannot afford it, YSS provides financial help under a scholarship scheme that also covers youngsters outside the Pingit community. The children are supported from elementary to high school levels. The funding for the scholarship comes mostly from Germany.

Other social activities include distribution of clothes, food supplies and medical assistance to poor people around the city. At present YSS plans to renovate five houses which are too decrepit to live in. We have been raising funds towards the realisation of this programme.

It has not been easy to accompany poor families and to help them. The scholastics and lay volunteers are not taken very seriously by the people they help. Being

It has not been easy to accompany poor families and to help them. This calls for immense patience, reason, and magnanimity, including the willingness to be snubbed.

young and single, they are seen as incapable of understanding the harshness of life within the family. The scholastics and lay volunteers try, as a matter of principle, to be friends with the people in their struggle. This calls for immense patience, reason, and magnanimity, including the willingness to be snubbed. A creative and sympathetic imagination is essential while working for this cause.

Sc. Prihamangku Setiohadi Dionisius S.J.
St. Ignatius House of Studies
Teromol Pos 1, Yogyakarta 55224—INDONESIA
<amang@kolsani.parokinet.org>

LETTERS

GMOS, ARE LINKED TO TNCs

I read with great interest the debate on genetically modified food in the issue No. 79 (2003/3) of *Promotio Iustitiae*, with some articles advocating the use of GM seeds and others opposing it. It is worth noting, however, that those advocating their use do so solely on the ground of the benefits they would bring, for instance, increased production and better grain. What has been grossly overlooked is the threat of globalisation.

No one can deny the good work being done by Fr Leo D'Souza in Karnataka, India, to improve the lives of small farmers through better farming methods and improved seeds. His work offers a true example of the way in which technology can be a blessing for the ordinary small farmer, and no one can doubt that his research on genetically modified seeds has only the development of the poor as its focus. Such work is indeed laudable.

But the concept of GM foods advocated by MNCs and TNCs is light miles away from the practices of Fr Leo and others like him. These big corporations have their own agenda in mind, and small and poor farmers have no place on that agenda. They are out to establish a hegemony of their own to ensure that they alone are the source of all supplies, with the poor farmers in poor countries dependent on them for seeds and fertilizers. This must not be allowed to happen at any cost. Globalisation comes in many guises and the use of GM seeds marketed by first world countries like the US is one of these, masking a process of neo-colonization, of globalisation.

Thus, while the use of genetically modified seeds may be advocated, it must be done not by importing GM seeds from US; that would make us their slaves. Instead we need to develop adequate technology locally to cater to the needs of the local people. Can our Jesuit scientists working on related projects share technology and thus provide an alternative to the MNCs that seek to dominate the world?

*Sc. Joseph Coelho, S.J.
De Nobili College
P.B. 3007, Ramwadi,
Pune 411014—INDIA*

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MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE WORLD DAY OF PEACE

1 January 2004

All of you, hear the humble appeal of the Successor of Peter who cries out: today too, at the beginning of the New Year 2004, peace remains possible. And if peace is possible, it is also a duty! (1)

It must be acknowledged, however, that the United Nations Organization, even with limitations and delays due in great part to the failures of its members, has made a notable contribution to the promotion of respect for human dignity, the freedom of peoples and the requirements of development, thus preparing the cultural and institutional soil for the building of peace. This represents a significant incentive for a reform which would enable the United Nations Organization to function effectively for the pursuit of its own stated ends, which remain valid: "humanity today is in a new and more difficult phase of its genuine development. It needs a greater degree of international ordering." States must consider this objective as a clear moral and political obligation which calls for prudence and determination. (7)

The scourge of terrorism has become more virulent in recent years and has produced brutal massacres

The fight against terrorism cannot be limited solely to repressive and punitive operations. It is essential that the use of force, even when necessary, be accompanied by a courageous and lucid analysis of the reasons behind terrorist attacks. The fight against terrorism must be conducted also on the political and educational levels: on the one hand, by eliminating the underlying causes of situations of injustice which frequently drive people to more desperate and violent acts; and on the other hand, by insisting on an education inspired by respect for human life in every situation: the unity of the human race is a more powerful reality than any contingent divisions separating individuals and people. (8)