

convergenç

2018

# Evangelization and the Future of Democracy

## Évangélisation et la L'avenir de la démocratie

## La evangelización y la Futuro de la democracia



International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs  
Mouvement International des Intellectuels Catholiques  
Movimiento Internacional de Intelectuales Católicos



# Introduction



## *Fractured Democracy: Our Response?*

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### What does it mean to be Christian citizen?

In many ways this question has been at the heart of our mission since the foundation of the Pax Romana movements in 1921. However, the question of Christian citizenship has taken on new dimensions over the past decade.

Around the globe there are a range of stress points that seem to be fracturing the participatory, democratic, and rights-based system that many of us have aspired to over the past half-century. These threats to democracy and a rights-based order include corruption, a rise in totalitarianism and xenophobia, the election of “strong men” presidents, a lack of transparency, an indifference on the part of citizens and a rise of powerful transnational corporate interests that put profits over people and planet.

This crisis is clear at the national level, but can be seen also at the global levels. As a movement, we have long supported the emergence of global governance structures, including the United Nations, European Union, African Union, UNESCO, and UN Agencies. But many of these structures are facing serious questions for how they will function in the future.

These fractures in the democratic order are leading many—including the editors of a recent issue *Foreign Policy*—to ask, “Is Democracy Dying?”

### An Ecclesial Crisis

The crisis in our ability to organize ourselves in civil society also has corollaries in the church. Since the election of Pope Francis, we have seen positive proposals for reforming church structures with a deeper sense of synodality, decentralization, and collegiality. At the same time however, we have seen failures in these efforts to bear fruit and the emergence of new polarizations and special interests within the Body of Christ. The deepening scandal of sexual abuse and the cover-up by bishops have brought

calls for greater lay participation in the life of the church. But what lay people? How will they be chosen? And how will they relate to the local church? Here we can see how the crisis of participation also extends to the church.

### Convergence 2018

In light of these two related crises, ICMICA has launched a campaign **Evangelization and the Crisis of Democracy**. To this end, our 2018 issue of *Convergence* explores the question of democracy with a number of important reflections from our movement around the world. Each illuminates in different ways the reality of the political crisis that we are facing. For instance, the statement from our SIIAEC network offers a thoughtful response to the crisis of democracy facing Europe, particularly following Brexit and the destructive role played by Russia. These themes are echoed in the other articles from Europe, including one by Roza von Thun und Hohenstein, a member of the European Parliament. But of course this crisis goes far beyond Europe. Jojo M. Fung SJ, Marina D’Costa & Denzil Rodrigues offer perspectives from the Asian context; Eric Martin, Leo Guardado, Félix Grández Moreno, and Rolando Ames Cobián draw attention to the crisis in the Americas; and Ludovic Lado, S.J. and Jules Yaovi Wahare speak to some African realities. In his text, Fr. Lado offers a strong challenge to lay people. “This invisibility of the catholic laity in politics is,” he writes, “the main obstacle to the translation social ethics into political practice.” **If what he says is true, what is our role as a lay movement to mobilize active lay engagement in both political life and the life of the church?** We hope that this issue of *Convergence* will help spark greater conversations among our network on this precise question.



Members and friends of Pax Romana at the recent Pre-Synod Event on October 1, 2018 at the Jesuit Curia in Rome.

Des fractures se manifestent sous forme de xénophobie, corruption, intérêts transnationaux puissants, dans l'état démocratique et au niveau global. Cette crise existe aussi dans les efforts de réforme de l'Eglise. A partir d'analyses dans différents contextes, nous nous demanderons : quel est notre rôle de mouvement de laïcs.

Hay una serie de problemas que están perjudicando el sistema participativo, democrático y basado en los derechos. Esto incluso se puede mostrar a nivel global y la crisis de participación se extiende a la iglesia. Este número de *Convergence* tiene como objetivo iniciar conversaciones sobre la crisis de la democracia.

*"We believe that the future depends on our ability to cooperate today."*

## From Fear to Dialogue: Warsaw Statement of SIIAEC

The SIIAEC (\*) Pax Romana Assembly held from 20<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2018 reflected on the question of Solidarity in Europe. The European Union was supposed to set good example of democracy, human rights and rules of law, but nationalists and populists have come to power in several EU countries, although in a democratic way. The situation in such countries, earlier belonging to the Soviet Bloc, requires special attention. Their ruling parties believe that political will is above law. We know of this attitude and its consequences from recent history. The aim of this statement is to invite our members to take part in the renewal of the EU project.

### Back to History

Europe has been wounded by so many wars including huge religious conflicts. The EU is a political answer, a project of peace wanted by those who experienced the devastating effects of racist or nationalist policies. It brings peoples together before being a set of treaties. It is gradually built by "de facto" solidarities, economic activities being one means to achieve this.

In fact we have to remember the political convictions of Robert Schuman, Alcide de Gasperi, Konrad Adenauer and many other prophets of our time, who objected to the humanitarian disasters during the two great wars in the 20th century. They believed that if nationalisms and narrow-minded national interests are rejected in favour of cooperation, solidarity and mutual confidence among nations and peoples, we shall be able to live in peace.

### Evolutions

The context has changed; the liberal approach of global finance has become dominant, putting politics at its service, and creating inequalities and tensions. Hate politics have reappeared against the establishment, Brussels, foreigners, migrants, Jews or Muslims. Public communication mainly at the service of economic or political interests has created a loss of confidence and conspiracy trends. Terrorist attacks and Europe's declining position in the world have developed a culture of fear, looking for protection by new walls.

Today the peoples are greatly divided, both at the European level between East and West, North and South, big and small, and within countries where anti-European feelings are rising and achieve success. These divisions cause difficult European decision-making on tax harmonization, foreign policy, management of crises: Greek debt situation, the war in Ukraine, terrorism, waves of migrants and refugees, Brexit ...

### Sources of Inspiration

- In 1953, Robert Schuman wrote an article for a Pax Romana review entitled "the necessary bases for a

European Community": it is not enough to establish European Institutions. "It would be like a body without a soul. (...) The peoples of the European Community must recognize their solidarity and trust in mutual cooperation (...) our objective must be to establish a spiritual community between human beings and between nations".

- In November 2014 Pope Francis paid a visit to the European Parliament and to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and stated: "Today, the promotion of human rights is central to the commitment of the European Union to advance the dignity of the person, both within the Union and its relation with other countries. Europe will be able to solve the problems associated with immigration only if it is capable of clearly asserting his own cultural identity, protect the rights of European citizens and ensure the acceptance of immigrants".

- In 2017, 400, mostly young, Europeans –scientists, students, lawyers and artists met in Rome. They presented an outstanding "Rome Manifesto": "In the belief that the European Union of today is unfit to face the major challenges of our time, in acknowledgement that the European future is in the people's hands, in the conviction that European unity, rather than division is the best way forward. ...we stand up for Europe... and we invite every European to join us in this endeavor."

### What Should We Do?

We believe that the future depends on our ability to cooperate today. But this is endangered by the culture of fear, that harasses the culture of solidarity, creates mistrust and dehumanizes individuals and groups. We must react by promoting a move from fear and mistrust to encounter, dialogue, and commitment. All actors of civil society, including religions and different walks of life, schools or currents of thought reflecting Europe's plurality, are called, to the extent of their means, to promote human solidarity. This is a challenge for Pax Romana ICMICA and SIIAEC.

## From Fear to Dialogue: Warsaw Statement of SIIAEC Continued

### How?

Here are a few examples for actions:

- To promote actions at the local or national level offering an experience of solidarity and democracy. For example, the actions of MEIC in Torino, the declaration of the Warsaw KIK (\*) together with other NGOs: "Solidarity in truth / Truth and reconciliation calling for Polish Jewish reconciliation".

- To share the actions of our movements at the local or national level that can inspire others, through the project "Listening and dialogue"

- To share our analysis and create on the European level a solidarity platform of analyzing experiences and situations, and deepening the meaning of democracy in Europe,

- To invite lay movements of intellectuals and professionals who are not members of our networks, to work together on topics that concern us all. It is not necessary to recruit them as members but it is essential to cooperate.

- To enhance cooperation between Miacs (International Movements of Specialized Catholic Action), youth and adults, by supporting their European projects. We share common perspectives with different approaches.

- To invite the institutional Church to defend the human person in his dignity as God's image and His child, wherever he is threatened or despised, as well as to practice solidarity with the refugees and seek aid for them. Any xenophobic attitude is fundamentally contrary to Jesus Christ's message.

- To reinforce the cooperation with religious orders engaged in similar perspectives from a different state of life.

- To support the action of our delegates in the international institutions such as the UNO, and in particular the Council of Europe by promoting better connections with the local level.

**KIK (Klub Inteligencji Katolickiej – The Club of Catholic Intelligentsia)**

**SIIAEC The International Secretariat of the Catholic Engineers, Agronomists and Economists;  
Pax Romana ICMICA: International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs**

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L'avenir est menacé par une culture de peur qui déshumanise et détruit la solidarité, Il faut réagir en passant de la méfiance à la rencontre et au dialogue. Tous peuvent y participer par des actions de solidarité locale, des coopérations entre mouvements européens et avec les délégués dans les institutions internationales.

El futuro está amenazado por una cultura de miedo que deshumaniza y destruye la solidaridad. Debemos reaccionar pasando de la desconfianza al encuentro y al diálogo. Todos pueden participar a través de acciones de solidaridad local, cooperación entre movimientos europeos y con delegados en instituciones internacionales.



*Members of the 2016 ICMICA/MIIC Plenary Assembly in Barcelona*

# The Crisis of Democracy in Asia



## *Uneven Democracy in Asia*

—Jojo M. Fung SJ—

Asian democracy is invariably uneven, ranging from the regressive democracy of Myanmar, Philippines and Vietnam to the more authoritarian in China, South Korea, and finally the more robust democracy of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. Democracy is a phase in the political theory of Barbara Geddes who explains how the different kind of totalitarian regimes, from military, single-party, personalist, or amalgams of pure types, morph into different post less-totalitarian and more democratized regimes. In other words, democratization leads to the downfall of dictatorship which is facilitated by poor short-term economic performance. On the other hand, greater economic development leads the citizens to demand for greater democratic governance.<sup>1</sup>

Since the coup in 1988, Myanmar has effectively become a one-party military dictatorship for 22 years under the State Law and Order Restoration Council / State Peace and Development Council (SLORC/SPDC). Since 2004 SLORC was bent on disciplining the flourishing democracy by reconvening the National Assembly to draft a new Constitution. SPDC/the junta initiated the democratization process due to its concern over Myanmar's dependency on China, and wanted more respect rather than being a pariah state. Eventually under Than Shwe, the junta was dissolved on March 30, 2011 and a nominally civilian government initiated transformative policies since the leadership was concerned more about regime maintenance, international reputation, and geopolitical independence, motivated Myanmar's strategic decision to reform and open.<sup>2</sup>

Thailand has at least 11 "successful" and nine "unsuccessful" military coups. As recent as 2014, Thai Army General Prayuth Chan-Ocha staged a coup. The coup was seen as a victory for the elites to quell the

Il y a une grande diversité des régimes, dictatures militaires, régimes à parti unique, et démocraties plus solides. Le développement économique accroît la demande de gouvernance démocratique.

La democracia en Asia es muy desigual, desde la democracia regresiva, a regímenes más autoritarios, a algunas democracias robustas. Este artículo explica las situaciones políticas básicas en Myanmar, Tailandia, Corea del Norte y China, Singapur, Malasia, Filipinas e Indonesia. Fr. Jojo menciona cómo el desarrollo económico es importante en la demanda de una gobernabilidad democrática, lo que se puede ver en algunos de los ejemplos de democracia en Asia.

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populist movement that has won every national election since 2001. Thailand has also been, by most standards, an economic success story and a well-functioning society, consistently outperforming almost all of its neighbors. Close to 100 percent of the population has running water and electricity. The country boasts a robust health care system for the rural communities. The unemployment rate is only around 1 percent. And American and Japanese automotive factories together export more than a million cars a year from the country.<sup>3</sup>

North Korea and China are examples of one-party and personalist regimes. Kim Jong-Un, the current leader with a strong military backing, dispenses coercion and cooption and he enjoys a strong ally in China. Jong-Un was able to shore up his political clout through the recent summit with President Moon Jae-In at the Peace House at the DMZ on April 27, 2018 and with President Trump through the Singapore summit on June 12, 2018. In the meantime, China has witnessed a recent transition to a one-man-one-party-rule at the 19<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China (18-24 October 2017) that abolished the collective leadership under the former President Hu Jintao who governed China through the 9-member Politburo Standing Community. The 10-year limit was introduced by the late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s to ensure stability following the turbulent one-man rule of the Communist China's founder Mao Zedong. This abolition aimed at implementing the *Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characters for a new Era* now enshrined in the Party's Constitution.<sup>4</sup> In Xi's lifetime, China hopes to boost a world-class military, a bustling innovative sector in science and technology, and a robust global economic powerhouse. However activists like Hu Jia fear that the one-party-one-man-rule only warrants greater tightening of the already strict controls on media, civil society and religion.

Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia enjoy robust democracy. In the last decade, the opposition in Singapore and Malaysia has steadily gained more seats in the general election. Singapore enjoys an asymmetrical democracy where the ruling People Action Party (PAP) controls 93 per cent of parliament (83 seats) while the Workers' Party only hold 6 seats in parliament. Both the PAP and WP, facing issues of the rightful succession, are gearing up for the next general election in January 2021...<sup>5</sup>

The exception is Malaysia where the opposition (*Pakatan Harapan*), under the erstwhile leadership of Mahatir deposed the authoritarian and most corrupt regime of Najib and the 61 year grip of power by the National Front (*Barisan Nasional*) in the general election on May 10, 2018.

The Philippines enjoy a robust and politically active civil society with civil liberties that ensures greater freedom and rights of the citizens co-existing with the feudal political systems of the wealthy oligarchy. The EDSA revolution staged by the civil society has kept the oligarchy in check and continues to regulate the dictatorship of President Duterte and rein in the EJK (extrajudicial killing) that has claimed 12,000 lives since Duterte took office in June 2017.<sup>6</sup> President Jokowi, elected on October 24, 2016, has attempted some measures of economic reform by cutting government fuel subsidy, increased allocation of funds for infrastructure,

health and education for the most vulnerable. The civil society has remained steadfast in its defense of the democratic space for religious minorities, victims of the abusive blasphemy, the imprisoned Papuan and Moluccan political prisoners for their nonviolent expression and resistance against the unlawful abuses of the Indonesian security forces.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Barbara Geddes, "Authoritarian Breakdown," Department of Political Science, UCLA, January 2004.

<sup>2</sup>Jonathan T. Chow and Eeif-Eric Easley, "Persuading Pariahs: Myanmar's Strategic Decision to Pursue Reform and Opening," *Pacific Affairs*, 7 (September, 2016), 512-542.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Fuller, "Thailand's Military Stages Coup, Thwarting Populist Movement," <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/23/world/asia/thailand-military-coup.html>, accessed June 30, 2018.

<sup>4</sup>AFP, "President Xi Jinping set to rule China for life as nation's Parliament set to abolish term limit", <https://www.firstpost.com/world/president-xi-jinping-set-to-rule-china-for-life-as-chinese-parliament-abolishes-presidential-term-limits-4385255.html>, accessed June 29, 2018.

<sup>5</sup>Aaron Low, "Will Singapore's Politics Change as its Parties Shift to Gen Next?", <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/2140635/will-singapores-politics-change-its-parties-shift-gen-next-winds>, accessed June 27, 2018.

<sup>6</sup>Human Rights Watch World Report 2018 Philippines, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/philippines>, accessed June 28, 2018.

<sup>7</sup>Human Rights Watch World Report 2018 Indonesia, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/indonesia>, accessed June 28, 2018.



## Resilience: Life-force of Indian Democracy

—Marina D'Costa & Denzil Rodrigues —

"Some people broke my office window in the middle of the night and came in to search for evidences against

them, they give me death threat" said a Jesuit priest from Gujarat who is a human rights activist. I was in his office to learn about his works and it was the time of national 2014 elections. During this time, when many citizens were buying the pro-development agenda of a promising political party; there were some who were constantly ensuring the safeguard of democracy. This tug of war among the citizens got the nation a ruling government which is no less than a nightmare. The senior judges of the Supreme Court in a press conference alleging government interference in appointing Supreme Court judges and warning the citizens of a crisis in democracy has cast a doubt on the autonomous functioning of the Indian Judicial System. At least three journalists were shot dead in 2017. This included the newspaper editor Gauri Lankesh from Bangalore, who had been the target of a hate campaign on social networks. The press in India has lost its freedom, the ruling government restricts the freedom of speech and expression. To the contrary, some media channels promote the interest of the ruling government for monetary gains. Cobrapost, an independent investigative channel conducted an undercover sting named Operation 136 and alleged how Indian media houses were

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willing to promote Hindutva, communal polarisation, defame political rivals and execute nefarious political campaigns for money. The harm done to the Indian economy in various ways has also made the vulnerable farmers of the country march barefoot for their rights. The unnecessary demonetisation and a haphazardly implemented Goods & Services Tax (GST) have exposed the realities of the government. The recent rape case of 'Asifa Bano' an 8 year old Muslim girl who was raped by some goons of the ruling government in a temple shocked the nation. With a lot of ups and downs in the recent years of the newly formed government, the citizens of the country feel betrayed.

It is important to understand that the practices of democracy in India is embedded in its cultural and social practices. Right from geographical boundaries to languages, India is diverse in many ways. Understanding politics at the grassroots means understanding the nitty-gritty of these cultures and social practices. Keeping this at the backdrop one grassroots means understanding the nitty-gritty of these cultures and social practices. Keeping this at the backdrop one needs to truly empathize with a democratic country like India which is diverse with multiple political

parties being obliged to accommodate end number of opinions and conflict of interest. The ruling government has a quite an interesting agenda of “The Hindutva Nation”. One of the boon in a democratic nation is right to choose your religion...

...The idea of a Hindutva nation has caused distress among citizens especially the minorities. This propaganda of Hindutva which mainly targets the Muslim and the Christian communities is a downfall to the nation’s image of unity in diversity. Christian missionaries have worked in the country for years for the welfare of the people. Conversion into the Christian/Catholic faith has been a matter of choice rather than force for people. Acculturation of the practices within the church in the light of Indian traditions, access to the bible and services in local languages has made the faith stronger. Dalit communities and the tribal communities have embraced the Catholic faith to find solace in the time of oppression and their generations have grown to have witnessed the church and its teachings. The Catholic Church in India has an established structure and also embraces ecumenical dialogues. The Catholic Church has made

immense contributions right from education to social development in its true secular sense. The church in India participates in social responsibilities, seeking the common good especially of the marginalized. In the last few years, the news has reported many instances where Christians have been attacked in numerous ways. It is interesting to see how the church builds a spirit of resilience and does not get carried away from its mission.

It is just not India, democracy is at stake in so many countries around the world. The issues of human rights are now a global concern. Looks like the emergency declared in 1975 in India has faded from the popular consciousness. Today, India is running in historical parallels causing threat to world’s largest democracy. Only because the citizens of the country have the power to choose its government, does not necessarily make the essence of democracy thrive. India’s democracy in the current affairs can be pictured as a ‘Tangled Web’ and the spirit of resilience in nation building brings hope to India’s democracy.

Malgré les dérives, beaucoup de personnes veillent à la sauvegarde de la démocratie. Face à un programme gouvernemental qui nie les diversités religieuses indiennes, l’Eglise construit un esprit de résilience. Cette situation concerne beaucoup de pays du monde, car pouvoir choisir son gouvernement ne suffit pas à faire vivre la démocratie.

Marina escribe sobre la situación política en India, de la cual ella dice que el gobierno gobernante es "nada menos que una pesadilla". Las restricciones a la libertad de expresión y expresión son comunes, y algunos canales de medios promueven al gobierno por dinero. Ella dice que para entender la democracia en la India debes comprender su diversidad. La Iglesia Católica en India busca el bien común para los marginados.



*Pictured: Marina (R) working on the statement document at Asian Theology Forum-2013 in Chiang Mai, Thailand.*

## *ISKA Asked by Indonesian Government to Tackle Extremism*

At their 60th anniversary celebrations on May 20th, 2018, Moeldoko, the presidential chief of staff of Indonesia asked the Association of Indonesian Catholic Intellectuals (ISKA) to work to address extremism and to help promote the 1945 Indonesian constitution and its national philosophy, Pancasila, a principle of unity through diversity. "I hope the ISKA, as an organization with a strong commitment to promoting national unity, can really become this nation's pillar of strength to continue national development," he said.

ISKA chairman Vincentius Hargo Mandirahardjo said the organization has and always will be at the forefront in dealing with issues threatening national unity. "We cannot stay silent when our nation is facing threats such as radicalism and fake news stoking religious sentiments.



*Presidential chief of staff, Moeldoko, signs a new book launched by ISKA. Photo by Katharina R Lestari/ucanews.com*

Read more at the source/ photo credit by Katharina Lester at UCA News: <https://www.ucanews.com/news/jakarta-seeks-catholic-ally-in-fight-against-radicalism/82461>

# The Crisis of Democracy in Europe

## *Democracy and Synodality. Final Declaration of MEIC (Italy)*



The Movimento ecclesiale di impegno culturale (MEIC) is the Italian member of ICMICA Pax Romana. The following is the statement from their 2018 theological session in the monastery of Camaldoli in Tuscany. Translated from Italian by Philippe Ledouble.

### Democracy

We look with great concern at this historic moment, which is characterised by a crisis of democratic forms of participation and governance and, more deeply, of the very principles of democracy. The idea prevails that governing means opposing interests, thus exasperating rather than healing the social divisions: between Italians and foreigners, between north and south, between poor and rich, between young and old, between those who have guarantees and those who have not, between national needs and European responsibilities.

We are aware, as men and women who care about civil and democratic life, that we have responsibilities in not having always grasped the extent of this process of degradation of democracy. As Christians and citizens we therefore consider it urgent:

- to rediscover those values and that civil passion that inspired the moment of the country's democratic construction when it was possible to combine a political vision of the common good with skills;
- to actively participate again in the social and political debate, convinced that, in the confrontation between different instances and in the search for adequate mediation, a cohesive civil community is built which is open to the future;
- to commit ourselves to building itineraries of political culture, re-launching the European project on a popular and institutional level for an inclusive coexistence, based on solidarity, in the context of a social market economy;
- to collaborate with other associations and launch study initiatives to meet the global challenges of our time, such as the divorce between truth and

communication and the separation between finance and the real economy, seeking possible solutions and promoting good practices at the local level (as also suggested by Pope Francis in *Laudato Si'*);

- promote the introduction of new forms of participation in the system of representative democracy in order to inform, discuss and deliberate on key issues.

### Synodality

Synodality is a constitutive dimension of the Church, a dimension yet to be realized in the ordinary experience of our communities. As Christians we therefore consider it urgent:

- to create networks of relationships, contributing to the development of a model of the Synodal Church that recognizes and values the charisms of each individual;
- to initiate a reflection on the role of the laity in the decision-making processes of the Church, starting from the parish level, valuing the skills of each person in a style of co-responsibility with equal dignity;
- to contribute to fraternal dialogue among the Christian Churches, promoting an exchange of good practices and experimenting with forms of synodality;
- to have formative paths to common synodality for lay people and priests;
- to promote community discernment on ecclesial and civil matters, and to exercise co-responsibility in the decision, execution and verification of the choices made.



*Members from Catalonia at the 2017 European Congress*

Comment développer de nouvelles formes de participation dans la société et dans l'Eglise ? Dans la société par la participation au débat, des études thématiques et des lieux de formation politique. Dans l'Eglise par le discernement communautaire, les expériences de synodalité et la participation des laïcs à la décision.

Existe una idea de que el gobierno significa intereses opuestos, lo que divide aún más a grupos de personas. La participación y promoción de la sinodalidad son nuestra responsabilidad en la vida democrática como cristianos.



# Crisis y democracia: retos y desafíos

Ramón Ibeas / BKA – Pax Romana Euskad



Ramón Ibeas is the Secretary General of Caritas in Vitoria, Basque Country, Spain. He is the former European vice president for ICMICA.

En los últimos años el binomio crisis y democracia aparece como un *continuum* pero esto ni es nuevo ni probablemente cierto. La democracia como herramienta de gobierno enfrenta una dimensión geopolítica diferente, un modelo económico que supera los márgenes del Estado nación y por ello, la necesidad de revisar su aplicación a los nuevos escenarios de ¿Crisis? Quizá mejor de nuevos desafíos. Se nos pide que analicemos el binomio crisis y democracia desde la realidad de Euskadi y en este sentido tenemos que empezar por indicar que nuestra democracia tiene una buena salud, probablemente mejorable; que no está vacunada contra los avatares del mundo...pero que se va construyendo buscando consensos a pesar de que posiciones políticas extremas hayan hecho de la violencia un escenario cotidiano durante demasiados años.

En el caso vasco, la cuestión de la soberanía es un reto político de larga trayectoria, que se enfrenta a la necesidad de construir un espacio en el conviven tres lenguas compartidas, euskara, francés y español; con una ciudadanía identitariamente diversa y construida sobre tres imaginarios y sin una idea común de pertenencia. Estos son los mimbres con los que hay que ir construyendo un espacio democrático con soberanías compartidas que, a día de hoy está lejos de ser posible por la falta de disposición política para resolver esta cuestión. Dicho de otro modo, ni España ni Francia están dispuestas a ceder soberanía a Euskadi si no se respeta el actual status quo. La articulación política de esta realidad constituye un desafío político en nuestro país que supone, como afirma el filósofo Daniel Innerarity, superar la correlación entre Estado nación y sujeto democrático. El tema se puede expresar de maneras diferentes, pero en el fondo apunta a la cuestión clave de definir el sujeto de derecho en entornos de soberanía compartida.

Este desafío tiene una relación directa con una segunda cuestión, a mi modo de ver, no menos importante, la cuestión de la convivencia. El alineamiento que hace la población entre sus opciones políticas y su sentimiento de pertenencia es claro, así el voto nacionalista es fundamentalmente de quienes reivindican una soberanía con Euskadi como sujeto de derecho mientras el voto no nacionalista entiende que la soberanía reside en los Estados, bien sea el Español o el Francés, mientras que una solución autonomista, esto es, un poder regional salvaría el deseo de autogobierno. Además, hay que recordar el hecho de que la presencia de la violencia, en particular la violencia de ETA, no ha hecho más que complicar este escenario con más de mil muertos, presos, víctimas indirectas, repercusiones sociales y económicas en los últimos cincuenta años.

Somos el país que cuida la lengua más antigua de Europa, el euskara. Mantenerla es otro de nuestros desafíos. Sumarla al elenco de los bienes inmateriales de la humanidad, un reto. Sacarla del debate identitario, una obligación. Y es necesario recordar que una lengua es una cultura, un sentimiento, es un elemento subjetivo de primer orden en la construcción de un imaginario.

No tenemos mucho espacio, pero no quiero dejar de apuntar algunas cuestiones en referencia a la economía. En primer lugar, nuestro modelo apuesta por un Estado de Bienestar de raíz democristiana que ha sabido sumar a la socialdemocracia y que, a día de hoy, cuenta con un consenso de fondo, aunque no en las formas.

Nuestro futuro gira en torno a lo que seamos capaces de construir y en este desafío, el reto está en evitar la consolidación de una sociedad de dos velocidades: una Euskadi 4.0, competitiva, que presume en Europa y en el mundo de estándares de calidad comparables a los mejores, pero que a la vez subsidie, para que no molesten, a quienes, por avatares de la vida, han perdido el tren del “progreso”. Los mecanismos correctores de desigualdades, como la Renta de Garantía de Ingresos, cubren las necesidades económicas de las personas sin ingresos pero, desde una perspectiva cristiana, no podemos ni debemos olvidar las palabras de Pablo VI cuando reivindicaba el *desarrollo de todas y toda la persona*. Por ello, la equidad en un marco global y europeo ha de ser el horizonte de una sociedad cohesionada y abierta a nuevos fenómenos como la inmigración, el reto ecológico o la solidaridad intergeneracional.

Somos un pequeño país que miramos a Europa y desde ahí al mundo, nuestros desafíos son compartidos y es por ello por lo que creemos sinceramente en que la solución a muchos de nuestros problemas apuntan en la línea de trabajar por el bien común, algo que como dice Kant en la *Crítica al Juicio*, es de sentido común.

Ramón Ibeas questions whether there is a “crisis” of democracy in the Basque Country, or rather new challenges. He states that in the Basque Country sovereignty has been a political question for a long time. Another issue is in keeping their language, the oldest in Europe, which is so deeply connected to their culture. Ibeas ends with mentioning their economy, whose “model is committed to a welfare state”.

Ramón Ibeas se demande s'il existe une «crise» de la démocratie au Pays basque ou plutôt de nouveaux défis. Il affirme que dans le pays basque la souveraineté est une question politique depuis longtemps. Un autre problème est de garder leur langue, la plus ancienne d'Europe, si profondément liée à leur culture. Ibeas finit par mentionner leur économie, dont le «modèle est engagé dans un État providence».

# The Crisis of Democracy in North America

## *Charlottesville and (Un)Free Speech*

Eric Martin

Eric Martin is a doctoral candidate in theology at Fordham University. He is active in a number of social movements, including the Catholic Worker, and efforts to oppose white supremacy in the United States.



*Religious leaders demonstrate against white supremacists at the Charlottesville Protests in 2017. Eric Martin is pictured second from left in top row.*

Our little town of Charlottesville, Virginia has felt the full force of white supremacy's renewed visibility in the Trump era. And while the violence here last August made headlines around the world, our problems existed long before and have festered long after the news cycle briefly focused its lens on the events in our streets. At the first city council meeting after the alt-right "rally," residents took over the proceedings and drove the councilors away. One of the people to speak that night against city politicians, Nikuyah Walker, is now our first black female mayor. She and others are now planning for a potentially violent anniversary that may see many of the neo-Nazis and KKK members unite again.

The consistent presence of white supremacists in our town raises serious democratic issues surrounding free speech. They often argue that their activities are protected by the first amendment, guaranteeing freedom of speech. In reality both their rhetoric and their physical violence crosses the boundaries of government-protected forms of expression. Advocating for the genocide of the Jews, calling for members of our community to be beaten because they are black, starting campaigns against trans women who are showered with rape and death threats, their speech causes violence, and last August was the predictable result of allowing such speech.

In the face of police inaction last August and the legal action brought against black community members who defended themselves while the police watched from across the street, our town is organizing to protect and advocate for each other. We have created a resiliency fund raising thousands of dollars for those facing unjust prosecution and people paying medical bills from the car attack last summer as they continue to heal. Coordinated court support lets those caught in legal proceedings see the

presence of their community at their trial, countering the attendance of white supremacists. Communication channels have been established so the visitor's room in jail is full when people get arrested for just causes. These and many more initiatives have been created and run by some of those who are most vulnerable to white supremacist violence: people of color, queer folks, and women. Meanwhile, Jews courageously partook in the clergy meetings and marched against the neo-Nazis who call for their annihilation. It is the leadership of these people who our systems marginalize that gives us concrete reason to hope in Charlottesville.

Charlottesville subit la violence organisée par les suprémacistes blancs, avec menaces de mort contre les noirs, les juifs... Mais face à l'inaction de la police, la société civile organise la résistance : fonds de soutien, protection juridique, soins de santé, manifestations contre les néonazis.

La violencia en Charlottesville en agosto pasado causada por supremacistas blancos llamó la atención del mundo, pero este ha sido un problema constante en el área. Los supremacistas blancos plantean el tema de la libertad de expresión, sin embargo su retórica y violencia cruzan los límites de la expresión protegida. Ahora, Charlottesville se está organizando para protegerse unos a otros, incluidas las poblaciones más vulnerables, dando razones para la esperanza.

## *Selections from Pope Francis to US Congress, 2015*

"All of us are quite aware of, and deeply worried by, the disturbing social and political situation of the world today. Our world is increasingly a place of violent conflict, hatred and brutal atrocities, committed even in the name of God and of religion....The contemporary world, with its open wounds which affect so many of our brothers and sisters, demands that we confront every form of polarization which would divide it into these two camps. We know that in the attempt to be freed of the enemy without, we can be tempted to feed the enemy within. To imitate the hatred and violence of tyrants and murderers is the best way to take their place. That is something which you, as a people, reject...

...Our response must instead be one of hope and healing, of peace and justice. We are asked to summon the courage and the intelligence to resolve today's many geopolitical and economic crises. Even in the developed world, the effects of unjust structures and actions are all too apparent. Our efforts must aim at restoring hope, righting wrongs, maintaining commitments, and thus promoting the well-being of individuals and of peoples. We must move forward together, as one, in a renewed spirit of fraternity and solidarity, cooperating generously for the common good."

# The Crisis of Democracy in Latin America



## *Crisis de la Democracia y Malestar Social en Occidente: La Esperanza Cristiana*

Rolando Ames Cobián

Rolando Ames Cobián is a Peruvian intellectual politician. He served as a senator from the from 1985 to 1990 and is active in the ICMICA Movement in Peru. He is currently a professor at the Department of Social Sciences of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru.

Sólo el vocablo “democracia” y más aún, sus distintos conceptos pueblan el lenguaje y el sentido de las prácticas sociales de la humanidad desde comienzos de la modernidad. Los movimientos se suceden a favor y en contra de ella. Pero la velocidad y la intensidad en los cambios de valoración de la democracia aumentan tanto que uno no sabe si este ritmo lleva ya una década o la aceleración mayor viene sólo, digamos, de los últimos 3 años. Todo cambia más y más rápido y no parece que para bien. Esto último es por ahora lo más visible.

Los procesos sociales de democratización, ellos sí, siguen fuertes. Son, hoy también, el fenómeno colectivo más transversal a todo el planeta: Primero, se expresaron en el despertar de las iniciativas individuales y sociales, vía por ejemplo el comercio y sobre todo la migración a las urbes a buscar trabajo y “progreso” allí. Al comenzar esos procesos, una propuesta más pensada, respondió a la necesidad de organizar y legitimar nuevas formas de gobierno. Es decir a las elecciones y “la política representativa” con la división de poderes de Montesquieu. Hoy casi toda la población mundial, aún con actores de poder muy distintos, se gobierna en este modo institucional estatal.

La calificación de crisis se levanta hoy desde la mala evaluación que tiene esta democracia política. La sensación de indiferencia ante ella era lo que más preocupante hasta hace poco. En el último tiempo es su negación práctica, el culto al caudillismo autoritario, lo que es amenaza efectiva. Pero es en la vida social cotidiana donde puede estar el dato que veo más grave. La pérdida de calidad de la vida en medio del espectacular progreso científico-técnico. Las brechas de desigualdad social, consideradas

On constate un rejet de la démocratie au profit du chef de guerre autoritaire. Précarité et insécurité poussent au retrait défensif. Les grands pouvoirs non contrôlés par les états, comme la finance, suscitent un retour vers le politique, exploité par des dirigeants cyniques. L'espérance chrétienne a un rôle à

Les processus sociaux de démocratisation ont conduit à l'éveil des initiatives individuelles et sociales. Mais Rolando Cobián affirme que la crise actuelle découle de la mauvaise évaluation de cette démocratie politique, en particulier en ce qui concerne la perte de qualité de vie, malgré les progrès réalisés en matière d'inégalité sociale. Le christianisme comble le vide entre être responsable de soi, éduquer sa subjectivité et servir l'autre, qui en a le plus besoin. Ce «facteur chrétien» conduit à l'appel à la politique en tant que serviteur de la justice.

algún tiempo como legado del atraso pre-moderno, crecen hoy, de otras maneras, aún en países avanzados en ciencia y tecnología.

La democracia política requiere niveles de desigualdad social no extremos. Para los lectores del MIIC el hecho no requiere mayor desarrollo. Entonces el vínculo ente los datos más recientes sobre que la importantísima reducción de la pobreza desde el siglo XX empiece a convivir con cifras ya significativas sobre el aumento de la desigualdad, producen el alerta central de esta reflexión: La miseria sigue siendo el modo peor de vida para más de un 10 % de seres humanos, concentrados sobre todo en Africa, pero los sectores medios cuyo aumento tanto se celebra, viven amenazados de precariedad y soportando desigualdades que niegan los mejores sentidos de la democracia. Y eso de modos diversos ocurre sin embargo en el Norte y en el Sur.



*Members at the 2017 European Congress in Paris*

La inseguridad urbana, la mala calidad en educación y salud públicas, el aumento de la corrupción, impulsan en la vida cotidiana al retraimiento defensivo en la seguridad de los grupos más íntimos: De la familia, si ésta aún se mantiene unida y cercana, o los grupos inmediatos en los que se puede encontrar alguna protección, incluso en formatos un poco tribales, porque el costo no importa ante la necesidad de un “nosotros” que ofrezca reconocimiento y defensa mutua.

A fines del siglo XX El profesor francés Alain Touraine escribió un libro que tituló: ¿Podemos vivir juntos?. Hace poco en Perú, comprobé que hoy la pregunta suscita respuestas casi polares: Y que el factor nuevo mayor es la existencia de nuevos procesos de exclusión, concepto que ha retornado al análisis social y sobre el cual la voz del papa Francisco ha sido tan elocuente. Todo ello expresa el malestar por las formas en que, se están vinculando el mercado, los Estados y la cultura. La falta de balance institucional al poder no regulado, desmedido, que han alcanzado los poderes fácticos, especialmente los financieros. Y la omnipotencia de otras redes globales que escapan al control de los Estados nacionales.

Es verdad que aún domina en Occidente, la creencia que este sistema social centrado en el consumo y el goce inmediato, sostenido en la imagen de que “todo se puede comprar” se seguirá expandiendo. Pero ahora hay más motivos de temor y desconfianza. Por eso la gente está volviendo su mirada a la política.

Allí, la primera ola de demanda de salvadores ha sido aprovechada por cínicos autoritarios con mucho poder mediático como Donald Trump. El liberalismo democrático tiene aún una vitalidad latente muy importante pero si bien ha marcado las instituciones políticas y parte de la cultura cívica hasta hoy, no genera respuestas innovadoras aún. El deterioro de una educación de calidad tiene mucho que ver con todo esto. Cierro esta reflexión muy apretada, destacando que la cultura cristiana tiene recursos que podrían ser fuente de esperanza en este duro tiempo mundial para re-articular política y ética a la escala que hace falta.



*Student leaders at pre-Synod event co-sponsored by ICMICA in New York in September 2018*

Lo principal me parece, es recordar las fuentes de valoración honda de la política como la instancia que se ocupa del gobierno, es decir, del cuidado de todos. Casi no existen corrientes de reflexión en Occidente con este tema como prioridad constante. Y la fuerza del individualismo hoy, ha llevado hasta elogiar el imposible de un mundo sin política.

El cristianismo en cambio, como fe, como espiritualidad y como pensamiento social ha insistido siempre en la importancia de lo que ocurre en la historia humana concreta como campo de prueba del seguimiento o no al mensaje de Jesús. Esta perspectiva es más fuerte por el regreso a esas fuentes desde el drama de las guerras mundiales. Se trata, de que la humanidad alcanzará su plenitud, si practica la fraternidad, “la locura” del “amaos los unos a los otros.” Pero también que es de la libertad personal de hombres y mujeres que ello depende.

Los Estados son aparatos de control, pero sus autoridades definen qué sentido adquiere cada orden estatal territorial. El cristianismo alimenta como valiosa la tensión entre ser responsable de ti mismo, de educar tu subjetividad y a la vez, de servir al otro, al que más lo necesita. Y de allí viene el llamado a comprometerte en política para organizar la sociedad al servicio de la justicia. Se decía por eso que no fue casual la presencia de un factor cristiano en el origen de la unidad europea.

Y también en América Latina, tanto en las luchas de los movimientos de liberación popular como en los liderazgos de los partidos políticos comprometidos con las causas de transformación ha sido importante la presencia activa de agentes portadores de esta sensibilidad. Ante los cambios y el malestar urge estar con los sencillos pero influir también en las macro decisiones. En la renovación de la política la esperanza cristiana debiera estar más presente... y que no sea sólo el papa Francisco.



*Mass at the 2016 ICMICA/MIIC Plenary Assembly in Barcelona*

## Déficit de humanidad

Félix Grández Moreno

Félix es sociólogo de la PUCP- Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Tiene una amplia experiencia en gestión pública y políticas sociales con personas y grupos que viven en la pobreza. Félix era Presidente de la Unión Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos - UNEC en los '80 y actual miembro del Movimiento de Profesionales Católicos de Perú - MPC.



L'actuelle transformation de la condition humaine est à l'origine de nombreuses crises actuelles: l'humain devient une machine à performance, libre de toute influence extérieure. Mais sans maître il devient esclave de lui-même. Cette disparition du principe d'altérité crée un déficit d'humanité.

C'est un moment important dans l'histoire du monde et du Pérou. Moreno fait référence à un sociologue qui affirme que l'individualisme joue un rôle si important chez les citoyens de Lima. Il affirme qu'au niveau mondial, l'être humain devient une «machine performante», ce qui ne conduit qu'à une redéfinition du pouvoir dans lequel nous nous exploitons. Ainsi, la société transforme le sens de l'humanité et les formes d'exercice du pouvoir.

“revoluciones cognitiva, agrícola y científica”.

Desde otra perspectiva, la de la filosofía política, Byung Chul Han propone una potente lectura que permite ver este momento a escala global, en clave de libertad y con un nuevo sentido del poder.

A nivel global, el ser humano se está convirtiendo en una “máquina de rendimiento”, un sujeto emprendedor, que se percibe libre de un dominio externo y solo sometido a sí mismo.

Por eso, Chul sostiene que “vivimos una fase histórica especial” en la que “el sujeto del rendimiento, que se pretende libre, es en realidad un esclavo absoluto, en la medida en que sin amo alguno se explota a sí mismo de forma voluntaria”.

Desde esta perspectiva, hay también una redefinición del poder. “La crisis de libertad consiste en que estamos ante una técnica de poder que no niega o somete la libertad, sino que la explota... El botón de *me gusta* es su signo”.

En resumen, a escala global, la manera en la que la sociedad produce a los individuos está transformando el sentido de humanidad y las formas de ejercicio del poder, creando un nuevo escenario para la acción en muy diferentes planos. La práctica desaparición de la “otredad” crea un déficit de humanidad, mucho más importante que el déficit fiscal que preocupa a los economistas.

Vivimos un momento importante en la historia del país y del mundo. Un momento de cambios profundos, para algunos similar al que se vivió en el paso del medioevo a la modernidad.

La crisis de representación política de la que se habla en estos días, pero también fenómenos tan disímiles como la informalidad la economía o el incremento de la depresión y los problemas de salud mental, serían apenas efectos de esa transición mayor.

Vivimos en el Perú y a nivel global una transformación en la sensibilidad de las personas, que tiene lugar como producto de un cambio en la forma en que la sociedad produce a los individuos.

Al analizar los últimos 60 años en Lima, el sociólogo Danilo Martucelli sostiene que aquí “se produce un individuo que siente que tiene que hacerse cargo de sí mismo”. Un individuo consciente de las enormes desigualdades, pero convencido de que no depende del Estado y que, por ello, utiliza todos los recursos a su alcance para alcanzar su bienestar.

Para Martucelli, “el individualismo limeño es así una variante, con fuerte personalidad, del individualismo agéntico propio a América Latina”. Si ello es así, y es lo que se intenta sostener en este artículo, esta problemática no es sólo local.

A nivel global, hace años, en su breve historia de la humanidad, el best seller recomendado por Barack Obama, el historiador Yuval Noah Harari hablaba también del proceso de cambios en la condición humana y advertía indicios de una cuarta gran revolución, luego de las



Participants at the 2016 ICMICA/MIIC Plenary Assembly in Barcelona

# The Crisis of Democracy in Africa



## *La crise de la démocratie: la réponse des intellectuels et des professionnels catholiques*

Dr. Jules Yaovi Wahare

Dr Jules Yaovi WAHARE, Anthropologue de développement à l'Université de Lomé au Togo. Spécialiste en Gouvernance locale, Management, Genre & Développement. Président national du MIIC Pax Romana Togo & SG du MIIC Pax Romana Afrique.

Les processus électoraux en Afrique et à travers le monde sont régis par des règles de droit. Ces règles et droit ne sont pas toujours comprises par tous mais ce sont néanmoins sur elles que reposent ces processus dits démocratiques en raison de la place qu'ils accordent aux peuples ou plus exactement à la mobilisation des populations en vue de la construction d'une forme de légitimité des pouvoirs politiques. Et comme l'a souligné Monney Mouandjo<sup>1</sup> (2012), « *le rôle et la place du droit dans la conduite des processus électoraux renvoie à un questionnement multiforme qui rend la problématique démocratique à la fois simple et complexe* ». Elle est simple dans la mesure où, elle fait appel au peuple en encadrant son action par des règles de droit, mais elle est tout aussi complexe, parce qu'il reste vague sur ce qu'est la notion de "peuple" en obligeant cet inconnu a priori banal à intégrer un arsenal juridique dont la compréhension varie en fonction des acteurs du jeu électoral ; des acteurs dont la lecture et l'interprétation de la loi, varient en fonction des évolutions conjoncturelles de la vie politique.

Mais la démocratie est un système politique, une forme de gouvernement dans lequel la souveraineté émane du peuple. C'est un système de rapports établis à l'intérieur d'une institution, d'un groupe, etc., où il est tenu compte, aux divers niveaux hiérarchiques, des avis de ceux qui ont à exécuter les tâches commandées. Par définition, la démocratie est le gouvernement du peuple par et avec le peuple, ainsi que pour le peuple ; mais faut-il encore que le peuple sache ce qu'il veut tant en politique intérieure qu'extérieure. Il y a ainsi présupposition d'un niveau populaire culturel suffisant. En effet, les États d'Afrique utilisaient, pendant les indépendances en 1960 comme idéologie politique, des systèmes politiques dictatoriaux et assassins pour ceux qui se dressent contre leur autorité. Cette tendance va changer dans grand nombre de pays à partir des années 1990 grâce à l'adoption d'un système démocratique. Après bientôt une trentaine d'années depuis lors, la question est de savoir qu'est ce qu'en réalité, la démocratie en Afrique?

### **La démocratie héritée en Afrique**

Étymologiquement, le mot « démocratie » tient ses origines du grec *dēmokratia* qui est formé de *dēmos*, le « peuple », et de *kratos*, le « pouvoir » ou l'« autorité ». On parle donc de pouvoir du peuple, de gouvernement du peuple. Abraham Lincoln, président des États-Unis de 1860 à 1865, a déclaré à juste titre que la démocratie était « le gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple ». Suivant ce

principe, la souveraineté appartient donc au peuple, qui choisit ceux qui le gouverneront. C'est le « peuple », c'est-à-dire la population des citoyens regroupée sur un territoire, qui y est gouverné. La spécificité d'un système démocratique est que les gouvernés sont censés être en même temps des gouvernants, associés aux principales décisions engageant la vie de la cité. Et c'est parce que le peuple est à la fois sujet (c'est-à-dire soumis au pouvoir politique) et souverain (détenteur de ce pouvoir) que les systèmes démocratiques sont supposés agir dans l'intérêt du peuple. Ainsi, selon le dictionnaire Larousse, la démocratie est le régime politique dans lequel le pouvoir est détenu ou contrôlé par le peuple (principe de souveraineté), sans qu'il y ait de distinctions sur la base de la naissance, la richesse ou de la compétence (principe d'égalité). Les autres principes et fondements de la démocratie se basent sur la liberté des individus ; la règle de la majorité ; l'existence d'une constitution et d'une juridiction associée ; la séparation des pouvoirs (législatif, exécutif et judiciaire) ; la consultation régulière du peuple par élection ou référendum ; la pluralité des partis politiques et l'indépendance de la justice...

Dr. Wahare writes that democracy is a political system in which sovereignty emanates from the people. The question now is what actually is democracy in Africa? He says that in reality African countries did not have desire to change to a democratic system, but had to do so in order to enjoy the privileges that democracy offers at the international level. In several places in Africa, during the weeks before elections there are many intimidations of the opposition. In Togo, many agree that there is a socio-political crisis. In response to these crises, there must be involvement of different actors in the democratic process, including Catholic intellectuals and professionals.

Dr. Wahare escribe que la democracia es un sistema político en el cual la soberanía emana del pueblo. La pregunta ahora es ¿qué es realmente la democracia en África? Él dice que en realidad los países africanos no tenían el deseo de cambiar a un sistema democrático, sino que tenían que hacerlo para disfrutar de los privilegios que la democracia ofrece a nivel internacional. En varios lugares de África, durante las semanas previas a las elecciones hay muchas intimidaciones de la oposición. En Togo, muchos coinciden en que hay una crisis sociopolítica. En respuesta a estas crisis, debe haber participación de diferentes actores en el proceso democrático, incluidos intelectuales y profesionales católicos.

...De ce fait, la démocratie s'oppose aux autres régimes politiques que sont la monarchie absolue (pouvoir aux mains d'un seul homme) ; l'aristocratie (pouvoir aux mains des soient disant « meilleurs ») ; de l'oligarchie (pouvoir aux mains d'un petit nombre de personnes ou de familles) ; de la théocratie (pouvoir aux mains d'une caste sacerdotale) et de l'empire, la dictature et autres régimes totalitaires. En réalité, les pays africains n'avaient pas le désir de quitter leur système politique dictatorial prônant le parti unique auquel ils étaient habitués et qui les promulguait un certain contrôle absolu grâce à un esprit de terreur et l'arbitrage



pour ceux qui ne s'y conformaient pas, pour un système démocratique qui est pour la liberté d'expression et la diversité des opinions. Mais la démocratie étant un nouveau modèle de système politique qui était très en vogue, il fallait s'y conformer pour pouvoir avoir accès aux privilèges, qu'offrait la scène internationale.

D'après Institut Freedom House, seulement 9 pays africains appliquent la liberté individuelle et collective, et ils correspondent à 13% de la population de l'Afrique. Selon le PNUD 2002, sur le plan économique, 38 pays d'Afrique sont positionnés parmi les 50 derniers pays pauvres du monde. De plus, le revenu par personne, de 15 d'entre eux, est le plus bas au monde. On observe que cette dégradation est causée par des troubles d'ordre social et politique, encouragés par l'adhésion à la démocratie. En effet, lorsque les régimes dictatoriaux parvenaient à contraindre sans problème leur peuple à une paix sociale, primordiale pour l'investissement étranger, ils créaient les conditions favorables pour la bonne marche du commerce et donc, de leurs économies nationales.

### Quelques facteurs de la crise de la démocratie en Afrique francophone

Depuis la conférence de la Baule on parle beaucoup de démocratie en Afrique francophone. Elle a trouvé ça et là parmi les dirigeants africains, beaucoup adeptes puisque presque tous les pays africains ont épousé cette idée. Selon H. Paris<sup>2</sup> (2009), l'année 2011 a été la grande année électorale en Afrique avec pas moins de 18 élections pour la consolidation de la démocratie dans certains pays mais aussi, une expression de sources d'instabilité dans d'autres. Depuis l'année 2000, des élections multipartites ont été organisées dans 49 des 53 pays d'Afrique avec une appropriation par les élites politiques, du vocabulaire de la démocratie et du vote pour des intérêts inavoués : effet des pressions de la communauté internationale ; obtention de l'aide au développement à l'exercice démocratique ; manière de relégitimer un régime en perte de vitesse et de se réinventer comme promoteur de la démocratie (le cas des feux présidents Gnassingbé Eyadema au Togo et Omar Bongo au Gabon); opportunisme car l'adhésion à la norme démocratique peut permettre à de nouveaux entrants de

décrédibiliser l'élite sortante (c'est le cas de Laurent Gbagbo en Côte d'Ivoire qui s'était présenté comme fervent démocrate) ; institutions africaines ardentes et promotrices de la démocratie (ce qui a permis à l'Union

Africaine dans le sillage des grand leaders continentaux tels que le sud africain Thabo Mbeki ou le nigérian Obasanjo Olusogun, de projeter l'image d'une Afrique moderne tournée vers l'avenir.

En effet, lors des élections au Togo de 2003 et au Gabon de 2005, malgré les violations des droits de l'homme décriées à leur endroit, les présidents Gnassingbé Eyadema et Omar Bongo ont été réélus à

la tête de leurs pays. Ceux qui sont au pouvoir en Afrique utilisent presque la même méthode pour se faire des résultats aux présidentielles. Quelques semaines avant ces élections, on procède à de nombreuses intimidations (interdiction de sortie du territoire pour certains opposants, confiscation de passeport pour d'autres) et arrestations parmi les membres de l'opposition. Certains opposants dont se redoutent les partis au pouvoir, sont déclarés dans ces circonstances, non éligibles tandis que certains des candidats de l'opposition sont même empêchés de se présenter devant les électeurs. C'est le cas au Togo de l'opposant traditionnel Gilchrist Olympio qui a vu sa candidature être rejetée par la CENI (Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante) lors du dépôt de candidature en mai 2003 pour raison de non résidence sur le territoire togolais durant les douze derniers mois. En Afrique, pendant les campagnes présidentielles, les candidats de l'opposition connaissent plusieurs entraves qui les empêchent soit de circuler librement sur toute l'étendue du territoire soit d'organiser des réunions politiques. Le parti au pouvoir monopolise les médias publics et finances publiques qui sont les ressources stratégiques dont se servent les dirigeants africains aux allures de démocrates en violant les dispositions légales qui garantissent indistinctement aux candidats, l'accès libre et égal aux médias et ressources de l'Etat.

### Crise socio politique de la démocratie au Togo

Les défis et enjeux de la démocratisation depuis le début des premières élections multipartites et donc démocratiques en 1993 au Togo et amplifiée par la crise socio politique togolaise du 19 août 2017, les revendications démocratiques n'ont pas été du tout sereines au Togo. En effet, suite aux élections présidentielles contestées de 2015, l'ANC (Alliance Nationale pour le Changement) avec son leader Jean Pierre Fabre, chef de file de l'opposition a invité la population à réclamer le départ du président Faure Gnassingbé par les marches de rue surtout à Lomé. Après deux ans de marches sans succès, ce mouvement a commencé par s'essouffler et contre toute attente, le...

...PNP (Parti National Panafricain) de Tchikpi Atchadam a surgit aux cotés de l'ANC le 19 août 2017 avec des marches dans presque toutes les grandes villes du pays. Ce nouveau regain avec la C14<sup>3</sup> (Coalition de 14 partis de l'opposition) a pour mot d'ordre, le retour à la constitution originelle de 1992 avec alors la démission sans condition du président Faure qui a brigué un troisième mandat en 2015. C'est la modification de la loi fondamentale togolaise en fin 2002 par les députés du parti du Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT), le parti au pouvoir d'alors, qui a supprimé la limitation de mandats à deux au Togo.

La crise démocratique que traverse le Togo s'explique par la lecture différente que le parti actuel au pouvoir UNIR (Union pour la République en remplacement du RPT) et l'opposition se font de la constitution nationale. Pour le parti au pouvoir, la loi fondamentale en vigueur (celle de 2002) n'a pas limité de nombre de mandats présidentiels alors que pour l'opposition, c'est la constitution de 1992 limitant le nombre de mandats à deux et voté par référendum à plus de 98% comme la constitution de la IV<sup>ème</sup> République Togolaise qui doit prévaloir. Et c'est dans ce cercle vicieux autour de la constitution togolaise, que parti au pouvoir et opposition entretiennent la crise politique au Togo. Les acteurs politiques nationaux et internationaux s'accordent à souligner que le Togo traverse aujourd'hui une crise sociale et politique. C'est pourquoi après une première<sup>4</sup> tentative de médiation sans succès de cette crise en juin 2018 entre le parti au pouvoir et l'opposition par le président ghanéen Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo et le Professeur Alpha Condé, président de la République de Guinée suite au mandat de facilitateurs que leur a confié la CEDEAO (Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest) le 14 avril 2018, la conférence des chefs d'Etats de la CEDEAO du 31 juillet 2018 à Lomé, est revenue sur cette crise socio politique du Togo. Elle a formulé des recommandations en vue du retour de la sérénité dans le paysage politique togolais en se portant garant pour le suivi de la mise en œuvre de cette feuille de route avec le soutien de sa commission aux facilitateurs et en invitant toutes les parties togolaises prenantes de la crise, à s'inscrire dans le strict respect de la constitution.

### **Intellectuels et professionnels catholiques face aux défis de la démocratie en Afrique**

Face à ces crises démocratiques répétitives sanctionnées par des contestations électorales présidentielles, l'implication des différents acteurs (y compris les intellectuels et professionnels catholiques) à tous les niveaux du cycle électoral, devient une nécessité pour l'avènement des régimes démocratiques légitimes en Afrique. Des expériences de plus en plus nombreuses mettent l'accent sur des dispositifs de concertation et de médiation qui tendent à associer différents types d'acteurs dans une logique inclusive.

Pour une implication effective et efficiente des intellectuels et professionnels catholiques dans les processus démocratiques et dans la gestion des crises électorales dans le monde en général et en particulier en Afrique, l'Eglise catholique dispose de quatre (04) principes majeurs (la dignité, le bien commun, la subsidiarité et la solidarité) qui constituent le fondement de la justice sociale. Ils constituent les piliers d'articulation de la vérité en société, par

laquelle toute conscience est interpellée et invitée à agir en interaction avec d'autres consciences dans la liberté, dans une pleine coresponsabilité avec tous et à l'égard de tous. Le concept de justice sociale fait appel à la conscience de l'homme en ce sens que le questionnement est « l'acte que je pose est-il juste ? ». Ainsi que l'a rappelé le Pape Benoît XVI (*Caritas in veritate*, 71, 2009) : « le développement est impossible s'il n'y a pas des hommes droits, des acteurs économiques et des hommes politiques fortement interpellés dans leur conscience, par le souci du bien commun » à travers une pastorale de la culture de la justice sociale. Les intellectuels et professionnels catholiques en s'appropriant ces valeurs cardinales de l'Eglise, permettront d'asseoir une vraie démocratie en Afrique.

### **CONCLUSION**

La démocratie exige de la part des gouvernants, la mise en œuvre d'un développement social, économique inclusif et durable imbues des valeurs de la justice sociale. La démocratie a besoin d'élections pour vivre et renouveler ses gouvernants. Dans une démocratie personne ne doit avoir peur des élections, mais quand l'organisation des élections est émaillée de fraude dès la constitution du fichier électoral jusqu'à la compilation et la restitution des résultats, elle devient un système dictatorial à la peau démocratique.

Malheureusement, au regard des avantages à tirer en Afrique en étant un pays dit démocratique, il est plus une affaire de démocratie de façade, caricaturée par l'effet de mode. L'on fait certes parler les urnes en s'assurant de la participation de plusieurs partis politiques mais le résultat n'est pas souvent l'expression de la volonté souveraine du peuple mais plutôt de la puissance du parti au pouvoir. En Afrique par conséquent, dans la démocratie comme dans la dictature, la victoire se prépare d'avance. Comme l'a dit le Président gabonais, Omar Bongo Ondimba en 2005 : « *En Afrique, on n'organise pas les élections pour les perdre* ». Ainsi en Afrique, il est plus facile à celui qui est au pouvoir de se faire un résultat qu'à celui qui veut y accéder, d'avoir un résultat. D'où l'interpellation forte à l'endroit des intellectuels et professionnels catholiques à faire régner dans l'esprit des leaders politique, une justice sociale à travers les valeurs de l'Eglise pour une démocratie apaisée et durable.

<sup>1</sup>Extrait de la communication présentée à l'occasion de la conférence panafricaine sur la problématique des processus électoraux en Afrique à Tanger (Maroc) 19-21 mars 2012 par Stéphane Monney Mouandjo (Expert au CAFRAD, enseignant à l'Institut des Relations internationales du Cameroun, IRIC, université de Yaoundé 1)

<sup>2</sup>Extrait de *Géostratégiques* n° 25 d'octobre 2009 de H. Paris dans « La démocratie en Afrique Subsaharienne »

<sup>3</sup>Les quatorze partis de l'opposition au Togo qui ont fait coalition depuis le 19 août 2017 pour réclamer le retour à la constitution de 1992 sont : ADDI- ANC- CAR- CDPA- DSA- FDR- LE TOGO AUTREMENT- LES DEMOCRATES – MCD- PARTI DES TOGOLAIS- PNP- PSR- SANTE DU PEUPLE- UDS TOGO

<sup>4</sup>Le président du Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo dans le cadre de la médiation de cette crise socio politique togolaise, a fait plus voyages entre Accra et Lomé au cours des mois de juin et juillet 2018 pour tenter de concilier les parties sans y



# Political Crisis and Social Ethics in an African Context

Ludovic Lado, S.J.



Ludovic Lado, S.J., is Jesuit priest, anthropologist and activist from Cameroon and a visiting associate professor in the Walsh School of Foreign Service. His research concerns social justice in Cameroon with regard to the Catholic Church and Cameroonian politics.

I was born and grew up in Cameroon, a country of 22 million inhabitants, located in West Africa, which became “independent” (if at all this word means anything in Africa) in 1960 after a colonial history involving the Germans, the English and the French. Since 1960, Cameroon has had only two heads of state: the first ruled from 1967 until his sudden resignation in 1982. The second, his then prime minister, took over in 1982 and is still in power at 85 years old and there are indications that he wants to seek another term. During these 58 years of political independence, there have been many elections but only God knows whether any of these has ever been democratic. In other words, in my 48 years of existence, I have known only two heads of state. The sad truth is that after many years of poor governance, Cameroon is now confronted with a quasi - civil war, which is basically a crisis of social justice. It is from this context, which of course, is not representative of the whole African continent, that I am speaking about political crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In terms of good governance, the 2007 Mo Ibrahim index estimates shows that the average for the whole

Areas	Score/100
Security and rule of law	52, 8
Participation and human rights	48, 4
Sustainable economic dev.	45, 1
Human development	56, 1
Continental Average	50, 8

Sources: Report of Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG), 2017.

continent is 50, 8 /100:

Obviously and fortunately some African countries, though not many, are doing far better than others. Countries such as Mauritius, Seychelles, Botswana and Capo Verde are doing quite well with an average of over 70/100. But most are still lagging behind. Since the 1990s progress towards a more democratic culture is steady but very slow. Dismantling monolithic political structures and mindsets has proven to be a very difficult task which requires a lot of patience and resilience from organizations and people committed to working for change. Most political crisis in Africa are often related to competition for power and for the control the economic resources coveted by foreign companies. Oftentimes, the economic interests of multinational firms are the deciding factor. African countries rich in mineral resources tend to

Depuis "l'indépendance" du Cameroun en 1960, il n'y a eu que deux chefs d'Etat, malgré de nombreuses élections. Le Cameroun est maintenant confronté à une crise de justice sociale dans une forme de "quasi-guerre civile". L'Église n'a pas pleinement saisi les implications des concepts de "structures sociales du péché", à l'origine de la plupart des crises politiques. Elle est plus à l'aise pour s'attaquer aux effets de l'injustice structurelle qu'aux causes. Aux laïcs de s'engager dans la complexité des activités du monde.

Desde la "independencia" de Camerún en 1960, solo ha habido 2 jefes de estado, a pesar de muchas elecciones. Camerún enfrenta ahora una crisis de justicia social en alguna forma de "guerra cuasi civil". P. Lado se ha sentido fascinado por vincular la fe con cuestiones de justicia y lo que eso significa para las crisis políticas en África. Concluye que la invisibilidad del laicado católico en la política es el principal obstáculo para traducir la ética social en práctica política en África.

be plagued by political crisis and civil wars which work for the selfish interests of corrupt government and their foreign corporate accomplices.

It is in this context that I have been asking myself questions such as: what does social ethics means for me and my people? What is the relevance of Catholic Social Teaching in the face of such challenges? How does one translate social justice theories into practice in such a context? How much of the related responsibility is individual and how much of it is collective?

My first contact with Catholic Social Teaching occurred in the early 1990s when I began training for priesthood. It was mainly an introduction to papal encyclicals since *Rerum Novarum* and to *Gaudium et Spes*. But it was all about theoretical principles. Nothing about how to translate these into practice in a parish or a Christian organization. In those years, Africa was beginning its transition from autocratic regimes to a more pluralistic political culture. Those were years of political, economic and political crisis all over the continent. Structural Adjustment Programs prescribed by the Bretton Woods institutions supposedly to help the Continent recover economically only made things worse for the poor. In such a context, hermeneutical principles such as the “preferential option for the poor” began make sense to me.

But the turning point for me was when I joined the Society of Jesus in 1992 and was introduced in the Novitiate to Decree 4 of the 32nd General Congregation of the Jesuits which had taken place in Rome in 1974. This decree redefined the mission of the Society of Jesus in the world in terms the service of Faith and the promotion of Justice. I was definitely fascinated by this way of linking faith with issues of justice...

...and since then I have been asking myself what that means and imply concretely in the public sphere and in the particular context of political crisis and economic injustices in Africa. How does that translate into practice as Jesuits, as a Church? Individually and collectively?

These questions have shaped both my intellectual and spiritual journey in the Society of Jesus until today. I have developed academic interests in political philosophy, in social ethics, and in social sciences. For example, for my master's thesis in theology, I attempted a comparative study of the basic principles of Catholic Social Teaching and the Capability Approach of Amartya Sen in an effort to explore one of the ways of translating Catholic Social Teaching into a policy scheme. Then I went on to do a doctorate in social and cultural anthropology as I was looking for better tools for the social and political analysis of African societies.

After completing my doctorate, I was asked to join the Jesuit team at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Management at the Catholic University of Central Africa in Yaoundé, in Cameroon, my home country. Faced with the challenges of the context sketched earlier, my main concern was the role of the Jesuit intellectual in the public sphere. I decided that I had to do more than just confine myself to university duties of teaching and researching. I came to the conclusion that my vocation as a Jesuit and a university lecturer required from me not only to pay attention to what was going on in the country but to speak out on structural justice issues arising both in society and in the Church. After more than a decades of a few challenging experiment in this field, my feeling is that the Church has not fully grasped the pastoral implications of John Paul II's concepts of "social structures of sin" or "social sin" which are at the root of most political crisis in the world in general and in Africa in particular. The Church is more comfortable with addressing the effects of structural justice than tackling the root causes of injustices in the World. I have also come to realize that the ministry of confronting "social structures of injustice" is dangerous.

The difficulty is well captured in *Africae Munus* (AM), the postsynodal exhortation in which Pope Benedict fleshed out the public role of the Church in Africa following the second African Synod in Rome in 2009. The synod focused on reconciliation, justice and peace in African societies plagued by conflicts and injustices. Discerning the Church's public role, Pope Benedict XVI wrote:

"The task we have to set for ourselves is not an easy one, situated as it is somewhere between immediate engagement in politics – which lies outside the Church's direct competence – and the potential for withdrawal or evasion present in a theological and spiritual speculation which could serve as an escape from concrete historical responsibility" (AM, 17).

About the unjust world order which is one of the root causes of political crisis in Africa, Pope Benedict writes:

"Together with the Synod Fathers, I ask all the members of the Church to work and speak out in favour of an economy that cares for the poor and is resolutely opposed to an unjust order which, under the pretext of reducing poverty, has often helped to aggravate it. God has given Africa important natural resources. Given the chronic poverty of its people, who suffer the effects of exploitation and embezzlement of funds both locally and abroad, the opulence of certain groups shocks the human conscience. Organized for the creation of wealth in their homelands, and not infrequently with the complicity of those in power in Africa, these groups too often ensure their own prosperity at the expense of the well-being of the local population." (AM 79)

The exhortation does not depart from the principles laid out in *Gaudium et Spes* more than five decades ago about the distinction and independence of the religious and political spheres, about the distribution of spheres between the clergy and laity. Indeed about the political responsibility of the laity, *Gaudium et Spes* reads:

*"The invisibility of the Catholic laity in politics is... the main obstacle to the translation social ethics to political practice in Africa..."*

"Secular duties and activities belong properly although not exclusively to laymen. Therefore acting as citizens in the world, whether individually or socially, they will keep the laws proper to each discipline, and labor to equip themselves with a genuine expertise in their various fields. They will gladly work with men seeking the same goals.

Acknowledging the demands of faith and endowed with its force, they will unhesitatingly devise new enterprises, where they are appropriate, and put them into action. Laymen should also know that it is generally the function of their well-formed Christian conscience to see that the divine law is inscribed in the life of the earthly city; from priests they may look for spiritual light and nourishment. Let the layman not imagine that his pastors are always such experts, that to every problem which arises, however complicated, they can readily give him a concrete solution, or even that such is their mission. Rather, enlightened by Christian wisdom and giving close attention to the teaching authority of the Church, let the layman take on his own distinctive role." (GS, §43, 2)

In other words, the clergy is to stay away from partisan politics and leave it to laymen to engage the messiness of secular activities. That said, there are exceptional situations where some African bishops have been called upon to play important roles of political mediation in order to negotiate peaceful transitions in their countries precisely because of their non-partisanship. On the other hand, the Church relies on the laity to translate Catholic Social Teaching into secular activities but in practice catholic laymen are invisible in the political landscape in Africa. They either stay away from political life or they tend to separate their spiritual life from their political commitment. This invisibility of the Catholic laity in politics is, from my point of view, the main obstacle to the translation social ethics into political practice in Africa.

## Lancement d'un projet de sensibilisation pour le vote utile de jeunes et de femmes par MIIC et MIEC RDC

Le MIEC et MIIC de la République Démocratique du Congo a procédé au lancement officiel de son projet de sensibilisation et renforcement des capacités des jeunes et des femmes pour un engagement citoyen au processus électoral en RDC, le jeudi 30 août 2018 dans la salle de conférence du Centre inter-diocésain dans la commune de la Gombe.

Cette activité a débuté par une messe d'action de grâce dite par l'aumônier fédéral du MIEC, le père Joachim à fin d'implorer la bénédiction et l'assistance divine sur le projet. Suivi d'une conférence pour la présentation du MIEC et du projet par la présidente de cette structure, Aurélie Kwenzongo, qui a lu une allocution à cette occasion.

Ici, d'une enquête menée en 2017, en milieux universitaires par le MIEC-R.D Congo, le projet de sensibilisation est un atout pour faciliter aux jeunes et aux femmes un choix judicieux de prochains gestionnaires de la chose publique

« Nous avons constaté après l'enquête qu'environ 70% des électeurs sont constitués des jeunes et de femmes pourtant ceux-ci ne participent presque pas à la gestion de la chose publique. C'est pourquoi notre projet a pour objectif global de contribuer au renforcement de la citoyenneté responsable pendant les prochaines élections, cela sous entend la participation massive, active et consciente des jeunes et des femmes au processus électoral en RDC, » explique Mme Denise Saye, chargée de communication de MIEC.



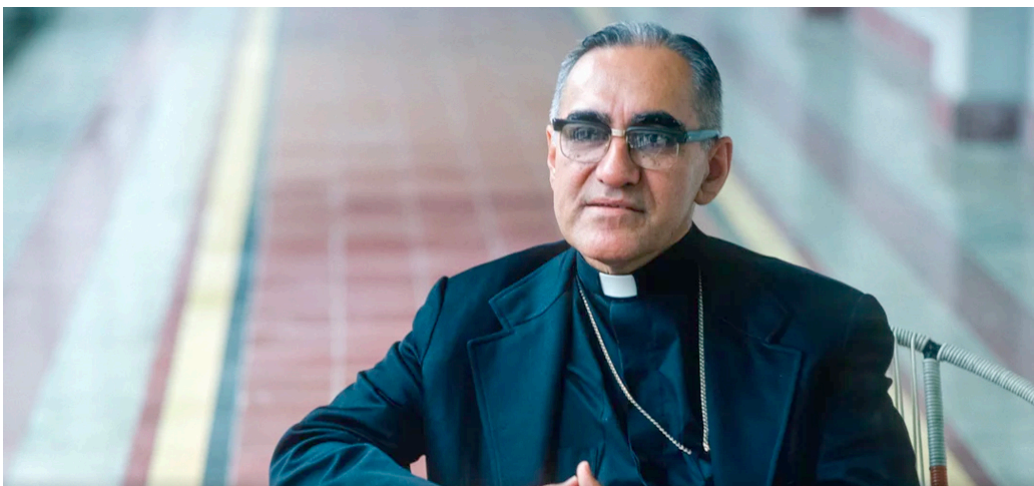
Financé dans sa totalité par l'ambassade de la Grande Bretagne en RDC, à travers le représentant du bureau de Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), ce projet a pour partenaires le Mouvement International des Intellectuels Catholiques en RDC (MIIC-RDC) et le Réseau d'Organisations des Droits Humains et Education Civique d'Inspiration Chrétienne (RODHEIC).

Ce projet de 7 mois ira jusqu'au mois de février 2019 et s'étendra sur 13 grandes villes de la RDC : Kindu, Goma, Mbuji-Mayi, Kananga, Lubumbashi, Kinshasa, Bukavu, Matadi, Moanda, Boma, Nioki, Bandundu-ville et Kisangani.

Source: <http://www.diacenco.com/>

## Celebration of Paul VI and Óscar Romero

ICMICA-MIIC Pax Romana is happy to celebrate the canonization of Paul VI, one of the founding chaplains of our movement, and Archbishop Óscar Romero, a collaborator of our movements in Latin America. May their witness inspire us to work for an evangelization based in liberation!



in collaborazione con

in occasione della canonizzazione di Giovanni Battista Montini promuove un seminario di studi sul tema

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# How Would Jesus Organize? Acompañando

Leo Guardado

Il y a souvent une dichotomie entre les activités de charité (centrées sur les besoins, court terme, apolitique) et de plaidoyer (centré sur les causes, long terme, politique). Mais les deux sont nécessaires car le combat pour la justice sans compagnonnage avec les pauvres.

Este artículo analiza la organización desde la perspectiva del acompañamiento y usa a Jesús como ejemplo. La transformación social debe enraizarse en el acompañamiento cotidiano de los pobres.

Let me begin with Matthew 14:13-21, the story that teaches us about feeding 5,000 people. The story comes immediately after Matthew provides the reader with the news that John the Baptist's head had been placed on a platter and displayed at a fancy birthday party at King Herod's palace. Essentially, the government killed the baptizer because he had become an inconvenience. John, let us remember, was the one who had greeted Jesus while both were still in the womb (*Lk 1:39-55*) and who had prepared Jesus' way by baptizing him into his prophetic vocation (*Mt 3:13-17*).

Jesus, after hearing that he could be Herod's next target, strategically withdraws in a boat to a deserted place—alone. However, the gospel says that “when the crowds heard it, they followed him on foot from the towns” (*Mt 14:13, NRSV*). Jesus, not able to be alone because of the crowd, meets them at the shore and compassionately begins to heal the sick.

Although political assassination is the background to the story of the feeding of the 5000, the core of the story centers on a very practical concern—food. The disciples come to Jesus saying: “This is a deserted place, and the hour is now late; send the crowds away so that they may go into the villages and buy food for themselves” (*Mt 14:15*). While the disciples' logic is reasonable, there is a lack of com/passion (suffering-with) in sending people away so that each one can purchase food for themselves. Jesus responds to their logic with his own exacting vision: “They need not go away; you give them something to eat.”

The brief exchanges that follow between Jesus and his disciples leave much to be desired for understanding how resources were allocated for feeding the crowd, especially since the disciples only had five loaves of bread (and two fish). While on the one hand we can say that Jesus simply performed a miracle and multiplied the food, or on the other hand that people began to share what they already had with them and that it was more than enough, we really don't know how they got organized so that “5000” could eat. At this level of analysis, the story of feeding the 5000 is a poor choice for answering the question: How Would Jesus Organize? However, my interest in the story is not because it provides a model for community organizing, but rather, because it reminds us of a crucial dimension of Jesus' ministry: he fed people, he walked with people, and people walked with him.

In our ecclesial communities, it is not unusual to find a destructive dichotomy between charity and advocacy, or

between direct service and community organizing. This tension can play itself out in various ways, but inevitably charity/direct service is considered religious or apolitical whereas community organizing/advocacy is considered political. The former is seen as meeting only the immediate needs, while the latter is seen as addressing root causes. One is understood as more present-centered, while the other more future-oriented. Jesus, however, reconciled these tensions in his ministry of acompañamiento.

The etymological Latin root for the word acompañamiento (accompaniment) is “cum + panis” → “con + pan” → “with + bread.” One's companions are those with whom one shares one's bread. In the gospel story of the feeding of the 5000, addressing the physical hunger of the crowds was fundamental, but beyond that, it was also the means through which Jesus and those with whom he broke bread became mutual companions.

Theologian Roberto Goizueta who has written about accompaniment makes the following point: “To accompany another person is to walk with him or her. It is, above all, by walking with others that we relate to them and love them....He adds: “The struggle for social justice will, in the long run, simply perpetuate the dehumanization of poor persons if not undertaken together with poor persons. Unless social transformation is rooted in an everyday accompaniment of the poor, that is, in the everyday act of walking with, living with, breaking bread with particular poor persons in the concreteness of poor persons' everyday struggle for survival, the transformation of social structures will, in the long run, simply perpetuate the oppression of the poor.”

So, in response to the question How Would Jesus Organize?, I must answer by stressing that Jesus would become a companion—one who walks with an/other breaking bread together, and above all, with the hungry, the sick, the persecuted. Through accompaniment, Jesus provides the means for reconciling the (false) dichotomies of charity and advocacy, direct-service and community organizing. It is through direct acompañamiento (con pan) that organizing and advocacy bear the mark of the One whose liberative presence with the poor was already a threat to the social, religious, and political structures of his day.



*“To accompany another person is to walk with him or her. It is, above all, by walking with others that we relate to them and love them.”*

# Democracy at Work: 2018 United Nations ECOSOC Youth

Le Forum des jeunes de l'ECOSOC a fourni une plateforme permettant aux jeunes d'engager un dialogue avec les délégués des États membres ainsi que des représentants NGO. Les jeunes ont passé beaucoup de temps à discuter des objectifs de développement durable. Une autre session a discuté du rôle de la jeunesse africaine et a indiqué que nous devons trouver un moyen de mobiliser ceux qui n'ont pas les ressources pour assister à un tel forum.

El Foro Juvenil ECOSOC brindó una plataforma para que los jóvenes entablen un diálogo con los delegados de los Estados miembros y representantes de las NGO. Los jóvenes pasaron mucho tiempo discutiendo los objetivos de desarrollo sostenible. Otra sesión discutió el rol de la juventud africana, y mencionó que necesitamos encontrar una manera de movilizar a aquellos que no tienen recursos para asistir a dicho foro.



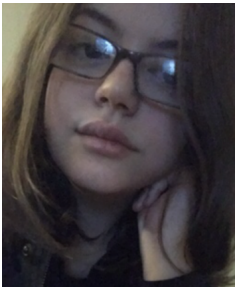
Pictured (left to right): Carly Brownell, Anna Rosario, Donovan Reilly, Heyi Cheng, Natalia Alvarez

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Youth Forum was held January 30-31 [2018]. This forum provided a platform that allowed youth to engage in open dialogues with delegates from other member states, as well as other NGO representatives. Youth discussed initiatives for advancing youth development at national, regional, and global levels, while setting goals to promote solutions to the challenge of strengthening sustainable development efforts. This two-day event featured plenary sessions, interactive thematic and regionally-based discussions. This allowed for opportunity for a rich exchange of different points of views and ideas on avant-garde solutions to issues of importance to young people on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, as well as the sustainable development goals that are under review at the Economic and Social Council and the High-level Political Forum in 2018.

The sustainable development goals were a major focus at this year's ECOSOC Youth Forum. The breakout sessions for the first day focused on SDG's regarding sustainable development, climate change and responsible consumer and producer actions. The Sustainable and Development Goal fifteen aims to combat desertification, halt and reverse degradation, halt biodiversity loss, and sustainably manage forests. As this was a Youth Forum, SDG fifteen sought to reach out to our youth for aid in a number of ways. Such as improving our communication skills through social media, fostering collaboration through a number of youth oriented organizations, support the advancement of education on the forests, and building skills in youth. As many of the students that participated were a part of youth organizations they went around the room and dove into ways the SDG can expand to youth. IMCS member Donovan Reilly recognized that local level community building programs are vital in combating desertification and improving biodiversity. By taking into consideration that many of the organizations were grassroots it was clear that it was very hard to engage people in biodiversity when they are outside of the sector.

On the second day of the Youth Forum, IMCS member Carly Brownell attended the regional breakout session for Africa. The title of the session was "The Role of African Youth in Winning the Fight Against Corruption: A Sustainable Path to Resilient Urban and Rural Communities". The session put into practice the common idea that was mentioned throughout the forum that people need to figure out how to incorporate and mobilize those who do not have the resources to attend the forum. They did this by having a Skype call with a large group of youths from Ethiopia who would not have been able to participate in the discussion otherwise. Having a forum to speak about this issue is very important because of how critical it is to the citizens of Africa; the moderator mentioned that corruption has murdered more people on the continent than civil wars. She also mentioned that 60% of Africa's population, or 420 million people, is under 35, and that this number is estimated to reach 480 million by 2020. It makes sense that the solutions to the continent's most imperative problem can be achieved by its largest population.

During the Latin America and Caribbean breakout session, a great number of countries came together to talk about prevalent issues the regions face. Even though cultures and languages vary among the sector, the struggles and problems small island states face are what unites everyone. Youth representatives from these islands all agreed that education is the fundamental element in order to achieve sustainable development. Communication and government cooperation to develop policies that include the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are important to ensure a better future for the islanders. Informing youth about the SDGs and what they can do to help achieve them was also a topic of discussion. This means providing opportunities for them to engage in government decisions to empower and solve youth related problems.



# Ignorance vs. Resistance and What I Learned from ICMICA

Samantha Kay Wilson

Samantha is a senior Psychology student at Manhattan College in the Bronx, where she was the president of their social advocacy club “JustPeace”. She hopes to apply her background in and passion for social advocacy to a career in the psychological field.

One of the most eye-opening things that I have realized in the past few years is how ignorant I have had the privilege of being for my entire life. Growing up in a white, middle-class family from a town where the majority of people looked, spoke, and lived just like me, I was not faced with the issues of racism and discrimination that people across our country have been facing for centuries. A lot of Americans have taken the phrase “ignorance is bliss” to heart, and allowed these issues to be overlooked in order to keep up the façade that these are problems of the past...

...In the last almost-2 years, I have heard countless people make the claim that issues of racism, sexism, discrimination, etc. were not issues until Donald Trump became a candidate for the presidential election. It is statements like these that show just how blind we who are privileged in this country have been to the reality faced by so many of our neighbors...

Ignorance is bliss, but it is also passivity. It allows people who are not affected by an issue, to accept and willingly ignore injustices done against others. I think one of the (very few) fortunate consequences of the Trump regime is that people, like myself, have been forced to confront their ignorance. With injustice and inequality becoming more and more cast into the spotlight, Americans have been forced to make a choice between willful ignorance and resistance.

A lot of people, especially young people like myself, have chosen the latter. The amount of support for the anti-Trump and anti-fascist resistance that I have seen online and from demonstrations like the Women’s March have given me hope. However, I know from experience that a lot of my peers feel as if resistance is too difficult, and change seems too unattainable. In my time as president of

Manhattan College’s social advocacy club, I heard countless other students, of all racial, economic, and religious backgrounds, say that they felt like their voices would never be heard enough to make a difference, so why bother? This sentiment is not only disheartening, it is scary to think that despite the talk of resistance, many are still unwilling to actually take action.

I am very grateful to have gotten the chance to intern for ICMICA/MIIC and specifically to have edited this publication. Reading these articles and researching ICMICA members has shown me how people around the world are taking action to resist ignorance and promote a better, more peaceful and more just world. These stories of action not only give me hope, but I believe that they bring up an important thought to contradict that question of “why bother?” which many of us have forgotten. We have forgotten that the only reason we have made any sort of tangible progress in the world is because people chose resistance over ignorance. Throughout the course of human history people have recognized the injustices against them and chose to fight back. History is littered with examples of why we *should* bother to create change, no matter how hard it may be to accomplish. This is not just true of the current situation in the United States, resistance is a global phenomena. My hope is that my peers who read this publication become inspired by the work of

Aux Etat Unis, beaucoup ignorent la souffrance des autres à cause de leurs privilèges, ils restent passifs et acceptent les injustices. Mais la situation politique actuelle oblige à choisir entre passivité et résistance. Mais si c’est trop difficile de changer, à quoi bon se compliquer la vie ? L’exemple de ceux qui se

En Estados Unidos, muchas personas ignoran deliberadamente el sufrimiento de los demás debido a su privilegio. Esto lleva a las personas a ser pasivas y aceptar las injusticias del mundo. Sin embargo, los estadounidenses se ven cada vez más obligados a elegir entre la ignorancia y la resistencia.

Thank you! As a movement, we are most grateful to Samantha Kay Wilson, a student at Manhattan College, who worked over the summer on this and other projects. Thank you Sam!

## Towards 2021: Call for Volunteers

In 2021, the Pax Romana family will celebrate our centenary. Together with our sister movement, IMCS-Pax Romana, ICMICA is planning a series of events, including a project on the history of the movement, an event in 2021, and a new project for the formation of young leaders. We need volunteers to help organize it. If you are interested in helping with this project, please contact [president@icmica-miic.org](mailto:president@icmica-miic.org).



# Project Listening and Dialogue - Diálogos

Elisabeth "Guigui" Muller, Latin American Vice President

The referendum and declaration of Catalan independence in 2017 raised serious debates within Catalan civil society, the local church, and our three ICMICA national movements. The following is a report of a listening and dialogue session organized by ICMICA between various members of our movements in Catalonia and leaders from Latin America.

Un dialogue s'est déroulé entre membres catalans et latino-américains. Les divergences politiques existent au sein de Pax Romana. Le but n'est pas de trouver une position commune mais d'être acteurs de dialogue dans une société divisée, même si certaines organisations misent sur la création de conflits.

El Consejo del MIIC ha propuesto que inauguramos algunos diálogos entre movimientos (Federaciones) o personas miembros de los movimientos sobre algunos temas de la realidad los cuales han tenido impacto en nuestras comunidades. La idea es ampliar el intercambio al interior de nuestra comunidad internacional sacando provecho de las herramientas de comunicación que nos permiten conversar directamente. Uno de los primeros temas que surgió a mediados de 2017 fue el del proceso vivido por Cataluña con relación al tema de la independencia.

Tomamos la decisión, no sin riesgos, de intentar hacer un diálogo entre algunas personas de movimientos de América Latina y con miembros del MPCB de Cataluña.

Participaron tres personas de Barcelona: Suso Mon, Noemi Ubach y Enric Ros. De America Latina participamos Juan Ansión de Peru y Guigui de Colombia (Guigui con algunas limitaciones técnicas). Pe. Pablo Dabezies no pudo participar por problemas técnicos.

Los participantes se presentaron y Suso hizo un primer recuento muy breve de la situación que llegó a la crisis política actual. Comentó sobre las dificultades de dialogo entre Cataluña y el Gobierno Español en las etapas previas a la decisión del referéndum.

Todos estuvieron de acuerdo en que el tema primordial y más grave en este momento es el de las personas detenidas preventivamente lo que representan violaciones a los DDHH. Con el cambio de gobierno en España hay acercamientos y creen que es posible algún diálogo que tenga como exigencia mínima la liberación de los presos para poder empezar a vislumbrar otros temas relativos a la autonomía e independencia.

Entre las tres agrupaciones de Cataluña que están afiliadas a Pax Romana (MPCB, Fundación Joan Maragall y Juristas Roda Ventura) hay diferencias de posiciones con relación a todo el proceso y apoyos políticos y cuanto al ejercicio de la soberanía e independencia sin embargo hay algunos puntos de consenso:

- Es necesario denunciar abusos y persecuciones
- Hay que defender las instituciones democráticas y la democracia en si
- Defensa de Derechos Humanos

- Rechazo a la violencia

Los participantes concuerdan que los grupos de Pax Romana no tienen el objetivo de tener un posicionamiento político único y que lo más importante es reafirmar los consensos en una sociedad que está bastante dividida. Sienten que cuesta dialogar cuando hay posiciones muy divergentes y que están fuera de los consensos explicitados.

Hay sentimiento de que hay organizaciones u partidos que apuestan al enfrentamiento, a la creación o profundización de los conflictos.

La idea es que las diferencias de posiciones políticas deben mantenerse como opciones en el debate político pero evitar que llegue a dividir profundamente la sociedad.

Las alternativas o propuestas sugeridas fueron:

- Insistir en abrir vías de dialogo
- Apoyar el trabajo con el actual gobierno español

en la reparación de los daños lo que será un proceso lento y complicado

- Buscar reflexión con otras partes del estado Español en ese sentido las federaciones de Cataluña piensan poder dialogar con grupos de movimiento Vasco y Navarro y con grupo de profesionales de Madrid.

- La Iglesia transmite la necesidad de dialogo, de ponerse frente al otro y en la piel del otro

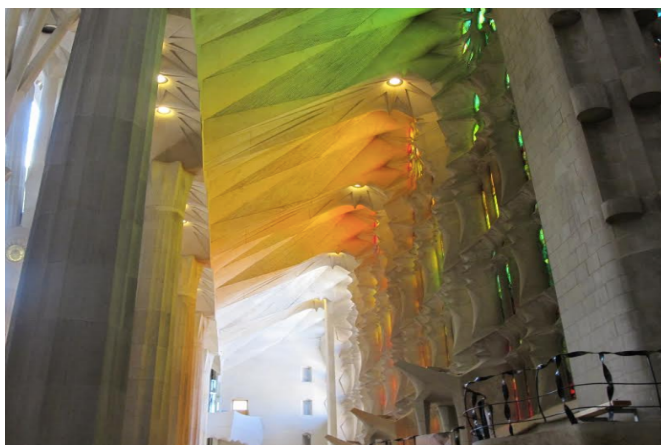
- Garantizar el respeto ya que todas las opciones políticas son legítimas

Recientemente (19 junio) diversas organizaciones católicas hicieron un acto interreligioso por la liberación de los presos.

Comentamos sobre algunas situaciones de América Latina que han generado dificultades en nuestras comunidades por diferencias políticas como es el caso actual en Ecuador y que este es un desafío para nuestro Movimiento.

Fue consenso en este primer dialogo que nuestros movimientos no deben tener un posicionamiento político definido y más bien ser un lugar de posible dialogo entre opciones aún con la dificultad que eso representa.

Hemos citado a una nueva fecha para seguir el diálogo para el día 06 de octubre.



## Report: Committee on Peace

— Helga Kerschbaum, Pax Romana Representative at the UN in Vienna —



Le but du comité est de faciliter le travail des ONG présentes à l'ONU à Vienne. Les 2 projets actuels sont l'éducation à la paix des enfants des écoles et l'abolition des armes nucléaires, en montrant leur interconnexion avec le monde de la finance.

Los objetivos del Comité de Paz incluyen facilitar los esfuerzos organizativos de paz entre otros. Actualmente hay 32 miembros de NGO en la CoP, un tercio de los cuales están basados en la religión. Para el período 2018/2020, la CoP tiene dos proyectos, "educación para la paz para todos los niños en las escuelas" y "para la abolición de las armas nucleares".

Being a member of the NGO Pax Romana, I have the honor to chair the UN NGO Committee on Peace (CoP), Vienna, at the ECOSOC, since April 2018 for two years.

The aims of the Committee on Peace are to facilitate the activities of the non-governmental organizations represented at the United Nations in Vienna that are interested in efforts to further peace; convene meetings that serve as fora for the collection and exchange of information and views on matters concerning peace; and promote liaison with the relevant departments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Membership is open to NGOs that have consultative status with ECOSOC in Vienna. At the moment the CoP has 32 member NGOs, almost one third of them are religion based NGOs.

For this upcoming period 2018/2020, we have planned meetings with experts, ambassadors and also artists, and we have two main projects:

### Project 1 "Peace education for all children in schools":

- Step one to make society aware of this necessity
- Step two to work for it to make it happen
- To check with UNESCO, and University of Vienna etc, what their plans and projects are

### Project 2: "For the abolition of nuclear weapons"

and demonstrating the interwovenness of money (banks, assurances...) and nuclear weapons. Raise the awareness for this.

We hope, our NGO members can interest and convince their NGOs worldwide, to focus on one or two of these projects as well.

Of course I would appreciate it very much, if Pax Romana could give input to our projects to facilitate them and – that is my dream – support Project 1 "Peace education for all children in schools" actively and worldwide. I am always impressed by the fact, that we owe the foundation of the predecessor of today's European Union to three Pax Romana members: the politicians Schumann, Adenauer and De Gasperi. We can be sure that their common background was very helpful for their confidence building and negotiations.

If many, if not all, children get the same education for peace, the same tools to handle conflicts worldwide, what positive impact could that have for a bright future!

## Pax Romana – SIIAEC à la « Conférence Internationale du Travail »



Jocelyne et Bruno BOUNOIS, Sec Gen SIIAEC et Responsables à l'International du MCC

En route vers 2019 et le début de son « deuxième centenaire », l'OIT a tenu, à Genève, du 28 mai au 8 juin, l'Assemblée Générale de ses 187 Nations. L'ordre du jour part d'un constat clair : dans un monde du travail en

évolution rapide, il est urgent de passer de l'indignation à l'action pour une mondialisation et une croissance économique plus équilibrées, sources de travail décent pour toutes et tous.

Deux Commissions en portent particulièrement ces enjeux : « Violence et harcèlement contre les femmes et les hommes dans le monde du travail » et « Dialogue social tripartite pour une mondialisation équitable ».

Les formes de « **Harcèlement** » et de « **Violences** » se diversifient rapidement : physique, sexuelle, psychologique, morale ; mais aussi : la pression des rythmes de travail, des hiérarchies « déstructurées », des déroulements de carrières (... et mises à la retraite forcées), ... Ces sources de violences peuvent être directes ou « numériques » (y-compris maintien sous contrainte hors heures de travail) et touchent jusqu'aux chercheurs d'emploi / stagiaires / apprentis / bénévoles.

La question-clef du débat tripartite de l'OIT (chaque pays y est représenté par 3 délégations : Gouvernement, Employeurs, Travailleurs) est donc celui du large champ d'application de la future Convention Internationale à faire ratifier. Comment couvrir, à la fois, ce qui se passe sur les lieux et dans les heures de travail et ce qui s'y joue « ailleurs et plus tard » ? Comment couvrir les travailleurs de l'économie informelle, à la fois les plus exposés et les moins protégés ?

Les défis modernes du « **Dialogue Social** » de leur côté, se heurtent à la difficulté de plus en plus fréquente d'identifier le « véritable employeur » avec qui discuter. Qui est réellement le « Patron » lorsque le pouvoir de la finance est omni-présent ? Qui est le vrai « Décideur » dans une longue chaîne de sous-traitance internationale qui finit dans des pays à bas salaires mais sans réglementation ? Avec qui « dialoguer » lorsque je suis travailleur « indépendant / auto-entrepreneur », « journalier ou saisonnier », « transfrontalier », « migrant », ou « informel » ?

Sachant la nécessité d'entretenir le « dialogue social » comme investissement collectif de long terme, basé sur la sincérité, la confiance et le désir de construire ensemble, ces questions poussent l'OIT à constamment adapter ses normes, fidèle à sa mission mondiale de « **PARLEMENT de la PAIX UNIVERSELLE et DURABLE par la JUSTICE SOCIALE** ».





# A Celebration of Gustavo Gutiérrez Birthday

## Los 90 Años de Gustavo Gutiérrez

— José Luis Franco – Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas (Lima) —



This year marked the 90th birthday of Fr. Gustavo Gutiérrez, a long time chaplain of our Peruvian movements, a friend of Pax Romana, and the founder of Liberation Theology. We were happy to participate in the celebrations that took place in Lima. In the following, José Luis Franco discusses Fr. Gutiérrez's legacy.

Cette année marque le 90ème anniversaire du P. Gustavo Gutiérrez, aumônier de longue date de nos mouvements péruviens, ami de Pax Romana et fondateur de la théologie de la libération. Nous étions heureux de participer

“El papel del padre Gustavo Gutiérrez fue clave: nos hizo ver que la liberación no venía solo de los partidos políticos, sino que lo que necesitaban los pobres y el mundo era una voz profética; que hiciera recordar que la fidelidad a Dios no se puede hacer olvidándose de los pobres. Eso nos ayudó muchísimo para nuestra pastoral”. Estas fueron las palabras del sacerdote y compañero de camino Jorge Álvarez Calderón, durante la celebración eucaristía realizada el 7 de junio en la basílica del Rosario y convento de Santo Domingo, en conmemoración a los 90 años de vida del dominico peruano, reconocido internacionalmente por su trabajo teológico.

El P. Gutiérrez ha dedicado toda su vida a encontrar respuesta a una gran pregunta: ¿cómo decirle al pobre que Dios lo ama?, cuando la realidad de su vida parece ser la negación de toda forma de amor. Por eso, no ha sido un teólogo de escritorio, sino una persona comprometida con la gente desde el inicio de su sacerdocio. Como párroco en el Rímac, barrio popular de Lima, estuvo muy cerca de la vida cotidiana de hombres y mujeres, siempre atento a sus problemáticas, para conocer la naturaleza de la pobreza que emergía en la periferia de la capital, producto de los acelerados cambios migratorios de los años 60 y 70. Así, su gran aporte constituye una renovada comprensión de la pobreza en su triple dimensión: real, espiritual y solidaria. Llegó a entender la pobreza como sinónimo de muerte en oposición a la vida, y que en el contexto latinoamericano se debía a causas estructurales (injusticia social) que debían cambiar. Y eran los pobres, en el reconocimiento de su dignidad, los verdaderos agentes de dicho cambio.

### GUSTAVO Y FRANCISCO

Hoy vivimos una época influida por un pensamiento surgido de la experiencia eclesial latinoamericana, a partir de la Conferencia Episcopal de Medellín de 1968, cuyo aporte a la Iglesia universal se hace visible y palpable en estos nuevos tiempos, tal como lo recuerda el papa Francisco. Por tal motivo no deja de ser significativo que el Papa haya enviado una carta de saludo por los 90 años del P. Gustavo, reconociendo la contribución a la Iglesia y a la humanidad a través de su servicio teológico y de amor a los pobres y los marginados de la sociedad. Gustavo ha agradecido este gesto: “Me sorprendió gratamente la carta del papa Francisco. Le agradezco mucho ese saludo y quiero que sepa que me inspira para continuar con las tareas que tengo como sacerdote”.

### AGRADECIMIENTO

Al final de la misa, el religioso agradeció cada uno de los gestos recibidos y, a modo de balance personal de su vida, señaló que su trabajo teológico ha sido “como escribirle una carta de amor a Dios, al Dios de mi fe, a la Iglesia de la que formo parte y al pueblo mismo del que formo parte también. Lo habré hecho bien, no sé. Lo habré hecho regular, tampoco. Dios tendrá misericordia, como gusta mucho decir a Francisco, como una cosa que expresa la persona de Dios, pero sinceramente he hecho un esfuerzo por corresponder caminando a esta señalización del texto de Miqueas (6, 8) -Respetar la justicia, amar al otro y caminar humildemente con tu Dios-”.



*[Credit: José Luis Franco]*

As global communities representing tens of thousands of Catholic students, intellectuals, and professionals, IMCS and ICMICA\* **wish to express our support** for Pope Francis and his efforts to address the global crisis of sexual abuse and to bring about much needed reforms of ecclesial structures.

As Catholic movements, **we lament** the suffering experienced by far too many children, women, and men at the hands of some priests, religious, and lay leaders. Their suffering cries out to God from the depths of pain and injustice (Psalm 130).



As lay movements, **we deplore** the clericalism and cover-ups by church leaders, which place image, reputation, and clerical status over the suffering of children.

As baptized members of the People of God, **we reject** the efforts by some discontented voices to use this crisis to advance their own political and ecclesial agendas as they attack the Holy Father. We affirm the recent statement by CELAM Latin American bishops which has described these attacks as shameful.



**We support Pope Francis** in his efforts to renew the church and reorient our structures with a “missionary key” (*Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 33) and a renewed call to holiness (*Gaudete et exsultate*).

**We believe** that the Gospel offers us values to guide some future directions, including: *the option for the poor* to remind us to place those who have suffered abuse at the center of all our efforts; *participation* to remind us of the co-responsibility of all the baptized in church decision making; and *justice* to remind us of the need for ethics in our structures. As global movements, **we are ready** to work with the Holy Father and other church leaders in prayerfully reflecting, analyzing, and acting to address the present crisis.

**We invite our national movements**, individual members and all people of good will to:

- consider how they can support Pope Francis and other local efforts at church reform and accountability;
- to adopt clear policies to protect against sexual abuse in our own movements and communities;
- to facilitate reflections on the role and vocation of Catholic intellectuals and professionals in the church today.

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En tant que communautés mondiales représentant des dizaines de milliers d'étudiants, d'intellectuels et de professionnels catholiques, la MIEC et le MIIC\* **souhaitent exprimer leur soutien** au Pape François et à ses efforts pour faire face à la crise mondiale des abus sexuels et pour apporter les réformes nécessaires aux structures ecclésiales.

En tant que mouvements catholiques, **nous déplorons** la souffrance vécue par beaucoup trop d'enfants, de femmes et d'hommes à cause de certains prêtres, religieux et laïcs. Leur souffrance crie à Dieu des profondeurs de la douleur et de l'injustice (Psaume 130).

En tant que mouvements laïcs, **nous déplorons** le cléricalisme et les dissimulations des dirigeants ecclésiastiques, qui placent l'image, la réputation et le statut clérical au-dessus de la souffrance des enfants.

En tant que baptisés membres du Peuple de Dieu, **nous rejetons** les efforts de certains mécontents qui utilisent cette crise pour faire avancer leurs propres programmes politiques et ecclésiastiques en attaquant le Saint-Père. Nous confirmons la récente déclaration des évêques latino-américains du CELAM qui ont qualifié ces attaques de honteuses.

**Nous soutenons le Pape François** dans ses efforts pour renouveler l'Église et réorienter nos structures avec une "perspective missionnaire" (*Evangelii Gaudium*, n° 33) et un appel renouvelé à la sainteté (*Gaudete et exultate*).

**Nous croyons** que l'Évangile nous offre des références pour définir les orientations futures, y compris : l'option pour les pauvres pour nous rappeler de placer ceux qui ont subi des abus au centre de tous nos efforts ; la participation pour nous rappeler la coresponsabilité de tous les baptisés dans le processus décisionnel de l'Église ; et la justice pour nous rappeler la nécessité de l'éthique dans nos structures. En tant que mouvements mondiaux, **nous sommes prêts** à travailler avec le Saint-Père et d'autres responsables d'Église pour réfléchir, analyser et agir dans la prière afin de résoudre la crise actuelle.

**Nous invitons nos mouvements nationaux**, nos membres individuels et toutes les personnes de bonne volonté à le faire :

- examiner comment ils peuvent soutenir le Pape François et d'autres efforts locaux de réforme de l'Église et de responsabilisation ;
- d'adopter des politiques claires pour se protéger contre les abus sexuels dans nos propres mouvements et communautés ;
- faciliter la réflexion sur le rôle et la vocation des intellectuels et professionnels catholiques dans l'Église d'aujourd'hui.

Como comunidades globales representando miles de estudiantes, intelectuales y profesionales católicos, el MIEC y MIIC **deseamos expresar nuestro apoyo** para el Papa Francisco y sus esfuerzos para abordar la crisis de abuso sexual y para traer las reformas de estructuras eclesíásticas que necesitan muchas reformas. Tomamos nota y apoyamos la recién carta del Papa Francisco al Pueblo de Dios (20 de agosto de 2018).

Como movimientos católicos, **lamentamos** el sufrimiento experimentado por muchos niños, mujeres y hombres en el encargo de sacerdotes, religiosos y líderes laicos. Su sufrimiento grita a Dios por la profundidad del dolor e injusticia (Salmo 130).

Como movimientos laicos, **deploramos** el clericalismo y encubrimiento de líderes de la iglesia que pongan imagen, reputación y estatus clerical sobre el sufrimiento de niños.

Como miembros bautizados del Pueblo de Dios, **rechazamos** los esfuerzos de algunas voces descontentas para usar la crisis para avanzar sus propias agendas políticas y eclesíásticas para atacar el Santo Padre. Afirmamos la reciente declaración de los obispos latinoamericanos que ha descrito estos ataques como una vergüenza. **Nosotros apoyamos al Papa Francisco** en sus esfuerzos para renovar la iglesia y reorientar nuestras estructuras con la “clave misionera” (*Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 33) y una llamada renovada a la santidad (*Gaudete et Exsultate*).

**Creemos** que el Evangelio nos ofrece los valores para guiar futuras direcciones, incluyendo: *la opción de los pobres* que nos recuerda a poner aquellos que han sufrido abuso en el centro de todos nuestros esfuerzos; *participación* que nos recuerda de la corresponsabilidad de todos los bautizados en tomar las decisiones; y *justicia* para recordarnos de la necesidad de ética en nuestras estructuras. Como movimientos globales, **estamos listos** para trabajar con el Santo Padre y otros líderes de la iglesia en considerar, analizar y actuar en oración para abordar la crisis actual.

**Invitamos a nuestros movimientos**, miembros individuales y todo el pueblo benevolente a:

- considerar como pueden apoyar al Papa Francisco y otros esfuerzos locales en la reforma de la iglesia y responsabilidad;
- adoptar pólizas claras a proteger contra abuso sexual en nuestros movimientos y comunidades;

## An Afterword from ICMICA/MIIC Council

Que peut-on faire comme mouvement ? D’abord y croire : nous pouvons agir, ensuite dépasser les deux tentations de l’enfermement dans une vision nationale et de l’excès de diagnostic par rapport l’expérimentation, et enfin développer une spiritualité

En respuesta a la crisis de la democracia, debemos creer que podemos actuar, no debemos estar limitados por nuestras propias realidades nacionales, y debemos profundizar en la espiritualidad de este movimiento. El diálogo es fundamental para esto, como lo es la organización para el bien común.

**What does it mean to be Christian citizen** in this moment when participatory democracy seems to be under threat across the world? What role can our movement, a global community of lay professionals and intellectuals play in this moment of transition? From the articles in this issue of *Convergence*, several lines of directions surface.

First of all, we must believe, believe that we can act, even if we are small. It is a question of faith and it is also a reasonable choice because as an international Catholic organization, we have a broad vision of the subject. But to achieve this, it is necessary to strengthen the dynamism of the movement and find the right way to approach the subject.

Second, to strengthen the dynamism of the movement, it is necessary to overcome two temptations: to be limited only by our own national realities and to be limited by what Pope Francis calls “an excess of diagnosis.” To overcome this, we must develop cooperation between our movements across borders and cultures for a global reflection that aims at real solutions.

Third, there is a need to renew and deepen the spirituality of our movement, which is fundamentally a spirituality of participation and action. We see this spirituality throughout the texts of this issue ,which helps us to see certain core elements. Several articles, including the text From Fear to Dialogue and the report of our Dialogue and Listening Sessions in Catalonia, speak to the centrality of dialogue in this present polarized moment. But, we also know that dialogue by itself is not enough, we must find ways to organize and take action for the common good, with a special reference to the poor and vulnerable.

To move from dialogue to action, we propose the following questions for reflection within our movement. We hope these can guide some local conversations.

- Why do we believe in democracy or participation?
- What links do we see between participation in civil society (democracy) and participation in the life of the church (synodality)?
- What is the role of a global community of Catholic intellectuals and professionals? What can we do to strengthen our engagement, dialogue, and action?
- How can we extend the movement and our spirituality of participation to others?

These questions are just the start and we invite you to share your responses to these on our social media pages, our website, Facebook Page and Twitter.

**The International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (ICMICA-Pax Romana)** is a global community of Catholic intellectuals and professionals engaged in the world with a spirituality of action. Inspired by the Gospel and the Catholic social tradition, we live our faith by engaging the challenges of our times. As a movement, we are committed to the option for the poor, integral human development, interreligious dialogue, and the empowerment of women and young professionals. ICMICA brings together professionals, small communities and national movements to support one another across borders and to offer a voice in international forums, including the Vatican and the United Nations system.

**Le Mouvement International des Intellectuels Catholiques (MIIC-Pax Romana)** est une communauté mondiale d'intellectuels et de professionnels catholiques engagés dans la société avec une spiritualité de l'action. Inspirés par l'Évangile et la tradition sociale catholique, ils vivent leur foi en cherchant à répondre aux défis du temps. En tant que mouvement, ils sont attachés à l'option pour les pauvres, au développement humain intégral, au dialogue interreligieux et à l'autonomisation des femmes et des jeunes professionnels. Le MIIC réunit des professionnels, des petites communautés et des mouvements nationaux pour s'entraider au-delà des frontières et se faire entendre dans les forums internationaux, y compris le Vatican et le système des Nations Unies.

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### ICMICA-Pax Romana - MIIC is

#### A Community of



Catholic professionals and intellectuals



who gather in small communities and movements



in more than fifty countries with a spirituality of action



recognized as an association of the faithful



an NGO in consultative status with the United Nations



the sister movement of the International Movement of Catholic Students (IMCS-Pax Romana)

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We invite you to join as an

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group/national member.

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Movimiento Internacional de Intelectuales Católicos