Nº 101, 2009/1

Promotio Iustitiae

Financial Crisis
Frank Turner SJ

Ignatian Advocacy Workshop
Experiences
J. Xavier, F. Muhigirwa, M. García, J. Reeves, U. Sievers

Ignatian Advocacy
F. Turner, J. Cafiso, J.M. Vera

Outcomes
V. Méndez de Vigo, C. Chilufya, F. Franco

Documents
Social Research at the Service of Apostolic Leadership

Jesuit Social Apostolate: Some Intellectual Questions

China's Presence in Africa

Social Justice Secretariat

This is the last
printed issue of
***Promotio Iustitiae*,**
and also the first online edition.
To access the online PJ,
please visit the following page

www.sjweb.info/sjs/pj

We thank you for your loyalty.
If you wish to receive
by email a newsletter
every time a new issue is published,
please send your email address to:

sjs-pj@sjcuria.org

If you do not have an email address,
please contact us using
the address on the back cover.

http://www.sjweb.info/sjs/pj/

Jesuits and Partners in mission together for Justice

English | Français | Español | Italiano

Promotio Iustitiae

At the service of Faith that does Justice

Home | Publications | Features | About Us | Networks

Promotio Iustitiae N° 101, 2009/1

Starting with a reflection on the financial crisis, this issue of *Promotio Iustitiae* guides us through the Ignatian Advocacy Workshop (inauguration, experiences, definition of Ignatian advocacy, conclusions) and closes with three further reflections, on social research as part of our commitment, on the need to clarify the concept of justice and on the Chinese presence in Africa.

Read online **Download in pdf**

Subscribe to our newsletter

RSS Feed

Archive

Search

Inserisci il testo:

GO

Advance search

Parole chiavi

Documenti #TextRSS# Editoriali visitenkarten Archivio numeri precedenti Segretariato sociale Esperienze Argomenti Principali

Contents PJ101

SAPI: A Dalit Vision for a New India
The heart of advocacy is the process, which progressively amplifies the voice of the voiceless and the voiceless determine and own the process itself, not just leaving it in the hands of a few 'professionals'. The unique experience of South Asian Peoples' Initiatives in India has been politically correct action - sustained by a conglomeration of groups and movements - that successfully built political pressure and effected policy changes.

CEPAS: Mining Companies and Corporate Social Responsibility
CEPAS's experience regarding advocacy is based on the social responsibility of mining corporations, particularly that of CMSK in Kipushi, Katanga (Democratic Republic of Congo). That social responsibility is not sufficiently upheld due to the increasing poverty of the population. Our advocacy allowed us to tackle the problem of the corporate social responsibility, to train local populations and to empower them so that they may demand of mining corporations to assume their obligations in the social and economic field according to the disposals of the Congolese mining code.

JRS Cambodia: Banning Land Mines and Cluster Bombs
JRS Cambodia's advocacy campaign is part of the Ban Land Mines network which works to enforce the mine ban treaty and eradicate cluster munitions. As unexploded devices still kill and mutilate one person every 30 minutes, the voice of JRS witnesses the pain and suffering caused as JRS works to honour the memory of those who have died and ensure others should not share their sad fate.

Editor: **Fernando Franco SJ**

Consultant Editor: **Suguna Ramanathan**

Associate Editor: **Uta Sievers**

Publishing Coordinator: Liliana Carvajal

Promotio Iustitiae is published by the Social Justice Secretariat at the General Curia of the Society of Jesus (Rome) in English, French, Italian and Spanish, and is printed on totally chlorine-free paper (TCF). *Promotio Iustitiae* is also available electronically on the World Wide Web at the following address: **www.sjweb.info/sjs,** where you can download single articles or the complete issue.

If you would like to receive *Promotio Iustitiae*, please send your mailing address (indicating the language of your choice) to the Editor.

If you are struck by an idea in this issue, your brief comment is very welcome. To send a letter to *Promotio Iustitiae* for inclusion in a future issue, please write to the address, fax or email address shown on the back cover.

The re-printing of articles is encouraged; please cite *Promotio Iustitiae* as the source, along with the address, and send a copy of the re-print to the Editor.

CONTENTS

Outcomes

DOCUMENTS

Abbreviations
GC General Congregation
SJS Social Justice Secretariat
JRS Jesuit Refugee Service

EDITORIAL

We have been repeatedly told that we live in a time of crisis. One senses, among people from the so-called 'rich' countries, a subtle resistance to these stories about the effects of this impending crisis. While the message dished out by the political class is that the crisis will pass and all will be well again, disquieting doubts remain in the hearts of many.

In the recent past, when stories were told about economic failures in countries among people living "out there," we felt, by and large, that the stories were credible but not very relevant to us who live in the first world. Now that we hear the story being told about friends and family members living in the 'affluent' world, we are tempted to think that, though blown somewhat out of proportion, they are suddenly quite relevant to our present and future dreams. The fear and anxiety of being thrown out of a job is no longer a third-world-country phenomenon, but something affecting the lives of people living in what has been projected as the 'promised' land.

As recently as a year ago it was unthinkable to talk about the ill effects of the process we have characterized somewhat fuzzily as 'globalisation'. We all lived contented lives, basking in the myth that global economic growth was undisputed and unstoppable. The economic and technical forces unleashed by globalisation could, we thought, solve the major ills affecting humankind. We lived through years of general optimism though there were voices that offered a critique of some aspects of this process. The debate as to whether 'globalisation' can be steered in the right direction or whether we can promote the globalisation of solidarity still seems to be open. I feel, however, that the number of *caveats* to this optimistic view is increasing day by day.

We look with amazement and extreme surprise at the spectacle of company after company going under or announcing a severe reduction in its workforce. The collapse of banks and the closure of factories, as well as the increasing financial difficulties of certain colossal sports figures are accompanied by widespread social unrest, increasing environmental damage and an alarming and unexpected food crisis. More astonishing is the almost daily announcement of another financial fraud. We need to be honest and ask ourselves: did we not secretly believe that 'progress' would go on forever?

In the face of these signs of depression and unrest, however, there are also signals of an underlying shift towards some sort of collective sanity. The seriousness of climate change, for example, has been accepted, however limitedly, by large segments of society as well as by the political class. Alliances to defend the whole of life have been built across geographical, cultural and religious frontiers. International institutions like the United Nations and the International Labour Office have begun to acknowledge the constructive role that faiths can play in changing our ethical perspectives and influencing our behaviour.

The international Ignatian Advocacy Workshop held at El Escorial, Madrid, in November 2008 became a privileged space to reflect on some of these issues and, more importantly, to propose ways to influence public policies affecting the life of the poor and excluded in accordance with our Ignatian way of proceeding. This issue of *Promotio* presents a substantial coverage of the Workshop's deliberations and highlights its most important conclusions. Time will tell if the underlying model of cooperation and networking proposed at the Workshop can help to articulate the social work of the Society across the world. The articles of Raul Gonzalez and Patxi Alvarez touch on two fundamental issues: the first raises a series of provoking and challenging questions about the need for the Society of Jesus to clarify the meaning of 'justice' today, and the second explores ways in which social research should be promoted as part of our undivided commitment to justice and intellectual leadership.

In the light of the economic crisis and with full awareness of the new opportunities provided by the digital world we have taken an important decision regarding *Promotio Iustitiae* (PJ): we have chosen to take PJ from the printed to the electronic format. This issue that you hold in your hands will be the last one printed on paper.

The reasons behind this difficult and painful decision have been various. In these times of change and crisis we felt obliged to reduce the costs of the Secretariat and contribute our mite to lowering the Curia's expenditure. Printing and mailing costs have become prohibitive for a journal that is distributed free in four languages. In line with the urgings of GC 35 to take care of our home, the earth, the change from paper to electronic format will reduce our ecological footprint. There are also positive aspects to the change that we want to explore. The use of electronic facilities can open the door to a new type of reader, and we hope thereby to increase interactivity. Under the new format, readers may find it easier to pick up the articles they want and send us a quick comment.

We are aware that the task of moving from one format to another also carries the risk of losing many readers, and our team at SJS is planning this transition very carefully. We propose to analyse the various types of readers we have and contact each group differently. We are also planning to enhance the way in which PJ is presented on our website. We need your cooperation to make this transition a success. Do not forget to send us the information requested in this issue. We trust in God's grace and we want the journal to continue helping the Ignatian family to discern the signs of the times and encourage us to move to the 'frontiers'.

Fernando Franco SJ

Rebuilding Trust and Solidarity: Jesuit Reflections on the Financial Crisis

Frank Turner SJ

An international group of Jesuits gathered recently in Brussels (6-8 April 2009), hosted by OCIPE, to reflect on the interlocking crisis of the world's financial systems, its economies and its governance: all of which together could comprise, or at least provoke, a profound social crisis.[1] We were conscious of the complexity of the multi-faceted topic we were tackling, and of our own pluralism – of experience, competence and analysis – but were no less conscious of the limits of that pluralism. Though several of us had lived far beyond Europe, we were all Europeans: all Jesuits, all therefore male, all educationally privileged, all (relevantly enough) rather safe from unemployment or enforced poverty. So our meeting was no more than a first stage in what we hope will become a broader discussion, and our reflections led to no 'conclusions', only suggestions. In particular, we invite our Jesuit colleagues in Africa, Asia and the Americas to bring to this discussion what might be a quite different perspective.

Snapshots of the Crisis

To say that the crisis is multi-faceted means that it can be viewed through a set of polarities, in tension with each other without being mutually exclusive. I take just two:

1. Moral crisis or systemic crisis?

In the early days of the crisis, bankers and business executives were fiercely criticised, in terms of 'greed' and 'irresponsibility'. If the system had failed, it was held to be greed and irresponsibility that had built the system, beyond either the power or the will of governments to control. At the World Economic Forum in Davos, in January, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao blamed the banks for their 'blind pursuit of profit' and 'lack of self-discipline', but also spoke of the 'the failure of financial supervision and regulation'. Evidently he referred primarily to the USA, since China now has an estimated $1.95 trillion invested in dollar assets such as US Treasury Bonds.[2]

A variant on this kind of moral judgement is to say that the crisis has demonstrated a truth that we had hidden from ourselves for too long. The 'real

[1]Giacomo Costa (ITA), Fernando Franco (GUJ), José Ignacio García (CAS), Raúl González Fabre (VEN), James Hanvey (BRI), Josep Mària (TAR), Rufino Meana (CAS), Henri Madelin (GAL), Johannes Müller (GER), Gerard O'Hanlon (HIB), and Frank Turner (BRI).
[2]BBC, 29th January 2009.

economy' of goods and services links profit to success in meeting some public need or demand. The new financial world, of hedge funds, of 'leveraged buyouts', of risky 'sub-prime' mortgages bundled together and bought by respectable corporations as a speculative investment, uproots profit from any social function beyond itself. Money, traditionally 'only' a means of exchange, becomes itself a product. In fact, quantitatively speaking the 'money economy', far outweighs the 'real economy', yet is so opaque that (as the crisis itself shows) even technical experts did not understand the risks they took. Such a bubble cannot but burst.

Not surprisingly, moral judgements may be made by those who adopt the Church's 'Option for the Poor', since the excessive supply of money failed to reduce poverty. Jon Sobrino commented that the destructive force of Hurricane Mitch served as an X-ray of Central America – stripping the roofs off an entire society and revealing the deep poverty hidden inside. In richer countries also, rapid growth promoted even greater inequalities of wealth and income – accepted as the cost of economic dynamism. The present crisis therefore reveals the fragility of any economy that fails to serve human need. As the American theologian Joe Holland once said, 'The economy's doing fine, it's just the people having a hard time'.

On the other hand, is it more helpful to think of the crisis in terms of macro-economic systems, so that moral language becomes simply irrelevant? From this standpoint the problem is that the global market lacks global regulation, impeded by continued adherence to the concept of national sovereignty. This framework will not easily be rejected: no one expects the governments of China or the USA to submit to any external system of economic (or any other) governance. Even in the EU national sovereignty constantly prevails against the 'community method'. However, the crisis shows that 'sovereignty', in the sense of the power to control events, is an illusion. Japan's economy, for example, struggles because other countries cannot absorb its export capacity. So even if national sovereignty stills seems like political common sense – as once did slavery and the social subordination of women – 'common sense' is not set in stone.

The same consideration applies to market economics. As Karl Polányi's classic book The Great Transformation showed, market economics is so far from common sense that the hegemony of the market model is rather unique to the last 200 years. It will not be easy to shake, but it is not actually inevitable.

2. Short-term, and cyclical fluctuation? Or decisive collapse of an economic and social paradigm?

Already, the world's press is beginning to interpret rises in the stock markets as an indication that the crisis may have 'bottomed out'.[3] If this is not

[3]To take one example, the front-page headline of *Le Monde*, April 10th 2009, reads, '*Economies: les premiers signes encourageants*' [Economies: the first encouraging signs. Editor's note].

wishful thinking, is this crisis just one phase of a natural cycle, a reaction to two decades of perhaps too-rapid growth? Is it, in fact, not really a crisis at all but merely an acute instance of a recurring phenomenon? Growth feeds on itself through a mechanism of confidence – easily becoming over-confidence – as high profits, and a steep rise in the price of such personal assets as housing, come to seem normal. A house may be regarded as not only a place to live, but as a foolproof investment, so that one might plunge into debt expecting a windfall later. The cyclical correction is harsh, and many people suffer. But we have always known that capitalism has victims and that risk-takers, by definition, might lose money.

Yet something more fundamental seems to be happening. The pillars of the system are fragile as never before: the biggest insurance company in the world (AIG, operating in one hundred countries) as well as major banks in the USA, the UK, and elsewhere needed rescuing. These institutions, so massive, so embedded in the international system, seemed less mere enterprises than guarantors of the system itself. They embodied the operational structure of 'trust' that buttresses people's sense of normality, if not actually of meaning. That trust is now deeply shaken: one of our number, an economist, would 'absolutely not trust' one of the biggest banks in his country. So can trust be recreated as a presupposition of recovery, or would any such attempt signify merely the panicky repression of our reasonable distrust? In what or whom, ultimately, is it appropriate to trust?

Responses to the crisis

One of our stimulating but unresolved differences lay in our sense of what framework we, as Jesuits, might appropriately bring to this subject.

Is our discourse to be rooted in theology and Christian anthropology? Why should we feel compelled to abstract methodologically from the fundamental world-view that forms and sustains us? Why disable the only distinctive contribution we can bring? Is it not precisely this 'subversive' Christian vision that can best confront reductionist notions of freedom, the economy, the 'sovereign self', that underlie the crisis? For it seems an illusion to envisage more competent, comprehensive systems as 'solutions'. That expectation exemplifies the fallacy of the technical 'fix'. Institutions and systems always embody some social consciousness, some explicit or implicit intentionality. They cannot be reformed without motivation (and therefore structures of meaning and commitment) adequate to the task.[4] On this view, contributing at this level is the foremost task of the Church.

The contrary position argues that the Church is so widely perceived to make an a priori negative judgement on 'the world' that such a direct and

[4]In principle, for example, the UN is a global institution: but it does not function as such, because national self-interest, even in the Security Council, often trumps other considerations. Any 'better system' will embody its own venalities.

principled challenge simply could not be heard, so that any possibility of dialogue is minimal. If we believe this, we will seek common ground either by minimising overtly religious language, or by introducing it only in a 'second moment', meanwhile seeking to meet other world-views on their own ground: only by proceeding in this way, in fact, can 'religious' discourse gain any purchase on economic realities.

We need, it seems, to be bilingual, to risk the language of faith but to ensure that it is manifestly anchored in human experience, in shared ethical reflection. By definition, one cannot conduct an open dialogue with those who are utterly closed. But one can – and we must – seek to remove unnecessary obstacles to mutual openness.

Mediations

However tentatively, we proposed some perspectives to stimulate further discussion.

1. A global perspective: the Church is universal, even if its self-understanding and self-expression often seems too bound-up with specifically European culture. The Society of Jesus itself proclaims a universal mission. It is this universality which can inspire us to reflect on issues such as migration, the environment, and the present crisis, without wilfully restricting our horizon. (This is why this European reflection is designed to evoke responses from elsewhere.)
2. Sustainability: political responses to the crisis tend to prescribe a return to economic growth: the Church, as well as the environmental movement, reacts to this tendency apprehensively. Some distinctions are crucial here. There is no ecological limit to economic growth, provided that this growth is in non-material goods. The materials of my laptop may cost €20: the rest of its market value lies in design, publicity, etc. But growth in the manufacture and distribution of manufactured goods, and in the extraction of minerals, has serious environmental costs. We need not 'de-growth' as such, but a sense of 'the richness of sufficiency' that embraces compassionate human concern and respect for the environment sustainability – but also, not least, implies the refusal to over-consume.
3. Respect for the market as an instrument: the market remains an essential clearing-house for goods and services. Countries that have recently developed successfully have done so mainly through markets, rather than through governmental aid. But many developing countries are blocked from exporting by the protectionism of richer countries. If sub-Saharan Africa could export freely to the West, European and US agriculture would be at grave risk, but Africa would have a way out of poverty. Our

free markets are far from free, and if we accept economic globalisation it should be reciprocal.

4. Ethical critique of the market: respect for the market must nevertheless be critical. Free-market theory rests in a reductionist notion of freedom. The neo-liberal Friedrich Hayek famously argued that whereas state action tends inevitably towards tyranny, the market is 'neutral' and 'self-regulating'. Politics destroys freedom, business 'somehow' promotes it. He argued, indeed that social justice is nothing more than freedom, and that the 'free market' is the core of human freedom.[5] In *Centesimus Annus*, however, Pope John Paul II contrasts a 'free-market economy' with a 'free economy' (§. 15) precisely because justice and freedom are mutually dependent. Where an economic system is made absolute at the expense of other dimensions of human life, 'economic freedom' actually alienates and oppresses the human person (§. 39).

5. Shared but differentiated responsibility: if 'the economy' is not reified but is seen to reflect human purposes, it becomes also the object of human responsibility. This claim has a range of implications:

   a. Just as we are shaped by our society but also, together, shape what society is, so with the economy. Basic human needs are relatively fixed: desires are indefinitely malleable yet fall within the realm of our spiritual freedom. Persons change out of compulsion but also out of conviction. Many social movements function within the market while shifting its modalities: socially responsible investment, corporate social responsibility, micro-finance favouring the poor, etc.

   b. Global negotiations must be truly global. As Pope Benedict wrote in March to the British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, noting that the London G20 Summit was understandably restricted to states which represent 90% of the world's population and 80% of world trade:

      > *This situation must prompt a profound reflection among the Summit participants, since those whose voice has least force in the political scene are precisely the ones who suffer most from the harmful effects of a crisis for which they do not bear responsibility. Furthermore, in the long run, it is they who have the most potential to contribute to the progress of everyone.*[6]

   c. Responsibility' entails 'prudence'. Our problem is not simply one of 'greed' but of 'blind greed' – suppressing awareness of the costs and risks of profit. Within living memory banks, for example, were typically so 'prudent' as to be deeply conservative. Recently, a business culture that extravagantly rewards financial risk-taking

[5]In his well-known essay of 1960, 'Why I am not a conservative'.
[6]http://212.77.1.245/news_services/bulletin/news/23644.php?index=23644&po_date=31.03.2009&lang=it

(while allowing losses to be passed on to the general public) has encouraged a denial of practical wisdom.

6. Solidarity, rooted in 'koinonia': solidarity may be defined as 'the fundamental moral imperative that flows from the communal character of human life'. In our meeting, however, solidarity was in turn related to the still more universal concept of koinonia, which includes an eschatological notion of the healing and reconciling of the nations. Koinonia generates solidarity, seeking the common good, the well-being of the whole person and of all persons. In this connection, we appreciate the renewed commitment of the G20 Summit to the Millennium Development Goals.

7. Gratuity: to understand our life as gift (or 'grace'), and to live in this spirit is the most profound existential rejection of any world-view that reduces human persons to the status of homo economicus, and of the associated ideology of 'economism'. We are a society with a market, but not a 'market society'. This concept of gratuity is not intrinsically religious, in that explanations can be given in terms of anthropology and sociology. But Christian consciousness explicitly takes gratuity as its ground and its fulfilment.

Frank Turner SJ
Jesuit European Office (OCIPE)
51 rue du Cornet
1040 Brussels – BELGIUM
turner@ocipe.info

El Escorial, 10-16 November 2008

Advocacy done the Ignatian Way[1]

Elías Royón SJ

As provincial of Spain, it is for me an honour to offer greetings to this *Workshop on Ignatian Advocacy* being held in Madrid. I cordially welcome all of you who are participating; you represent the universality of the corps of the Society and its collaborators in the work of promoting a justice that springs forth from faith.

Advocacy is not a new line of work for us; many of the Society's social institutions have long been working in this direction. Nevertheless, the context and the way in which it is carried out have undergone change in recent years because of the accelerated process of globalization, which in turn has increased the importance of the international sphere.

Moreover, during the last few years, diverse initiatives have been undertaken in an effort to energize and strengthen the Society's capacity for advocacy. In developing appropriate ways of practising advocacy, these initiatives have sought to take advantage of the "extraordinary potential we possess as an international and multicultural body" (GC 35, D 3, no. 43).

Out of the convergence of these initiatives arose the idea of organizing a workshop as the start of a process that would promote advocacy based on elements of Ignatian spirituality. Accordingly, its main objective – to establish solid bases for promoting international advocacy in the Society's works – sought two specific results. The first was a common theoretical framework elaborated on the basis of Ignatian spirituality, using a shared language about the nature and methods of advocacy; the second, concurrent with the first, was a workshop to help identify the principal elements of a possible plan of action to advance international advocacy.

The workshop was not to be exclusively technical; it would include much discernment and attentive listening to what the Spirit was inspiring through all the participants. Ignatius has taught us to rely on the lights sent by the Lord to guide us and lead us in our common search as we travel along new roads, not racing ahead of his inspirations, but rather, receiving them with humility and gratitude.

It would not be easy to find the term "advocacy" in the Dictionary of Ignatian Spirituality, but I believe you are correct in seeking the inspiration of Ignatian spirituality in order to elaborate a common theoretical framework and a shared language about what international "advocacy" is and how it should be done.

[1]This is an edited version of the speech given by the Spanish Provincial, Father Elías Royón SJ, at the start of the Ignatian Advocacy Workshop in El Escorial, Spain (10-16 November 2008). The original (in Spanish) can be found at: http://tinyurl.com/dzrtwa [Editor's Note]

The Spiritual Exercises will always be the source from which flow the constitutive elements of an incarnated spirituality that seeks the conversion of the human heart, and, following from that, the transformation of the social and cultural structures which condition people and prevent them from living and acting in accordance with their calling as children of God. We are therefore called to be collaborators with Christ in his salvific mission of integral salvation, one that seeks that justice which is born of faith, a justice extending to the realms that create the injustices of our world: the human heart and the "structures of sin."

It may be said that the preferential option of Ignatian spirituality is the person, the whole person, "created and loved by God." Advocacy inspired by this spirituality must then be necessarily carried out from the perspective of the human person. Such advocacy urges us to accompany and serve those who suffer and are victims of selfishness and unjust structures, and at the same time, to be present where decisions are made so as to exercise a transformative influence on the complex causes of those injustices. This spirituality, then, invites us to build bridges between rich and poor, to overcome the borders that separate and marginalize people, to establish bonds of collaboration between those who hold decision-making power and those who can hardly make their voice heard. (GC 35, D 3, no. 28)

I believe that Ignatian spirituality can also enrich advocacy through the practices and the attitudes required by **discernment**, the aim of which is to discover where lie the greatest *need* and the hope of a more *universal* good, for both of these, need and universality, are important Ignatian criteria when it comes to choosing where to be present and active. This discernment, prayerful and apostolic at the same time, leads to taking decisions and therefore to concrete action, requiring us to pay particular attention to personal, social and historical circumstances, since it is through them that God manifests his will. It will also take into consideration another of the important elements of Ignatian spirituality: quality as an expression of the *magis*. What is expected is high-quality work, free of all partiality, performed with intellectual competence, and above all, with comprehensive knowledge of the situations for which advocacy is being undertaken.

I believe that it is not too bold to say that this workshop is the fruit of the recent GC 35. It responds to many of the insights and suggestions scattered through the various decrees, especially the decree on Mission. Certainly the workshop has been inspired by some of the basic themes of this decree, such as universality, reconciliation, and the need to transform structures that create injustices.

The workshop aims at strengthening the Society's networking efforts, especially in the area of advocacy. GC 34, some fifteen years ago, was already insisting in two of its decrees on the need to create and strengthen collaborative networking. It encouraged Jesuits to collaborate with lay people in the creation

of "Ignatian apostolic networks" (D 13, no. 21), and it urged the Society's government to establish global networks that would be "capable of addressing global concerns through support, sharing of information, planning, and evaluation." The Congregation also made explicit allusion to "cooperation in and through international agencies, non-governmental organizations, and other emerging associations of women and men of good will" (D 21, no. 14). Now GC 35 has stressed universality as the identifying note of the body of the Society. I believe we are dealing here with more than the currently fashionable trend of collaborative networking; we are talking about a modern, contextualized way of expressing the basic meaning of the universal body of the Society in this globalized world.

In this global context it is important to point out the great potential of being a universal and inter-cultural body. Acting in accordance with this international character will not only improve our apostolic effectiveness, but will also be, in a fragmented and divided world, a testimony of reconciliation in solidarity with all God's children (GC 35, D 3, no. 43).

Practising international advocacy is a privileged way to advance the inter-provincial and inter-sectoral collaboration that GC 35 called for when it stated, "Today cooperation among Provinces and Regions to realize the apostolic mission of the Society is an undeniable necessity" (D 5, no. 17). This is so because we are conscious that "today many problems are global in nature and therefore require global solutions" (ibid. cf. NC 395,1). Advocacy also requires the active participation of other apostolic sectors, especially the whole intellectual apostolate and university education. For that reason, inter-sectoral collaboration is fundamental.

Clearly, advocacy can be the perfect and necessary complement to the task of being present among the poor and accompanying them. There is no reason why accompanying those who suffer and being advocates for them should be mutually exclusive. The two areas may sometimes require differing methodologies, types of knowledge and forms of action, but a unified mission between the two is vital. We need to recognize that there exists a real communion of objectives that goes beyond the differences that characterize each of the tasks.

Speaking of advocacy leads naturally to the issue of collaborating and relating with others. "Collaboration at the heart of mission" is the title of Decree 6 of GC 35. We speak especially of advocacy done the Ignatian way, which means maximum effectiveness and complete knowledge of the complexity of the problem to be tackled. Such advocacy should help to stimulate collaboration, especially with other works of the Church and other representative actors in the globalized world, such as social movements, non-governmental organizations, corporations, and international institutions.

You have before you an exciting task. You are motivated by the feeling you have of being called by the Lord to find in Ignatian spirituality ways to help

transform the factors that cause suffering for so many people on our planet. Your objective is tremendous, and you seek to achieve it with your efforts and your creativity in the field of advocacy. You feel inspired to walk together as a universal body at the service of the poorest, most excluded people, while you contemplate, with the love-filled, compassionate eyes of the Trinity, "the whole expanse of the earth."

I end by recalling the words of GC 35: "In a world torn by violence, strife, and division, we are called with others to be instruments of God, who 'in Christ reconciled the world to himself, not counting their trespasses' (2 Cor 5,19). This reconciliation calls us to build a new world of right relationships, a new Jubilee reaching across all divisions, so that God might restore his justice for all." (D 3, no. 16)

Many thanks.

Elías Royón SJ
Madrid, SPAIN

Original Spanish
Translation by Joseph Owens SJ

Experiences

SAPI: A Dalit Vision for a New India

Joseph Xavier SJ

Introduction

South Asian Peoples' Initiatives (SAPI) was conceived as a platform, a democratic and secular space in which like-minded individuals, groups, organizations and people's movements could work together. It was set up in 2004 in the context of the Mumbai World Social Forum by Jesuits in the social action ministry of South Asia. SAPI's vision is of a pluralist society that is democratic, egalitarian, and secular, that allows many cultures to flourish. It works with, and on behalf of marginalized communities: dalits, adivasis (indigenous peoples), women, unorganized workers, youth, children, refugees, minorities and other groups on the periphery. SAPI, comprising Jesuits and lay members, has been pushing the state to enact pro-people policies while opposing policies that are anti-poor. In this SAPI has been joined by civil society organizations. At the Ignatian Advocacy workshop held at El Escorial, Madrid, in November 2008, the advocacy work of SAPI was chosen as one of the possible case studies for presentation. Many questions were raised. Can a platform work? Is it feasible for a platform of the marginalized to engage in a 'high profile' exercise like advocacy action? My attempt here is to narrate one of the advocacy endeavours promoted by SAPI at the national level in India.

The millennium context

In the post-globalization era, successive governments with left or right or centrist ideologies enacted policies addressing various segments of the population. With the onslaught of market forces, most new policies have led to what has been called 'development terrorism'.[1] That is, every 'new' policy has in effect meant a further alienation of the poor.[2] Challenges to civil society groups from the pro-market and religious fundamentalist lobby are legion.

Understanding advocacy

Advocacy, as understood by SAPI, is more than critically engaging with decision-makers on behalf of the poor. It is political action with, and by the marginalized, amplifying their voices within the democratic framework, the

[1]A term used by Prof Amit Bhaduri to describe present day lopsided developmental models as promoted by multinational corporations and international business houses.

[2]For example a whopping 92.37 % of the workers today in India are in the informal sector, outside the purview of the existing labour legislation. A large number of the dalits and adivasis, who constitute about 300 million, are victims of the development policies of the State.

Constitution of India. This necessarily involves mass mobilization, strengthening collective bargaining power, and democratic and non-violent forms of struggles and campaigns. The thrust is towards pro-poor rather than anti-poor policies.

A political kairos

I turn now to a concrete example of advocacy and the role played by SAPI in formulating a National Dalit Policy. To appreciate the struggle and political factors involved, I need to backtrack a little. To begin with, the term dalit includes adivasis (tribals) as well as the Scheduled Castes (formerly called untouchables). While the need for a comprehensive National Tribal policy was first mooted in 1980 by the State itself, it was only in 2004 that the BJP government, then in power, formulated the Draft National Tribal Policy, hoping to secure Tribal votes in what was an election year. But the ruling rightwing BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) lost the election in what was seen as a defeat of conservative upper-caste forces, their attempt to secure the Tribal vote bank notwithstanding. Civil society organizations heaved a huge sigh of relief as the Congress party now formed the new coalition government called the United Progressive Alliance (UPA). The newly formed UPA government in 2004 circulated the same Draft National Tribal Policy prepared earlier by the BJP government and invited public opinion. The draft was rejected by the adivasi communities and civil society organizations, including SAPI,[3] on the grounds that the entire policy had been framed without considering social and cultural aspects, or the self-governance and communitarian ethos of the adivasis. The policy was dropped, but till date the new policy exists only in draft form. Dalit academicians and activists and civil society organizations are therefore working seriously to formulate a National Dalit Policy (NDP). SAPI and JESA in collaboration with other civil society organizations have taken the lead in this.[4]

The process of evolving a National Dalit Policy

SAPI organized a second consultation in New Delhi from 17-19 September 2004 to examine the Common Minimum Programme of the UPA government, and the outcome was a press release on '*The Indigenous and the Marginalized Communities' Demand Beyond the CMP'*. This offered a critique of the government's Common Minimum Programme (CMP) from the perspective of the adivasis, dalits, women and minorities. Since many members of SAPI are from adivasi and Scheduled Caste communities, the need for lobbying for a

[3]SAPI members were part of this process.

[4]It may be noted that because of pressure from the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) of which SAPI was a partner, the UPA government passed two important pro-people legislations, namely the Right to Information Act 2005 and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005.

National Dalit Policy came up; this seemed to be a politically opportune moment to put pressure on the UPA government.

The top-down process of policy-making so evident in the rejected National Tribal Policy of 2004 has simply not been acceptable; thus it was decided that SAPI members should work for a few years at the grassroots, joining hands with dalit intellectuals, academicians, activists, organizations and movements so as to fire the imagination of as many as possible. This base of people's power would give SAPI an advantage while bargaining with the State. SAPI members decided to work at the state and regional levels in the first phase.

The beginning was in South India. The first NDP meet was organized in Bangalore in August 2005. The Dalit Conference of South India with 85 people belonging to more than 55 dalit organizations participated and formulated the Bangalore Declaration: A Dalit Vision for a New India. The vision was to create a casteless and egalitarian society adhering to the philosophy and ideals of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar. The document declared Brahminism[5] and neo-liberalism to be enemies of dalit political theory. The draft policy stated 'Ours is a policy of struggle; a policy of combat; a policy of hope; a policy of celebration and a policy of development.' The National Dalit Policy demanded the following:

a. *Redistribution of Land and national resources as the land is the birthright of the dalits*
b. *Dalit lives be given dignity and made secure*
c. *Full implementation of Reservation provisions*[6] *as 'Reservation is our Constitutional Right'*
d. *Access to free, compulsory and quality education*
e. *Recognition of the contribution of dalit women in nation building.*
f. *Denunciation of untouchability practices, caste system, communalism and capitalism-led globalization, and assertion of human dignity, equality, equal opportunity and dalit share in natural resources.*

This outcome of the Bangalore Workshop was taken with enormous enthusiasm by the participants to state-level dalit organizations to create public opinion and generate momentum. They also created a South Indian Forum for National Dalit Policy. The Bangalore Declaration was later translated into three regional languages and state-level workshops were facilitated by the members of SAPI. The need for a National Dalit Policy caught the imagination of many people. At every meeting the initiative of SAPI was acknowledged. SAPI committed itself to taking up this advocacy action to the northern, western and eastern regions of India and at the national level.

This was borne out when SAPI facilitated the process in Ahmedabad, Patna and Raipur, the state capitals of Gujarat, Bihar and Chattisgargh, with large participation from dalit organizations. Every zone came up with a draft

[5]An ideology which promotes, protects and upholds through religious sanctions a caste system based on the principles of hierarchy, discrimination and exclusion.

[6]The term reservation refers to affirmative action programmes in which quotas are reserved for dalits in educational institutions and government jobs.

National Dalit Policy capturing regional concerns, evolved from their primary experience of being dalit. The zonal draft policies were taken to the states for further discussion and to build a mass base. These zonal and state level processes added new dimensions such as dalit right to employment in both public and private sectors, to health care and participation in governance and redistribution of lands, both homestead and agricultural lands.

The outcome of the four zonal workshops and eight state-level workshops facilitated by SAPI, and the conclusions of NDP workshops organized locally by dalit organizations were taken up by the National SAPI forum for further deliberation. With inputs from dalit activists, bureaucrats, academics and politicians, the final document titled **A Dalit Vision for a New India** was prepared. This was released by an eminent Constitutional expert, Prof Ravi Verma Kumar, at the India Social Forum in November 2006 in the presence of over two thousand people. The policy, which emphasized economic rights as the basis, followed by political, social, cultural, gender and constitutional rights, was acclaimed by the speakers as a milestone in the process of dalit identity formation. Mr. Paul Divakar, Convener of the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) said, "This policy intervention by SAPI is timely and appropriate. The demand for a dalit share in the national wealth is the key for dalit liberation". The members of SAPI later met parliamentarians, bureaucrats, planning commission members and academicians and explained the dream of the masses; they were assured that the issue would be discussed in an appropriate forum.

The way forward

This document on National Dalit Policy is a matter of pride for the members of SAPI, as it was evolved by the dalits and by groups upholding dalit ideology, with the participation of over 2500 dalits belonging to 300 dalit and civil society organizations. This amplified voice for a comprehensive National Dalit Policy is no longer the property of SAPI alone. The process has also facilitated networking among many dalit organizations for the realization of a dream in which thousands of years of historical oppression, alienation and exclusion of over 200 million dalits will end. The policy might not yet have seen the light of day as of now, but I believe that it will not be long before it is enacted. The seed has been sown; the struggle continues. Should SAPI wait for a politically opportune time again or create one?

Joseph Xavier
Indian Social Institute Bangalore
24 Benson Road
Bangalore 560 046 – INDIA
ajoexavier@gmail.com

CEPAS: Mining Companies and Corporate Social Responsibility

Ferdinand Muhigirwa SJ

Brief description of CEPAS

The Centre d'Études pour l'Action sociale (Study Centre for Social Action), CEPAS, was founded in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo, in 1965 by the Central African Province of the Society of Jesus. The aim of the centre is to establish a close link between research and social action and contribute to the cultural, social, political and economic development of Congolese society. The Centre carries out activities under the responsibility of the Central African Provincial who is also the Director of CEPAS.

CEPAS has 16 members and its work encompasses the following five sectors: Congo-Africa, Library, Publications, Socio-political Coordination and Support for Development. Each activity sector has its own director. The CEPAS library provides a valuable source of documentation relating to political, social and economic issues for researchers, teachers and students. Since 1961, the CEPAS monthly journal *Congo-Afrique* has published important studies by members and partners on different aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural life of Congo. Numerous CEPAS pamphlets, providing popular guides to law, political and social formation, management and democratic principles, are used for training and informing the public at large. Support for development (assessments, planning, and accountancy training for a cycle of projects) contributes to good governance in Church structures and among local and international NGOs active in the development sector. Seminars, workshops, conferences and social days organised by CEPAS nurture reflection and urge members and partners to action.

Case Study of the South Katanga mining company (CMSK)

The South Katanga Mining Company (CMSK, Compagnie Minière du Sud Katanga), a private limited company, was set up in April 1997. A joint venture has been signed between Gécamines (Générale des carrières et mines), formerly the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga (UMHK), and the Entreprise Générale Malta Forrest (EGMF), linked to CMSK. In this partnership, Gécamines brought to CMSK mining rights on the Luisha polygons (open pit mining). It also brings the sites necessary for the Kipushi metallurgy factories. EMGF brought the new Luiwishi concentrator facility. According to article three of the contract, EMGF owns 60 percent and Gécamines 40 percent of the social capital. From 1908 to 1960, the mining sector, with the support of external investment, produced 4,900,000 tonnes of copper (Cu). The sale of diamonds, copper, cobalt, gold and zinc has made it possible to repay the capital invested and the interest has contributed to the social and economic development of the country,

especially the Katanga region. From 1980 to the present day, production has been approximately 20,000 tonnes/Cu a year.

The increasing poverty of the inhabitants in Kipushi

The salary paid to the workers allows them to live modestly. They are better paid than even teachers in primary and secondary schools. Security, hygiene and protection measures are guaranteed and health care is provided for employees and their families. Working conditions are in general acceptable.

Nonetheless, the CMSK contribution to the social and economic well being of local people in Kipushi is minimal. CMSK mining activities contribute to destroying the roads used to transport the Luishuisi copper to Kipushi, where it is transformed into copper concentrate. Previously, all mining products were transported by train but, bridges have been damaged by the constant transit of heavy goods vehicles and farming transport routes have been ruined. People live in abject poverty, on less than one US dollar a day. Unemployment is very high, the labour market being practically non-existent. Malnutrition reigns in Kipushi; many young people have had little or no education, and the water and air are polluted.

Let us listen to the account of a Christian woman in Kipushi one Sunday after Mass – "We have suffered greatly. Our husbands have been sacked by Gécamines. Others work for foreign mining companies who exploit the resources and take the money back with them. The smoke and dust from mining operations threaten us and assault us every day. If we were to go for medical tests, we would all have lung diseases. And if we don't do anything, we ourselves, our husbands, our children and you, our priests, are all going to die because of this intense mining activity". This mother's view raises the main issue regarding mining activities - is it a fortune or a misfortune for local people?

Thus, with reason, the Katanga bishops stated in March 2007 that "it is clear the mines do not benefit either our population or our people. While investor profits increase enormously, workers themselves are becoming poorer". In July 2007 the bishops of the National Congolese Bishops' Conference (CENCO) confirmed that "instead of contributing to the development of our country and benefitting our people, the mines, the oil and the forests have become the cause of our misfortune". (Message from the CENCO bishops, 7 July 2007, no 11)

CEPAS Advocacy in Kipushi

The case of CMSK in Kipushi was chosen for the following reasons. First of all, the entire Kipushi-Sakania diocese is subject to mining activities. Secondly, poverty and injustice resulting from mining activities bear witness to the mining company's indifference to the well-being of the region and its people. Third, we have set up a project to build awareness of corporate social obligations among local people. The Democratic Republic of Congo mining code requires the mining companies to observe certain norms as part of

corporate social responsibility. They are required to "improve the well-being of local people by setting up economic and social development programmes" (article 452). From an environmental and security viewpoint they have to present an environmental impact study and an environmental project management plan (article 204). With regard to infrastructure, "owners of mining rights or permanent quarries are obliged to construct and maintain all the infrastructure necessary for mining activities" (article 212).

Our advocacy is aimed at training and empowering local communities on all aspects of the mining code and corporate social responsibility, so that they can compel mining companies to fulfil their social obligations in accordance with the articles of the Congolese mining code. We began the advocacy process in Kipushi in June 2008 and our work has been developed as follows -

a) We have listened to the local population's[1] interpretation of the signs given out by those engaged in mining activities. Advocacy must be people-centred, and together with Mgr Ruvezi Gaston, bishop of Kipushi-Sakania, we devoted a full day to visiting the three mining sites in order to obtain a global understanding of mining activity in the diocese.
b) We have organized four conferences and one formation seminar on the theme of corporate social responsibility for members of the Justice and Peace commissions in the three parishes and for the members of the pastoral team in the diocese of Kipushi. We also held a training session with the bishops of the Ecclesiastical province of Katanga on the overall state of mining issues in Katanga. The engagement of the bishops as religious decision-makers is indispensable for advocacy at local, national and international level.
c) We will commission in-depth research and objective analysis from experts (including a person from the university and a member of an NGO) so that we can publish clear information, which creates awareness of rights and offers useful pedagogic tools to reinforce capacity within local populations and NGOs. This research and analysis will not only provide advocacy material for OCIPE (Brussels) and the US Jesuit Conference (Washington) but can also be a basis for dialogue with mining company management, Mining Ministry structures, the mining commissions in Parliament and in the Senate and international NGOs.

Conclusion

Decree Three of the 35th GC states that "transnational interests, unconstrained by national laws and often abetted by corruption, frequently exploit the natural resources of the poor. Powerful economic groups foment violence, war, and arms trafficking" (GC35 D 3 n. 26). In our globalised world where the poor are marginalised, CEPAS, as a centre for social promotion and

[1]The local population comprises members of the Justice and Peace commissions in three parishes in Kipushi, workers and managers in Gécamines and CMSK.

research, seeks greater engagement in fostering "the growth of corporate social responsibility, the creation of a more humane business culture, and economic development initiatives with the poor" (GC35 D 3 n. 28). Inspired also by the conclusions of the International Advocacy Workshop held in Madrid in November 2008, CEPAS, with support from Entreculturas and Alboan, intends with "renewed fervour and enthusiasm" to rise to one of the "challenges of our mission today", namely corporate social responsibility.

Muhigirwa Rusembuka Ferdinand SJ
Directeur du CEPAS Kinshasa
c/o Procure des Missions
141, Koninginnelaan
1030 Brussels – BELGIUM
muhigirwafsj@gmail.com
www.cepas-rdc.org

Original French
Translation by Judy Reeves

CINEP: The Case of 'False Positives'[1]

Mauricio García SJ

Scope and nature of our organization

The Centre for Research and Popular Education (CINEP, Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular) was created by the Colombian Province of the Society of Jesus in 1972 with the task of fostering research and social action in the Colombian context. The aim was to work towards building a more just and equitable society through the promotion of integral, sustainable human development. The centre has had the privilege of embodying the options of the Society in its last General Congregations: the promotion of justice that demands faith and the preferential option for the poor.

Through the years CINEP has worked to develop alternative viewpoints, critiques and proposals for Columbian society. This work is done through research and writing, forming and organizing communities and social agents, persuading the public to create "bridges" and relationships between different sectors, participating in areas of social reconciliation, lobbying and the formulation of public policies.

[1]This article was written in collaboration with Alvaro Benedetti of the CINEP team to whom we express our thanks. [Editor's Note]

Instruments for carrying out effective advocacy

The **Human Rights and Political Violence Database** is a CINEP project whose principal objective is to offer service to the victims by bringing to light acts which violate fundamental human rights. Under this rubric it has relentlessly pursued the problem of the so-called 'false positives', that is to say, cases reported in official documents as positive when armed forces have acted against the insurgency. For example, what was put down as "deaths in combat" actually proved to be extra-judicial executions, and were in fact abuses against the civilian population.

The process of obtaining and systematizing information has been possible thanks to regional units in different zones of the country, which allow us to interact more closely with the environment of the victims, their families, Human Rights defenders, and organizations, both social and church-related. This ensures that we can obtain pertinent and useful information without being restricted to media sources, whether regional or national.

One of our overall intentions in making our mark in the public sphere is to follow up and give weightage to the monitoring of Human Rights violations and to the public policies that respond to them. The act of confronting the problem of 'false positives' has become an important reference point for our impact because of its repercussions on public opinion. Recognition of this work has been important because CINEP was the first human rights organization in Colombia to call attention to this kind of abuse of Human Rights when, about three years ago, our reports and accusations put it in the spotlight of national and international debate.

The armed conflict in Colombia in the last two decades has demonstrated the vulnerability of the population to violation of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. We need to keep in mind the correspondence between hostile actions committed by official, para-military and insurgent agents involved in the conflict. Numerous infractions of International Humanitarian Law are the result of such hostile actions. It is worth noting that during the years when the theme of 'false positives' figured prominently in the national and international media, there was an increase in military actions within the framework of the conflict.

How advocacy action is planned and undertaken by CINEP

1. Keeping a record of the history of the abuses committed is the basis of our strategy to assess impact on the 'false positives'. Cases collected and compiled from information supplied by the print media, and the testimonies of victims collected by regional databases are the instruments for charges and accusations needed for a future truth commission.

   To illustrate this process we will present a typical 'false positive' case recorded by our database in 2006, in the Municipality of Urrao,

Department of East Antioquia. This describes how troops of the National Army executed a 15-year-old farm boy, a *campesino*, whom they subsequently presented as a "guerrilla who died in combat". According to the source, "the victim, who lived in the Los Quemados road, was going toward the La Ninquí road to buy *panela* (a piece of solidified sugarcane juice). An hour and a half later gunshots were heard. At 5 pm the army passed by the Los Quemados road with four bodies of presumed guerrillas who had been killed in combat. A neighbour recognized one of the dead as the young farm boy.

2. The work of classifying, consolidating and interpreting information in the database takes place using a conceptual framework that takes into account incidents of human rights violations, infringement of the International Humanitarian Law, social and political violence and acts of war. This framework, based on international regulations, offers categories for consolidating the information compiled according to the level of deeds, of victims and of killers.

   In the case described above, the systematization and codification was classified so as to address two issues: first, to demonstrate the violation of human rights under Civil Code *A10 (VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS – POLITICAL PERSECUTION – EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION*); and second, to highlight the infraction of the International Humanitarian Law under Statute *D701 (INFRACTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW – PERSONS – INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE – PROTECTED PERSON).*

3. The first step in our advocacy action is the dissemination of the compiled, classified information using the journal called "*Noche y Niebla,*" available both in print and on the web (www.nocheyniebla.org). This aims to present the date of the event, the place, the victim and the presumed responsible agent in the case. Our purpose goes beyond merely publicizing the data; we also seek to maintain a circle of those who will benefit from the publication, primarily the social organizations which can begin to contribute to the databases of each region. To the victims, whom we serve by undertaking this action, we offer ways of bringing the deeds to light, thereby reducing their vulnerability. Finally, at the broadest level, we reach out to all those who have access to this systematized information, thus garnering support for the planning and justification of other actions on behalf of the victims.

4. Likewise, CINEP as a social agent has succeeded in inserting itself into the debate about 'false positives' through advocacy actions and through lobbying with government agencies and the international community. Negotiations have been carried out, either directly by CINEP, or through our participation in networks, platforms and alliances in human rights. Examples of these are:

- Following up government compliance with recommendations of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCR) and participating in consultations towards an *Action Plan for Human Rights*.
- Lobbying and advocacy to denounce violations of Human Rights and of the International Humanitarian Law and to demand that they be respected by armed groups and by the State. These are at the national level (government agencies, the Congress, Armed Forces and the Judiciary) and international levels (diplomatic corps, NGOs, agencies of cooperation, multilateral entities, governments)

Summary and perspectives of our advocacy actions

The activity of the database with respect to the 'false positives' continues to be accurate and exact, and most important, follows the methodology and has the desired impact described above. This being the case, there is an unfailing desire to do what is needful and to continue following a series of cases not yet published in the journal but for which there are records.

We believe that our efforts in this regard, along with those of other NGOs and human rights platforms, have led to changes in the Armed Forces regulations, which had actually favoured Human Rights violations, most obviously through the rules for promoting officers in the Armed Forces. Previously, one of the important criteria for advancement was the number of enemy dead reported by the officer. This implied a perverse logic, since if, in order to be promoted, one had to present enemy casualties when there were none (for example, during a lull in clashes with insurgent groups), casualties were "created" by assassinating farmers and then reporting them as "guerrillas killed in combat". This regulation was recently changed due to the public debate generated by us at CINEP and like-minded associates.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that our information is used by the international community to help determine their policy toward Colombia. Reports of 'false positives' have been publicized in several reports in the print media and in interviews for radio and TV newscasters. This has not only shed light on the responsibility of army personnel for infractions of the International Humanitarian Law but has also helped generate public awareness and vigilance regarding human rights.

Mauricio García Durán SJ
CINEP Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular
Carrera 5 No. 33 A – 08
Bogotá – COLOMBIA
direccion@cinep.org.co

Original Spanish
Translation by Joseph Newman SJ

JRS Cambodia: Banning Land Mines and Cluster Bombs

Judy Reeves[1]

Introduction

The Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) was established by Father Arrupe in 1980 and is now present in over 50 countries, working to meet the education, health, social and other needs of more than 500,000 refugees, internally displaced people (IDPs) and returnees. JRS serves, accompanies and advocates on behalf of refugees regardless of ethnic origins or religious beliefs, especially the most forgotten. Assisting survivors of wars and natural disasters and *being* with them is an immediate practical way of providing help to those whose needs are greatest. Equally important however is addressing the roots and causes of significant issues, and joining with other like-minded organisations to raise awareness globally and influence policy makers at regional, national and international level. Effective advocacy operates at local grass roots level (assisting survivors in explosive strewn areas to be aware of, and assert their rights), at national level where bans can be enforced and monitored, and at international level in terms of agreements on humanitarian and disarmament law.

The JRS model of advocacy originates in the contemplation of God, who is love, and who desires a world where justice and dignity prevail, especially for those most in need. Love is the motivating force and, as in the Ignatian spiritual exercises we are invited to ponder the lights and darknesses, joys, griefs and hopes, in our daily work with refugees we witness gross violations of the desire of God and compassion incites us to action.

Our stand is with the poorest and most needy, to help reconciliation, peace and justice and the full human development of people hurt by war, oppression and exile. Our presence and personal contact with them is aimed at fostering self help and self determination, finding together creative means of alleviating poverty, ignorance and injustice, and providing a link to resources and services.

Nonetheless, with so many issues claiming justice, it is not a simple matter to discern which to address first.

JRS chooses to campaign against landmines

In 1990 when JRS Cambodia was first set up, we met people grieving, their hearts deeply hurt by the Khmer Rouge genocide. The poverty we witnessed was unbearable, yet the resilience and courage we encountered both inspired and humbled us. Not only were people hungry and sick, too many of those we

[1]We are grateful to Judy Reeves, an external collaborator of SJS, who has written this article using material presented by Sister Denise Coghlan RSM (director, JRS Cambodia) at the Ignatian Advocacy Workshop. Due to unforeseen circumstances, Sr Denise was unable to prepare this article herself. [Editor's Note]

saw were on makeshift crutches, on artificial legs made from rockets, or crawling on stumps without wheelchairs. This multitude of images permeated our consciousness. It was our direct first hand experience with children and adults whose lives were destroyed, and a common desire to honour the memory of all those who have died gave us the strongest impetus to promote the mine ban campaign. Equally important is the motivation of victims themselves to prevent others from sharing the same sorry fate.

As JRS worked with other NGOs towards lifting the aid embargo, fostering peace and helping the re-integration of returnees, we also became firmly committed to setting up a community activities training centre for people with disabilities which were the effects of landmines and explosive remnants of war.

Our decision to advocate for the mine ban treaty was influenced by other factors too, including the axiom "choose what is ethically desirable and politically possible". Unexploded land mines and cluster bombs still kill and mutilate one person every 30 minutes, and JRS International and other NGOs worldwide as well as in Cambodia have applied resources and developed expertise in campaigning on this issue. The deadly effect of cluster bombs is due to the immense number of bomblets distributed over a wide area. Long after a conflict has ended, unexploded munitions continue to kill or maim and are very costly to locate and remove.

In partnership with the affected

In close partnership with people suffering horrific damage and mutilation and within the greater international JRS structure, we at JRS Cambodia, leader of the Cambodian Campaign to Ban Landmines, chose to work to eradicate this immense source of pain. We concentrated on four aims – to ban mines, clear mines, destroy stockpiles and help survivors. Practical research, creative approaches to awareness-raising and huge commitment from journalists, photographers and people who gave funds were the foundations of our movement to achieve these objectives.

Our advocacy perspective is above all inspired by, and based on, the experience of those injured by mines and explosive remnants of war. One of the most eloquent documents we used was a letter written by four former soldiers, now living at the Centre of the Dove (Banteay Prieb Training Centre), which raised more than two million signatures in support of the ban.

This practice of working from the perspective of the needs and aspirations of survivors has continued and a practical twelve-point plan has been put forward to assert their basic human, social and economic rights. The needs listed comprise shelter, food, proximity to water supplies, health care including prosthetics and wheelchairs, education for children, opportunities for income generation, market accessibility, mine and unexploded ordinance clearance, mine risk education and inclusion and participation in decision-making, community activities and services.

In contact with centres of power

In developing critical and constructive engagement with centres of policy and power, clear messages stating the need to act on the fourfold campaign were articulated, messages that could be easily conveyed and remembered. Public awareness was created and voters made their voices heard. Journalists and photographers became advocates for the ban.

With the idea of promoting effective dialogue with institutions at different levels and in different sectors, our campaign was based on practical advice from experts in international law, humanitarian de-mining, and medical community practitioners with experience of the disabilities of mine-affected persons. We commissioned expert strategic research, for example, from the International Committee of the Red Cross, while former army leaders provided technical input to ensure informed dialogue with military officials.

JRS provided an ethical background with a paper, which, in exploring issues of proportionality and just war theory, draws on the Social Teaching of the Church. Seminars were held to promote dialogue, clarification and consciousness at local, regional and global level. Military, business, legal, medical and political experts who believed in the cause endorsed the campaign among their peers. Respect was always the hallmark in dealings with governments. Unfortunately, encounters with weapons manufacturers were nearly always confrontational.

The Disarmament Meetings within the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons formed the initial basis for negotiations, and campaigners in Vienna and Geneva used roses, signatures, drummers and photographs to change minds and hearts. Media strategies were creative; the most eloquent strategy of all was the voices of those injured by mines and unexploded ordinances. Our Cambodian campaign led the way when Song Kosal, Tun Channareth and Sok Eng addressed the UN in Vienna in 1995 and Geneva in 1996. These "amputee ambassadors" told their own story, and an Irish diplomat called them "the conscience of the community." When Tun Channareth rolled his wheelchair onto the stage to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the campaign on 10 December 1997, he received a standing ovation.

When the consensus-only Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons process stalled, the Oslo Process began a new series of open negotiations, which finally led to 122 countries signing the agreement despite the US opposition lobby. This procedure was again effective when 94 nations ratified the Convention on Cluster Munitions in Oslo in 2008.[2]

[2]"The Mine Ban movement showed that non-governmental organisations can put an issue – even one with international security implications – on the international agenda, provoke urgent actions by governments and others, and serve as the driving force behind change. It demonstrated the power of partnerships and of common and co-ordinated action by NGOs, like-minded governments, the ICRC and UN agencies." (Jody Williams, Stephen D. Goose & Mary Wareham, *Banning Landmines: Disarmament, Citizen Diplomacy, and Human Security*. Lanham, 2008)

Evaluating our work

For all of us in the Cambodian Campaign, the credibility of the mine ban treaty is directly proportionate to the effect it has on the lives of people in mine-affected countries. Monitoring implementation is crucial to the advocacy effort, and Landmine Monitor systematically collects information in 101 countries, producing an annual report and other invaluable documentation. Mechanisms were set in place for yearly meetings of states parties to assess implementation and compliance with treaty requirements. NGOs and experts, and, notably, survivors, have been intensely involved in maintaining commitment. As opening speaker, our own Song Kosal raised the morale of the Nairobi review conference as well as at other meetings. A Five Year Review conference has also been scheduled.

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines brings together 1,400 organisations working towards the elimination of landmines and explosive remnants of war. In Cambodia, the network is sustained by many different groups of people, including survivors, religious leaders and NGOs working with mine-affected people, each pursuing their signature initiatives for the common goal. Monks raise awareness on the Peace Walk, Handicap International makes news with their films and JRS supports survivors relating their own story in public fora to rally community action.

The 1995 Conference in Phnom Penh contributed to establishing a stronger international community among campaigners and lasting friendships were formed. Governments and civil society realised that joint commitment to the same humanitarian and disarmament goals from both sides was needed for the cause to succeed. Maintaining commitment long term and confronting vested interests that work against us are continuing challenges we face. There is still a long process ahead of us if we are to ensure that treaties banning such weapons forever become internationally and stringently binding.

For those of us graced to work with the survivors, to witness the suffering of those living with mutilation, Ignatian advocacy means walking with this pain, and rejoicing when transformation happens.

Judy Reeves
Via Giacomo Venezian 17/C
00153 Rome – ITALY
judy.r@katamail.com

What have we learned while doing Advocacy?

Uta Sievers

After the Case Study presentations, small groups met to discuss their own experiences in advocacy, partly drawing on papers ("experiences") they had submitted before the workshop.[1] The learning from these experiences falls into five groups: Start from the people; Use different methodologies; Follow a process; Be aware of your context; and finally, Show your passion for the cause.

Start from the people

To start from the level of the people we are working with means, first of all, to listen to their stories and to learn from them. We can only learn what they have to teach us if we humbly accept that they are the ones who have knowledge of the issues affecting them, while initially we do not know enough. It is this act of humility that allows us to do advocacy from the perspective of the poor, the only perspective that makes our work credible in the eyes of those we want to influence. Secondly, we need to be agents who support people in shaping their own future, be it in post-conflict situations or situations of injustice. Empowerment means that people and organisations learn to speak for themselves, and improve their own organisational capacity so that, ultimately, they can influence the decisions that affect their lives. The empowerment of people increases their bargaining power, makes them unafraid to face those in power, and thereby reduces the distance between themselves and the decision-makers. This has been the experience of members of the South Asian Peoples' Initiatives (SAPI).

The next step in our advocacy process is academic research into the issues that we have identified with the people. In-depth analysis relying, if necessary, on the expertise of others, and publication of the findings has to be the basis of any advocacy project. A well-researched project or campaign gives reasons, proposes recommendations and alternatives and thus creates credibility and experience to build on in the future. One group suggested that concentrated analysis on very significant cases (e.g. of human rights abuses) could then become a reference for future commitments – as in the case of 'false positives' presented by CINEP. The research should also include voices, opinions, case studies or testimonies of people directly affected by injustices or violation of their rights.

Use different methodologies

In addition to research, working together with like-minded people and organisations can bring about miracles, as was evident in the presentation by Sister Denise Coughlan RSM from Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS). Networking is

[1] All experiences are collected at http://ignatianadvocacy.wordpress.com/experiences-experiencias/

an umbrella term for very different activities and can be done in many ways and at many levels: local, regional, national and international. The adequate response to an issue may be on one level or on several levels. Networking is also just one point on a continuum that ranges from initial contact to genuine friendship, which is a source of inspiration and energy among advocates. The case study presented by CEPAS is a good example of networking: CEPAS organised a forum with different NGOs on the review of mining contracts and built alliances among like-minded organisations by working together on a common issue. Networking, in the experience of Joe Xavier SJ from SAPI, requires forming alliances that go beyond religion, caste, ethnicity and language; he added that joining secular democratic forces and people's movements is a must for advocacy. Others maintained that we should make an effort to network better within existing networks of the Society of Jesus and with other institutions of the Church, as well as with organisations and networks of civil society that we would not normally consider.

We need to identify partners at a local *and* global level, even if we are only advocating for local change. It is important to choose our partners wisely because it will cost energy to build links and this energy should not be wasted. In the northern hemisphere, we are more likely to engage in direct lobbying with the centres of power. In addition, we can (and must), in view of our collective responsibility, contribute to raising awareness in the North about the abominable realities and injustices suffered by people. Effective communication on all levels is indispensable. This includes producing simple material to train NGOs and faith-based organisations on the ground; using every forum possible to make peoples' voices heard; and wise use of different means of communication (press, internet). Sometimes we need to take on different roles when talking to different actors, such as our allies, people at the grassroots, authorities and other churches. Most importantly, we need to have a good, clear message for our campaigns.

Experiences in the area of influencing government vary among the participants. JRS promotes constructive engagement with governments, while SAPI's approach is to impress decision-makers at the national level with people power, essentially taking to the streets with as big a crowd as possible. Between these two poles, questions about grey areas remain: how to talk to a terrorist state, a fascist state, how to dialogue with a fanatic? To see the "enemy" as a human being, and to be honest, frank and, at the same time, courteous while acknowledging differences was suggested as one way out of win/lose situations, i.e. those situations which would only prepare the ground for future battles.

Follow a process

A flexible, evolving strategy is paramount, according to the experience of JRS, who also promote a "one step at a time" approach. It is necessary to learn

while doing advocacy; this is part of the actual process. SAPI encouraged us to be ready to face backlash, which might be severe, depending on the risks we take in our strategy. The results of the process we have followed need to be measured by looking at indicators such as changes in law or in the thinking of decision- makers. And finally, one has to 'read' the whole advocacy experience with honesty and openness in order to gain the greatest learning from it.

Be aware of your context and make use of it

We are working within an Ignatian context and are using Ignatian tools whenever appropriate, e.g. common apostolic discernment for making institutional decisions. We have found that a shared spirituality can galvanize organisations and strengthen our advocacy; the use of *discreta caritas*[2] in such charged issues as mining contracts in the Democratic Republic of Congo was an important experience for CEPAS.

In the Ignatian context, it is also important to realise the potential of working together with other Jesuit institutions, using existing synergies rather then trying to create new institutions. A good experience in this respect was the collaboration with AUSJAL (Association of Latin American Universities entrusted to the Society of Jesus) on poverty analysis and the development of a leadership programme.

On the other hand, some of us work in a multi-religious context without a visible Jesuit or religious identity. In those contexts, more than religious affiliation, it is our lifelong commitment to the lives of the poor that gives us credibility.

Passion for the cause

All four of the case studies expressed a fundamental principle: we can make a difference if we are passionate about the cause. Together, we can be a fire that kindles other fires; in the process, change accumulates, and people and societies grow more sensitive to the issues. Celebration of achievements is the final but all-important step we must take to tell the world: yes, this is a serious issue, but the process of advocating for change is ultimately life-giving.

Uta Sievers
Social Justice Secretariat
Rome, ITALY
sjs-com@sjcuria.org

[2]The Ignatian concept of charity (love) illuminated by discernment.

Ignatian Advocacy

A Model of Ignatian Advocacy[1]

Frank Turner SJ

I am invited to offer a draft model for, and overview of, 'Ignatian advocacy': advocacy in an Ignatian spirit, therefore relying on the 'way of proceeding' developed by St Ignatius Loyola that should permeate all Jesuit activities and apostolates: in this case, the practice of advocacy.[2] What is presented here is a 'model', a framework for a wide range of possible particular advocacy efforts. As such it is intentionally abstract and simplified, tidy, whereas life is not tidy. Models are an aid to reflection, no more: complexities arise as soon as they are applied.

Advocacy is part of a broader process. The work of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), for example, includes not only advocacy but primarily the accompaniment of people in urgent need. It is the commitment to **accompaniment and service** that gives JRS's advocacy its credibility. For my own organisation, the Jesuit European Office (OCIPE), advocacy is one element of a mission that includes a general engagement in and around the institutions of the European Union, the relationship between Christian faith and political responsibility. This note, however, focuses specifically on advocacy itself, not on its broader institutional context or its necessary complements.

I shall identify six fundamental elements of Ignatian advocacy.

1. It is a critical and constructive engagement with centres of power

In its content

It is **critical**: something needs changing, or we would not be taking the trouble to do the work. Advocacy is more than 'comment', and it is not an entirely open, exploratory conversation, of theoretical interest only: it is directed towards the achievement of some social change deemed necessary. Further, advocacy aims not only at behavioural change on the part of individuals (e.g. those with decision-making authority) but also at a certain transformation, even though always inevitably partial and selective, of political structures. Advocacy is part of a search for justice, usually starting with the struggle against manifest **injustice.**

It is **constructive**: we are familiar with protest campaign slogans at public events and demonstrations. Such condemnatory expressions may have a limited value in mobilising a mass movement: but they are not themselves

[1]The full version of this document can be found here: http://tinyurl.com/cr3ysj [Editor's Note].

[2]This text draws on a long process of collective reflection. The fuller version of the paper makes appropriate acknowledgements. Responsibility for the text remains mine.

advocacy. The organisations that used the tag 'Make Poverty History' were simultaneously in dialogue with governments and with the international financial institutions about how this objective might realistically be achieved.

In its process

Advocacy is a form of **conversation** or **dialogue**: it seeks to include those people we challenge in the conversation, not to reject them. Sometimes, sheer tyrants may refuse to negotiate; or the overriding need to defend people under threat must be secret. We may still then need to **confront** oppressors, and protest might have a worthwhile, long-term effect: but confrontation as such is not advocacy. (Advocacy is not everything!) There seems often to be a rhythm between cooperation and confrontation – always accompanied by **clarification.** It is important that advocates "never break the bridge."[3]

It engages **with the structures of power and decision**, at appropriate, perhaps multiple levels – international, national, local; both political and commercial.

Advocacy promotes the equitable sharing of power. The advocacy dialogue seeks not only to rectify some specific wrong, but also to build mutual recognition and respect, and to include those groups (or their representatives) which have suffered from the bad situation but have previously been excluded from negotiations.

Early drafts of this paper proposed a distinction between 'advocacy' (the promotion and defence of **principles**) and 'lobbying' (the application of pressure in order to promote or defend **interests**). However this advocacy-lobbying distinction cannot bear much weight. The usual French term for 'advocacy' is '*le lobbying*'! Even in English, different people simply use the terms in different ways. In the USA, for example, 'lobbying' is synonymous with 'advocacy at the governmental level'. It may be less useful to distinguish advocacy from lobbying than to commend an 'Ignatian practice' of **both** advocacy and lobbying.

Instead, a somewhat different distinction may be helpful. Lobbying is the direct processing of addressing parliamentarians, officials, executives, and such. This role will often be limited to a few practitioners, and is rarely possible for those at the grassroots. Advocacy is the whole matrix of activities that enable and support such lobbying, including some of the elements discussed below: research, analysis, media communication. In this paper, therefore, 'advocacy' refers to the whole infrastructure of activities supporting the direct 'conversation' that engages with decision-makers.

[3]However, we heard in El Escorial of a case where confrontation was essential in order to win the right to dialogue in the first place. I refer to SAPI, the South Asian People's Initiative: a growing mass movement was denied any access to decision-makers till it had demonstrated its strength and popular support.

2. Advocacy is done from the perspective of the oppressed and excluded, but in an open spirit

Ignatian Advocacy is grounded in fundamental ethical convictions, as an element of the search for justice. These convictions may apply at two levels; foundational moral principles (solidarity, economic and social justice) and juridical principles (national laws, international norms and standards).

It includes an ecclesial perspective – the 'option for the poor'. When we represent those who have little public voice, we need clarity about the positions of those for whom we advocate, as well as about our own convictions (and we must especially be clear where these two perspectives differ). We need therefore to stay in touch with value-based local leadership, to ensure that our analysis fully takes account of theirs. The further aim is to enable communities most affected to **make their own case**. For the principal good being sought is not the reversal of some particular pattern of dominance, but the establishment of a more equitable set of relationships, in which appropriate decisions are made through fairer, more participative process.

Nevertheless, as argued above, advocacy promotes, or sometimes consists of, a real **conversation**. We have clear views, purposes, allegiances of our own, but we need also to respect our opponents and be open to their views. Only in this way can something new emerge, perhaps some richer and therefore more truthful understanding of the situation.

3. It is a communitarian process

Ignatian advocacy is practised in community, facilitates the building of community, and involves personal **encounter** with allies as well as with opponents, sometimes across borders. To speak of community here means two things. At the operational level, Ignatian advocacy is a collaboration among different partners: more deeply, it is directed at that overcoming of injustice that allows the building of more inclusive communities. The interaction of, say, a business corporation with its neighbours may itself amount to a denial of true relationships: for example, a mine that discharges poisonous waste into the local water supplies, and thus damages the health and agriculture of local people. Therefore advocacy is not only an 'issue-based process'. Community is **itself** an intrinsic value that requires deepening.

Operationally, this community dimension entails:

- **information-sharing**: in the age of the internet, certain types of public information are more widely available than before. But 'inside information', by definition, is not! Which politicians are more reliable partners than others is not disclosed on the websites of any parliament.
- **campaigning**: this may be understood as public (as opposed to secret) lobbying. Campaigning naturally entails close attention to the use of the

media. Effective media work can be an instrument of persuasion, even of 'pressure'. Campaigners need a clear, even simple, public message, no matter how careful the analysis must be that underlies and justifies the message. But 'Ignatian advocacy' implies that we are as truthful as possible, that we serve truth as well as justice.

- in a globalised world, **networking**: the various actors pool expertise and complement each other by working on different elements of a situation.
- agreement about **focus**: each group in a healthy network recognises the relative autonomy of other groups'. Willing agreement may sometimes be difficult to achieve.

4. It involves contemplation, self-awareness

In the Ignatian 'way of proceeding', advocacy is 'spiritual', animated by a contemplative view of the world and its people (contemplative, in that people are appreciated for their own sake and not only for their usefulness to us). The ultimate motivation of an Ignatian practice, inspired by the Gospel, is the good of the other, whom we are called to 'amar y servir', just as we love and serve God.

A contemplative approach to situations is also **reflexive**: that is, it will be aware of our own share in the responsibility for social injustice, so that we do not project all criticism outwards. For we all are involved in injustice, and may gain from it whether we like it or not. The Buddhist writer David Brandon, who wrote a book called *Zen and Social Work,* recalled that his social worker colleagues liked to think of themselves as 'catalysts'. He commented wittily that they spoke more truly than they knew. A catalyst is an agent that brings about change in chemical processes without being changed itself. In justice work there are no catalysts!

The commitment to social justice may reflect some previous degree of personal 'conversion' – that is, in this case, liberation from individual or collective selfishness – but can also **result** in conversion, through the encounter with colleagues of manifest courage and integrity, and through the element of suffering that often touches those who face squarely the evil of the world and their own part in it. The Jesuit network in Latin America, *Fe y Alegría,* writes of 'personal and institutional testimony': in this phrase the idea of 'testimony' unites **communication**, together with the commitment to ensure that our practice is coherent with that proclamation.

Contemplation is never an escape from realities and facts; instead, it empowers us to face them without being dominated by fear. Even animated by contemplation, advocacy nevertheless involves hard work and competence – for example, in the analysis of situations, theories and (not least) the ideologies, the world-views that underlie specific political positions.

5. It has a clear framework of reflection and purpose

Ignatian advocacy is rooted in the principles of Catholic social thought: notably of 'common good' (the sum of those social conditions that enable persons and communities relatively thorough access to their own fulfilment) and of the 'universal destination of the goods of creation'. This latter principle undermines any notion of a 'right to private property' on a scale that dispossesses others.

Such advocacy will take seriously the various analytic dimensions appropriate in any given context – sociological, economic, political, but also moral, philosophical and theological. It also requires reflection on **personal experience**, since our own lives, too, are sources of theology and of political insight.

We analyse the **situation that concerns us**, in as much complexity as we can grasp, given the necessary time frame of our action, and the limits of our resources. Since advocacy seeks to be practical, to rectify injustice and suffering, there may well be tension between the refinement of the analysis and its urgency. Advocacy may focus on structural injustice, with a correspondingly long-term perspective, highlighting the need for 'quality' research even at the expense of rapid results; or it may respond to immediate threats to people and their rights, in which case speedy work is essential even possibly at some cost in nuance or comprehensiveness.

'Ignatian advocacy' is rooted in, and directed towards, the apostolic action of Ignatian associations, lay movements and religious congregations. Naturally, those engaged in 'the advocacy dialogue' itself will not always be involved in practical measures like solidarity, fund-raising, or pastoral care. If advocacy is Ignatian it is thereby 'ecclesial'; and part of the point of being 'Church' is that no one can, or need, do everything.

6. It involves discernment

The Ignatian tradition embodies not only reflection directed towards action, but also **feeling**. We believe that when we face significant life choices, God's Holy Spirit can enlighten us at the level of feeling about the decisions to be made, and their likely effects. 'Feeling', here, refers not to casual preference or whim, but to the deeper desires and passions of our hearts. The Ignatian tradition dwells on the **sustained quality** of these feelings in order to 'discern' which are of God, and which genuinely enrich our lives and unite us with others. Whereas Ignatius himself, in writing of discernment, primarily envisaged the specific life-choices facing an individual, our method assumes that the process is no less valuable when the 'decisions' facing us concern the service of justice.

Experience shows that in matters of justice, such feelings usually need to be nourished and tested by personal encounter with the oppressed. It is quite

difficult to sustain long-term motivation in the struggle, from a distance, without such personal experience.

It will often also be necessary to discern what level of social remedy we seek to commend. The two poles of this tension are:

- 'prophetic' advocacy, that holds up some ideal state of affairs: even if this is not readily attainable the ideal must be stated, so as to serve as a compass for the direction of current policy;
- 'pragmatic' (but still principled) advocacy, seeking certain measurable, incremental changes in specific policies or practices.

This tension is intrinsic. It is important to reject facile attempts, to reject specific attempts at advocacy by criticising **what they are not**. The 'prophetic' stance can always be criticised as 'naïve' or 'impractical', the 'pragmatic' stance condemned as 'compromised' or 'short-sighted'. In any given case the challenge might or might not be fair: discernment is required.

Advocacy on justice issues will quickly bring the advocates into potential conflict with vested interests that appear to sustain injustice. Discernment needs to be applied to our own capacity to handle negative or hostile reactions, to our own attitude to conflict and to our 'enemies'.

Recent Jesuit documents have urged us to see justice as **reconciliation**, to become instruments of God who "in Christ reconciled the world to himself, not counting their trespasses" (*2 Corinthians* 5: 19). This is a key challenge. But the more elevated the spiritual language the more there is need for discernment to ensure that it is not betrayed. We must ensure that reconciliation is directed towards a deeper justice instead of denying the claims of practical justice.

'Summary of the Summary'

This advocacy is:

'Qualified' – it is competent, supported by sufficient study and research, self-aware

'Relational' – it is focused on people, not just on issues, and goes by way of encounter

'Ignatian' – it is spiritual, attentive to deep feeling, intellectual, oriented to action.

Frank Turner SJ
Jesuit European Office (OCIPE)
51 rue du Cornet
1040 Brussels – BELGIUM
turner@ocipe.info

The path is made by walking

Jenny Cafiso[1]

Midway through the Ignatian Advocacy Workshop held in Spain in November 2008, we were asked to stop and take stock of what we had learned and elaborated so far, before we took the next steps in the way forward. Remembering the words "Wanderer, there is no path, the path is made by walking," we began with no definitions but by simply listening to those who have been engaged in advocacy in concrete situations in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Cambodia, Colombia, India, Europe, North America, or with JRS and Fe y Alegría.

Jacques Haers SJ and I were asked to review and summarize the groups' reflections on the concept of advocacy, its Ignatian characteristics and the modes and methods of doing advocacy. It is this summary of the groups' reflections that I present here. I thank Jacques Haers for his contribution to this article.

Advocacy: learning from our practice

The **first** recognition was that advocacy is understood differently in different contexts. This in turn generates a variety of approaches and strategies. These differences and approaches vary according to the narratives and existing histories of those for whom we advocate. They constitute a rich pool that allows for a creative dynamic and for a growing solidarity among those who practise advocacy in ever-new situations.

A **second** aspect named by the group was that advocacy is part of a much larger process of social transformation towards justice, rooted in a vision of the world (just, sustainable, dignified, inclusive, of life together) and with its feet (immersion, incarnation) in the broken reality, with the poor and excluded in an unjust world.

Thirdly, advocacy aims at interaction with decision-makers who have the power to change a situation of injustice: government, corporations, international organizations, or others. The form of this interaction ranges from dialogue to social mobilization, protest actions and confrontation. In each of these we need to analyze the relationships of power: who are those who are suffering? Who is excluded? Why? Who has the power to bring about changes?

Next, advocacy must be prophetic: speak the truth, confront injustice and build a more just and dignified life together. Ours is a struggle for just relationships, for societal structural change, so that all those who are excluded can have a life of dignity.

[1]Jenny Cafiso is the director of Canadian Jesuits International based in Toronto, a position she has held for the last 5 years. Formerly, she was Programme Coordinator at the international office of the Jesuit Refugee Service, based in Rome. [Editor's Note]

Finally, the creativity of the poor is at the core of any processes of advocacy; their creative voices must be embedded in the larger advocacy community. Their voice, when heard, will transform not only their lives, but also ours.

Criteria for doing advocacy: a common way of proceeding

Our common ground lies in the criteria that we use to do advocacy.

To begin with, there was strong consensus that, before we can do advocacy, we have to be near and share the reality of the poor, 'to be friends with the poor,' as Fr. Arrupe said. All the experiences we shared, whether in India, or Cambodia, or DRC or Colombia, arose out of years of sharing life with the poor; and knowing them by name. Only if we accompany them in the injustices they endure can we speak with a common voice.

Next, advocacy includes capacity-building, empowerment and organization of the people, but a delicate balance must be struck between "speaking for" and "giving voice to the poor". Speaking of them as "the victims", "the voiceless", "the poor" does not reflect the complexity of their lives. Their hopes and aspirations are far more than just needs.

Third, advocacy encourages those affected by situations of injustice to meet decision-makers, articulate their own complex stories and hopes. If they are themselves the creative engine of change, can themselves articulate alternative policies, which would be transformation in the true sense.

Next, advocacy must be based on independent research, structural analysis, and documentation; it also needs a communications and media strategy. The work should be continuously monitored and evaluated using specific indicators. This calls for a multi-layered approach that includes people in the field, researchers, communicators, and people with contacts in the centres of power.

Finally, the way we do advocacy is in itself transformative. By working together, new relationships are forged which transform ourselves and our vision of the world. Advocacy work can be a laboratory for the world and life we want to build together.

Methods: different paths, same destination?

There were marked differences in the group on how we "interact" with decision-makers. We can advocate through demonstrations, marches, networking, building alliances, public education, social mobilization, campaigning, representation, lobbying. But changing power dynamics may also require resistance and confrontation.

Our friends from India, who presented their experience of the South Asian People's Initiatives (SAPI), emphasized the need to go to the streets, for public mobilization, participation in mass movements. Negotiation with those in power, they said, may legitimize their power, co-opt us and dilute our prophetic stance. Others, on the other hand, emphasized dialogue,

conversation and representation with decision-makers in the political, public or private sector.

This division was not necessarily along the developed/developing or North/South divide (I am well aware of the limitations of both these terms). In fact, the strategy presented by CEPAS from the DRC involved international pressure on, and negotiations with, international mining companies, and lobbying with international political bodies.

Clearly different contexts call for different approaches and strategies that are context- specific.

"Ignatian" Advocacy

The question we had come to answer was, "what is *Ignatian* Advocacy" and "what are the Ignatian elements or characteristics of advocacy."

While we share objectives and methods of doing advocacy with many groups in the religious and secular world, we had come specifically to reflect on ways in which Ignatian Spirituality and the practices of advocacy intersect and enrich one another. As Frank Turner SJ explained in his paper, 'Ignatian' refers to a way of proceeding that permeates all Jesuit activities including advocacy. We went back to the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius to find ways in which they could enlighten our path.

Discernment as an Ignatian practice gives us a heart that listens to the needs and cries of the poor and those affected by violence and discrimination. In communion with others, we are led through reflection to an appropriate response, weighing the impact and risks of our actions, and their potential. It involves the heart and the spirit, is based on self-awareness, is contemplative and touches our deepest relationships with God.

The workshop itself was an exercise in common apostolic discernment (CAD). It started with the sharing of our experiences, so that we might come to know one another better and so that out of our narratives might arise a dynamic that can discover and create always new forms of advocacy in ever new situations.

One of the challenges is how to make discernment part of the living practice of doing advocacy – in conversations, dialogue or confrontation with those who hold power. And perhaps more importantly, our challenge is to find ways to include the voices of those who are excluded and poor in our discernment process.

Important Ignatian meditations and contemplations that can guide us in our work on advocacy include the meditations on the incarnation and on humility, the "discernment and choice" meditations, and the *ad amorem* contemplation in which we are called to follow God in God's loving and active commitment to our world. These open our eyes and hearts to the world, move us to view it with compassion, strengthen our commitment to change in favour of a just society, and help us in our search for the universal good across cultures.

Finally, friendship, companionship and networking not only among ourselves but with others who do advocacy, and most of all, with all those whom we wish to advocate for, will make it possible for us to forge new relationships and a new form of life together.

Sent forth on a mission

Advocacy encompasses all the range of activities which arise from an Ignatian discernment, seeking to change all situations of injustice and the creation of a world of justice and peace.

The Society of Jesus is well placed to do advocacy because of its spirituality, its global reach, its universal mission and its long-term grassroots presence among the people.

Our work can be said to be "advocacy" and to be "Ignatian" if we are friends of the refugees and migrants, of the poor, of those who suffer violence and exclusion in Colombia, DRC, Cambodia, India and all across the globe. If together we work with courage to build a new world of justice and peace, where we all have a voice and where we all can be "fully alive", then we are doing *Ignatian Advocacy.*

Jenny Cafiso
Canadian Jesuits International
70 Saint Mary St.
Toronto, ON M5S 1J3 – CANADA
jcafiso@jesuits.ca
www.canadianjesuitsinternational.ca

Prophetical and Effective Advocacy

José María Vera

I was delighted to read in the documents of GC 35 that the Society has decided to bolster its advocacy as a priority in promoting justice. I have spent years working in development cooperation, from an option of faith nourished by Ignatian spirituality. The lives of certain Jesuits have taught me that working with persons, culture, and values is not enough; also important are the structures – laws, policies, practices, institutions – if we want to promote justice. I am therefore happy about the decision that has been made because I believe that this is an option that responds to the Society's deepest core and to the challenges we all face today.

I write this article on the basis of my many years of experience at Intermón Oxfam; I spent seven of them as director of studies and campaigns carried out within the structure of Oxfam International, where I was coordinator of the global campaign group. During that time I got to know well the advocacy and campaign work of large organizations like Greenpeace and Amnesty International, I became familiar with the use of the expert interest-group lobbies to influence decision-making centres, and I learned much about the protest and mobilization work done by organizations and grass-roots movements closely linked to situations of injustice and oppression.

To start off, I shall not waste many lines discussing terminology. I use the word "campaign" to refer to the very broad range of organizing activities and political and social advocacy aimed at correcting situations of injustice and generating positive change in people's lives.In the course of the article I will develop what I believe are some notable strengths of our world of Ignatian works in contributing to the global movement for social justice. I will also point out some of the weaknesses and challenges we need to deal with. And I will end by referring to planning processes and structures of coordination.

The strengths that I think we should definitely count on are the following:

- **The preferential option for the poor.** It is not often that we find organizations that incorporate this option into their deepest core. It implies radical closeness to people who are suffering, who then become the place, the source, and the centre of action. Everything done out of this option possesses a visible, acknowledged authenticity and a legitimacy, which strengthen the denunciations and proposals that are made in the course of advocacy.
- **A long history of struggle against injustice,** which give credibility and guarantee to the foregoing, as does our personal closeness to excluded people, experienced historically as a body. Such experience combines the radical nature of the options with the ability to build bridges and promote agreements between adversaries whenever possible, an indispensable quality for exercising influence and political pressure.
- **The universality of our provenances and the diversity of our experiences, positions and relations at any level, combined with strong unity and identity around a common mission and common principles and values.** Again, in order to exercise influence in complex and sensitive political debates and processes, it is good to limit oneself to solid principles, and at the same time to approach dialogue and relationship on the basis of diversity, understanding and respect for other people's positions. A truly invaluable treasure when working for just causes is the relational capacity of many Jesuits and lay collaborators associated with our works, which is made effective through many profound relationships at various levels and in various areas.

- **The existence of a great number of persons and organizations, linked in one way or another to Jesuits and works of the Society** and constituting an impressive social base that would be envied by any organization, reflects the rich diversity already mentioned. It is possible that the numbers are smaller than they were a few years ago, but I believe we need not worry too much about this fact. Rather, we need to seek out ways to activate that social base around situations of poverty and injustice that dramatically affect people's lives.
- Finally, I want to refer to **passion.** Our campaigns and advocacy need to be developed on the basis of profound knowledge of the situations of poverty and violation of basic rights, a knowledge that produces sound analysis and yields solid, feasible proposals. But, above all, the campaign and the advocacy must be carried out passionately. It is not enough just to offer one more expert analysis for drawing up a law or explaining a series of facts in a clear manner. We have to believe earnestly, and so communicate passion to the politicians and the officials (and also to ordinary people), a passion which the Society knows how to generate precisely because it is close to the excluded ones.

These are, in my opinion, the principal strengths that the world of Ignatian works can contribute to advocacy at the international level. I will now review some of the weaknesses which we have to tackle.

- **Improve the profile of communication – and of communicators – in the Ignatian works and movements that will become involved in advocacy.** It is possible to carry out a silent lobby, "behind the scenes." Sometimes that is the only option available, and we should undertake it with that understanding. Nevertheless, it is almost always essential to provide public information within the Ignatian world about the situations of injustice that exist and the alternatives to them; we must also try to influence public opinion by sending out messages both through the ordinary media and by innovative means. Good communication should be at the heart of any strategy of advocacy, and it should be spread abroad by experienced communicators. There are dozens of organizations that talk a great game, but the Society has excellent material and direct experiential knowledge, which it needs to know how to communicate to the public.
- On the other hand, the universities of the Society, with notable exceptions, contribute little useful research to advocacy associated with social concerns. My years of experience with universities of all kinds has shown me that it is necessary to dedicate time and effort to the scholars, so that their research and their studies have the shape and the orientation needed for the work of politics and campaigns. Academic rigour is necessary, but we should also connect research with the vital realities of the communities and peoples affected by each situation of injustice. Furthermore, good

communication requires clear, convincing data and arguments adapted to the present political situation, not to a timeless perspective. Of course, all this supposes that there is an earnest desire to coordinate the areas of work in the universities with the priorities of the social sector.

- **Aversion to formal structures.** My impression is that Jesuits, apart from the hierarchies, have difficulty in setting up global or regional structures and in giving them the authority and formal power they need to operate. I will develop this point further on, but let me briefly mention this: **no strategy of international advocacy will ever function if it does not possess an acknowledged structure and sufficient resources** to make that structure effective. A groundwork consisting solely of *soft networks* is a guarantee of failure, as interesting as such networks may be for complementing formal structures or for sharing knowledge.
- **Difficulty in collaborating among works.** I have the impression that our individualistic practices are giving way to greater cooperation, which is promoted by the Society's authorities and encouraged by Jesuits and lay people who possess the tolerance needed to work with others. The fact is that alliances are important in advocacy and in global campaigns, since few organizations have all the knowledge, strength and tools they need to be successful by themselves. However, before proposing external alliances, it is necessary for us to develop the possibilities of working within, and among, the great variety of Ignatian works, to make that collaboration visible, and to acknowledge it and publicize it as an example for others.

Of course, we will find examples in reality that contradict what has thus far been said about our strengths and weaknesses. In fact, at the workshop in El Escorial, organizations like Fe y Alegría and JRS recounted quite noteworthy experiences of advocacy around relevant concerns.

When we consider the planning and management of advocacy, the first and perhaps most important recommendation that we should keep in mind is that of giving priority to the thematic agenda of our advocacy or campaign, so that we make a good choice of issues and strategy. Such a choice is made especially complicated in a situation like that of our Ignatian world, with its limited resources and the great diversity of situations calling for a response in so many countries. Even so, the Society itself in GC 35 has clearly marked out some general priorities that may help us in planning and managing our advocacy.

It is possible to have a gamut of issues that are important for one region or another and to establish an initial international coordination through which there can be exchange of experiences and knowledge. But if we want to be effective in helping to generate change, we need to choose one or two global issues, broad but well-defined (examples might be migrations, business, inequality, education, conflicts, HIV/AIDS…), on which we decide to work together closely by contributing part of our available resources to the joint

work. There are definite criteria that can help us make this decision, such as an issue's relevance for different regions and countries, the experience we already have, the political situation, or the state of public opinion.

Once we have decided on an issue around which we wish to do advocacy in a decidedly collaborative fashion, we must then draw up the strategy. Planning is not merely a formal exercise, indispensable for ensuring the seriousness of our effort and increasing the probabilities of success. It also helps to forge relations and makes us ask ourselves serious questions. When that happens, we benefit not only from the product, a strategy that guides and aligns us, but also from the process by which we came up with the strategy. Though the space of this article does not allow me to spell out in detail a proposal for planning a campaign of advocacy, I will indicate some basic stages which are usual in any planning process but would need to be adapted to the particularities of advocacy:

- Determine a general objective. What do we want to change in the situation of the people affected? Final impact.
- Specific objectives. What has to happen so that such a change takes place? What needs to be influenced? Laws? Policies? Practices? Ideas? Values and attitudes?

It will help if this exercise on objectives is not done in isolation, with only the ideas of the persons immediately involved; rather, it needs to be reinforced with more complete analyses, both of power factors (for example, who decides, who is affected, how much it costs), and of public opinion.

- What tools should I use and in what sequence? Research, political positions and proposals, citizen mobilization, communication, direct lobby …

It is possible that not all the tools are necessary and that the sequence is not obvious. An analysis of power on the basis of sound knowledge of the situation can lead us, for example, to the conclusion that, in the face of a particular injustice, the only thing that makes sense is confrontational citizen mobilization based on irrefutable positions grounded in principle. Or, to the contrary, it may be that we should use a discrete lobby, based on excellent research and information and aimed at reaching accord. I do not think that the Ignatian world, as diverse and capable as it is, should specialize in one single tool, as some other organizations do.

- Strategy of alliances, first within the Ignatian world, then outside it. We should determine where we are strong, what we can contribute, and how others can contribute.
- Analysis of risks.
- Human and economic resources to be devoted to the strategy of advocacy. This final phase usually becomes a "reality check" and can sometimes lead to a revision of what has gone before.

Before beginning to implement the strategy by means of research and concrete activities, I think it is good to develop a political position on the issue being dealt with; the position should be agreed upon among the participants and approved by the "authority." It need not be highly detailed and definitive, but should include the basic principles and provide criteria for dealing with the dilemmas which almost all political issues entail; the positions on any issue can usually be classified as either reformist or radical, as either pragmatic or principled.

Finally, I would like to offer some advice on structures of coordination. The first piece of counsel I have already mentioned, but it bears repetition: we need a global structure of coordination that has the explicit mandate of the organization's highest authority and, at the same time, is recognized and endorsed by the organization's members. This committee, whatever it may be called, may include a variety of representatives, both regional and thematic (usually not functional), and it should have the ability to make decisions about part of the resources employed in advocacy, at least those located in the principal power centres. The coordination and the concrete work can be carried out by regional and/or thematic groups, smaller or larger according to the intensity of the joint work on the issue being tackled. All such groups should preferably have persons with different functions (researchers, communicators, lobbyist…). I would not recommend that functional coordination be established too quickly, except in the area of research and investigation and also, obviously, in any lobby aimed at a specific power centre (Brussels, Washington, Geneva, or capital cities).

I hope that these reflections are of some help and will contribute to developing the work of advocacy being done by Ignatian works and institutions. This is a task which, carried out by Jesuits and lay people in these works, should be prophetic, speaking out forcefully in condemning injustice and in announcing the Good News for the poor and the excluded.

José María Vera
Pº de Recoletos 8
28001 Madrid – SPAIN
jmvera@segib.org

Original Spanish
Translation by Joseph Owens SJ

Outcomes

El Escorial: Committing ourselves to Ignatian Advocacy

Valeria Méndez de Vigo[1]

Finally 10th November arrived, and with it the much awaited workshop on Ignatian advocacy! The organizations that had summoned the seminar had spent more than a year preparing this workshop. Already in November 2007, at a first meeting of a group of NGOs, namely, Alboan, Entreculturas, OCIPE, Leuven Centre of Liberation Theologies, JRS International and the Social Justice Secretariat, one had started to discuss the need to promote international advocacy in the works of the Society of Jesus. Actually, this forms part of a wider process, the origins of which go back to the Jesuit presence at the World Social Forums (promoted by the Social Apostolate), more especially the Ignatian meeting preceding the World Social Forum in Nairobi and the workshop on Common Apostolic Discernment in Drongen, in July 2007.

The objectives of the workshop

The specific objectives of the workshop on advocacy – and the process that preceded it – were the following: adoption of a common vision on advocacy, establishment of a number of markers of common identity in what we call the Ignatian Model of Advocacy, sharing some experiences of advocacy, and concerted discernment on common action. Furthermore, it was not a purely technical workshop for "advocacy experts" at the international level; rather, we wanted to combine the technical element with moments of prayer, celebration and discernment. It was thus a matter of combining reflection with action, theoretical knowledge with discernment, theory with praxis. This is why we divided the workshop into two distinct moments. In the first part, we wanted to bring together our notions of advocacy and shared identity; in the second part, we sought to make progress in projects involving concerted action. We started each day with a moment of prayer, and ended it with the Eucharist, a space wherein we could share our personal experience of the workshop. Ultimately, what we were after was to benefit in the best possible way from the enormous potential of the works of the Society – its proximity and direct contact with persons and groups, its presence in capital cities, centres of governance and decision-making, and its close collaboration with universities and centres of knowledge – so that that potential could be garnered and used in favour of marginalised persons and groups.

The participants (around 46 in all), Jesuits and lay collaborators, women and men from 22 different countries, chosen by their respective conferences of

[1]Head of the Department for Studies and Advocacy at Entreculturas, Madrid.

provincials or organizations and involved in advocacy in different works of the Society, arrived on the day of the workshop or on the previous day. Jim Stormes SJ, Jorge Cela SJ, Xavier Jeyaraj SJ, members of the facilitating team, as well as Uta Sievers (from the Social Justice Secretariat) had arrived some days earlier, and we had already had several meetings in which we had discussed recent issues and finalised the programme of the workshop.

Some of the participants had travelled many kilometres to reach Madrid. However, I vividly remember that when our bus arrived in El Escorial – a historic site, situated about 50 kilometres away from Madrid and traversed by the Sierra de Guadarrama – I turned around to give some practical instructions to the participants, and at that moment, when I saw their faces, I felt sure that the workshop would bear the hoped-for fruit. Not only had the organizers prepared the event with great care, but the participants too had come along filled with high hopes, commitment and enthusiasm, as one could clearly read from those faces.

As expected, the event kicked off with welcoming speeches by Elías Royón SJ (Provincial of Spain), Agustín Alonso SJ (from Entreculturas) and Higinio Pi Pérez SJ (coordinator of the Social Apostolate in the Southern European Assistancy). In the introductory session, the facilitating team outlined the origins of the event, its objectives and what was expected from the workshop.

We wanted to spend some time getting to know one another, and using group dynamics, we presented ourselves in small groups, according to our respective assistancies or organizations. This allowed us to get a first rough idea of the different delegations and their priorities as regards advocacy.

Experiences of advocacy

After an introductory session on GC35, the first days were dedicated to a reflection on advocacy, combining exposition of theory with sharing of practical experiences. We began by sharing on a number of advocacy experiences which had been selected earlier in a meeting of coordinators of the Social Apostolate in May 2007, and classified in a systematic manner. Mauricio García Durán SJ told us about the experiences of advocacy in the promotion of human rights by CINEP, and Denise Coghlan rsm spoke about the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICPL) in which JRS is actively involved. Joe Xavier SJ presented the experience of mass mobilization driven by South Asian Peoples´ Initiative (SAPI), and we were told about CEPAS´ advocacy on the management of natural resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo by Ferdinand Muhigirwa SJ and Emmanuelle Devuyst (OCIPE).

The conceptualization of advocacy and the Ignatian Model of Advocacy

The second day of the workshop was basically dedicated to the conceptualization of advocacy and identity markers (or our Ignatian way of

proceeding) through reflection and sharing in workgroups. All through the day, various debates and discussions enriched our experience of the workshop. We had all brought along our knowledge and experience of particular contexts and situations, which not only challenged the ideas of our fellow participants but also became part of their concern.

Planning common advocacy initiatives

After the sharing and conceptualization, we moved on to the second part of the workshop, in which we sought ways of promoting concrete concerted action. We tried to find out on what issues, within which entities (all those present or only some), in what manner and with which structures we could work together on advocacy. Expressed in Ignatian terms, we were seeking to discern the frontiers to which the Lord was sending us forth. I must admit that within the facilitating team, we saw this second part as much more complex than the first. We did not really know how far we would go and what the group was ready to take on. Surely, the effort of conceptualization and sharing was in itself a valuable experience, but we believed that this was the right occasion to give a definite impetus to concerted advocacy and that the workshop was a place where we should commit ourselves to common action. We felt that the current profound economic crisis was giving us a good chance to work together and that we should not let it pass by.

We started with a presentation by Vera, who spoke to us about the actions and campaigns of other international networks; thereafter, representatives of Fe y Alegría, the International Jesuit Network for Development, and JRS presented their advocacy structures as possible models for concerted action.

On the following day we proceeded to the actual planning of common action. The representatives of the organizations or conferences presented the advocacy issues that they considered as priorities at the international level. These issues had already been studied following the results of a questionnaire, and a consensus had been reached within the Conferences of Provincials. The main questions we discussed were as follows: Which are the issues that concerned us most? On what issues should we work in a concerted way? Are there other issues on which we really feel that we should voice our concern, despite the fact that they had not shown up very markedly among the listed issues? What are our strengths? What could possibly be the added value we can achieve within the Society and within our NGOs? How can we work in a more coordinated manner and how can we be effective at the international level?

Issue networks and workgroups

Finally, we decided on the issues we would concentrate on: migration, peace and human rights, education, poverty and development, environment and ecology. We then divided ourselves into workgroups according to interests

and expertise. We undertook to reflect upon a number of courses of action and concrete proposals, upon the resources and structures required and upon the level of commitment that our organization or conference could assume, or, if such were the case, what recommendations or proposals we would promote. In the plenary session, each workgroup's proposals – some very down to earth, others quite ambitious – were presented. Concretely, this exercise led to the formation of issue networks or workgroups on migration, peace and human rights, education, international aid for development, alternative models of development, governance and natural resources, ecology and environment, and religious fundamentalism. Interestingly, there was little discussion on gender issues; however, we decided to factor this topic in as an important dimension in all of the others.

Furthermore, there were a number of points that were not really advocacy issues but which nevertheless concerned everyone, such as the need to have literature on advocacy and Ignatian spirituality readily available, on issues of common interest and on how they interconnect, and on transversal issues (such as gender). Other important matters that were brought up concerned the need to strengthen our capabilities in advocacy, learning how to function better as a network, and being represented internationally before the UN and other organizations. Finally, there was the important matter of the involvement of, and cooperation with, other sectors within the Society of Jesus.

As regards structure, we decided that there would be a central coordination office within the Social Justice Secretariat, helped by a group of persons/organizations chosen by the conferences and international networks. The workgroups and issue networks would each have a coordinator or a person in charge. It was obvious to all of us that all the actions undertaken would have to be approved by the conferences and that the initiatives had to fit into the structure of government of the Society.

Concrete commitments

Finally, the concluding session aimed at specifying and defining the commitments that the conferences and organizations would undertake. Mainly, our aim was to concretize what we were ready to assume. Surely, it was an ambitious proposal: could we really bring all this to fruition? As a matter of fact, there were some moments when the moderator or the facilitating team intervened to insist that we were not to feel frustrated should none of the proposals come to fruition. It was really difficult to commit oneself to all that was being proposed. Nevertheless, this is where the "miracle" happened. I, for one – and I don't think that I was the only one – remained deeply impressed, as the participants offered with great enthusiasm to lead or participate in the workgroups and in the networks and to assume responsibilities.

When I think about the workshop on advocacy, especially the last few days, I feel that it was an exciting experience. It was not always easy. There were

moments of perplexity when it was not clear to me how we could move on. There were also moments of tension. Obviously, when the participants spoke up, they communicated passion and commitment, and in spite of the differences, one could clearly perceive a sense of oneness, a feeling of shared responsibility. Moreover, there was a deep-seated desire, latent in some cases, to thrust advocacy forward. Possibly, this was one of the reasons why so many of us came to commit ourselves in the end. All in all, I hold on to the memory, to the image of the participants that I had on the first day, whilst looking down the aisle of the bus from the front seat as we arrived at El Escorial, and I believe that the ´secret´ mostly lies in the enthusiasm and commitment of these people. Assuredly, this workshop was a means of taking a further step forward in the process of promoting advocacy in the Society, rendering it more far-reaching and more effective. Let us hope that we measure up to the challenge and accomplish what we committed ourselves to achieve.

Valeria Méndez de Vigo
Responsable Departamento de Estudios e Incidencia
C/ Pablo Aranda, 3
28006 Madrid – SPAIN
v.mendezdevigo@entreculturas.org

Original Spanish
Translation by René Micallef SJ

El Escorial: A Spiritual Experience
Charles Chilufya SJ

As we prepared for the Ignatian Advocacy meeting in *El Escorial*, Madrid, we designated participants were looking forward to something significant. The electronic communication for almost three months before the meeting gave the impression of much preparation. A growing feeling of expectancy mounted day by day until all of us from different parts of the globe – Asia, Oceania, Africa, Europe, Latin America, North America and Europe – found ourselves together at last at El Escorial. All of us wanted to respond to the call of the Lord to re-live *La Storta* and to experience the Lord asking us anew to respond to the crises facing the world.

Context

The Ignatian Advocacy meeting at *El Escorial* took place shortly after GC 35 and right at the height of the current economic meltdown. Thus we could experience both the positive energy and hope evoked by GC 35, as well as the fears and anxieties gripping humanity during the global financial crisis. As we listened to one another, both in formal and informal conversation, we sensed a heightened awareness of the various economic, political social, cultural, religious crises plaguing the world, and as a group we recognised the gravity of these crises. At the same time we also had an awareness of the great opportunities within and outside the Society to work for change on behalf of the victims of these crises, the *anawim* of Yahweh. The question guiding interior movements at both the personal and group levels was this: "How do we as a group with an Ignatian identity help procure a world where justice, peace and harmony will hold sway?" The meeting was held, we may say, at the crossroads of great anxiety and of great hope in our broken world, a hope grounded in our trust that God reigns and that evil can be conquered.

"Googling the Earth"

We gathered that first evening to watch video clips of how things actually are in those parts of the world from which we came: pictures of hungry children, of displaced populations, of lands blighted by drought or floods. As we began our meeting with a moment of prayer and reflection, and looked at those pictures, it was as if we had joined the Trinity in the contemplation of the Incarnation. The message to all of us at that moment was clear: "Who shall go for us?" All of us, regardless of the perspective we came from, were aware of the reality of the current global scene with its multiplicity of crises. It was plain for all to see – the effects of widespread and deep poverty, the inequitable exploitation of the earth's resources, the exclusion of women and minority groups from society's centre, contempt for ethnic differences, terrible wars and conflicts. Galvanised by our Ignatian charism and guided by values of the Gospel, the Church's social teaching and by the universal values of respect for human dignity, solidarity and participation, we set out to learn from the Lord and from one another how to work better as a network of Ignatian communities for the establishment of a better world.

Our Reality

The first part of our workshop was devoted to looking at our experiences of advocacy, our reality, the contexts in which we advocate. The second half of the meeting was devoted to reflection on our experience, on the lessons learnt as Jesuits and as an Ignatian family. Admittedly the days were fully packed; there was a lot to ponder, to reflect on and to pray about; and long hours of discussion. Those loaded conversations released a group energy which, in a

very short span of time, was building us into a team, one body for the mission. That in fact was the reason we had we gathered together: "How do we build up a body for the work of advocacy?" Enclosed in that retreat house in El Escorial, a tremendous energy was generated in the Society of Jesus and in the world in general to bring about change through common hopes, thoughts, alliances, networks, actions, struggles, sacrifices.

We wanted to realize a world where hope for the poor majority is rekindled through more equitable sharing of continental and global resources. As we prayerfully conversed, we realized that our work transcends ideologies and utopian constructions, pious proclamations, arcane analyses and ringing demands. We asked ourselves how to define, to envision "another world" in a way that is meaningful to people who do not attend conferences but bear the daily burden of injustices. The current neo-liberal vision of the world we knew to be shaped by the values of individualism, competition, exclusion of women and the poor; by maximisation of profit, dominance of the environment and pre-emptive military might. These values, diametrically opposed to ours, are implicit in the attitudes and mind-sets that govern the current inequitable relationships between North and South.

Thus, as we re-thought our work of advocacy for a new world-order, we looked forward to working for a world governed by a new set of values. This alternative vision was of a "new world" that would be more people-centred, more ecologically respectful, more pro-poor, more socially just, and more spiritually enriching.

"Come away for Some Rest"

It was not all smooth sailing at the Escorial. At many points, in the midst of great hope, we felt tired, exhausted and in need of some rest. There were times when we felt we did not know what the next step should be, times when we were not clear where we had got to and where we were heading as a group. Somebody remarked that he felt at one point that the "wheels had come off the bus!" But he added "Yet all will be well when the day is done." As the meeting progressed, and we looked back, reflecting on the days past, we acknowledged with great consolation that the discussions had been fruitful. Yet there was the desire for quiet, the need to stop for some personal time and reflect. The group had come a long way in a relatively short time; in fact, it was difficult to believe that we had been there for only those few days. With all this, there was great energy and enthusiasm, a desire to 'get on with it' and not only see the process through but also follow it up with concrete action.

Commonalities and Differences

In spite of the many differences such as national contexts, approaches and methodologies adopted, we were struck by the huge similarities, the common

threads running through the different experiences. While affirming the similarities, however, we need to take note of the **many contradictions/differences** between us.

The plenary exchanges and interventions shaped the course of the discussions and served as a catalyst, helping us get some clarity regarding the differences and tensions between us, but also clarity on what we are all about. This also came out very clearly from Frank Turner's presentation on the Ignatian model of advocacy.

Some of the **differences** that came to the fore were:

1. Differences in cultural contexts, particularly in relation to choice of methodologies;
2. Differences in how we perceive our role in the advocacy process – we all agree that advocacy is a process, yet there are fundamental differences in how we perceive our role in that process:
   - Some see their role as simply that of amplifying the voice of the poor – not speaking with them or for them, but creating the space for them to speak. This is the case with South Asian People's Initiative (SAPI).
   - Others see their role as advocating **for** the poor and/or **with** the poor as the poor may not always be the best placed to advocate for themselves, especially in complex cases where highly technical or international issues are at stake.
3. Differences about whether or not we should define advocacy and how to define it;
4. Differences about whether or not we should talk of Ignatian advocacy or rather of advocacy with Ignatian inspiration.

In spite of these differences there were a number of **common elements** that emerged from the different presentations on advocacy; we were agreed that advocacy

- is process
- is dialogue
- is dynamic
- is ongoing assessment/discernment
- is a communitarian process
- is engaged with centres of power, that complicated phenomenon
- is empowerment
- is magis – excellence
- involves many different strategies, thus calling for flexibility
- involves a global vision and grassroots connection

Over and above all these common elements was a strong sense that all our advocacy efforts, no matter how diverse the methodologies, have the **same**

starting point and are ultimately working towards the same goal. Listening to the poor is the starting point of our methodology but not of our advocacy. The starting point of our advocacy is God, our desire to love and serve God. Our goal is to build a just society, based on gospel values. We talked about the dream that fires us, the vision we are working towards, the Kingdom. There was a conviction that God is the beginning of our advocacy, and also the end, and is with us every step of the way.

At the same time there was some stress on the **need to clarify our vision** – the overall end that we are advocating for, what we mean when we say that we are aiming for a just society. Is it a vision based on the way the poor would like to see the world, or is it more than that? This conception of advocacy raises questions on **how to work with people of different convictions** – recognising that we do not have a monopoly on the truth, that good and truth can be spoken by people from whom we do not expect it, including our opponents.

Challenges and opportunities

There was a strong feeling that the present moment is an opportune moment to act, given the unique confluence of circumstances in the Society and in society at large. Among these are:

- a mandate from the highest authorities;
- a favourable position from which to act – geographically, in terms of capacity and access to all levels of society;
- changes in society at various economic, social, political levels, which make the present a critical moment for us to act, for these are not merely crises, they are *kairos* moments.

It was felt that to ignore this call, to miss this chance, would be a sin of omission.

There was also a call to widen our perspective from one that simply looks at transforming structures to one that focuses on transformation of people. By this is meant not simply our opponents, or the poor whom we seek to empower, but also ourselves. As advocates we are changed in the process of advocacy while we seek to practise what we preach. Thus the workshop was not merely an occasion for imbibing and sharing information but a serious moment of reflection and prayer.

In Conclusion

"Was it really worth it? What does a meeting like this one in the Escorial mean for our Jesuit social apostolate here in our world?" I am fairly certain that, fresh from the six days of the Ignatian Advocacy Workshop (IAW), all of us had many issues to face as we wondered whether that heavy investment of time and resources would really make a difference to our work for social justice.

As one reflected on the Escorial experience, the first thing that came up was the tremendous value of coming together as an Ignatian family to clarify issues in the advocacy arena. The plethora of methodologies and advocacy processes available, as well as GC 35's reflection on identity, made it worthwhile stopping and defining what advocacy means for us as an Ignatian family. The six days of input and sharing gave us a deeper appreciation of our Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality; and helped us discern the spirits moving both within us and around us in the course of engaging in advocacy in our respective communities. We experienced real consolation in the variety of Jesuits, religious and laity gathered in the Escorial Retreat House. About to depart for our various destinations, we felt a heightening of consolation and we left the Escorial with increased energy. There was a very deep feeling of gratitude to the Facilitating Team, the organizers of the meeting and the sisters at the retreat house for their tremendous work in generously hosting us.

A second consolation was the day spent in reviewing the meeting and formulating proposals on how to carry on the work of those six days after leaving Madrid. So many good efforts being made across the continents! Yes, there was a tinge of desolation when we looked at some unfulfilled resolutions from similar meetings. But the establishment of a task force, the existence of a coordinating office for this work under the auspices of the Social Justice Secretariat (SJS), and the volunteering for the various tasks showed new commitment and new possibilities.

The third consolation was the pride we felt in the richness of our Ignatian spirituality, and the powerful and pervasive global Jesuit and Ignatian network. There are problems in this world to be sure, but the potential far outweighs these problems. Civil society groups, faith-based organizations like our own Jesuit groups, and committed individuals all convinced us that the establishment of the Kingdom of God here on earth is more than a utopian dream. Land issues, environmental issues, extractive industries, agricultural issues, debt and trade, women's role, HIV and AIDS, refugees - these are just some of the challenges facing our Jesuit social apostolate. But the advocacy meeting in Escorial infused us with new vigour, which we want to share far and wide. We were very glad that we are more than a network of advocacy groups; glad that we are a family, a body for the mission of Christ.

Charles Chilufya SJ
Canisius Jesuit Community
Chikuni
P.O. Box 660196
Monze – ZAMBIA
cchilufya@jesuits.net

Thematic Networks: an Emerging Structure of Apostolic Action

Fernando Franco SJ

Implementing the Workshop: First steps

At the concluding session of the international Ignatian Advocacy Workshop (IAW) the Social Justice Secretariat (SJS) at Rome was entrusted with the task of initiating the implementation process. It was also envisaged that SJS would play a coordinating role in monitoring all the thematic networks and the working groups with the help of a '***Core Group***' (CG). In addition, and with the help of the CG, SJS will also be involved in developing a "network of networks", that is, a new global way of acting out, as an apostolic body, our universal mission. A meeting was called at Entreculturas, Madrid on 23 December 2008 to suggest who the members of the CG might be and to prepare a roadmap for all the networks. Aware that we are only starting a complex process of articulating the decisions taken at the IAW, we propose a tentative organisational structure that can be changed and improved in subsequent meetings and reflections. Its essential elements are given below.

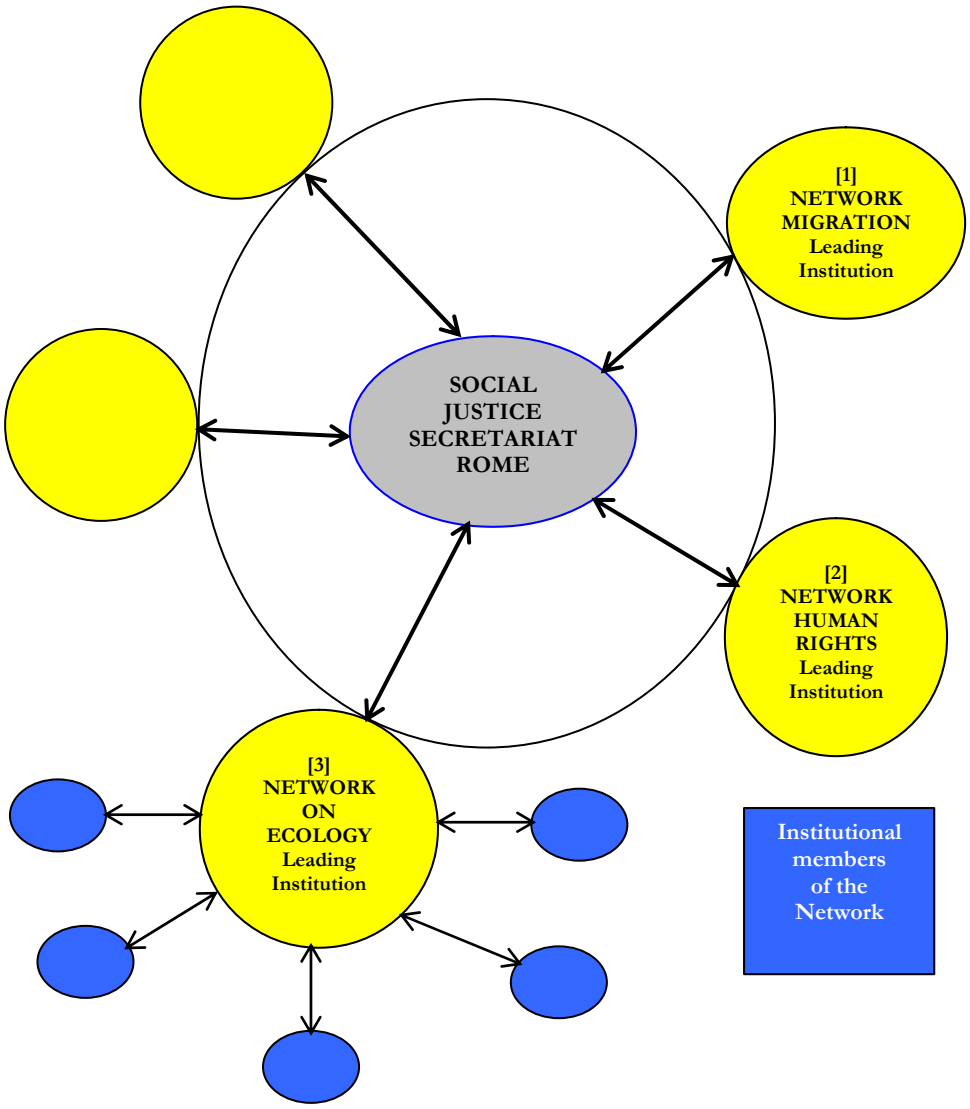
The new vision

At the IAW, the group became acutely aware that we are living a 'kairos' moment. The world has entered an economic and social crisis of an as yet unknown magnitude and its effects on those most vulnerable and excluded may be devastating and pervasive. It is at this particular time too that the Society of Jesus is calling us to live our universal vocation as one body. We cannot let this opportunity pass.

What should be the principles grounding this new vision? We seem finally to be learning a way of working together as Jesuits. The recommendations and conclusions of the IAW emphasize the role that Jesuit Conferences are called upon to play as apostolic instruments of our mission. This implies the increasing awareness that Jesuit international apostolic initiatives (like advocacy) must be rooted and approved by a Jesuit structure of governance (Conference). The principle of subsidiarity can help us to organize our apostolic initiatives: thematic networks can be coordinated or directed internationally from within specifically mandated institutions that accept the call. The Conference mandates or approves an institution to lead the network. The SJS may provide a certain universal legitimacy to the process, be a central and flexible coordinating hub and ensure a common vision and mutual accountability.

A visual representation of this model has been presented in Figure 1. Each thematic network is led by an institution (social centre) approved by the corresponding Jesuit Conference. The leading institution is responsible for

Figure 1
Emerging Organisational Model



developing and maintaining the network together with those institutions wanting to form part of this network or topic, according to the principles of autonomy and decentralization. The institution has autonomy to develop the network as it wants; thus the centre shifts from the Curia to the 'periphery'. Below, this has been represented graphically, as an example, around the network on Ecology. Each of these leading institutions within various networks is, in turn, related to other leading institutions that manage and develop other networks. This network of leading institutions all have a direct relationship with the SJS that acts as a hub to energise, coordinate, monitor, evaluate and legitimize all the initiatives. This model may help us come close to the ideal of the Society of Jesus characterized by GC35 as a "as an apostolic universal body for a universal mission."

Elements of the organisational structure

The plan and the set of responsibilities proposed here are ***tentative*** and will be carefully reviewed and evaluated at the Rome meeting of Assistancy Coordinators in May 2009. The structure distinguishes between **Leaders** of a network and **Core Group members**. A leader is responsible for attaining the objectives of the network. A CG member is responsible for monitoring the process of a particular thematic network or working group in collaboration with the SJS.

Plan of action

Leaders, as responsible for the thematic networks or working groups, and CG members, as responsible for monitoring the networks or working groups, are entrusted with the following task. **Before the meeting of Assistancy Coordinators in May 2009,** each thematic network or working group is expected to prepare a

(1) ***concrete plan*** for implementing at least ***one or two lines of action*** over the next two years; this includes a detailed agenda of the timings, the overall objectives to be achieved, the means to be used, the resources and the responsibilities assigned to various members of the network; in the case of the two working groups Nos. 9 and 10, the plan needs to specify clearly both the objectives of the document and the date by which it will be completed; in addition, a ***draft outline of the paper*** will have to be presented at the sessions in May 2009;

(2) clear ***strategy*** to make sure that these lines of action are ***advocacy-oriented***, that is, there is clarity about the steps that the network will take to engage progressively in advocacy-actions;

(3) ***definitive list*** of all the institutions and persons who have officially decided to participate ***formally*** in the network; by 'formally' we mean those who participate after receiving the approval and support of a governing body (Province, Assistancy/Conference) of the Society of Jesus.

Reviewing mechanism

Members of the Core Group will ***attend a special two-day session*** during the week-long meeting of Assistancy/Conference Coordinators of the Social Apostolate to be held in Rome from 17- 23 May, 2009. Together with SJS, and in close contact with the leaders of the networks and working groups, members of the CG will not only follow up on their assigned networks but will also work to prepare an overall plan to have a "network of networks" that may help to ***articulate the social apostolate globally***. This articulation needs to be understood at two levels – at the

(i) ***geographical level***, that is, achieving a greater collaboration among the various Conferences; and

(ii) ***inter-sectoral level***, that is, engaging in a more fruitful and practical collaboration with other apostolic sectors; we can start with the spiritual-pastoral and the educational sectors.

Fernando Franco SJ
Social Justice Secretariat
Rome, ITALY
sjs@sjcuria.org

Social Research at the Service of Apostolic Leadership

Patxi Álvarez SJ

Introduction

The mission of the Society today has been expressed as the defence of the faith and the promotion of justice, both undertaken in dialogue with other cultures and religious traditions. This formulation is at once bold, brilliant, and full of promise, but one to which we have still not responded with all the potential that our apostolic body possesses.

If the Society is fundamentally for mission, then all the elements of Jesuit religious life (community, prayer, choir, Eucharist, poverty, obedience...) ought to find their proper place in the context of mission. The same mission should also help us discover the appropriate place for social research. This is the main guiding thought of this article: *what place should social research occupy in a body that has made the mission of faith and justice its ultimate commitment?*

My argument develops in the following manner: first, I review the Ignatian sources motivating the intellectual apostolate which has always been present in our historical tradition; second, I attempt to show that the Society's present mission demands a rigorous knowledge of reality combined with a 'wisdom' element; third, I also contend that this knowledge should be at the service of apostolic leadership; and finally, I offer a graphic model which will help the reader to understand the argument developed in this article.

1. The intellectual apostolate in our history

Social research forms an intrinsic component of the intellectual apostolate, and a ministry which, from the very beginning of the Society, has been an important ministry.[1] Over the centuries Jesuits have cultivated many fields of knowledge, and we continue to do so today. This is part of a long tradition.

Ignatian sources for the intellectual apostolate

Saint Ignatius's own life does not reveal any special interest in intellectual work. His great concern after his conversion in Loyola was "helping souls." Starting at Manresa,[2] he dedicated himself to that task and he continued it upon arriving in the Holy Land, where he wished to remain, always in the role of helping people.[3] That was also his main motivation for pursuing further studies.[4] He went to Barcelona to study solely for the purpose of providing greater help to souls. The pilgrim attended the universities of Alcalá, Salamanca, and finally Paris, where at last he and all the other first companions obtained the title of "master of arts." Unlike Laínez and Salmerón who became brilliant theologians, Ignatius never claimed that distinction. His concern continued to be "helping souls" and

[1] GC 35, D 3, no. 39 (iii)
[2] Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography,* no. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, no. 45.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 50.

making sure the Society was imbued with this orientation of service to others wherever the need was greatest.

Where then does this desire for knowledge come from? What is the source of this enthusiasm for learning, inspiring the Society both when it started and today? Or was it due to the fact that those first Jesuits belonged to the social intelligentsia of their day and naturally transmitted their academic leanings and culture to subsequent generations?

The fact is, and perhaps I state the obvious here, the source of this profound yearning for knowledge is to be found, though not very explicitly, in the experience of the Spiritual Exercises.

The essential core of the Ignatian tradition is found in a personal encounter with a God who liberates, asks for a commitment and sends us on a mission. We are referring to a direct experience of the divine, always so surprising, overflowing, and subversive. The God who takes the lead and initiates this encounter is not found outside reality, but is situated in our world. The greatest gift that Ignatius received at the river Cardoner was related to this experience: seeing God *in* the world and the world *in* God.

From this vision an ardent interest in the world is born. To discover God there is no need to flee the world; rather, one must be submerged in it. And the attitude prompted by this perspective is not merely one of contemplation, but one of giving and of committing oneself to the dynamics of loving. An important part of the Society's way of proceeding can be explained by this intuition that Ignatius had by the river Cardoner.

In the Exercises there are two contemplations that move the one engaged in the Exercises to this way of knowing the world. First, in the *Contemplation of the Incarnation*[5] we are asked to contemplate "the great extent of the round earth with its many different races…"[6] Ignatius invites us to discover in the heart of humanity a redemptive current soliciting human collaboration; the Trinity, desiring to "bring about the redemption of the human race," stoops to knock at Mary's door, asking permission to begin the work of salvation. Underlying this scene is an *active, engaging* way of contemplating the world; as we behold what the persons of the Trinity do, and consider how Mary accedes to their request, we are also invited to do the same.

Secondly, in the Exercises we also have the *Contemplation to Attain Love*, in which Ignatius wants us to gain "an interior knowledge of all the good I have received."[7] In one of the sections Ignatius speaks to us of a God who dwells in the elements, in the plants, in the animals and in human beings.[8] This consideration will lead to an attitude that is more contemplative, more *passive-receptive*. However, in this same contemplation Ignatius speaks of a God who labours and works for me in all the realities of creation.[9] Once again we are directed towards a type of knowledge that commits us to action. To sum up, the Exercises dispose us

[5]*Spiritual Exercises*, 101-109.
[6]Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, (trans) Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean, Penguin, London, 1996, p. 305.
[7]Personal Writings, *ibid*. p. 329.
[8]*Spiritual Exercises,* 235.
[9]*Spiritual Exercises,* 236.

toward knowing the world in a twofold manner, one that is active and the other more receptive, but always with a preponderance of the first over the second.

The intellectual apostolate in our historical tradition

Apart from the Ignatian sources, the intellectual apostolate has been an essential feature of the Society of Jesus since its founding, both in its theological version (beholding the divine helps to elucidate the human), and its anthropological version (viewing the human helps to understand the divine).

a) Theological investigation: beholding the divine to understand the human

The enterprise of theological investigation may have been the most important research task undertaken by the Society. It has been an exercise to re-tell the story of God and to bring God's universe closer to human reality. If the encounter with God occupies the central place in Jesuit tradition, then theological research aims at making that encounter possible and giving it meaning: beholding the divine to comprehend the human.

This type of theology seeks frequently to read human realities from the perspective of God's life. It becomes a theology of the world's realities and thus, quite often, turns out to be a frontier theology. It is not a cold and speculative enterprise, but full of life, seeking "to help souls" and building bridges with the culture of its day. It is not unusual for such theology to be at the cutting edge.

The theology we speak of here is concerned rather with the consequences that "God's plans" have for the life of people, and does not consider life as being centred exclusively on contemplating the divine mystery, being captivated by it to the extent of forgetting what is happening with human beings. This theology prefers to root itself in the *Contemplation of the Incarnation*. It is in the meanderings of our concrete history and in the happenings of ordinary life that we are able to discover the signs of the Trinitarian word, which continues in our day to cry out, "Let us bring about the redemption of human life."[10]

b) Scientific and cultural research: observing the human to discover the divine

The earliest history of the Society shows that prominent Jesuits laboured to illuminate aspects of reality from a scientific viewpoint. By examining the universe, they unveiled God. Sometimes their scientific interest was developed mainly to serve other ends, as in the case of Ricci in China. Those Jesuits helped us to understand that science and faith are not in a competitive struggle for the same space, but complement and enrich one another mutually. They worked to construct bridges between science and faith. Their task has been a crucial one, making it possible for us today to be modern citizens, and at the same time, believers. They have allowed us to understand that scientific knowledge does not dispute our faith, but deepens and matures it.

The area of cultural studies in the Society seems to me more relevant than the field of natural science. There have been many Jesuits who, enamoured of God,

[10] *Personal Writings*, 306.

loved also the human as they found it in cultures very different from their own.[11] While not primarily learned academics, their contribution to academia has been very important for they took a passionate interest in people. Human beings in all their diversity, richness, simplicity, depth, fragility and wisdom showed them ever-new traces of the God they were tirelessly seeking. They discovered in the persons they met the Spirit of God who, from time immemorial, had been dwelling in them. Loving those cultures and unravelling them, they adored the God who dwells in all. From that experience came forth grammars, alphabets, ethnographic studies… The examples are countless and show how Jesuits truly believed that "God dwells in creatures."[12] That tradition continues up to the present day.

Summing up, we may state that the Society's intellectual apostolate, whether in its theological or its scientific aspect, has been oriented to building bridges between God and humankind.

2. Our mission today requires social research

Having established that our own Ignatian and Jesuit traditions have demanded serious intellectual work and research, we move ahead to show that our present mission of faith and justice requires a solid intellectual apostolate, especially one geared to social research.

Our mission of faith and justice

In 1975 our mission was formulated in terms of the defence of faith and the promotion of justice. We were aware that the world in which we found ourselves is caught in a dialectical struggle between great longings for liberation and the powerful dynamics of exclusion.[13] That was the reason why the word "promotion" was used: justice requires an active, deliberate and sustained commitment against the forces that engender exploitation. We are fighting a battle. This mission presupposes that we accept a preferential option to work on behalf of the poor. Our mission cannot be separated from the preferential option for the poor which is at its core.

The option for justice also leads to many things: public advocacy, intelligent use of the media, transparent bookkeeping, political and institutional dialogue, and a great capacity for innovation. All this presupposes that we strive to achieve not just "the same old thing," but the *magis.* The promotion of justice, therefore, requires us to raise our apostolic goals, and this entails an integral renewal of our ministries so that they measure up to this mission.[14] This need to raise the level of our apostolic goals demands from us a fuller knowledge of the world and consequently a more incisive social analysis. In these times of complex globalization this requirement becomes more urgent.

[11]GC 34, D 4, no. 10.
[12]*Spiritual Exercises,* 235.
[13]GC 32, D 4, no. 6.
[14]GC 32, D 4, nos. 9 and 76.

3. We need wisdom-filled syntheses that guide and motivate us

Social research is open to apostolic orientation, especially when it unveils the creative, hopeful aspects of reality, when it condemns the forces that disperse and exclude people, when it proposes new ways of dealing with problematic social areas, and most basically, when it seeks to be a transformative agent that influences the public sphere.

Having said this, we should also add that more than just social research is needed. We need to situate such research within a broader perspective. Ignatius can help us to understand this point: he insists that we need more "interior knowledge" than exhaustive research; more synthetic than analytic knowledge; we need more affective involvement than aseptic detachment; more interdisciplinary rather than fragmented studies;[15] and we need very large doses of discernment.[16]

We need wisdom-filled syntheses[17] that take account of our world, that allow us to engage it in order to care for it. Such syntheses are related to the "interior knowledge" which Ignatius tells us to ask for in the Exercise of the Two Standards. They provide us with interior knowledge and insight into our reality, helping us to discover in that reality the dynamics of exclusion, extortion and death to better confront them. It also enables us to celebrate the deep-flowing currents of life and liberation to commit ourselves to them. We are speaking, therefore, of *wisdom-inspired syntheses* or *interior (Ignatian) knowledge of reality*. Any of these terms will do for our language does not really have a word that designates this reality we speak about.

Social research should be placed at the service of these syntheses, for when analysis is lacking, pure invention and projection hold sway and we see what we want to see. Wisdom-knowledge must be rigorous and honest with respect to reality.

A synthesis of this type must produce knowledge having the following characteristics:

- Rigour and alertness to multiple perspectives. This implies knowledge grounded in (i) solid data and investigation, and (ii) the integration of many disciplines.
- Be carried out in an atmosphere of prayerful communal discernment. This implies a knowledge (iii) revealing our hidden interests and affective attachments; (iv) shaped by the experience of being in contact with the poor and with social institutions working on their favour; (v) letting reality affect us, and (vi) incorporating a theological reading of reality.

[15]GC 34, D 17, no. 10.

[16]GC 32, D 4, no. 10.

[17]Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, "The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice in American Jesuit Higher Education," (Conference given at Santa Clara University [California] on October 6, 2000): "What is at stake is more than the sum of so many individual commitments and efforts. It is a sustained interdisciplinary dialogue of research and reflection, a continuous pooling of expertise. The purpose is to assimilate experiences and insights according to their different disciplines in 'a vision of knowledge which, well aware of its limitations, is not satisfied with fragments but tries to integrate them into a true and wise synthesis' about the real world. Unfortunately, many faculties still feel academically, humanly, and I would say spiritually, unprepared for such an exchange."

- Include a practical way of proceeding so that commitment and involvement may follow. This implies that this knowledge (vii) generates plans and proposals, (viii) is communicated by means of credible and well-thought out methods, fostering ongoing formation, and strengthening our motivation and affectivity, and thus inspiring faith. This knowledge must finally (ix) energise our public advocacy by engaging social, ecclesial and political agents.

We can affirm with a certain degree of generality that lack, or we do not have in sufficient numbers, the "collective subjects," the communities of discernment, needed to carry out this work. We need teachers and new methodologies to guide this work. There is much to be done. If research is to take its proper place in the service of our mission, certain features are all-important. First, it will need to focus on certain social areas, those that are most relevant for the development of our mission today. Second, our social research will have to ask on whose behalf and for what purpose it is actually being done.[18] Third, since our numbers do not include experts in all fields, we will need the contributions of many other researchers, whether or not they belong to our institutions.

Social centres will also have a role to play in developing this interior knowledge of the social reality. If the syntheses require discernment, then such discernment will be done most effectively when we are in close contact with reality. Institutions closest to the agonizing realities of our world will have much to tell us.

Are these wisdom-syntheses enough to carry out our mission? No, because the 'real' ones must lead us to improve our apostolic responses to the mission.

4. At the service of apostolic leadership

Only an interior knowledge of reality can orient our leadership

When we lack the interior, affective, discerning knowledge needed to shape our apostolic vocation, all that is left is common-sense apostolic management. No risks are assumed because conservation is paramount. Fidelity and creativity are absent; they are replaced by a tendency to reproduce degraded structures. Identity, instead of being strengthened, is diluted. In contrast, the syntheses we are proposing will illuminate reality, spur our commitment, and orient our action.

Our institutions usually have plenty of knowledge and information about the economic and legal space within which they operate. I could use commercial jargon and say they know their own business well. The mission to which they are responding however goes far beyond that. A Jesuit school does not work only to educate; public school systems also do that, and they do so with greater means and at least as well as we do. A school of the Society tries to form persons who want a more just world, who are able to commit themselves to communities that bring this about, and who are ready for sacrifices if they necessary. A Jesuit school seeks to help people to experience Christian faith as the vital source of their own lives and as a magnificent force for integral human liberation. That educational mission, as can be seen, makes use of the "our business" of education, but it goes

[18]Kolvenbach, "The Service of Faith": "University knowledge is valuable for its own sake and at the same time is knowledge that must ask itself, 'For whom? For what?'"

way beyond the business aspect. The same is true of Jesuit universities or other organizations run by Jesuits. It has become crucial now that all our institutions respond to the mission of faith and justice, because what is really at stake is the Jesuit character of those institutions.

But such a response is very difficult, for it means that now our schools will have to know and teach much more about immigration, cultural integration, crossed identities, and the processes of integrating the second generation. Schools have to know and teach much more about globalization, world politics, and citizenship; much more about secularization and religious socialization; much more about the role that the media and social milieus play in childhood socialization; much more about current family patterns… Likewise, our non-governmental organizations will have to know much more about the symbolic and spiritual aspects of development, about human beings and human cultures, about the relationship between religion and politics, about community leadership and organization, about alternative forms of economic development, about decentralization, ecology and technology … And we could draw up similar lists for our other apostolic endeavours.

There is no doubt that interior knowledge of our social reality, however limited and imperfect, will help our institutions to respond better to our mission. In an age such as ours when there are fewer Jesuits than ever before, institutions run by the Society today – large, dynamic, and creative – need this kind of guidance; otherwise they will go their own way in the activities they undertake. Hence the question that needs to be raised is: will they, in the long run, be recognizably Jesuit in character?

At the institutional level

Interior knowledge will help institutions make decisions with courage and assurance on behalf of justice and the poor, especially decisions that call for a degree of foresight. Only on the basis of such high-quality knowledge can we situate our institutions in their proper context and apostolic horizon; only then can they respond through their public presence and advocacy, through their engagement with public and private institutions and with sectors of the Church…

At the provincial and the sectoral levels

These are far more strategic levels as the sectors and the provinces have resources not possessed by the institutions themselves. These wisdom-syntheses make it possible to respond to new challenges at the level of province and sector by highlighting the institutions that will best respond to those challenges and by insisting that they respond. They can also help us reflect on the wisdom of initiating new apostolic works or abandoning old ones.

It is obvious that the mission of faith and justice calls for political dialogue with other church institutions and with social organizations; it requires links with the mass media and with those who can raise funds … Such relations are crucial, all the more so in a society as pluralist as our own. Interior knowledge arising from

discernment and consensus will be essential if we wish to maintain our own agenda in such exchanges. Here too we see how important it is for us to arrive at syntheses oriented to action and including positions, proposals and recommendations. If we manage to achieve something in this area, we will grow as an apostolic body.

At the level of the Society

Interior knowledge is also needed at the level of the Society. In times past reflections coming from the Society's central government imparted to the Society a strong spirit and impulse. Fathers Arrupe and Kolvenbach were men who helped greatly with their foresight, their wisdom, and their contributions. We have not really kept up with them. Given the centrifugal forces within our ranks, it would be very difficult to sustain our joint mission as the 'body' of the Society without support from the highest levels of the Society's government and their visions of the world.

5. A possible model

The sketch below proposes a possible way of organizing the different pieces that we have been mentioned. The discrete pieces are first examined individually, and then put together in an organized pattern.

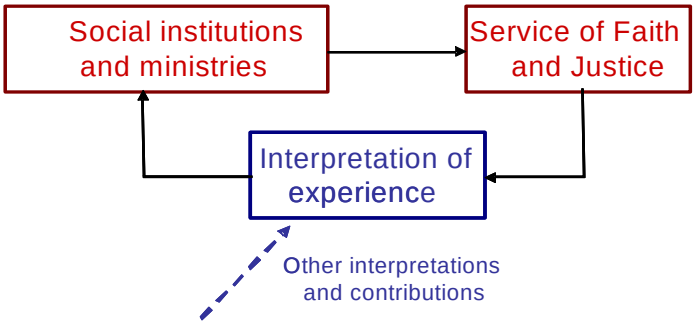
Social research properly speaking

Here we indicate the social research undertaken by universities and some social centres, involving the use of analyses borrowed from other disciplines or from non-Jesuit institutions. Research carried out in our institutions should include a certain Ignatian emphasis, that is, it should make explicit the presuppositions on which it is based, be coherent in its development, recognize the underlying affective influences and alliances, and manifest a readiness to "let itself be touched." It should take into account the experiences of our social centres and institutions in other sectors. In other words, Ignatian social research bears certain characteristics that mark it out as Ignatian.

Social research in our social centres

Our social centres also engage in their own reflections on reality. They learn, sometimes systematically, and other times, spontaneously, from their experience and from the situations in which they are involved. They also freely use interpretations and contributions from other social analysts. Such reflection on

experience often has a passionate character, and often favours the slogan over scientific rigour. When concentrating upon a particular aspect of reality, it is desirable that the approach be holistic, making use of a diversity of perspectives and disciplines.

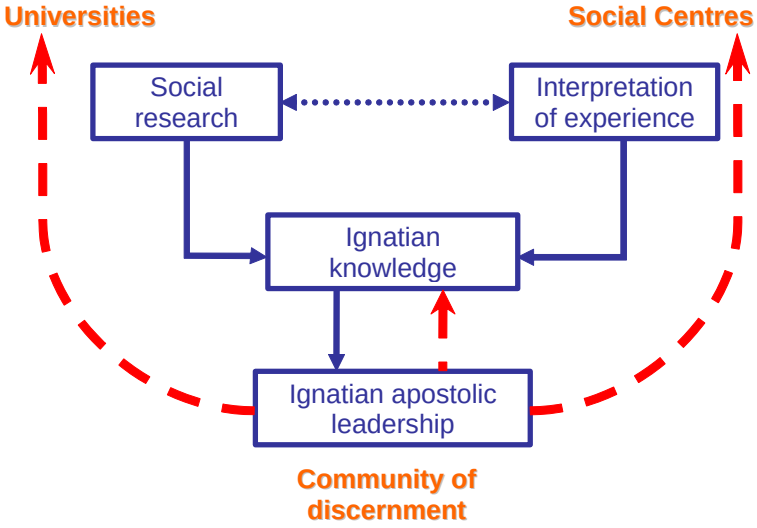


Ignatian knowledge of reality

Ignatian knowledge of reality, if it is to attain its own syntheses, should be based on the two elements mentioned earlier. It is best realized in a community of discernment, which includes both those engaged in a scientific analysis of reality and those who draw on the experiences of the social centres. Some of the characteristics of this Ignatian knowledge have already been mentioned: interdisciplinary analyses; drawing on concrete experience; openness to being affected by the reality; theological readings …. Suitable methodologies and teachers to direct the research are obviously needed.

At the service of apostolic leadership

We present below a final drawing which brings together all the elements we have thus far mentioned:



One aspect in this schema should be emphasized: Ignatian knowledge should help produce better apostolic leadership. This means that those entrusted with leadership need to be challenged by interpretations of reality that flow from Ignatian knowledge. Without this, the schema will collapse for lack of firm commitments. The sphere of apostolic leadership alone can organize agendas, request studies and take decisions on the basis of the studies. It is thus the driving force of the process.

We may well ask ourselves: what is the need of this complex structure? Is it not enough to have a good apostolic leadership team that knows reality and makes decisions? There is some truth in this, and things have probably long been done this way. But this is an unattainable ideal today. There are today very few individuals who are familiar with all branches of knowledge and experience, capable of evaluating and discerning their importance, and with the power to make decisions about works and persons. To think otherwise is an illusion. Nevertheless, there are surely leaders involved in many of these areas. The changes envisaged should thus be smoother and easier.

To sum up, social research is a vital element for developing the deep and wise syntheses about reality needed today if we are to respond adequately to our mission of faith and justice. Social analysis is most definitely envisaged at the service of our leadership in that mission.

Patxi Álvarez SJ
Uretamendi 2, 1º izq.
48002 Bilbao – SPAIN
p.alvarez@alboan.org

Original Spanish
Translation by Joseph Owens SJ

Jesuit Social Apostolate: Some Intellectual Questions

Raúl González SJ

Where are we?

In its 32nd GC (1975), the Society of Jesus explicitly chose to understand its traditional mission of defence of the faith in terms of the promotion of justice. Since then we have generated an immense amount of theological thought on the topic; we have also produced a considerable volume of social analysis, both structural and related to actual circumstances; we have developed new apostolates specifically to promote justice; and we have realigned almost all our classic apostolates towards that objective.

The Jesuit social apostolate is carried out in a myriad concrete social situations in which we have no problem finding injustices to confront, Usually we have little difficulty identifying and proposing reasonable changes which the people concerned can make to improve those situations. On the micro scale, a large part of the daily activities of the social apostolate are at that level; we run little risk of being left without tasks or without ideas. Our greatest problem is usually finding an effective strategy that really does improve things.

The situation is different however at the macro scale, by which we mean the social structures determining the local situations, such as the large markets in which our communities have to compete, or the sweeping security measures that affect our people. In passing to the macro level, we discover that globalization has so drastically affected the dimensions and complexity of the structures determining immediate social contexts that we are unable to make proposals and wield influence – unable sometimes even to understand them. To begin with, we are accustomed to thinking in national terms, given that national politics is the obvious arena for making public decisions. Indeed, over the last century we have developed good instruments for influencing that arena, such as social centres, journals, links with grass-roots movements and NGOs, and contacts with politicians and functionaries. But the phenomena that now affect us are increasingly global and far too difficult to change if we adopt merely national approaches.

Our vision of social reality and our professional training have tended to favour perspectives drawn from sociology and political science. For at least two decades now, however, it has been evident that it is impossible to understand what is happening in the world and respond to it without a profound understanding of the underlying economic structures and dynamics. Many of our working teams lack the expertise needed for dealing with the enormous complexities of the global economy; many lack an understanding even of its most basic elements, such as the different types of market, business organization, and state intervention.

Why try to go further?

It may be thought that these deficiencies are not very serious, that it is enough for us simply to develop significant projects that are beneficial at the local or sectoral level, with, on occasion, national or even regional impact. We might argue in addition that we could join the many protests that groups with diverse interests and convictions are making against one or other aspect of the present state of world affairs. We could make our presence felt thereby on the stage of global structures by speaking out against the negative fallout of the dynamics now at work. We could also eloquently announce our grand objectives for human society. Both stands have solid theological grounds. We would not really need to have a very precise idea about how to handle worldwide tensions and limitations practically, apart from the most self-evident aspects.

Maybe that is the best way to go, and we could have a worthwhile discussion regarding that. I, however, have at least three reasons for holding that such an

attitude is inadequate for our apostolic goals, and I maintain that we should attempt to move beyond that stand.

The first reason is that our vocation is one with a universal outlook, which orders all our intentions, actions and operations toward the realization of God's plan for humankind. Even if our particular project were limited to a single locality or sector, even if its relevance and meaning are fully evident in that context, it would still be valuable to situate it realistically in the larger context of orienting human society towards the reign of God. In that way it would be endowed with a significance that goes beyond the immediately local or sectoral sphere; our small-scale actions, placed within a broader perspective, would appeal to many other people and motivate them to join forces.

The second reason is simply the matter of the viability and effectiveness of our local and sectoral projects. There is the risk of frustration if our particular project gets swept away, like the sandcastle the child builds on the beach, or if its immediate aims are drowned by the waves of a tide we fail to foresee and are helpless to prevent. That happens, for example, when we educate young people for the purpose of improving the society to which they belong and, with their increased skills, they end up migrating to wealthier countries. A broader structural vision would allow us to build our little sandcastle where it can better resist the waves, perhaps even master them.

The third reason is that, given the present state of our thinking about global structures and dynamics, we have great difficulty formulating a common discourse about many important global topics, once we pass from the larger objectives to the necessary means, however generalized they may be. We are in agreement about the possibility and the urgency of eradicating poverty in the world, but if we begin to discuss the practical policies for promoting this goal, we inevitably find serious ideological differences among ourselves. We have only to look at the divergent assessments that emerge at any of our international meetings when we are asked to write a meaningful page about the market or about globalization.

As is obvious, such a situation limits the possibilities of serious discussion between the Jesuit social apostolate and those who make decisions at the global level. Moreover, it hinders the contribution that the apostolate can make at forums where the discussion is not about general principles but about concrete proposals that can be translated into reality. In practice, every Jesuit who has access to those levels of dialogue concerning global structures ends up supporting the conclusions he has reached on his own, or jointly with his immediate working team; he seldom expresses a line of thought common to the whole social apostolate; nor is there even a discernible convergence of ideas. And that is because such consensus simply does not exist.

Let us take, for example, one of the major questions being discussed at the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTC). Are we for, or against the lifting of the tariffs that the First World countries use to protect their farmers, that is, are we for or against throwing their markets open to Third World producers? What is justice in this case? Why is it so? If we had access (which we do not have

at present) to the actual process of these negotiations, what positions would we defend? Would each one defend the positions that he judged most appropriate in the short run for his own context of work? In such a case, someone who was working with farming cooperatives in Europe would want to continue the government protection for his associates, while someone else working with Latin American or African farmers would support the opening up of the markets. Or would each one support the position best suited to his ideological sympathies? In that case, those who are in favour of nationalism or structuralism would certainly support protectionism, while those with more liberal convictions would favour free markets. And if, between all of us, we had to write a document on the matter, it would probably end up being the famous horse with two humps designed by a commission.

Of course, this is a very sketchy presentation of the question. The Doha Round discussions treat very complex, detailed points, which may appear minor, but which in reality have great practical repercussions. Certainly, those points can be discussed from the viewpoint of justice, and they have much to do with such important concerns as the most viable way for Black Africa to become capitalized and incorporated into the world economy. Would the Jesuit social apostolate be doing enough if, while pronouncing on these matters, it limited itself to expressing praiseworthy hopes, but failed to propose concrete ways of attaining them on the excuse that concrete suggestions have to take account of a technical slant and specificity? If that were the case, we would be in the curious position of refusing to offer at the global level what we do every day in our local or sectoral context. The social apostolate exists not to enunciate principles and admirable aims, but to seek and try out concrete, practical ways of making justice a reality.

What do we have and what do we lack?

Thus far we have suggested that we should try to attain an understanding of the mechanisms of injustice at work in global structures and dynamics comparable with our understanding of the local and sectoral contexts of our projects, and that our proposals to overcome that injustice should be as concrete as those we develop for our local projects. What do we have now, and what do we lack if we wish to attain that goal?

This is tantamount to asking how to move intellectually from the theological formulations and spiritual experiences that motivate us (the seeking of the "justice of the Kingdom of God" that GC 34 speaks of) to concrete positions with regard to the great global problems, their local specifications, and the public decisions by which they will either be resolved or get worse. Our greatest resource for this task is to be found at the two extremes: the theological-spiritual on the one hand, and the practical on the other. As a group our greatest limitations are to be found in the intermediate terrain that unites those extremes: social analysis and a theory of justice. Let us try to organize our argument according to the classical schema "see-judge-act":

See:

The Jesuit social apostolate has a presence in a wide spectrum of social situations, from the marginalized classes to the ruling classes, in urban zones and rural areas, in workplaces and domestic situations, and so on. As is the case with the distribution of Jesuits themselves, however, this contact has a clear bias toward the West (Europe, America, Africa, Australia). Our first-hand experience in Latin America or Europe is much greater than in China or Russia. In earlier days that would not have been an especially great obstacle to achieving a comprehensive overview, but in our multi-polar world there can be no doubt that, if our vision fails to include Islam, Russia and China, then we are losing sight of whole civilizations that constitute true centres of power and creativity.

Direct experience greatly enhances our capacity for wider influence; our various campaigns, interventions, and alliances are then credible testimonies and proposals firmly rooted in reality. It enables those efforts to have broader objectives. With the exception of the geographical limitation mentioned above, our position in this regard is quite strong.

In most cases, however, what we know at first-hand is only the local or sectoral situation in which we work. Certainly we stay informed to some degree about the national situation and, to a lesser extent, about regional matters and major world events. We examine perhaps some academic studies or reports from the NGOs, and we read newspaper articles on topics that interest us. However, in order to achieve a coherent integration of the information and interpretations provided to us by others, we need a method of social analysis that allows us to separate what is fundamental from what is anecdotal, to distinguish the causes from the effects, and to understand the situations in their far-ranging dynamics.

A solid method of analyzing reality provides yet another benefit. We need it if we are to trace the "arrival horizon" of our efforts, that is, to offer a realistic idea about how we envision the best *possible* world. We cannot propose a realistic horizon without first understanding the basic structures and dynamics of the world, an understanding of how and why we ourselves are situated therein, where we are coming from and what we are moving towards, and at which points we can exert an influence to reorient those dynamics. Without a method of social analysis, our proposals regarding a horizon may look beautiful but they will, in fact, be fanciful. Designing future ideals without asking what the real conditions of possibility might be constitutes an error that any serious social thinker would attempt to avoid. Such an error makes it easy for opponents to discredit them and leaves supporters frustrated and disoriented.

At the present moment in the Jesuit social apostolate we lack a common method of social analysis. Each of us, to the degree that he feels the need, adopts one of the methods already available in the social sciences or creates his own synthesis with greater or less consistency. This explains why we find it difficult to agree on our general visions or diagnostic designs when we meet together as colleagues from different regions, teams and/or areas of work. It also explains

many of the difficulties we have in communicating with our colleagues in the intellectual apostolate.

To be sure, the contemporary social science scene does not help us much in remedying this deficiency. On the one hand, the social sciences are extremely segmented and do not easily integrate different perspectives (economic, political, sociological, and cultural); neither do they integrate different theoretical schools within each science. Each scholar tends to analyze things according to the professional training he or she has received. Such segmentation inevitably affects us as well, except for those teams of the social apostolate where all the relevant specialties are represented and which engage in lively dialogue.

On the other hand, as a result of positivist influence, many of the dominant approaches oversimplify the human person by explaining behaviour in quasi-mechanistic terms. The most widespread characteristic of this approach consists of the assumption that people or social groups always act in their own interests (wealth, power, or whatever may be at stake). It is thus assumed that if we know their interests and the conditions they face, we can predict how they will react, just as we can with physical objects. Such a view, however, ignores the ethical dimension of individual and collective actions. Interests are certainly important, but persons and groups also act in accordance with convictions about what is best for all, an approach that does not necessarily or always coincide with their own interests.

This situation offers crucial opportunities for transformative mobilization. If we are going to invite others to join us in our proposals for social transformation, do we not usually appeal to their moral conscience, expressing our convictions in such a way that they can share them if they find them attractive? It would be strange indeed for us as Christians to base all our political influence on interest-oriented alignments without leaving space for the moral conscience of the social agents.

Thus, as regards the "seeing" moment in social analysis, our challenge is not just a matter of reaching agreement about a complete and consistent methodological synthesis. It also involves bringing the ethical dimension back into social analysis by going to the very root of the matter: the suppositions about how and why persons and social groups behave as they do.

Judge:

Once social analysis has helped us to know a particular situation, the underlying structures and dynamics that brought it into being, the possible decisions and actions to be taken are clearer. In the light of this analysis, we must judge the situation and determine which alternative to promote. For that we need an operational theory of justice, that is, a concept of justice capable of precise application in concrete situations. Only such a concept can tell us whether a particular situation is unjust, what the injustice consists of, and which decisions and actions we need to take to combat it effectively.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, philosophy and the social sciences have been engaged in lively debates about the meaning of social justice, and a number of theories compete with one another. I may be mistaken, but I cannot remember a single Jesuit author whose work is considered indispensable in those debates. This seems strange to me, because the debate is precisely about how to determine in a rational manner what is just; it is a question that should be of great concern to us, committed as we are to promoting justice and making it a reality in collaboration with others who do not necessarily share the Catholic faith.

We do have, to be sure, the order's official documents on the promotion of justice, and a substantial amount of theology has been produced on the topic, but there is no operational concept in the strict sense. GC 34 can help us understand why this is the case, for it states: "The vision of justice which guides us is intimately linked with our faith. … It transcends notions of justice derived from ideology, philosophy, or particular political movements, which can never be an adequate expression of the justice of the Kingdom" (GC 34, D 3, 4). Our vision of justice, therefore, does not consist in a rationally formulated concept that can be used for analysis, but in a religious symbol. As such, the notion possesses the symbol's power to motivate and also its intrinsic ambiguity, which allows it to be embedded in different contents according to the occasion, to the exigencies of the moment, the sensibilities of those who use it or of those to whom the message is addressed.

As a consequence, given the need to make specific judgments in concrete situations, each one of us interprets, more or less consciously, the symbol "justice" with the concepts that we find most fitting. Having worked in the social apostolate in different contexts and various countries, I can recall having heard concepts being used that came from a great variety of Marxisms, anarchisms, structuralisms, egalitarianisms, communitarianisms, contractualisms, human-rights liberalisms, feminisms, ecologisms, indigenisms, from social democracy as well as scholasticism and the most classical principles of the social doctrine of the Church.

While some conceptions of justice from the past have fallen into disuse, perhaps the most popular conception prevalent among us nowadays is of justice as the realization of human rights. The option implied by this conception is not free of problems.

The first generation of human rights, the so-called civil and political rights, have a clearly liberal, individualistic stamp to them. The second generation, economic and social rights, express as subjective rights (rights due to individuals by the mere fact of their existing) what are clearly, at least in the case of competent adults, objective rights (rights derived from the subject's contribution to social life). Aristotle, Saint Thomas, Adam Smith, and Karl Marx would all have thought it strange that capable adults should be guaranteed the right to receive certain material goods, without asking how they have contributed to the production of those goods or of other goods that might be exchanged for them. Finally, the so-called third-generation rights form a catchall category to which can be added any right that is considered desirable, and this is sometimes done in clear contradiction to the individualist conception of the first two "generations."

The most important weakness of human rights as a theory of justice lies in its subjective character. Such a theory does not consider objective rights and reaches only so far as it treats of distribution of goods, but not of their social production; it treats of the rights of persons and groups, but not of their duties. This is seen clearly in a conflict where one side cites certain human rights in its favour, and these rights turn out, in concrete situations, to be incompatible with the rights invoked by the other side.

Another conception that enjoys prestige among us tends to identify what is just with the interests of the poor in each situation. The option for the poor then becomes the criterion of justice. Although it is true that the poor are usually the weaker party in many social relations, and therefore the most likely to suffer injustice and the least able to bring about justice, such an automatic identification is problematic. This is because the poor, like everybody else, can commit injustices as soon as they acquire power themselves. To ignore this reality would mean either denying them moral capacity and thus rendering them objects, or else believing in their innate goodness and thus idealizing them. Neither of these options helps them to grow as social subjects, which is one of the most consistent objectives of our social apostolate.

Furthermore, we find that many of the situations in which we work have losers and winners among the poor themselves. If a transnational company decides to move its factory from Mexico to India, that decision on the part of capital undoubtedly harms the Mexican workers, who would be left unemployed. But it benefits the Indian workers, who are probably poorer than the Mexicans, since they would obtain the industrial employment they need. Is such a decision, therefore, an unjust one which we should oppose, or not?

Finally, we sometimes seem to understand the option for the poor as an option for the losers in each period of social change (this is one interpretation, probably erroneous, of Ellacuría's phrase about "turning history around"). If this were to be our understanding, our discourse would be a litany of complaints and protests about the fate of those who suffer from the changes. Of course, these persons need to be taken into account, and we must insist that care is taken to provide people with decent and practicable alternatives, but we cannot call unjust every social change that produces some suffering; that would make us reactionaries opposed to the course of history.

Although we draw on the religious (spiritual, biblical, and theological) inspiration contained in our symbol of "justice", it is worth stressing that what we need is a rational concept that will give us a basis for dialoguing with non-Christians. That concept cannot be attained by extrapolating from the scriptures or from Christian tradition. Both the Bible and tradition tell us about believers of past ages who were faced with difficult situations and of how they analyzed their situations in order to reach conclusions about the injustices involved and ways to eradicate them. Their example is admirable but not always imitable: not only were their criteria for judgment and their conclusions sometimes widely different, and even contradictory, but the cultural and historical distance that separates us from them is very great.

Considering only our western frame of reference, we can easily see that there have been enormous transformations between the age of the Church Fathers and our own time in the field of the subject, such as the individualist revolution of Nominalism (in which Ignatian spirituality is certainly rooted), the anthropocentric turnabout of the Renaissance, the rationalism of the Enlightenment and of Positivism, the emotive nature of Romanticism, and the revolutionary movements of 1968, with the subsequent post-modern fragmentation of the subject. Any person who is heir to these processes has a consciousness of self and of others that is bound to be different from that of an inhabitant of Jerusalem in the days of the prophets. For example, a modern person has great difficulty understanding morality in terms of objective order.

In the field of social structures, we have witnessed since ancient times the following: the scientific and industrial revolutions, the bourgeois democratic revolutions, several social revolutions, massive urbanizations, the emergence of the middle classes, and successive waves of technological change, each one more far-reaching than the one before. The social setting in which justice must be relevant today bears only a faint resemblance to the social setting of Saint Jerome. We are talking now of a global setting, where the bulk of wealth is no longer derived from nature but from human industry. Capital and knowledge have appeared on the scene as decisive factors of production; the social classes have been expanded; self-sufficient small communities are not longer practicable, to mention only a few instances.

Given the historical distance, any attempt to develop an operative concept of justice from the scriptures and tradition and apply it to our time will face insuperable hermeneutical problems; the meanings of other ages can be carried over into our own only with great difficulty. Of course, it is worth making the effort, as long as we expect not very much from it. While scripture and tradition can inspire us to undertake the work, they cannot provide us with a solution to our problem of formulating a sufficiently rational concept of justice.

In sum, as with social analysis, so when it comes to an operational concept of justice necessary for establishing consistent criteria for judging situations, we will benefit from greater elaboration and more internal discussion.

Act:

As regards action on behalf of justice, we have done much and done it well, above all at the local and national levels, and, in some sectors, even at the international level. In many places around the world we have for decades been working at grass-roots projects, creating public opinion, waging juridical battles, and doing advocacy at all levels of political decision-making. All this constitutes a source of contact with social realities and a basis for transforming them, something certainly not to be underestimated.

At the same time, despite various past and more recent attempts, we still have not managed to make the leap to promoting justice in a consistent, sustained way on a global scale. In addition to the aforementioned difficulties (agreement about

how to analyze situations and what justice reasonably requires in such situations), there are obvious obstacles arising from the territorial structure of the Society's government (based as it is on provinces, and ultimately on regions). That structure makes it difficult to allocate the persons and resources required to maintain stable institutions with global projection. To place the additional task of organizing of such a projection on persons and institutions already burdened with local and sectoral commitments seems quite unrealistic. In fact, the only Jesuit organization which has the ability to make an impact on a global scale in its area of interest, the Jesuit Refugee Service, was deliberately created by Father Arrupe outside the territorial structure of the order's government. That should give us food for thought.

As regards organizational forms and strategies of action, I detect a curious tendency to follow the current fads; we might do well to reflect on this. I enumerate here the various forms assumed by our social apostolate over the years, more or less chronologically, considering the dates when each type of work began: cooperatives and credit unions; "white" (as opposed to "red") unions; "Christian" political parties; social centres for analysis and doctrinal instruction; worker priests inserted in class-based unions; alliances with secular political parties; vanguard-led liberation movements; horizontal grass-roots organizing; NGOs in defence of human rights, social services, or cooperation for development; and finally, of course, networking.

My impression is that we passed from one model to another "generationally," so to speak. Each new generation of Jesuits tends to reorganize the social apostolate, including both the existing works and the new ones it creates, in its own way. What cannot be reorganized tends to disappear (as was the case with the worker-priests), or to be superseded by other works (as happened with the trade unions and the credit unions). I wonder whether this results from a true discernment that includes evaluation of the earlier strategies, or whether it is simply a matter of lighting candles wherever the wind happens to be blowing, without really discerning. If we were to develop more of our own social thought, shared and enriched from generation to generation, then it would help us to evaluate better what is at stake when we abandon a given strategy or take on a new one, and perhaps it would also make us less beholden to organizational fashions or to sources of financing.

Conclusion

In a nutshell, I believe that the Jesuit social apostolate would benefit greatly in its capacity for global impact, and also indirectly in its local and sectoral influence, if it were to undertake a couple of joint intellectual tasks: 1) synthesizing a method of social analysis compatible with our basic convictions, and 2) elaborating a rational theory of justice for judging situations and evaluating alternatives.

For these tasks we can, no doubt, count on the collaboration of many persons in the intellectual and university apostolate (many of whom come precisely from the social apostolate or have vital contacts with it). Might it be possible to think of

starting a "Jesuit school" of social analysis and justice theory, to which people from all over the world would contribute? Such a "school," coordinated and organized by a small agency based in the General Curia, could organize ongoing conferences and provide frequent opportunities for debate. Even if it does not attain its most ambitious goals, the very attempt would probably contribute greatly to a certain concurrence of perspectives and instruments in the social apostolate, which in turn would make it easier to engender a consistent profile for impact on a global scale.

I am well aware that attempting this would demand of all of us a sincere search for the truth. Joining such an initiative with the intention of promoting one's own criteria and predetermined theses would be to kill it before it was born. Only if we are aware of the inadequacy of our own analyses and our own criteria for judgment in a world as complex as today's, will we be moved to make an effort of collective intelligence that will enable us to reach, by working together, a point that none of us can reach by himself: a worldview that is more comprehensive and realistic, and therefore truly more helpful for poor people.

The Church attained its greatest capacity for dialoguing with the political and economic spheres during the Renaissance, the era of the first globalization, an epoch that was also replete with radical novelties, and it was precisely during that time that the Church had such a "school," the so-called Second Scholastic, in which brilliant Jesuits took part: Molina, Mariana, Lugo, Lessio, Suárez …. along with Dominicans, Augustinians, and others. At that time there were far fewer Jesuits, of course, and they had fewer points of contact with the social reality; they had fewer institutions and fewer capable and committed collaborators than we have today. Yet their practical impact on the Church's social action was undeniable: much of what was most humanizing in that first, extremely harsh wave of globalization was inspired by the concepts of justice and by the practical implications that were formulated by that school. Perhaps now is the moment to ask ourselves whether we could once again offer the Church a similar collective service.

Raúl González Fabre SJ
rgfabre@cee.upcomillas.es

Original Spanish
Translation by Joseph Owens SJ

China's Presence in Africa

Giuseppe Riggio SJ

Introduction

China's[1] economic and political presence in Africa has drawn increasing international attention in recent years. Rarely referred to till recently except in academic journals and international periodicals specializing in African and Asian issues, the implications of China's presence are now widely discussed in the leading national newspapers of most countries.

Stands on this issue vary greatly according to the point of view from which they evolve. Articles and studies from the United States and Europe are more concerned with the possible repercussions of recent Chinese activity in Africa on American and European companies already operating in these markets, and also with the extent of Western political influence in many African countries. Studies from research centres in Asia see the matter in a different light – what opportunities will open up for China as a result of this partnership with African states? Obviously, the position is different again from the perspective of African observers. They reflect on the consequences ensuing to their own countries of cooperation with China. At bottom their question is: Will this new international partnership be "a blessing or a curse"[2] for Africa?

In this article we propose to illustrate the current state of Sino-African relationships, briefly reviewing the salient features of this development and looking briefly at how the situation may evolve in the near future. In doing this we will seek to examine the situation from an African context.

The recent past and present of Sino-Africa cooperation

From the end of Western colonialism in Africa in the 60s up until the 90s, relations between China and African nations were essentially diplomatic. China, emerging on the international political scene, turned to African countries for support in its role both as a global political actor and as a knight in shining armour come to defend the rights and interests of non-aligned developing countries.[3]

This consolidated relationship underwent a profound change in the nineties due to a number of external factors. First, the Cold War ended and the systematic division of the world into two blocs collapsed. Then, in 1992 communist China set in motion a complete and previously unimaginable transformation of its

[1]In the article the word China refers to the People's Republic of China.

[2]These words were used by Amos Kimunya, Kenyan Finance Minister, in 2007 at the first *African Development Bank* meeting held in Asia, in Shanghai. This concern surfaces not only in comments made by politicians but also in academic publications. Cf. Germain Ngoie Tshimbambe and Constant Kabika Etobo, "Les relations sino-africaines: Entre l'espoir et le controverses" ("Sino-African relations: between hope and controversy ") in *Congo-Afrique* XLVII (September 2007) no. 417, 599-620.

[3]Cf. Michal Meidan, "China's Africa Policy: Business Now, Politics Later," *Asian Perspective,* vol. 30, no 4, 2006, 72-76.

economic system into a 'socialist market system', that is, an economy governed by the rules of capitalism but strictly controlled at the same time by the government. The changing international context and China's choices governed by internal economic policies provided a greater impulse than could ever have been estimated to economic growth in that country over the last two decades. The sustained rhythm of this growth and the fact of an annual growth close to, or even over, ten percent makes the middle kingdom an extraordinary world economy that reached very high levels in record time.

One of its most remarkable aspects was the economic opening of the country to the rest of the world. China is no longer off-limits to foreign businesses; instead, it has become one of the countries attracting the most consistent quota of foreign investment. At the same time, Chinese companies turned to foreign markets to sell their own products, to source the raw materials they needed, and to make industrial and business investments.

It is in this context that we must place China's renewed interest in African countries.[4] To understand the new Chinese policy of cooperation with African countries, we need to start with the foreign policy proposal based on the "Five principles of peaceful coexistence" launched in 1996 by the then president Jiang Zemin. Shaping Chinese policy in Africa during the years that followed, it was consolidated as a formal government paper entitled *China's African Policy*, published 12 January 2006, and sets out the guidelines for this south-south cooperation.[5] The five points on which the proposal is based are: mutual friendship, cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, promotion of mutual development and respect (*win-win*), non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful coexistence.

Chinese politicians present themselves to their African counterparts as proposing cooperation based on mutual advantage without any further clause or condition of a political nature, as often happens with Western governments. The actual fact is that this Chinese claim of Sino-African cooperation based purely on mutual advantage does not hold true in all cases; there are significant exceptions. This policy of cooperation has been accurately presented to African leaders through a highly organised and impressive diplomatic campaign, including numerous visits to Africa[6] by leading Chinese authorities and the setting up of institutional contacts through the newly formed Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, FOCAC.[7] A new China-Africa summit was held for the first time in Beijing in December 2006 with the participation of representatives from 48 African nations. Chinese diplomatic activity goes hand in hand with the adoption

[4]Despite the undeniable fact that economic cooperation between China and African countries has led to a phase of growth, it is still lower than the levels generated by cooperation between Asian countries. For instance, the total volume of Sino-African trade in 2007 amounted to approximately one third of that between China and Korea.

[5]For the English text cf: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200601/12/eng20060112_234894.html

[6]The last visit, made by Chinese President Hu Jintao, was in February 2009, to four African countries (Mali, Senegal, Tanzania and Mauritius). .

[7]Up until now there have only been two sessions of this Forum. The first was held in Beijing in 2000, the second in Addis Ababa in 2003.

of economic and commercial initiatives. Every visit or international meeting is generally accompanied by the signing of important business contracts ensuring Chinese access to African raw materials and markets in exchange for transport and service, infrastructure construction and significant investments.[8] The motivation for this pro-active foreign policy contains many interrelated elements and cannot be viewed simplistically.

Raw materials

The most obvious Chinese interest in Africa is the need for secure access to the raw materials abundant in Africa. Without adequate natural resources (oil, nickel, copper, cobalt, iron, wood …) to meet its needs in sustaining the rhythm of growth, China has been obliged to find them abroad. To begin with, the country turned to Asian markets; since early 2000 however attention has concentrated on African countries.

Behind this very specific choice there are both economic and political reasons. From an economic standpoint, all observers agree that Chinese dependence on the import of raw materials, particularly energy needs, above all, oil, is bound to increase in time. From a political standpoint this need makes China vulnerable, requiring it to increase the number of countries from which to import the crucial raw materials and not rely on limited sources abroad.[9] It is no coincidence that Chinese President Hu Jintao, commenting on the latest five year plan (2007-2011), insists on the need to change the orientation of the Chinese economy – no longer emphasising rapid economic growth but expansion based on quality and efficiency.

This is why countries in the Gulf of Guinea, Sudan, Algeria and Angola have become particularly important partners for China, which has sought collaboration with them, offering them agreements that are economically far more advantageous compared with those proposed by Western companies, and promoting several forms of cooperation for development. With regard to cooperation policies – which extend to almost all African nations and are not limited to countries rich in raw materials – the Chinese government has adopted a number of important decisions, such as cancellation of foreign debt, loans on very favourable terms, and construction of transport, infrastructure, public facilities such as hospitals, and prestigious buildings at their own cost. Examples of these are the railway line between Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Foreign Ministry in Uganda, and Parliament buildings in Gabon and

[8]For example, 16 business contracts were signed at the 2006 summit between 12 Chinese companies and ten African countries for a total of 1.9 billion dollars. With regard to infrastructure, a new railway line was built between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, and the Tanzara line between Zambia and Tanzania was modernised.

[9]This is particularly evident for the oil of which China is currently the third major importer in the world. With a domestic demand for oil in constant growth, China has tried in the last ten years to reduce imports from the Middle East in favor of other markets, especially in Africa. The model adopted by China is focused on long-term ties with producer countries, in which the Chinese national oil companies operate directly (vertical integration).

Mozambique. Other forms of cooperation worth mentioning are the flow of technicians, engineers and doctors and the sharing of technologies and production techniques. A recent innovation is the presence in the continent of Chinese peacekeeping troops (in Liberia and Congo in 2003).[10]

In keeping with the principles of international cooperation, China states it maintains a neutral stand and does not intervene in internal political issues as Western governments do. The reality is somewhat different. China does not hesitate to use its influence at the international level to protect and sustain some of the most heavily criticised governments in the continent for their dismal record of respect for human rights and democracy. The case of Darfur, considered an internal issue in Sudan by the Chinese authorities for a long time,[11] is the most flagrant instance of this.

Other aspects – political collaboration and access to African markets

In actual fact, the cooperation proposed by China is not wholly unconditional given certain choices made by Chinese authorities relative to international relations with African countries. From a political standpoint China's foreign policy insists on the so-called "principle of one China," in other words, requiring the international community not to recognise the Republic of China (Taiwan) as a state but to support instead the PRC claim to these territories. The continual and prolonged diplomatic commitment of the PRC in Africa, a land hotly disputed between the two governments of the PRC and Taiwan, has produced notable results over the years as countless African countries have progressively cut off diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Today Taiwan is recognised by only four out of 53 African nations. These four are Swaziland, Burkina Faso, Gambia and Sao Tome and Principe.[12]

Two factors are important from an economic point of view. First, most of the companies involved in carrying out the construction work financed by these contracts in African countries are Chinese.

Next, these agreements encourage the growth of Chinese companies in the African market, which, despite not being particularly rich, is still attractive, especially for the textile industry and manufactured goods with a high added value. Early in 2000 the Chinese authorities set themselves a goal of trade worth 100 million dollars by 2009, an objective that was in fact reached and exceeded in 2008,[13] a year ahead of schedule.

In both cases there have been great repercussions for economies in African countries. Chinese businesses generally tend to employ migrant Chinese workers,

[10]For a detailed review with specific country references cf Michal Meidan, *op. cit.*, 78-85. The author also cites China's involvement in providing arms to African states.

[11]Much criticism has been levelled against the Chinese authorities by Western governments for the policy of non-interference adopted by China regarding human rights in some African states.

[12]The latest country to break off diplomatic ties with Taiwan was Malawi in January 2008. The Taiwanese authorities stated that this change in diplomatic relations was preceded by the concession of a six billion dollar loan.

[13]Early in 2009 the Chinese Trade Minister stated that business between China and African countries in 2008 was equivalent to 106.8 billion dollars.

without drawing on the local labour force. At the same time, African industry is penalised and swept away by the market for Chinese products famed for their low cost and reasonable quality. The result is an obstacle to overall growth in the African economic system. Both advanced technological products and products with a low added value are effectively damaged in this way.

Another source of concern identified by observers is the nature of the trade portfolio between China and Africa. Africa essentially exports raw materials to China and imports Chinese products. This trend has been consistently reinforced over a 20-year period and the consequences are evident in the decisively negative trade balance of African countries. Some commentators have gone so far as to say that "China has created a situation of practically colonial exploitation in Africa."[14] The situation varies from country to country, it is true, but at least two thirds of the countries in Africa are facing the same deficit situation. The economy in African countries is increasingly based on mining activities, which provide little guarantee of lasting and widespread growth for the future.

Conclusion

The initial question posed by African leaders on the nature of relations with China is still open following this brief review. Certainly a number of African countries are benefiting in the short term from the Chinese economic and political presence in Africa, a benefit which will be all the more considerable when China declares she does not intend to alter her plans despite the recent financial crisis.[15] At the same time, it is fundamental for the African political class to succeed in translating this process into positive effects in the long term, obtaining maximum benefit from this economic and political relationship in order to build something that will last.

Giuseppe Riggio SJ
Social Justice Secretariat
Rome, ITALY
sjs-as@sjcuria.org

Original Italian
Translation by Judy Reeves

[14]Cfr Germain Ngoie Tshimbambe e Constant Kabika Etobo, *op. cit.*, 614.

[15]Commenting on the recent trip to Africa by President Hu Jintao, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Zhai Jun said that China will honour the commitment made to support the development of African countries and will continue to encourage Chinese companies to invest and create business in Africa." In particular, China has planned an increase of 200% of aid to Africa compared to 2006 and created a fund of 1 million dollars to boost investment in Africa of Chinese companies.

Pentecost

Irénée Beaubien SJ

Holy Spirit, you whose mission it is to guide our destiny
grant us the insight and the zeal
of a Pentecost for the present times.

Deign to inspire our humble efforts
for the advancement, in and around us,
of the Kingdom inaugurated by Jesus Christ.

Strengthened by your help,
in solidarity with one another,
may we use our talents and resources
at the service of a renewal adapted to today's realities.

Help us to find the ways and means of responding
to the rightful aspirations of our humanity
in search of justice and peace in Truth and Love.

AMEN

Social Justice Secretariat

C.P. 6139 – 00195 ROMA PRATI – ITALY
+39 06689 77380 (fax)
sjs@sjcuria.org