

Emergenza Esclusi

The Emergency of the Socially Excluded

Edited by
M. Sánchez Sorondo



PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKSHOP • 5 DECEMBER 2013



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VATICAN CITY 2015

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**The Emergency of
the Socially Excluded**

Pontificiae Academiae Scientiarum Scripta Varia 123

The Proceedings of the Workshop on

Emergenza Esclusi

The Emergency of the Socially Excluded

5 DECEMBER 2013

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Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo



EX AEDIBVS ACADEMICIS
IN CIVITATE VATICANA • MMXV

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The opinions expressed with absolute freedom during the presentation of the papers of this meeting, although published by the Academy, represent only the points of view of the participants and not those of the Academy.

ISBN 978-88-7761-109-3

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PONTIFICIA ACADEMIA SCIENTIARVM • VATICAN CITY



Ustedes hoy empezaron a “romper” los esquemas porque mientras... los esquemas normales porque por ahí mientras algunos dormían, ustedes ya estaban caminando, estaban rompiendo los esquemas con los gritos. Mientras algunos por ahí estaban reunidos a ver como podían hacer para poder tener más dinero, más poder, o más influencias, ustedes estaban diciendo que el Amor es Servicio; y que lo único que vale en la vida es vivir para los demás. Yo soy un hombre, una mujer, que vivo para los demás!!! Lo que ustedes estaban gritando con su modo de ser, es que el que no vive para servir no sirve para vivir. Estamos cansados de gente que no sirva para vivir!!! Nosotros queremos vivir para servir!!! Y eso lo han dicho ustedes... Y eso es romper los esquemas. Y entonces, si ustedes ahora van a seguir a Jesús, quieren seguirlo al Amor, sepan que su vida va a ser siempre eso. Romper los esquemas artificiales que nos quieren imponer, romper los esquemas artificiales de un mundo fácil que nos vende la “fácil”: “hacela fácil”, “no te rompas”, “hacé la que te gusta”...

Desgrabación del mensaje del cardenal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, arzobispo de Buenos Aires, a los jóvenes, 9 de junio de 2007.

Transcription of the message of Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, Archbishop of Buenos Aires, to young people, 9 June 2007.







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Prefazione

Papa Francesco, mosso dall'istinto dello Spirito a favore degli ultimi, ha presentato al sottoscritto il suo concittadino Juan Grabois, l'avvocato che, col suo appoggio quando era Arcivescovo di Buenos Aires, è riuscito, insieme ai leader del movimento dei "cartoneros" della capitale argentina, a ottenerne il riconoscimento legale. Il seminario vuole mettere a fuoco l'emergenza di questi nuovi emarginati sociali: una massa umana che normalmente si insedia nelle periferie geografiche delle città creando alloggi informali e movimenti popolari con leader propri, persone capaci di trovare e organizzare per loro un lavoro parzialmente retribuito, ma normalmente non riconosciuto né dalle istanze governative né dai sindacati tradizionali. In tali "villas miseria", che, secondo i calcoli attuali, sono oltre 200.000 (Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Verso, Londra-New York 2006, p. 26) vivono circa 1,3 miliardi di persone (*The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*, UN-Habitat 2003, p. xxv) ma la cifra degli "esclusi" va tragicamente aumentando anche come conseguenza della crisi economica (UN-Habitat stima che nel 2030 saranno 2 miliardi, loc. cit.). D'altra parte, si pensa che il numero degli esclusi dal lavoro abbia ormai superato quello dei lavoratori rappresentati dai sindacati. Secondo l'OIL, il 70% dei lavoratori indiani e filippini e il 40% dei lavoratori latinoamericani e asiatici sono impiegati nell'economia informale (*Statistical update on employment in the informal economy*, ILO – Dept. of Statistics, June 2012, fig. 1). Mentre il fenomeno degli esclusi si fa evidente nelle metropoli dei paesi in via di sviluppo, non sono pochi gli analisti che sostengono la sua progressiva diffusione anche nei paesi sviluppati. In Europa, un'economia in cui il 25% dei lavoratori (e il 50% dei giovani) sono disoccupati, come nel caso della Grecia e della Spagna, non può dirsi al riparo da questo fenomeno.

Il desiderio di Papa Francesco è che il presente seminario studi le cause di questa nuova emergenza e prescriva un'agenda con possibili soluzioni. Si ipotizzino concause quali la robotizzazione del lavoro, la corruzione, la liberalizzazione dei mercati e la disciplina finanziaria imposta dal FMI e dalla Banca Mondiale a seguito della globalizzazione, la deindustrializzazione e riproduzione della povertà conseguente alla crisi e, in generale, l'insensibilità del capitalismo, sia dei governi che dei settori privati, che, mosso dal solo profitto, è incapace di riconoscere tale crescente emergenza. L'inclusione sociale passa anche per un'educazione dei leader popolari e della

gente delle “periferie geografiche ed esistenziali” per sostenerli nella lotta per il riconoscimento delle loro capacità e il bene comune. Il Cardinal Bergoglio ha creato a Buenos Aires la “vicaría” per le zone di emergenza, impiegando in essa tra i migliori talenti sacerdotali e laicali dell’Arcidiocesi. Siamo perciò chiamati da un imperativo ineludibile, umano e cristiano, a trovare soluzioni nuove di fronte all’“emergenza esclusi”.

■ **S.E. MONS. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO**

Preface

Motivated by the instinct of the Holy Spirit in favour of the neediest, Pope Francis introduced me to his countryman Juan Grabois, the lawyer who, with his support when he was Archbishop of Buenos Aires, was able to work with the leaders of the “cartoneros” movement of the Argentine capital to obtain legal recognition for them. The workshop will focus on the emergency of these new social outcasts: a human mass that normally settles on the geographical outskirts of cities, creating informal housing and popular movements with their own leaders, people who are able to find and organize partially paid work, but of a kind that is not normally recognized by government bodies or traditional trade unions. According to current calculations there are over 200,000 slums in the world today (Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Verso, London–New York 2006, p. 26), which accommodate a total of about 1.3 billion people (*The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*, UN-Habitat, 2003, p. xxv). However, also as a result of the economic crisis, the number of the “excluded” is tragically increasing (UN-Habitat estimates that the figure will reach 2 billion in 2030, loc. cit.). Besides, the number of people excluded from employment is estimated to have already overtaken that of workers represented by unions. According to ILO, 70% of Indian and Filipino workers and 40% of Asian and Latin American workers are employed in the informal economy (*Statistical update on employment in the informal economy*, ILO – Dept. of Statistics, June 2012, fig. 1). While the phenomenon of the excluded becomes evident in the cities of the developing world, several analysts maintain it will gradually spread to the developed countries. Europe, with an economy in which 25% of workers (and 50% of young people) are unemployed, as is the case of Greece and Spain, cannot be considered immune from this phenomenon.

Pope Francis wishes for our workshop to study the causes of this new emergency and prescribe an agenda with possible solutions. Supposed contributing factors include the robotization of work, institutionalized corruption, market liberalization and the financial discipline imposed by the IMF and the World Bank as a result of globalization, de-industrialization and reproduction of poverty resulting from the crisis, and, in general, the insensitivity of capitalism, both of governments and private sectors, which, moved by profit alone, are unable to recognize this growing emergency. The social inclusion of the excluded also entails training community leaders and people

of the “geographical and existential suburbs” to strengthen them in their struggle for the recognition of their capabilities and the common good. In Buenos Aires Cardinal Bergoglio had created a “vicaría” for emergency zones, employing the best talent, both religious and lay, of his Archdiocese. The unavoidable imperative, human and Christian, that we are called to is thus to find new solutions to the “emergency of the excluded”.

■ **H.E. MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO**

EVANGELII GAUDIUM

Pope Francis' thoughts on exclusion

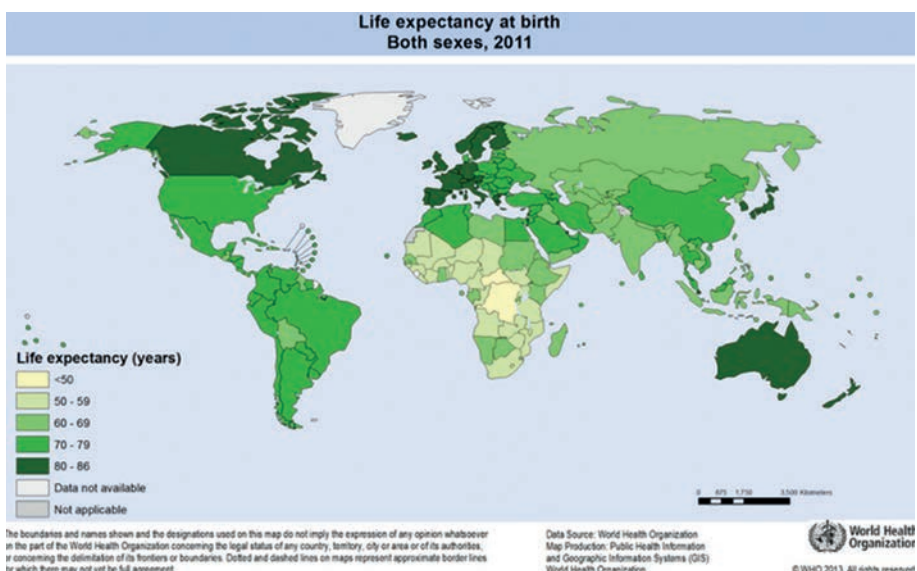
Pensieri di Papa Francesco sull'esclusione

52. In our time humanity is experiencing a turning-point in its history, as we can see from the advances being made in so many fields. We can only praise the steps being taken to improve people's welfare in areas such as health care, education and communications

L'umanità vive in questo momento una svolta storica che possiamo vedere nei progressi che si producono in diversi campi. Si devono lodare i successi che contribuiscono al benessere delle persone, per esempio nell'ambito della salute, dell'educazione e della comunicazione

At the same time we have to remember that the majority of our contemporaries are barely living from day to day, with dire consequences

Non possiamo tuttavia dimenticare che la maggior parte degli uomini e delle donne del nostro tempo vivono una quotidiana precarietà, con conseguenze funeste



A number of diseases are spreading

Aumentano alcune patologie

The hearts of many people are gripped by fear and desperation, even in the so-called rich countries

Il timore e la disperazione si impadroniscono del cuore di numerose persone, persino nei cosiddetti paesi ricchi

The joy of living frequently fades, lack of respect for others and violence are on the rise, and inequality is increasingly evident. It is a struggle to live and, often, to live with precious little dignity. This epochal change has been set in motion by the enormous qualitative, quantitative, rapid and cumulative advances occurring in the sciences and in technology, and by their instant application in different areas of nature and of life. We are in an age of knowledge and information, which has led to new and often anonymous kinds of power

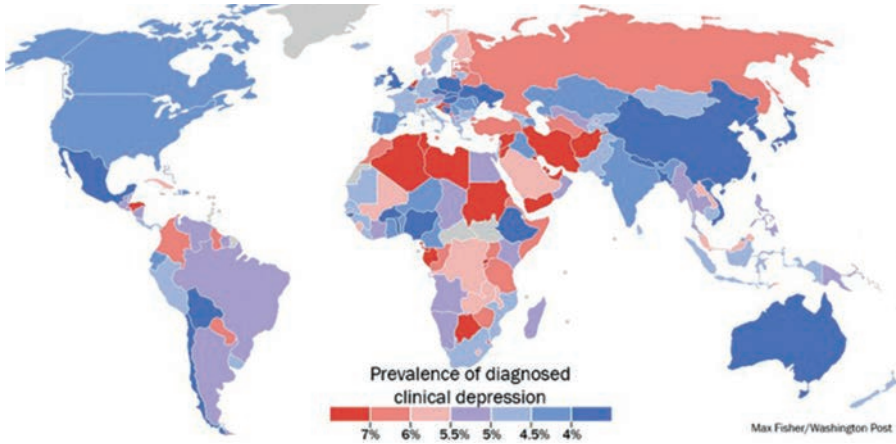
La gioia di vivere frequentemente si spegne, crescono la mancanza di rispetto e la violenza, l'inequità diventa sempre più evidente. Bisogna lottare per vivere e, spesso, per vivere con poca dignità. Questo cambiamento epocale è stato causato dai balzi enormi che, per qualità, quantità, velocità e accumulazione, si verificano nel progresso scientifico, nelle innovazioni tecnologiche e nelle loro rapide applicazioni in diversi ambiti della natura e della vita. Siamo nell'era della conoscenza e dell'informazione, fonte di nuove forme di un potere molto spesso anonimo

GLOBAL PROBLEM

- **~ 72 MILLION CHILDREN have no school and will never become literate.**
- **793 MILLION ADULTS worldwide cannot read: 64% are women**
- **10 Countries account for 72% of all illiterate adults**



Source: UNESCO 2010 Education For All Global Monitoring Report



53. Just as the commandment ‘Thou shalt not kill’ sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say ‘thou shalt not’ to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points?

Così come il comandamento “non uccidere” pone un limite chiaro per assicurare il valore della vita umana, oggi dobbiamo dire “no a un’economia dell’esclusione e della inequità”. Questa economia uccide. Non è possibile che non faccia notizia il fatto che muoia assiderato un anziano ridotto a vivere per strada, mentre lo sia il ribasso di due punti in borsa

This is a case of exclusion. Can we continue to stand by when food is thrown away while people are starving?

Questo è esclusione. Non si può più tollerare il fatto che si getti il cibo, quando c’è gente che soffre la fame

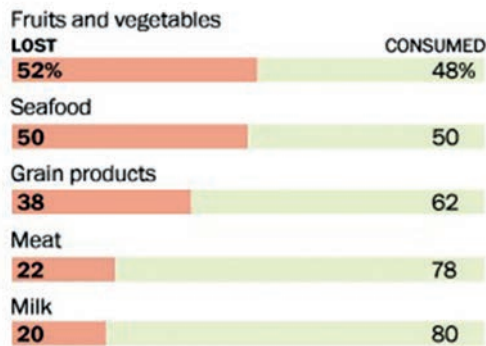
This is a case of inequality. Today everything comes under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest, where the powerful feed upon the powerless. As a consequence, masses of people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape

Questo è inequità. Oggi tutto entra nel gioco della competitività e della legge del più forte, dove il potente mangia il più debole. Come conseguenza di questa situazione, grandi masse di popolazione si vedono escluse ed emarginate: senza lavoro, senza prospettive, senza vie di uscita

Human beings are themselves considered consumer goods to be used and then discarded. We have created a ‘disposable’ culture which is now spreading. It is no longer simply about exploitation and oppression, but something new. ... The excluded are not the ‘exploited’ but the outcast, the ‘leftovers’

Down the drain

Food lost and consumed, in percent,
calculated collectively for the United States,
Canada, Australia and New Zealand

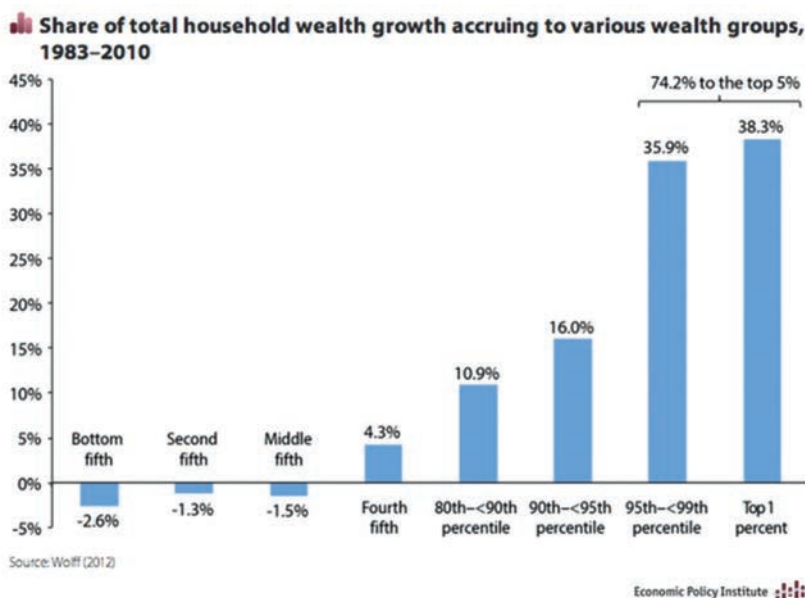


Sources: Natural Resources Defense Council, U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization | The Washington Post

Si considera l'essere umano in se stesso come un bene di consumo, che si può usare e poi gettare. Abbiamo dato inizio alla cultura dello "scarto" che, addirittura, viene promossa. Non si tratta più semplicemente del fenomeno dello sfruttamento e dell'oppressione, ma di qualcosa di nuovo. ... Gli esclusi non sono "sfruttati" ma rifiuti, "avanzi"

54. In this context, some people continue to defend trickle-down theories which assume that economic growth, encouraged by a free market, will inevitably succeed in bringing about greater justice and inclusiveness in the world. This opinion, which has never been confirmed by the facts, expresses a crude and naïve trust in the goodness of those wielding economic power and in the sacralized workings of the prevailing economic system. Meanwhile, the excluded are still waiting

In questo contesto, alcuni ancora difendono le teorie della "ricaduta favorevole", che presuppongono che ogni crescita economica, favorita dal libero mercato, riesce a produrre di per sé una maggiore equità e inclusione sociale nel mondo. Questa opinione, che non è mai stata confermata dai fatti, esprime una fiducia grossolana e ingenua nella bontà di coloro che detengono il potere economico e nei meccanismi sacralizzati del sistema economico imperante. Nel frattempo, gli esclusi continuano ad aspettare



55. The current financial crisis can make us overlook the fact that it originated in a profound human crisis: the denial of the primacy of the human person! We have created new idols. The worship of the ancient golden calf (cf. Ex 32:1-35) has returned in a new and ruthless guise in the idolatry of money and the dictatorship of an impersonal economy lacking a truly human purpose. The worldwide crisis affecting finance and the economy lays bare their imbalances and, above all, their lack of real concern for human beings; man is reduced to one of his needs alone: consumption

La crisi finanziaria che attraversiamo ci fa dimenticare che alla sua origine vi è una profonda crisi antropologica: la negazione del primato dell'essere umano! Abbiamo creato nuovi idoli. L'adorazione dell'antico vitello d'oro (cfr Es 32, 1-35) ha trovato una nuova e spietata versione nel feticismo del denaro e nella dittatura di una economia senza volto e senza uno scopo veramente umano. La crisi mondiale che investe la finanza e l'economia manifesta i propri squilibri e, soprattutto, la grave mancanza di un orientamento antropologico che riduce l'essere umano ad uno solo dei suoi bisogni: il consumo

56. While the earnings of a minority are growing exponentially, so too is the gap separating the majority from the prosperity enjoyed by those happy few. This imbalance is the result of ideologies which defend the absolute autonomy of the marketplace and financial speculation

Mentre i guadagni di pochi crescono esponenzialmente, quelli della maggioranza si collocano sempre più distanti dal benessere di questa minoranza felice. Tale squilibrio procede da ideologie che difendono l'autonomia assoluta dei mercati e la speculazione finanziaria

Debt and the accumulation of interest also make it difficult for countries to realize the potential of their own economies and keep citizens from enjoying their real purchasing power

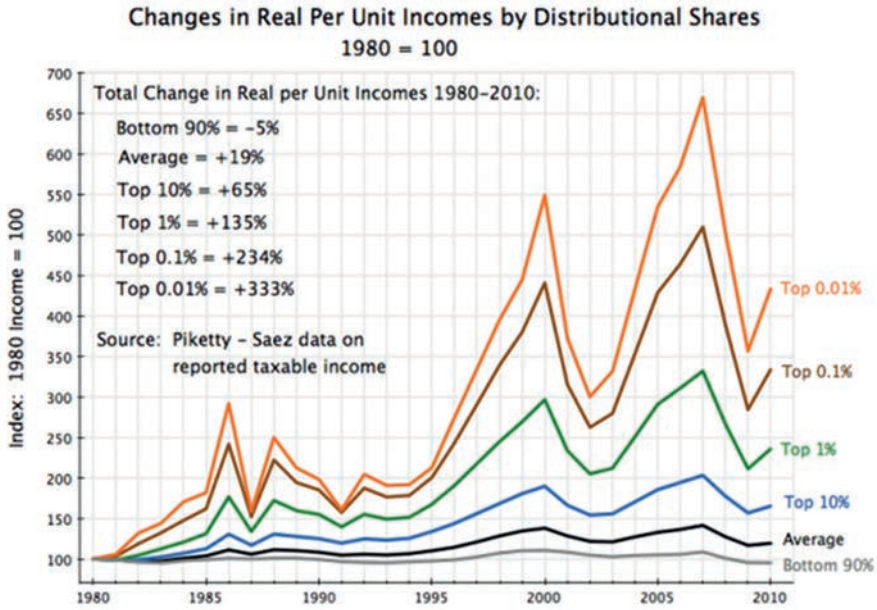
Inoltre, il debito e i suoi interessi allontanano i Paesi dalle possibilità praticabili della loro economia e i cittadini dal loro reale potere d'acquisto

To all this we can add widespread corruption and self-serving tax evasion, which have taken on worldwide dimensions

A tutto ciò si aggiunge una corruzione ramificata e un'evasione fiscale egoista, che hanno assunto dimensioni mondiali

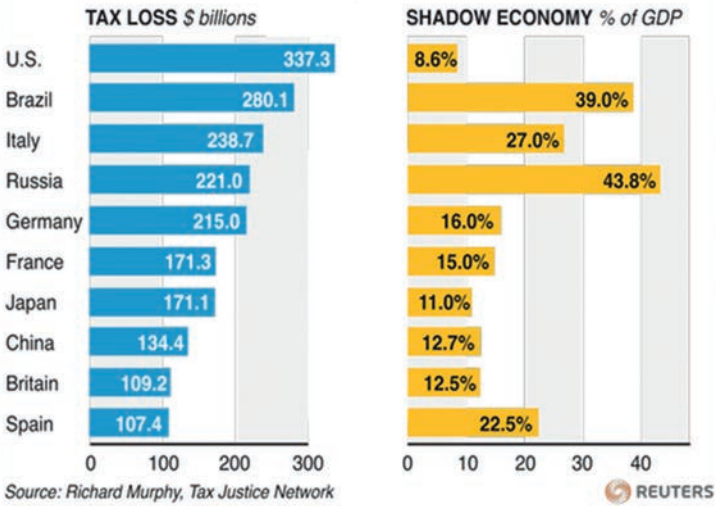
The thirst for power and possessions knows no limits. In this system, which tends to devour everything which stands in the way of increased profits, whatever is fragile, like the environment, is defenseless before the interests of a deified market, which become the only rule

La brama del potere e dell'aver non conosce limiti. In questo sistema, che tende a fagocitare



TOP TEN TAX EVADERS

Comparing a World Bank report to a Heritage Foundation report, British accountant Richard Murphy estimates global tax evasion at five percent of the global economy and found these ten countries had the largest absolute levels of evasion



tutto al fine di accrescere i benefici, qualunque cosa che sia fragile, come l'ambiente, rimane indifesa rispetto agli interessi del mercato divinizzato, trasformati in regola assoluta

204. We can no longer trust in the unseen forces and the invisible hand of the market. Growth in justice requires more than economic growth, while presupposing such growth: it requires decisions, programmes, mechanisms and processes specifically geared to a better distribution of income, the creation of sources of employment and an integral promotion of the poor which goes beyond a simple welfare mentality

Non possiamo più confidare nelle forze cieche e nella mano invisibile del mercato. La crescita in equità esige qualcosa di più della crescita economica, benché la presupponga, richiede decisioni, programmi, meccanismi e processi specificamente orientati a una migliore distribuzione delle entrate, alla creazione di opportunità di lavoro, a una promozione integrale dei poveri che superi il mero assistenzialismo

I am far from proposing an irresponsible populism, but the economy can no longer turn to remedies that are a new poison, such as attempting to increase profits by reducing the work force and thereby adding to the ranks of the excluded

Lungi da me il proporre un populismo irresponsabile, ma l'economia non può più ricorrere a rimedi che sono un nuovo veleno, come quando si pretende di aumentare la redditività riducendo il mercato del lavoro e creando in tal modo nuovi esclusi

211. I have always been distressed at the lot of those who are victims of various kinds of human trafficking. How I wish that all of us would hear God's cry: "Where is your brother?" (Gen 4:9). Where is your brother or sister who is enslaved? Where is the brother and sister whom you are killing each day in clandestine warehouses, in rings of prostitution, in children used for begging, in exploiting undocumented labour

Mi ha sempre addolorato la situazione di coloro che sono oggetto delle diverse forme di tratta di persone. Vorrei che si ascoltasse il grido di Dio che chiede a tutti noi: «Dov'è tuo fratello?» (Gen 4,9). Dov'è il tuo fratello schiavo? Dov'è quello che stai uccidendo ogni giorno nella piccola fabbrica clandestina, nella rete della prostituzione, nei bambini che utilizzi per l'accattonaggio, in quello che deve lavorare di nascosto perché non è stato regolarizzato?

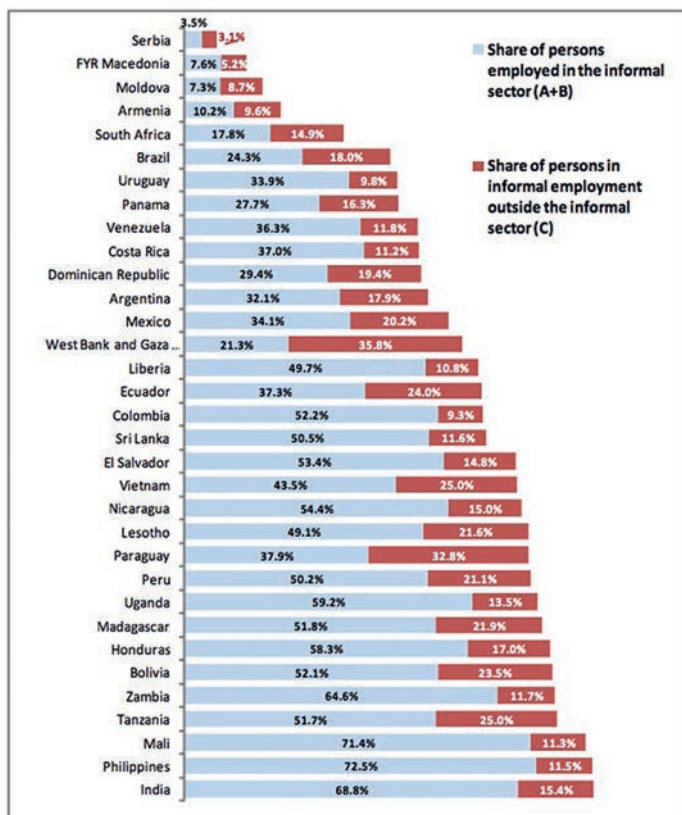
Let us not look the other way. There is greater complicity than we think. The issue involves everyone! This infamous network of crime is now well established in our cities, and many people have blood on their hands as a result of their comfortable and silent complicity

Non facciamo finta di niente. Ci sono molte complicità. La domanda è per tutti! Nelle nostre città è impiantato questo crimine mafioso e aberrante, e molti hanno le mani che grondano sangue a causa di una complicità comoda e muta

212. Doubly poor are those women who endure situations of exclusion, mistreatment and violence, since they are frequently less able to defend their rights. Even so, we constantly witness among them impressive examples of daily heroism in defending and protecting their vulnerable families

Doppiamente povere sono le donne che soffrono situazioni di esclusione, maltrattamento e violenza, perché spesso si trovano con minori possibilità di difendere i loro diritti. Tuttavia, anche tra di loro troviamo continuamente i più ammirevoli gesti di quotidiano eroismo nella difesa e nella cura della fragilità delle loro famiglie

Figure 1. Share of persons employed in the informal economy, latest year available



Note: The data refer to non-agricultural employment and the latest year available for each country.

Welcome Address

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Speakers and Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen.

A warm welcome to today's timely Workshop here at the historic Casina Pio IV. The Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace is honoured to join the Pontifical Academy of Sciences and the Università Lumsa and co-sponsor today's intensive reflection entitled "Emergenza Esclusi – the Emergency of the Socially Excluded".

Everyone knows how often Pope Francis speaks of the excluded, the marginalized, those on the periphery, those who are rejected and those who are in danger of being discarded. It is the Holy Father himself who urged Bishop Sánchez Sorondo to have this theme studied. From the very start, we recognize that the persons and populations, about whom we shall be speaking today, exist precariously – often with enormous sufferings – on the margins of *all* societies, not just the so-called "poor" or "developing" or "Southern" ones – the ones that used to be called "colonies" and then "III World" or even "IV World". No, unfortunately, practically all societies seem to have their growing populations of marginalized and rejected especially among the young and the old. Just yesterday, President Obama issued an overarching appeal, according to the *Associated Press*, to the Congress to correct **inequalities** (growing income gap) that make it harder for a child in the U.S.A. to escape poverty.¹

In the Gospel of Mark, we have a glimpse, among many others in the Gospels, of Jesus' encounter with the socially excluded. Mark (1:40-45) narrates a curious story of Jesus' healing of a leper. In Jesus' day, lepers represented the worst of social exclusion. They lived on the periphery of human existence in all senses: they were complete outcasts.

But when one of them came to Jesus and asked for healing and was healed, the Evangelist narrates the episode to show how Jesus ended up trading positions with the leper. For, while the leper, now healed, regained

¹ <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/obama-speech-focus-income-disparities> "The Pope himself spoke about this at eloquent length. "How can it be", he wrote, "that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points?"

inclusion and access into society, Jesus “*could no longer go into a town openly, but stayed out in the country*” (out in deserted places); although he would transform the state of exclusion he had assumed unto himself, as “*people came to him from every quarter*”. Jesus does not only transform the state of the excluded; he also transforms the *deserted places*, symbol of exclusion, into places of encounter and experience of God’s healing presence (locus of healing and salvation!).

If we had time, we could look at other unexpected reversals which took place when Jesus encountered, showed compassion, touched and transformed those who were by definition excluded: the victim in the story of the Good Samaritan; the Thief who is also now “Good” and has the name “Dismas”; the tax-collector Levi who became the apostle and evangelist Matthew; and the loveable Zaccheus; not to mention the prostitute on the verge of being stoned.

In the presence of these witnesses and with the testimony of the Gospels, then, let us ask our contemporary question: How, 2000 years later, may the Vicar of Christ, Pope Francis, and the Church of Christ he shepherds encounter the excluded, and lead and encourage those of other faiths, and many others of good will, to do likewise?

My Lord Bishop, Reverend Fathers, Distinguished Speakers, dear Ladies and Gentlemen, about two weeks ago, the Canadian sculptor Timothy Schmalz presented the Holy Father with the work which you see on the screen. Silently it proclaims: “Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head” (Mt. 8:20), and “Amen, I say to you: if you did it for one of the least of these brothers or sisters of mine, you did it for me” (cf. Mt. 25:40).

The Holy Father called the sculpture “beautiful” and “excellent” but, more importantly, for a good while he contemplated it silently, and then he touched it, and blessed it. The sculpture is entitled “Jesus the Homeless” and, hopefully, a life-size bronze will find its place somewhere in a street of Rome near here. The Gospel account of Jesus healing a leper and the visual art of the sculpture help me to open this intensive workshop on *the Emergency of the Socially Excluded* by providing visible and tangible images of exclusion, which are also evangelical, of the millions of men, women and children to whom the workshop theme refer and addresses.

But, the presentation of this sculpture of the *homeless Jesus* was not the only occasion that the Holy Father has seized to demonstrate his great pastoral solicitude for the homeless poor, and the socially excluded. Long before coming to the Vatican, in his homeland, Argentina, the then Cardinal Bergoglio used to carry out a special ministry towards the *cartoneros*.

Lately and as Pope Francis, the world was stunned with disbelief, when, at the news of the ill-fated attempt of some North Africans to cross the Mediterranean Sea into Europe, the Pope travelled to the Island of Lampedusa to honour the dead North Africans, to bless their watery grave, to console the survivors, and to awaken everyone. The Pope commended the Italian Coast Guard, but also cautioned the world about growing indifferent and insensitive to the phenomenon and plight of populations fleeing from adverse conditions of life. He spoke of the *globalization of indifference!*

Similarly, the whole world followed Pope Francis as he walked into the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro last July to communicate the very simple message of God's love for a part of the human family for whom exclusion by society seemed to also suggest an exclusion from God's love and care. For Pope Francis, it is important that the Christian proclamation of the mercy and tenderness of Christ reaches every person, regardless of their situation in life.² Indeed, not only has Pope Francis, even before he was elected a Pope, urged the Church to go the *periphery of human existence*; he has in recent times called on the Church to be poor in order to credibly address a message to the poor.

Now, Pope Francis who, at Lampedusa, warned the world about indifference and insensitivity to the condition of the poor and marginalized has also lately, in his Exhortation: *Evangelii Gaudium*, warned about an *economy of exclusion and inequality* which kills. Pope Francis cannot just yield to the same *globalized indifference* and insensitivity to the situation of the very many excluded people and their conditions of life. This underlies and accounts for the Holy Father's asking that the phenomenon of social exclusion be carefully studied, so that as both Church and as societies, we may learn to include the excluded, to reach out to those on the periphery and bring the marginalized into the embrace of community and fraternity.

So as I welcome all of you to this workshop and express great appreciation for the collaboration of the Università Lumsa in the planning of this workshop, I underline how deep must be the commitment which brings us here today: distinguished speakers and highly qualified participants. Clearly, for the Holy Father, and hopefully all of us too, this workshop is a response to and an expression both of *coherence between words and gestures*, which characterizes his ministry, and it is an expression of and a response to *the promptings of the love of Christ: "Caritas Christi urget nos"*.

² Private Audience with Don Julian Carron (*Communion and Liberation*), 11 October 2013.

With this biblical, artistic and spiritual introduction, and with gratitude to those who have come and those who have worked hard to prepare the day, may I invite us all to the coming hours of presentations, reflection and discussion. May the many excluded, who have been touched and healed by Christ and so become Saints, accompany us throughout the day and make it fruitful for the ministry of the Church and for repairing our broken societies.

■ **H.EM. CARD. PETER K.A. TURKSON**

Programme

GIOVEDÌ 5 DICEMBRE 2013	
8.30	<i>Benvenuto</i> Peter Kodwo Appiah Cardinal Turkson
8.40	<i>Capitalismo de exclusión, periferias sociales y movimientos populares</i> Juan Grabois
9.10	Discussione
9.20	<i>Coping with Climate Change</i> V. Ramanathan
9.50	Discussione
10.00	<i>Social Inclusion as a Universal Goal</i> Jeffrey Sachs
10.30	Discussione
10.40	<i>Le città educanti: tradizione e innovazione nella pedagogia urbana</i> Giuseppe Tognon
11:10	Discussione
11.20	<i>The Reading Brain and Fighting Poverty: Child by Child</i> Maryanne Wolf
11.50	Discussione
12.00	<i>L'approccio sociopolitico</i> Romano Prodi
12.30	Discussione
12.40	Discussione generale
13.30	Pranzo

List of Participants

Juan Grabois, co-founder of the Excluded Workers Movement and Confederation of Popular Economy Workers. Graduated both as lawyer (UBA) and as social scientist (UNQ). Teaches State Theory at Buenos Aires University (UBA) and Professional Practice at the Argentine Catholic University (UCA). He serves on a voluntary basis as advocate and counsellor for labour cooperatives, waste picker organizations, recovered factories, street vendor associations, slum dwellers, peasant communities, social movements and workers' unions. He is married with three children.

Romano Prodi earned economics and law degrees from the Catholic University in Milan in 1961 and did postdoctoral work at the London School of Economics. After serving as a professor of economics at the University of Bologna, he entered government as minister of industry in 1978. In 1996, after two productive stints as chairman of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (1982-89 and 1993-94), Prodi ran as lead candidate of The Olive Tree coalition, winning the general election and serving as the Prime Minister of Italy from 17 May 1996 to 21 October 1998 and from 17 May 2006 to 8 May 2008. He was also the tenth President of the European Commission from 1999 to 2004. On 14 October 2007, Prodi became the first President of the Democratic Party upon foundation of the party. On 12 September 2008, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon selected Prodi as president of the African Union-UN peacekeeping panel. He is currently serving as the UN Special Envoy for the Sahel. Prodi is also a member of the Club de Madrid, an international organi-

zation of former democratic statesmen, which works to strengthen democratic governance and leadership. Among his many publications are *Governare l'Italia, Manifesto per il cambiamento*; *L'Italia che vogliamo*; *Il capitalismo ben temperato*; and *Un'idea dell'Europa* (English ed. Blackwell/Polity, Oxford, 2000).

V. Ramanathan Distinguished Professor, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California at San Diego; UNESCO Professor of Climate and Policy, TERI University, Delhi, India. Dr. Ramanathan discovered the greenhouse effect of halocarbons, particularly, CFCs in 1975. Along with R. Madden, predicted in 1980 that global warming would be detected by 2000. In 1985, he led the first international NASA/WMO/UNEP assessment on the climate effects of non-CO₂ greenhouse gases and concluded that they are as important as CO₂ to global climate change. He was among a team of four which developed the first version of the US community climate model in the 1980s. In 1989, he led a NASA study that used satellite radiation budget instruments to conclude that clouds had a large global cooling effect. He led an international field experiment in the 1990s, with Paul Crutzen, that discovered the widespread Atmospheric Brown Clouds (ABCs) over S. Asia, which have devastating health and climate impacts. He developed light weight unmanned aerial vehicles to track pollution plumes from S. Asia, E. Asia and N. America. His recent finding is that mitigation of short lived climate pollutants (black carbon, methane, ozone and HFCs) will slow down global warming significantly during this century.

This proposal has now been adopted by the United Nations and 30 countries including USA and a new coalition, called as the, Climate and Clean Air Coalition is implementing mitigation actions for short lived climate pollutants. He now leads Project Surya which is mitigating black carbon and other climate warming emissions from solid biomass cooking in S. Asia and Kenya and is documenting their effects on public health and environment. Teaming up with California Air Resources Board and R. K Pachauri, he has initiated a World Bank sponsored project to reduce soot emissions from the transportation sector in India. He has won numerous prestigious awards including the Tyler prize, the top environment prize given in the US; the Volvo Prize; the Rossby Prize and the Zayed prize. In 2013, he was awarded the top environment prize from the United Nations, the Champions of Earth for Science and Innovation. He has been elected to the US National Academy of Sciences, American Philosophical Society, the Pontifical Academy by Pope John Paul II and the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. He is now serving in Pope Francis' Council for the Pontifical Academy of Sciences; and UNESCO awarded the Climate and Policy professorship at TERI Deemed University in New Delhi, India. He is co-organizer of a 2014 Vatican meeting on "Sustainable Humanity, Sustainable Nature" of social and natural scientists, philosophers and policy makers.

Jeffrey D. Sachs is the Director of The Earth Institute, Quetelet Professor of Sustainable Development, and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. He is Special Advisor to United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the Millennium Development Goals, having held the same position under former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He is Director of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network.

He is co-founder and Chief Strategist of Millennium Promise Alliance, and is director of the Millennium Villages Project. Sachs is also one of the Secretary-General's MDG Advocates, and a Commissioner of the ITU/UNESCO Broadband Commission for Development. He has been named one of Time Magazine's "100 Most Influential People in the World" twice, in 2004 and 2005 and has authored three New York Times bestsellers in the past seven years: *The End of Poverty* (2005), *Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet* (2008), and *The Price of Civilization* (2011). His most recent book is *To Move the World: JFK's Quest for Peace* (2013). Professor Sachs is widely considered to be one of the world's leading experts on economic development and the fight against poverty. His work on ending poverty, promoting economic growth, fighting hunger and disease, and promoting sustainable environmental practices, has taken him to more than 125 countries with more than 90 percent of the world's population. For more than a quarter century he has advised dozens of heads of state and governments on economic strategy, in the Americas, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Sachs is the recipient of many awards and honors, including membership in the Institute of Medicine, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Harvard Society of Fellows, and the Fellows of the World Econometric Society. Professor Sachs is also a frequent contributor to major publications such as the Financial Times of London, the International Herald Tribune, Scientific American, and Time magazine. Prior to joining Columbia, Sachs spent over twenty years at Harvard University, most recently as Director of the Center for International Development and the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade. A native of Detroit, Michigan, Sachs received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees at Harvard.

Giuseppe Tognon is Full Professor of History and Philosophy of Education at LUMSA University in Rome. He graduated and obtained his PhD in Philosophy at Scuola Normale Superiore (Pisa), studied in Paris (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes) and in Germany. He has been a Professor in Venice, Rome and Pisa. Between 1999 and 2006 he was Director of the Department of Primary Education in LUMSA's Faculty of Human Studies. Since 2007 he has been the Director of the Faculty's School of Doctorate on Education. His areas of interests are Modern Philosophy and Educational Models, Politics of/in Education, History of Universities. In Italy under Prodi's Government (1996-1998) he was Deputy Minister for University and Scientific and Technological Research. Between 2003 to 2008 he was Member of SNS International Advisory Committee in Pisa. He has been the Head of the Scientific Committee of the Bruno Kessler Foundation (FBK) and is currently the President of the Alcide De Gasperi Foundation in Trento.

Cardinal Peter Kodwo Appiah Turkson was ordained a priest on 20 July 1975 and holds a doctorate in Sacred Scripture from the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome. From 1975-1976 and 1980-1981 he served as staff member at St Theresa's Minor Seminary, and from 1981-1987 as staff member at St Peter's Major Seminary. On 6 October 1992 he was appointed Archbishop of Cape Coast and was ordained on 27 March 1993. He was served as President of the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference (1997-2005) and member of the Pontifical Commission for Methodist-Catholic Dialogue; Chancellor of the Catholic University College of Ghana; member of the National Sustainable Development, Ministry of Environment; member of the Board of Directors of the Central Regional Development Committee and treasurer of the Symposium

of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM). General Relator of the 2nd Special Assembly for Africa of the Synod of Bishops, 'The Church in Africa, at the Service of Reconciliation, Justice and Peace. "You are the salt of the earth, ... you are the light of the world"' (4-25 October 2009). Elevated to the cardinalate by John Paul II in the Consistory of 21 October 2003, he received the Title of S. Liborio. Member of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments; member of the Pontifical Councils for Promoting Christian Unity, the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church and XII Ordinary Council of the Secretariat General of the Synod of Bishops. He is the current President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace since his appointment by Pope Benedict XVI on 24 October 2009.

Maryanne Wolf is the John DiBiaggio Professor of Citizenship and Public Service, Director of the Center for Reading and Language Research, and Professor in the Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Development at Tufts University. She received her doctorate from Harvard University, where she began her work in cognitive neuroscience and developmental psycholinguistics on the reading brain, literacy's development, and dyslexia. Selected awards include Distinguished Professor of the Year (Massachusetts Psychological Association); the Teaching Excellence Award (American Psychological Association); the Distinguished Researcher Award; Fulbright Research Fellowship; Alice Ansara Award; the Norman Geschwind Lecture Award and Samuel Orton Award (International Dyslexia Association's highest honors); NICHD Shannon Award for Innovative Research, resulting in the RAVE-O reading intervention program; and Christopher Columbus Discovery Award for groundbreaking work in new territories of schol-

arship. The latter award was for her most recent work in Ethiopia and South Africa on the development of a digital learning experience that will bring literacy to children in remote regions of the world who have no access to schools. This cross-disciplinary work is done in conjunction with the MIT Media Lab, Georgia State University, and the Dalai Lama Center for Ethics and Transformative Values. The author of over 140 scientific publications,

Wolf wrote *Proust and the Squid: The Story and Science of the Reading Brain*, which has received numerous awards and is now translated into 13 languages. Within literacy areas, she serves on the Library of Congress Advisory Committee on Literacy Awards, and the Advisory Committee to the X Prize, whose new award will target Global Literacy, based in part on the recent work on literacy by her joint team in Ethiopia.

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Scientific Papers

CAPITALISMO DE EXCLUSIÓN, PERIFERIAS SOCIALES Y MOVIMIENTOS POPULARES

■ JUAN GRABOIS

*“Hablamos de opresores y oprimidos, pero no nos basta.
Luego añadimos incluidos y excluidos, y no nos basta.
Hoy tenemos que añadir otro matiz,
gráfico y duro, los que caben y los que sobran...”¹*
Jorge Mario Bergoglio

La entronización del lucro como medida del orden socioeconómico global, que Francisco caracteriza lapidariamente como un verdadero “culto al dios Dinero”, se erige como causa fundante de los fenómenos extremos de injusticia social que aquejan a nuestro mundo y atentan contra la dignidad humana. La destrucción de la perspectiva elemental de acceder a un techo digno y un trabajo decente obedece fundamentalmente a un sistema perverso que distribuye la producción y el consumo guiado exclusivamente por el imperativo de la ganancia. La doliente multitud de hermanos que se hacinan en las periferias urbanas sin posibilidad de insertare en el mercado laboral es la manifestación más acabada de este verdadero capitalismo de exclusión.

Desplazados del campo primero y expulsados de las fábricas después, los trabajadores excluidos ya superan numéricamente a los formales en muchos países del mundo. Se cuentan por millones los hombres, mujeres y niños que se ven forzados a ganarse el pan en condiciones de extrema precariedad, en labores insalubres, sin protección legal ni perspectivas de progreso. Las conquistas del movimiento obrero pasaron a ser patrimonio de una fracción reducida de los trabajadores mientras una creciente mayoría se va quedando al margen de toda protección legal o gremial. En África, Asia y América Latina, la informalidad afecta a más del 50% de los trabajadores ocupados. Las cifras en los países centrales aumentan vertiginosamente.

En el mismo sentido, los asentamientos informales van convirtiéndose en el hábitat predominante de la humanidad: son más de 200.000 en el mundo, albergan entre 1300 y 1500 millones de seres humanos² y reciben

¹ Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2008), Homilía en XI Jornada Arquidiocesana de Pastoral Social, Buenos Aires.

² UN-HABITAT (2003), *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlement.*

al 75% de los migrantes, refugiados o desplazados.³ El contraste de este paisaje con la suntuosidad de los núcleos enriquecidos no puede más que dar la voz de alerta sobre la inmoralidad de este orden de cosas y del riesgo permanente para la paz social que trae aparejada semejante inequidad.

Mientras tanto, la estructura socioeconómica del capitalismo global, “este sistema que hemos creado”, lejos de poner los avances de la ciencia y la técnica al servicio de la dignidad humana, arroja a los hombres a una nueva clase desposeída, no ya de los medios de producción sino incluso de la mera posibilidad de poner su fuerza de trabajo a disposición del capital, pues “*no son solamente explotados sino sobrantes y desechables*”.⁴ Estos hermanos nuestros, pese a ser privados de los beneficios de la globalización, son utilizados como materia prima de la “industria del descarte”⁵ y se les exprime hasta la última gota de sangre en esa verdadera “picadora de carne”, esa “fábrica de esclavos”⁶ en la que se han convertido las grandes ciudades modernas.

No se trata de situaciones aisladas. Se **debe resaltar el carácter estructural de la exclusión. De lo contrario, se cae en teorizaciones complacientes** que abordan esta situación como si se tratara de meras desviaciones del sistema y, que en última instancia, atribuye a los pobres la responsabilidad de su propia pobreza y se indignan frente a los casos extremos de explotación como si fueran producto exclusivo de la maldad de algunas organizaciones criminales. Ya decían los obispos latinoamericanos en Puebla que “*al analizar más a fondo tal situación, descubrimos que esta pobreza no es una etapa casual, sino el producto de situaciones y estructuras económicas, sociales y políticas*”.⁷ En el mismo sentido, la Asamblea Episcopal Argentina afirmó que “*la crisis económico-social y el consiguiente aumento de la pobreza tiene sus causas en políticas inspiradas en formas de neoliberalismo que consideran las ganancias y las leyes de mercado como parámetros absolutos en detrimento de la dignidad de las personas y de los pueblos*”.⁸

³ Mike Davis (2006), *Planet of Slums*, Verso, Londres.

⁴ V Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (2007), Documento Conclusivo, Aparecida.

⁵ Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2008), Homilía en Jornada Arquidiocesana de Pastoral Social, Buenos Aires.

⁶ Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2010), 3era Misa por una Sociedad sin Esclavos ni Excluidos, Buenos Aires.

⁷ III Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (1979), Documento Conclusivo, Puebla.

⁸ Documento Conclusivo de la 85ª Asamblea Plenaria de la Conferencia Episcopal Argentina (2003), San Miguel.

Es también importante comprender las diferencias que distinguen la cuestión social hoy de aquella conocida como la “cuestión obrera” durante el siglo XX. Los excluidos del presente no están bajo un régimen salarial donde la lucha por la justicia social se manifiesta en la puja distributiva entre el capital y el trabajo. Tampoco constituyen un “ejército de reserva industrial” que nutre de mano de obra a la Industria en los períodos expansivos y permite contener las demandas salariales. Estamos frente a un fenómeno cualitativamente distinto: en la actual matriz socioeconómica, no existe un proceso cíclico de integración al mercado sino **una galopante tendencia a la marginación de las nuevas generaciones empobrecidas**, condenadas a vivir de las sobras de “los satisfechos” en un subsistema residual que funciona como el “volquete existencial” que la civilización instala en la periferias urbanas para contener a los que “están de más”. He aquí el único derrame que han conocido los pobres de la Tierra después de varias décadas de neoliberalismo.

Los hombres y los pueblos, sin embargo, no han permanecido pasivos ante semejante orden de cosas. **La reacción frente a la exclusión que margina y explota fue la organización de numerosos movimientos populares a lo largo y ancho del mundo.** Con características distintas, sin una ideología precisa, con objetivos difusos, desde los rincones más oscuros del globo emergen organizaciones diversas que expresan en el trabajo, en la organización y en la lucha la convicción de que un mundo mejor es posible.

La militancia social, una de las expresiones más profundas de la solidaridad humana, empieza a manifestarse no en la asistencia de los excluidos como objetos de su filantropía sino fundamentalmente “*en el permanente acompañamiento en sus esfuerzos por ser sujetos de cambio y transformación de su situación*”.¹⁰ La espontánea rebeldía de la juventud frente a la injusticia se combina con profundos sentimientos de amor fraterno para engranar el motor de los nuevos movimientos sociales. Constituye asimismo **un antídoto contra la dialéctica de la denigración humana que divide a los hombres no sólo entre excluidos e integrados sino entre excluidos y excluyentes, entre heridos e indiferentes.**

En este sentido, en su paso por el Arzobispado de Buenos Aires, el entonces Cardenal Jorge Mario Bergoglio realizó una incesante labor de

⁹ Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2009), 2a Misa por una Sociedad sin Esclavos ni Excluidos, Buenos Aires.

¹⁰ V Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (2007), Documento Conclusivo, Aparecida.

acompañamiento no sólo de los villeros o de los trabajadores más sufridos sino de sus organizaciones y militantes. Ya como Sumo Pontífice, durante las Jornadas de Juventud de Río de Janeiro, ratifica esta línea de pensamiento instando a la juventud a no caer en la indiferencia egoísta, a “hacer lío”, a luchar contra la exclusión, sin dejarse manipular ni arrastrar a la violencia irracional, dando también protagonismo a los trabajadores excluidos y sus organizaciones.

En este punto, se hace necesario realizar una aclaración indispensable para comprender el espíritu de este documento. La descripción cruda y crítica de las condiciones de vida de nuestros hermanos más golpeados no deben invisibilizar las maravillas espirituales, artísticas, creativas que se producen cada día en las barriadas populares y entre los trabajadores excluidos. Denunciar como expresión de injusticia social la existencia de villas miseria no implica desconocer la riqueza, belleza, bondad y alegría de muchos asentamientos y mucho menos promover su erradicación. Del mismo modo, denunciar como expresión de injusticia la existencia de trabajo informal sin derechos no implica desvalorizar las actividades popularmente creadas y mucho menos promover su criminalización. Si olvidamos esto **corremos el riesgo de proyectar la indignidad objetiva de las circunstancias al hombre que las padece, reduciéndolo en el mejor de los casos a la condición de víctima y negándole su capacidad de reacción frente a la injusticia**. Muy por lo contrario, creo fervientemente que las fuerzas transformadoras están precisamente en esas periferias olvidadas, entre esos hermanos humillados que luchan por su dignidad.

Este texto se presenta como el humilde aporte de un militante popular latinoamericano que no pretende rigor científico o solidez académica sino expresar frente a la convocatoria de Francisco una visión nutrida en las ideas y prácticas de las organizaciones sociales en lucha sobre las causas de la exclusión, la realidad de las periferias y la naturaleza de los nuevos movimientos populares. La integración de estos tres grandes temas pueden ayudarnos esbozar un panorama más nítido que nos permita trabajar con mayor eficacia en la edificación de un mundo más justo, avanzar hacia esa globalización diferente a la que nos llaman los obispos en Aparecida o hacia ese “mundo mejor posible” que anhelamos.

1. La matriz excluyente del capitalismo financiero

La exclusión no es producto de la naturaleza ni de una fatalidad histórica. No es el resultado de un exceso de población, de limitaciones territoriales o de escasez de recursos. Es la consecuencia de estructuras humanas injustas, una aberración insoportable que surge de las entrañas del sistema econó-

mico-financiero global. El vertiginoso proceso de concentración de la riqueza en manos de un puñado de grupos transnacionales y la miseria escandalosa de millones de personas son hijos de la misma madre, frutos de la misma matriz. Se hace necesario, entonces, analizar el capitalismo en su fase actual, señalando sus características esenciales y describiendo los nuevos antagonismos sociales que genera.

Pese a la proliferación de estudios y estadísticas, los pensadores del mundo no logran elaborar una teoría coherente y muchos menos señalar formas de superación del actual paradigma. Los herederos de las tradiciones filosóficas ilustradas dominantes durante el siglo XX – el liberalismo y el marxismo – no han producido un diagnóstico certero. Esto es así, al menos en parte, porque las tensiones de clase propias del siglo pasado, sin terminar de desaparecer, abrieron paso a una nueva y más terrible contradicción social que no terminamos de dimensionar: la que existe entre integrados autosuficientes y excluidos descartables, tanto a escala de los Pueblos de cada nación como de las naciones entre sí.

El desquicio entre variables poblacionales (crecimiento demográfico, flujos migratorios) y socio-territoriales (distribución poblacional, posibilidades de empleo) se presenta a nivel de fenómeno percibido como la principal amenaza para la “estabilidad” social. Sobre esta base, desde los centros mundiales de poder reverdece una amplia variedad de ideologías neo-maltusianas, algunas más sutiles, otras más explícitas, que en última instancia pretenden responsabilizar a los pobres de su propia situación y hasta planificar científicamente su exterminio. No es osado decir que el hambre, el narcotráfico, la muerte de miles de migrantes, la indiferencia frente al sufrimiento humano más descarnado, son formas de **terrorismo de estado por omisión**. El concepto de “superpoblación” reaparece bajo distintos ropajes. Así, el hecho escandaloso de que en *este* sistema hay personas que sobran se eleva a la categoría de verdad absoluta.

Por su parte, los pueblos comienzan a buscar con mayor empeño una comprensión global de la situación, a ensayar respuestas a las nuevas preguntas que plantea la crisis en ciernes, a señalar no sólo las consecuencias sino las causas de la injusticia contemporánea. En cualquier caso, ya nadie habla del fin de la historia, las protestas se extienden en todo el globo y han desaparecido las pretensiones triunfalistas del “pensamiento único”. El recuerdo de los graves errores de la experiencia del socialismo real y el rechazo a un materialismo deshumanizante ya no basta para contener el profundo deseo de remplazar este sistema por otro más justo, fundado en valores que se encuentran bien lejos del mercado: la verdad, la justicia, el amor, y muy especialmente, la dignidad y los derechos de todos los seres humanos.

Resulta entonces imprescindible describir las relaciones entre la arquitectura económico-financiera global y la realidad de las masas excluidas. En este sentido, es posible señalar cinco aspectos que me parecen característicos de esta forma de globalización para analizarlas críticamente a la luz de sus devastadores efectos sociales.

1.1. La dictadura de la ganancia

La búsqueda de una mayor **productividad y eficacia**, siempre subordinada al imperativo de la ganancia, no es un rasgo nuevo del capitalismo pero se manifiesta en esta etapa histórica en la fragmentación física y geográfica del ciclo productivo: cada componente de una mercancía se produce donde sea más barato, es decir, donde se puedan pagar salarios más bajos y menos impuestos. De este modo, desocupación y sobreexplotación se convierten en variables interdependientes.

En el mismo sentido los avances tecnológicos, la robotización y la automatización no se aplican para aliviar el esfuerzo humano y permitir su desarrollo integral sino para reducir la “magnitud variable del capital” y aumentar los beneficios de los empresarios. La menor necesidad de trabajo humano no se traduce en una reducción de la jornada laboral sino en salarios más bajos y menos empleos.

Se produce así una dinámica caóticamente organizada en beneficio de unos pocos. Como dicen los obispos latinoamericanos *“En la globalización, la dinámica del mercado absolutiza con facilidad la eficacia y la productividad como valores reguladores de todas las relaciones humanas. Este peculiar carácter hace de la globalización un proceso promotor de inequidades e injusticias múltiples”*.¹¹

1.2. El triunfo de la usura

La globalización ha permitido la extensión insospechada de la posibilidad de obtener por medio de la **especulación financiera** ganancias infinitamente superiores a las que se obtienen por medio de la actividad productiva. La interconexión informática de los mercados permite que en cuestión de segundos una minúscula elite de especuladores haga negocios de magnitudes delirantes a partir de sutiles diferencias entre tasas de interés, tipos de cambio, cotizaciones bursátiles, precios de *commodities*, etc.

Las consecuencias de esta “realidad virtual” que domina las finanzas mundiales han sido señaladas en múltiples oportunidades, antes, durante y después de la crisis bancaria de 2009. La iglesia latinoamericana señala con

¹¹ Ibid.

acierto que “la actual concentración de renta y riqueza se da principalmente por los mecanismos del sistema financiero. La libertad concedida a las inversiones financieras favorecen al capital especulativo, que no tiene incentivos para hacer inversiones productivas de largo plazo, sino que busca el lucro inmediato en los negocios con títulos públicos, monedas y derivados”.¹²

Sin embargo, lejos de poner freno a esta verdadera timba global, los Gobiernos del mundo parecen rendir pleitesía a los grupos financieros, permitiendo el crecimiento de burbujas especulativas y descargando sobre los Pueblos los platos rotos. Así, en los últimos años presenciamos esta increíble paradoja: escandalosas sumas de fondos públicos se invertían en el “salvataje” de los grandes bancos mientras familias enteras padecían hambre, desempleo y desalojos. Francisco lo ha dicho con claridad: “la tragedia no son los bancos, son las familias”.

El crédito productivo o hipotecario, mientras tanto, lejos de estar al alcance de los sectores populares, se ha convertido en una pieza de museo. A los pobres, el sistema financiero les ofrece usurarios préstamos personales para incentivar el consumo compulsivo de bienes innecesarios o “banquitos de la buena fe” para financiar emprendimientos que sucumbirán frente a la competencia de la gran industria. Se ha hablado incluso de la “financieriación de la economía informal” como mecanismo de explotación indirecta mediante el cual se reabsorben los magros ingresos de los excluidos e incluso las transferencias de ingreso que reciben en algunos países.

1.3. La cultura del descarte

Miles de millones de hombres, mujeres y niños arrojados a la vorágine frenética del consumo dan testimonio del “éxito” del Capital en transformar la adquisición compulsiva de bienes y servicios banales, innecesarios y superfluos en la aspiración fundamental de la sociedad moderna. El impresionante desarrollo de sofisticadas técnicas de marketing publicitario, verdadera maquinaria de manipulación en masa, traspasa cualquier barrera ética o cultural bombardeando a los pueblos con espejitos de colores modernos mediante una **red ultraconcentrada de medios de comunicación**.

Lejos de premiar a los más productivos como sostiene el credo liberal, el sistema premia a los más mentirosos, a los que logran posicionar mejor sus **marcas**, los semidioses del capitalismo contemporáneo, la representación gráfica de las necesidades inoculadas por la propaganda incesante que nos reduce a una “servidumbre voluntaria”.

¹² Ibid.

Este fenómeno constituye una de las novedades más relevantes del capitalismo contemporáneo, es producto de una estrategia deliberada de los sectores económicos concentrados. Ya en 1955, Victor Lebow prescribía: “*Nuestra economía enormemente productiva... pide que hagamos del consumo nuestra forma de vida, que convirtamos la compra y uso de los bienes en un ritual, que busquemos nuestra satisfacción espiritual, nuestra satisfacción del ego, en consumo... necesitamos cosas consumidas, quemadas, reemplazadas y descartadas a paso acelerado*”.¹³

En efecto, las cosas duran cada vez menos, se vuelven obsoletas en cuestión de segundos, se desechan y se reemplazan a un ritmo asombroso (obsolescencia programada y percibida). Las consecuencias socioeconómicas de esta verdadera cultura del descarte son pasmosas: se aman las cosas y no las personas, nuestros hermanos son descartables igual que nuestros objetos, saturamos la tierra de basura y enterramos los residuos en las mismas periferias donde se confina a los excluidos.

La superación de la actual situación de desequilibrio planetario es impensable sin combatir esta cultura que reduce a las personas a meros consumidores convirtiendo una suerte de hedonismo obsesivo y excluyente en la filosofía obligatoria del buen ciudadano.

1.4. La usurpación de la Creación

Los recursos naturales, bienes comunes de la humanidad, deberían ser sustentablemente utilizados para la felicidad de los Pueblos, en un marco de profundo respeto por la Creación. Sin embargo, como dicen los obispos latinoamericanos, “*Las industrias extractivas internacionales y la agroindustria, muchas veces, no respetan los derechos económicos, sociales, culturales y ambientales de las poblaciones locales y no asumen sus responsabilidades*”.¹⁴ La Creación, cuyo cuidado es responsabilidad de la humanidad, ha sido usurpada por el capital.

Una de las consecuencias más evidentes es que el espacio rural ha dejado de ser el ámbito de desarrollo de los proyectos de vida de las familias campesinas para convertirse en el receptáculo de capitales insaciables que no dudan en destruir el ambiente, desplazar poblaciones enteras, arrasar con culturas milenarias para exprimir la renta de la naturaleza. El avance de los agronegocios, la megaminería contaminante, la deforestación salvaje, la pesca depredadora no responden a las necesidades de la humanidad sino a

¹³ Victor Lebow (1955), *The Nature of Postwar Retail Competition* (citado en el documental *The Story of Stuff*).

¹⁴ V Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (2007), Documento Conclusivo, Aparecida.

la voracidad capitalista. En general, los países exportadores de materia prima, lejos de desarrollarse gracias a sus riquezas naturales, se ven sometidos a las peores formas de dependencia y saqueo.

En el mismo sentido, las catástrofes derivadas del cambio climático afectan fundamentalmente a los más vulnerables, que pese a no utilizar combustibles fósiles en su vida cotidiana, pagan las consecuencias de las emisiones contaminantes de los países ricos y las grandes empresas. En los últimos años hemos evidenciado una serie de catástrofes climáticas que, sin excepción, golpearon principalmente a los excluidos. Para peor, ya es tendencia que después de semejantes tragedias el poder económico aprovecha el shock para el desarrollo de negocios inmobiliarios y grandes proyectos de “reconstrucción” que desplazan las poblaciones damnificadas. A esta perversa forma de hacer negocios con la tragedia de la ha llamado “capitalismo del desastre”.¹⁵

1.5. La claudicación del estado

Frente a esta globalización excluyente, los estados nacionales van cediendo su rol como garantes del bien común. Traicionan la herencia de generaciones de patriotas que amaron su suelo, entregando a sus pueblos a la voracidad del capital y la violencia del crimen organizado; la búsqueda de la armonía social deja de ser prioridad y los Gobiernos se contentan con contener a los sectores más postergadas, administrando la pobreza a través de planes miserables de asistencia; las clase dirigente se desliga de las más mínimas pautas éticas para venerar a la “diosa coima”, entregarse a la corrupción y asociarse a las mafias del narcotráfico, la trata de personas y el juego.

Los estados, gobernados de esta forma, aceptan dócilmente los planes de ajuste de organismos perversos como el Banco Mundial y el Fondo Monetario Internacional o el carroñeo por parte capital especulativo. Como dicen los obispos de Aparecida: “*Las instituciones financieras y las empresas transnacionales se fortalecen al punto de subordinar las economías locales, sobre todo, debilitando a los Estados, que aparecen cada vez más impotentes para llevar adelante proyectos de desarrollo al servicio de sus poblaciones, especialmente cuando se trata de inversiones de largo plazo y sin retorno inmediato*”.¹⁶

La claudicación del estado también se expresa en la privatización de bienes y servicios elementales: salud, educación, vivienda social, alimentos, transporte, saneamiento, agua potable, electricidad, comunicaciones. Al sub-

¹⁵ Naomi Klein (2007), *La doctrina del shock*, Ediciones Paidós, Buenos Aires.

¹⁶ Ibid.

ordinar la provisión de estos bienes y servicios a la lógica del mercado, se subvierten los criterios de equidad a punto tal que las cosas no llegan dónde más se necesita sino donde mejor se paga y para quien pueda pagarlo.

Existen, desde luego, excepciones a esta regla, países que resisten y sociedades que defienden la visión de que el estado debe ser una herramienta de, por y para el pueblo. Cada vez que esta resistencia se transforma en decisiones políticas populares, las represalias mediáticas, económicas y hasta militares sobre los gobiernos que las toman son brutales.

2. Desde las periferias: trabajadores excluidos y asentamientos informales

Los elementos enunciados en el apartado precedente configuran una matriz que se expresa en una compleja y multifacética sucesión de crímenes sociales aberrantes. Las distantes imágenes de un documental o las cifras frías de las estadísticas, principal punto de contacto entre “dos ciudades” permiten observar parcialmente el fenómeno sin correr riesgos, sin embarrarse, sin tocar la carne viva que muchas veces está a la vuelta de la esquina. Es necesario penetrar en el corazón de la injusticia, descender al subsuelo de la Patria humana, para “contemplar los rostros de quienes sufren”, para encontrarnos con nuestros hermanos más golpeados en su dignidad, con nuestra propia carne mancillada, y comprender la insoslayable obligación de cambiar este orden de cosas.

La guerra, el hambre, el analfabetismo, los desastres ambientales, la esclavitud moderna, el tráfico humano, la explotación infantil, la violencia criminal, la represión institucional, las adicciones, las pandemias, las violaciones más aberrantes de la dignidad humana, afectan principalmente a los últimos de la fila, a los descamisados del presente, los que fueron expulsados de la fiesta consumista, los marginados de la “cultura del bienestar”: los excluidos. Entre ellos, **los que más sufren son los dos “polos de exclusión” que señala Francisco insistentemente: los niños y los ancianos.**

El proceso de exclusión determina un mundo atravesado por una dualidad evidente: “centros” para los integrados, que ofrecen que ofrecen seguridad, comodidad y “satisfacción” a quienes se zambullen en el festín de la abundancia y se enlistan en el “ejército de los distraídos”;¹⁷ “periferias” para los excluidos, vulnerables, donde la vida es dura, difícil, llena de privaciones. ¡Tenemos que ir a las periferias para reencontrarnos como pueblo!

¹⁷ Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2012), 5a Misa por una Sociedad sin Esclavos ni Excluidos, Buenos Aires.

El proceso de exclusión se asemeja pavorosamente al tratamiento de los residuos. La civilización global arroja a los que sobran a un enorme basural social donde se “gestiona” el residuo humano. Esta gestión, además de neutralizar para que no estorbe, brinda muchas “oportunidades de negocio” laterales: la administración del “relleno sanitario”, el “reciclado” del residuo humano reutilizable, la “destrucción” de los residuos que se consideran peligrosos. Sin embargo, dentro de esos infernales botaderos de personas, junto con situaciones terribles de degradación humana, vemos todos los días ejemplos heroicos de resistencia, solidaridad y amor fraterno.

Hay dos dimensiones en las que se desarrolla centralmente la existencia de nuestros compañeros más humildes en su lucha por el techo digno y el trabajo decente en las periferias sociales modernas: la dimensión laboral y la dimensión territorial. Paradójicamente, son campos cada vez más unificados. Se ha dicho incluso que “el barrio es la nueva fábrica” porque en gran medida, el lugar de trabajo de millones de excluidos se ha trasladado al hogar o los espacios públicos.

2.1. La dimensión laboral de la exclusión: trabajadores excluidos

A veces, la periferia llega al centro, lo “invade” para llevarse una partecita de su bienestar a sus hogares humildes, se adueña del espacio público por algunas horas, como para recordarle a los satisfechos que existe otro mundo y que, tarde o temprano, va a emerger.

Cada día, en todas las ciudades del mundo, cualquiera que no quiera hacerse el distraído puede verlos, con amor, con temor o con desprecio: cartoneros, vendedores ambulantes, mensajeros, trapitos, limpiavidrios, feriantes. Caminando, en bicicleta, a caballo, en camiones destartados, en familia, con los hijos a cuestas o a veces tan chicos que apenas se ven las cabecitas asomando detrás de los bolsos llenos de cartón. Van a ganarse el pan de cada día con su trabajo, con el trabajo que el sistema les dejó. Son muchos, es cierto, pero son sólo la punta del iceberg, la vanguardia visible de un fenómeno que se oculta en su verdadera magnitud en los basurales, en talleres clandestinos, en maquiladoras, en las grandes ferias, y fundamentalmente, en el interior de los asentamientos informales.

El trabajo asalariado, registrado y estable ya no es la relación laboral predominante en las modernas urbes ni una perspectiva realista para los trabajadores. Los obreros industriales son una minoría decreciente y el creciente sector de servicios no ofrecer puestos suficientes para compensar el déficit de empleo. En cualquier caso, **las formas institucionalizadas de trabajo no logran absorber ni a la mitad de las personas con necesidad de trabajar y la tendencia se profundiza**. De cada dos, una se queda afuera.

Sobra. Está de más. Es superflua. Sin embargo, pese a estar excluidas de las oportunidades de la globalización, son las más expuestas a sus amenazas.

Es evidente que el sistema no ofrece posibilidades de empleo productivo para todos los habitantes del planeta en las condiciones de dignidad adquiridas al precio de ríos de sangre. Son precisamente estas condiciones laborales las que los ideólogos del neoliberalismo llamaron a flexibilizar con las consecuencias que todos conocemos. Ahora, pese al retroceso de los estándares legales, pese a esa nivelación hacia abajo de las condiciones laborales hasta pisos de precarización antes impensables, se hace evidente que el problema no son las regulaciones sino algo más profundo: este sistema no integra en condiciones elementales de humanidad a todos los que vivimos bajo su influjo.

De esto se derivan dos posibles conclusiones: sobra gente o el sistema no funciona. Desde una perspectiva cristiana, o de un humanismo básico, la primera de las posibilidades queda éticamente descartada – aunque bajo distintas formas, ha dominado el pensamiento de la civilización occidental desde la Revolución Industrial hasta hoy.

Uno de los “clásicos” del pensamiento excluyente es sin duda Thomas Malthus. El pensador británico asentaba su principio de la población en la idea de que existen límites objetivos de espacio y alimento para la reproducción de la vida humana. De esto se derivan una serie de recetas políticas que son, sin duda, un muestrario de la crueldad en masa como la esterilización compulsiva o directamente el exterminio. De manera sutil, ese pensamiento continúa vigente en el establishment internacional.

En el capítulo XXIII de *El Capital*, Karl Marx introduce el tema de la superpoblación y desarrolla una formidable crítica al pensamiento maltusiano. Marx indica que en el proceso de acumulación de capital la demanda de trabajo decrece progresivamente a medida que aumenta el capital global. **El sobrante poblacional – que Malthus suponía un producto de la reproducción “geométrica” de pobres lujuriosos e irresponsables – nunca es absoluto sino relativo a las necesidades del capital.**

La existencia de una superpoblación relativa, pensaba Marx, no sólo es funcional al sistema sino que opera como palanca del proceso de acumulación capitalista. Los sobrantes integran un “ejército industrial del reserva” que responde a la mayor demanda de trabajo en los periodos de alza del ciclo industrial y mantiene la presión sobre la oferta de trabajo inhibiendo las demandas salariales por competencia entre los propios obreros. En el mundo globalizado, sin embargo, aun en los periodos de mayor crecimiento, un segmento creciente de la población permanece desintegrado del proceso productivo formal.

Así lo percibieron distintos pensadores del llamado tercer mundo. José Nun, sociólogo argentino, desarrolla el concepto de “masa marginal”.¹⁸ Sostiene que el capital supera su etapa competitiva para entrar en una fase monopolística. En ese contexto, se desarrolla esta categoría particular de la superpoblación relativa que se diferencia de las restantes por una razón: no forma parte de ninguna reserva industrial, es población que no resulta funcional al proceso de acumulación capitalista; por el contrario, puede convertirse en una seria amenaza a su estabilidad. De esta forma, el sistema se enfrenta al desafío de gestionar sus “residuos poblacionales” para que no estorben, a veces reprimiendo, a veces conteniendo. En algún punto, tanto el control policial como la distribución del ingreso “*figura entre los faux frais [gastos varios] de la producción capitalista, gastos que en su mayor parte, no obstante, el capital se las ingenia para sacárselos de encima y echarlos sobre los hombros de la clase obrera y de la pequeña clase media*”.¹⁹

En este orden de ideas, el pensador uruguayo Metol Ferrer introduce el concepto de “desocupación disfrazada”. Ilustrando la situación con el caso uruguayo, afirma que el escaso trabajo social invertido en el agro y los altos precios recibidos, permiten “*un subsidio a una gran parte del resto de la población activa del país, nos ha permitido mantener un ejército de consumidores que no eran reales productores.*” De esta forma, paradójicamente, “*la plus valía de la espontaneidad de nuestra producción ha permitido aguantar la minus valía de consumidores no trabajadores. Claro que a medida que estos últimos aumentarán proporcionalmente, el Edén se transformaría insensiblemente en Infierno*”.²⁰

Existe, sin embargo, un circuito económico periférico con “vida propia”, una verdadera economía residual o “pericapitalista”, que explica mucho mejor que los subsidios o la represión la forma en la que subsisten los excluidos. En esta esfera las tendencias individualistas propias del sistema, la tentación del delito, el clientelismo político y el poder de las mafias se enfrenta a la vocación solidaria de los humildes y a las organizaciones populares en la lucha cotidiana por el territorio, los recursos, el espacio público, las políticas sociales y fundamentalmente el destino de las personas y el futuro de los pueblos (ver 3.2 de este artículo: “La Economía Popular”).

¹⁸ José Nun (1999), “El futuro del empleo y la tesis de la masa marginal”, *Desarrollo Económico*, Vol. 38, No. 152.

¹⁹ Karl Marx (1999), *El Capital*, tomo I, cap. 23, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires.

²⁰ Alberto Methol Ferre (1959), *La crisis del Uruguay y el Imperio Británico*, APL, Buenos Aires.

La situación actual de los trabajadores es incomprensible sin analizar las características de esta esfera económica sumergida y la situación de los que en ella se ganan el pan. Frai Betto califica a los trabajadores este sector como “pobretariado” y lo considera el sujeto social más dinámico de esta etapa histórica.

En este trabajo, caracterizamos a los compañeros que fueron marginados del mercado laboral institucionalizado como los “trabajadores excluidos”, los que no tienen derechos, los que el estado no ve, los que los empresarios desconocen, los que no participan directamente de la moderna producción, pero que no obstante, no pierden su carácter de trabajadores.

La situación de los trabajadores excluidos se inscribe en el proceso más amplio del retroceso nacional, regional e internacional de lo que alguna vez conocimos como clase obrera y que golpea incluso a los compañeros con empleos formales. Sin embargo, en mi opinión, la exclusión laboral implica un grado más agudo de opresión donde se acumulan todas las fracturas del mundo del trabajo: precarización, informalidad, externalidad e infraproductividad.

2.2. La fractura de derechos: precarización

Dejemos de lado, por un momento, la aspiración de un mundo sin explotación del hombre por el hombre, donde cada cual reciba según su necesidad y aporte según su capacidad; y pensemos apenas un mundo donde cada cual pueda ganarse el pan con su trabajo en condiciones mínimas de dignidad ¿Cuál es el piso de derechos al que debemos aspirar?

Para responder esta pregunta, la OIT desarrolló el concepto de “trabajo decente” y lo definió como *“un trabajo que sea productivo y que produzca un ingreso digno, seguridad en el lugar de trabajo y protección social para las familias, mejores perspectivas de desarrollo personal e integración a la sociedad, libertad para expresar opiniones, organización y participación en las decisiones que afectan sus vidas, e igualdad de oportunidad y trato”*.

Llamativamente, la OIT no publica la proporción de trabajo decente sobre el total de la población mundial económicamente activa. Sin embargo, todos los indicadores que responden a distintas facetas de esta definición arrojan cifras pasmosas de incumplimiento de las condiciones que definen al trabajo decente. No es osado decir que, incluyendo a la población rural, **más del 75% (2200 millones) de los trabajadores del mundo, el “preariado”, están sometidos a alguna forma de precariedad laboral.** Veamos, sin embargo los datos “oficiales” más alarmantes:

- Casi el 30% de los trabajadores del mundo (más de 910 millones) sobrevive junto con sus familias con unos ingresos inferiores al umbral de pobreza de dos dólares diarios.²¹
- Casi el 50% de los trabajadores del mundo (más de 1500 millones) son trabajadores con “empleos vulnerables”.²²
- 168 millones de niños trabajan en el mundo.²³
- 21 millones de personas están sometidas a trabajo esclavo.²⁴
- El desempleo juvenil trepa al 50% en los países desarrollados.

Dicho esto, es necesario hacer la siguiente salvedad: no todo trabajo precario es informal. Entre los trabajadores registrados, incluso de las grandes empresas, existen innumerables formas de flexibilización institucionalizadas que implican altos niveles de precariedad.

2.3. La fractura institucional: informalidad

La OIT tampoco aporta datos globales sobre trabajo informal pero podemos estimar que ronda en 40%, con una gran disparidad entre países y regiones: el 48% de los trabajadores africanos del norte, el 72% de los africanos subsaharianos, el 51% de los latinoamericanos y el 65% de los asiáticos se encuentran en condiciones de informalidad.²⁵

No es fácil definir qué es el trabajo informal: en 2003 la *Conferencia Internacional de Estadística Laboral* logra acordar un criterio unificado que se resume en la siguiente forma “el trabajo informal es la suma de los empleos del sector informal con más los empleos informales en otros sectores”.

De esto se desprende la existencia de dos unidades de análisis, una referida al *trabajo* en sí mismo cuando carece de “protección legal y beneficios laborales” (trabajo informal) y otra a las *unidades productivas* donde se desarrolla cuando éstas no están “correctamente registradas conforme a las leyes nacionales” (sector informal). Trabajo informal y sector informal, son, “oficialmente”, las variables cuantitativas de la exclusión laboral.

Así las cosas, el mundo del trabajo informal está compuesto según la OIT por seis categorías laborales: (i) trabajadores por cuenta propia em-

²¹ *Global Employment Trends* (2010), OIT, Ginebra.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Medir los progresos en la lucha contra el trabajo infantil* (2013), OIT-IPEC, Ginebra.

²⁴ *Estimación Mundial sobre el Trabajo Forzoso* (2012), OIT, Ginebra.

²⁵ *Statistical update on employment in the informal economy* (2012), OIT, Ginebra.

pleados en sus propias empresas del sector informal, (ii) empleadores dueños de sus propias empresas del sector informal, (iii) trabajadores familiares auxiliares, independientemente de si trabajan en empresas del sector formal o informal, (iv) los miembros de las cooperativas de productores informales; (v) los trabajadores que tienen empleos informales en empresas del sector formal, empresas del sector informal o los trabajadores domésticos asalariados empleados por hogares; (vi) los trabajadores por cuenta propia dedicados a la producción de bienes exclusivamente para el propio uso final en su hogar.²⁶

Esta clasificación invisibiliza aspectos realmente importantes vinculados a las relaciones sociales del trabajo que se estructuran en el sector informal. El problema no es la informalidad en tanto falta de registración del trabajo, no estamos frente a un problema de formas sino de fondo: el problema es la exclusión y la explotación salvaje del ser humano.

2.4. La fractura en la relación laboral: externalidad y pseudoautonomía

Tal vez la menos estudiada de las fracturas en el mundo del trabajo tiene que ver con la forma en la que se relacionan las personas en los procesos económicos residuales. Hemos dicho que el trabajo asalariado, en relación de dependencia, deja de ser la forma típica de estructuración social y aparecen otros fenómenos como la masificación del trabajo por cuenta propia, el trabajo doméstico y el trabajo a domicilio, la proliferación de pequeñas y medianas empresas “clandestinas”, los “programas de empleo” con contraprestación laboral sin derechos, etc. Estos fenómenos expresan la externalización de una parte importante de la fuerza de trabajo que, si bien excluida de los derechos, participa de los procesos de acumulación de capital.

La externalidad permite a los sectores concentrados desligarse de la responsabilidad laboral (y moral) para con los trabajadores excluidos. Si no hay un trabajador al que se le está “robando” la plusvalía ya no hay una “deuda” con ese trabajador pues no aporta nada a la creación de riqueza ni la obtención de ganancia.

En ese contexto de irresponsabilidad absoluta de las grandes empresas para con una enorme fracción de los trabajadores reverdecen las formas más aberrantes de explotación que implican una **reaparición de la coerción directa como dispositivo de poder patronal**. El trabajo esclavo es, en este contexto, la forma más dramática de esta externalización. La sangre de los costureros esclavizados, incluso niños, aporta a la cadena de valor de las

²⁶ *Directrices sobre una definición estadística de empleo informal* (2003), OIT, Ginebra.

grandes marcas sin que estas sientan la más mínima responsabilidad por la situación de *sus* trabajadores.

Otra derivación, tal vez más masiva, del proceso de externación es la pseudoautonomía: una inmensa cantidad de trabajadores jurídicamente autónomos pero económicamente dependientes. Recicladores, vendedores ambulantes, microempresarios y una gran diversidad de oficios que se realizan por cuenta propia integrando las cadenas de valor de las grandes empresas.

2.5. La fractura de productividad: economía residual (o popular)

En gran medida, el trabajo precario responde asimismo al desarrollo combinado, desigual, fragmentario de distintos sectores productivos con distintas reglas, o dicho de otro modo, distintas velocidades. A grandes rasgos, podemos distinguir tres sectores:

1. *Moderno y transnacional* (monopolios altamente desarrollados) Compuesto principalmente por una red de empresas transnacionales y sus subsidiarias, unas 147 empresas poseen el 40% del control accionario de más de 49.000 empresas transnacionales a nivel mundial.²⁷ Ocupan a una porción pequeña de la mano de obra, con salarios elevados y plenos derechos laborales. Aquí trabaja una verdadera “aristocracia obrera”.
2. *Nacional y local* (empresas competitivas de desarrollo Intermedio): La mayor parte de los empleos son, sin embargo, producto de una gran cantidad de PyMEs orientadas al mercado interno o a proveer servicios tercerizados a las grandes empresas. A pesar de una gran heterogeneidad en su nivel de desarrollo, están siempre subordinadas a las decisiones macroeconómicas de los sectores monopolísticos. Ofrecen en general condiciones de trabajo asalariado precario, inestable, tercerizado y parcialmente registrado.
3. *Residual y popular* (unidades de trabajo infra-productivas): Se trata de emprendimientos individuales o colectivos con mínima tecnología, baja productividad, ingresos inadecuados para los trabajadores y condiciones insalubres de labor. La forma en que se estructuran las relaciones sociales en este sector es un reflejo precario de las relaciones capitalistas de trabajo y en algunos casos, de formas pre-capitalistas remozadas. Por su carácter periférico podemos llamarlo “peri-capitalismo”. Existen en menor proporción valiosas formas de organización solidaria del trabajo impulsadas por los movimientos populares.

²⁷Vitali S, Glattfelder JB, Battiston S (2011), *The Network of Global Corporate Control*, PLoS ONE 6, Zurich.

Para finalizar, me parece interesante introducir el concepto de “subsunción formal”. Indica que hasta las formas económicas más precarias están subsumidas en el proceso global de acumulación capitalista. Sobran ejemplos de grupos enteros de trabajadores absolutamente pauperizados que forman parte de las cadenas de producción y distribución de empresas transnacionales. Además, los mecanismos de apropiación indirecta de la renta (préstamos usurarios, altos precios, impuesto al consumo, etc.) permiten al capital reabsorber el “PBI” de la economía residual e incluso “recuperar” las transferencias directas del estado a los sectores empobrecidos.

2.6. La dimensión territorial: asentamientos informales

El 25% de los hombres, mujeres, niños y ancianos que habitan nuestro planeta duerme en una casita de chapas oxidadas, cartones, alguna lona vieja, tablones de madera, bloques de hormigón o tal vez algunos ladrillos si tiene suerte. Esa casita que construyeron con esfuerzo, manos curtidas y esperanza, se asienta seguramente rodeada de basura, sin desagües ni cloacas, sobre un lote minúsculo que de una u otra forma lograron ocupar sobre un basural, en un terreno abandonado, junto a una vía ferroviaria, a la orilla de un río contaminado o bajo una ruidosa autopista. En los asentamientos informales, **hogar de 1.500 millones de hermanos nuestros**, cada proyecto de vida está fuertemente limitado por misérrimas condiciones materiales y ambientales impuestas por el capitalismo de exclusión.

Durante la primera década del nuevo milenio, en algún rincón del mundo, un recién nacido o tal vez un campesino desplazado marcó un hito histórico: por primera vez desde que apareció el hombre sobre la faz de la tierra, la ciudad es el ámbito geográfico humano predominante. **Más del 50% de la población mundial vive en zonas urbanas y la tendencia se acelera día tras día.**²⁸ Aquel bebé nació o aquel migrante se instaló, casi con certeza, en un asentamiento informal. Es probable que el nuevo ciudadano, uno de cada millón que se suma a los asentamientos cada semana, engrose las estadísticas del Banco Mundial sobre pobreza que hoy estiman en 3500 millones las personas que sobreviven con menos de dos dólares diarios. Muy probablemente también se integre en alguna de las categorías de la precariedad laboral y se convierta en otro trabajador excluido.

Es probable, pero no seguro. Es que en el asentamiento, aunque para el ojo civilizado es homogéneo, existe una fuerte estratificación interna. No todos los que viven en los asentamientos son pobres o trabajadores. Tampoco todos

²⁸ Mike Davis (2006). *Planet of Slums*, Verso, Londres.

los asentamientos están dominados por delincuentes, narcotraficantes o gánsteres. Los estereotipos creados externamente reducen la complejidad del asentamiento a las necesidades políticas del poder. En realidad, el asentamiento refleja, sin maquillajes, el orden injusto del capitalismo contemporáneo.

Los asentamientos informales se masificaron con la revolución industrial. Ya sea dentro de las ciudades o en sus periferias, una variada topología de urbanización precaria se convirtió en la morada de la naciente clase obrera. El trabajo asalariado absorbía masas de migrantes al interior de cada nación a medida que avanzaba el proceso de industrialización. Con el correr de los años y las luchas populares por la justicia social, los asentamientos se transformaron en barrios obreros y la calidad habitacional de los trabajadores mejoró significativamente.

Sin embargo, con la irrupción del neoliberalismo, la desindustrialización y los programas de ajuste estructural, el panorama cambió significativamente. **El proceso de urbanización se desacopló del desarrollo industrial.** Las ciudades siguieron creciendo, la población urbana se disparó, surgieron periferias de las periferias, pero ya no existía un mercado de trabajo pujante que absorbiera a los recién llegados. No es el aumento en la oferta de empleo urbano sino la reproducción ampliada de la exclusión social lo que explica el crecimiento de los asentamientos informales.

Hay, sin duda, factores de atracción y arraigo inherentes al asentamiento urbano. Aún la periferia degradada, además de recibir reflejos mortecinos del “brillo de las ciudades”, ofrece mejores servicios, acceso al consumo y posibilidades de trabajo que el campo, al menos conforme a los parámetros hegemónicos. En esta etapa, sin embargo, **es posible que sean más importantes los factores de expulsión de población rural que los de atracción** a las periferias urbanas. La explotación irracional de la naturaleza que implica el desplazamiento de poblaciones enteras es sin duda una de las causas. En los países dependientes sobran ejemplos de áreas rurales altamente industrializadas y áreas urbanas altamente desindustrializadas. Las guerras y conflictos bélicos también son un factor importante de desplazamiento forzado de gran cantidad de personas.

Los procesos de urbanización, claro está, no responden a ningún tipo de planificación por parte de los estados. Son fruto de las fuerzas “espontáneas” del mercado que paradójicamente tienden a excluir a las mayorías de su propia dinámica legal y relegarlas a una periferia paralegal en el plano habitacional del mismo modo que vimos en la dimensión laboral. En los países periféricos, **tan sólo el 20% de los nuevos hogares responden al mercado formal de vivienda.**²⁹ El resto de las viviendas son producto infor-

²⁹ Ibid.

mal de las manos de sus moradores en áreas desprovistas de servicios, infraestructura o saneamiento adecuado.

Las estadísticas de la ONU son elocuentes: en el África Sub Sahariana el 71,9% de las personas vive en asentamientos informales; en América Latina y el Caribe el 31,9%; en Asia, alrededor del 40%; en Oceanía el 24,1%. Existen países en los que virtualmente toda la población urbana vive en asentamientos: Etiopía (99,4%), Chad (99,4 %), Afganistán (98,5 %), y Nepal (92%) son los casos extremos. Hay ciudades con 12 millones de asentados informales como Bombay.³⁰

Los números ocultan las enormes diferencias entre asentamientos de distintas regiones y, aún más, la estratificación interna del asentamiento, donde **los más excluidos entre los excluidos, los migrantes, los indocumentados, los recién llegados, se ven obligados a alquilar piezas ínfimas que alojan familias enteras.** Como decía el Padre Joseph Wresinski, que acuñó el término “cuarto mundo” para referirse a los bolsones de extrema pobreza globalmente transversales, detrás de cada pobre hay otro más pobre. Y detrás de un padre excluido, hay un niño y un abuelo más excluidos aún.

Los elementos comunes que sí podemos destacar, además de la cuestión central de inseguridad jurídica en el régimen de tenencia de la tierra, es un gran nivel de carencia en el acceso o la calidad de los servicios públicos elementales: salud, educación, seguridad, alumbrado, higiene urbana, provisión de agua potable, luz eléctrica, gas natural, saneamiento y comunicaciones. Las calles, la señalética, las plazas y espacios públicos, las normas de seguridad vial, cuando las hay, son producto de la intervención comunitaria de los pobladores. Por lo general, no existe ninguna instancia administrativa o judicial al interior del asentamiento.

En el asentamiento, donde la vida interna suele ser mucho más intensa que en los núcleos enriquecidos, donde la producción está íntimamente ligada al territorio, el poder está en constante disputa. De nuevo, como en el campo laboral de la exclusión, el vacío que deja el estado se llena con formas para-estatales de regulación social y hasta de coerción. La comunidad, organizada o espontáneamente, resiste como puede el avance de grupos violentos de la criminalidad organizada muchas veces apoyados por las fuerzas de seguridad oficiales.

La muchas veces señalada ausencia del estado en realidad no es más que una delegación de sus facultades en agentes “tercerizados” que, sin necesidad

³⁰ UN-HABITAT (2003). *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlement.*

de atenerse a las garantías propias de un orden jurídico democrático, administra el territorio, gestiona la maquinaria electoral y gerencia los negocios cuya rentabilidad es de interés para los sectores de poder. Paradójicamente, **la proliferación de barrios cerrados (countries) refleja el mismo proceso de privatización de la “violencia legítima” cuyo monopolio es, según Max Weber, la esencia del estado.** Tal vez por eso el narcotráfico busca refugio en estos dos polos del orden capitalista.

La representación subjetiva del asentamiento informal varía significativamente. En algunos casos por la posición relativa de cada cual frente al fenómeno: el asentamiento no es lo mismo para un viejo asentado, para un recién llegado, para un abuelo, para un joven; mucho menos para un oficinista que vive cerca de un asentamiento, para un estudiante, un desarrollador inmobiliario, un político. Existen sin embargo algunos relatos principales.

El “cuento negro” fomenta la estigmatización del asentamiento como un lugar signado por el crimen, dominado por el narcotráfico, refugio de todo tipo de vagos, maleantes, asesinos, rufianes y delincuentes. Por lo general, esta línea de pensamiento muy a gusto de los grandes desarrolladores inmobiliarios, considera que la solución a la problemática estriba en la **erradicación** de los asentamientos. También es la opción preferida de los fabricantes de armas y el lobby de la mano dura que promueven la **militarización** de los asentamientos.

Su contraparte, que podríamos denominar “cuento rosa” o doctrina del “orden espontáneo”, idealiza el asentamiento como forma libertaria de sociedad donde la comunidad se auto-regula sin intervención del estado. Esta línea de pensamiento tiende a fomentar la **desregulación y ghetificación** de los asentamientos embelleciendo la indiferencia con una pose de tolerancia.

Otra variante es el pensamiento colonizador, que ve en el asentamiento el refugio de “buenos salvajes” a la espera de ser re-educados por los sectores civilizados. El concepto de **urbanización** a secas, en general, supone un menosprecio por los sectores popular, una mirada irrespetuosa de su identidad y un voluntarismo teórico que casi nunca se expresa en mejoras concretas porque los civilizadores no quieren realizar las inversiones necesarias para concretar sus planes.

El Equipo de Sacerdotes para las Villas de Emergencia (Buenos Aires), desde una visión comprometida con los asentados y desde adentro de los asentamientos, lo expresa en estos términos “Si la ciudad no quiere colonizar la villa deberá tener un corazón humilde capaz de escuchar la palabra de inmensas barriadas que tienen mucho que decir (...) *más que urbanizar nos gusta hablar de **integración urbana**, esto es, respetar la idiosincrasia de los pueblos,*

sus costumbres, su modo de construir, su ingenio para aprovechar tiempo y espacio, respetar su lugar, que tiene su propia historia".³¹

En cualquier caso, la descontextualización del fenómeno como producto de la lógica interna del sistema impide avizorar escenarios alternativos de justicia y dignidad para los compañeros. La lucha de las propias víctimas de este orden de cosas será, sin duda, la que permita alumbrar un nuevo orden territorial donde haya espacio, techo y trabajo para todos.

3. El Movimiento de los Excluidos y las nuevas organizaciones populares

La injusticia engendra resistencia. La sed de justicia pone en movimiento a los pueblos que llevan grabada en el alma, cada uno a su modo, "la gran ilusión de Jesús":³² la hermandad entre todos. Los movimientos sociales son fuerzas dinámicas que impulsan el cambio frente a un orden injusto que impide concretar ese maravilloso anhelo. En el subsuelo de la sociedad humana, en las periferias existenciales y geográficas, entre los pobres y los marginados de la Tierra, silenciado por los grandes medios de comunicación, despreciado por los neo-asistencialistas que niegan el protagonismo popular en la lucha contra la pobreza, combatidos por la represión institucional y el crimen organizado, surge un nuevo movimiento que empieza a recorrer el mundo, el Movimiento de los Excluidos.

Durante el siglo XX, el Movimiento Obrero fue sin duda la fuerza más significativa de reafirmación de la dignidad humana. Aunque con una gran variedad de matices, las luchas sociales del siglo XX estuvieron signadas por el conflicto entre capital y trabajo: "(...) *el avance cada vez más rápido del desarrollo técnico y la industrialización que comportaba crearon muy pronto una situación social completamente nueva: se formó la clase de los trabajadores de la industria y el así llamado «proletariado industrial», cuyas terribles condiciones de vida ilustró de manera sobrecogedora Friedrich Engels en 1845. Para el lector debía estar claro: esto no puede continuar, es necesario un cambio*".³³

Ese "cambio" comenzó a gestarse desde abajo como resistencia frente al capitalismo salvaje: "*Fueron los trabajadores los que finalmente le hicieron frente. Mucha sangre ha corrido en nuestro país y en todo el planeta para frenar la ambición desmedida del Capital y mejorar las condiciones de existencia de las mayorías. La*

³¹ Equipo de Sacerdotes para las Villas de Emergencia (2007), Reflexión sobre la urbanización y el respeto por la cultura villera, Buenos Aires.

³² Jorge Mario Bergoglio (2011), Misa en memoria de víctimas del incendio al taller de Luis Viale, Buenos Aires.

³³ Benedicto XVI, *Spe Salvi* (2007), Carta Encíclica.

*heroica lucha de los humildes permitió un piso mínimo de derechos por debajo del cual no podía estar ni el más pobre de nuestros compañeros: salarios dignos, jornadas de ocho horas, aguinaldo, vacaciones, acceso a la salud y la educación, recreación y turismo social, vivienda popular, previsión social y jubilaciones dignas, convenios colectivos, paritarias y sindicatos que defiendan al trabajador, se convirtieron en conquistar irrenunciables e irreducibles de nuestro Pueblo”.*³⁴

Durante esa etapa, **las herramientas fundamentales de los sectores populares para alcanzar la justicia social fueron los sindicatos y los partidos de masas.** Los sindicatos tuvieron por lo general un carácter reivindicativo: la lucha por mejoras laborales para la clase trabajadora. Por su parte, los partidos fueron el vehículo de participación política de las mayorías, en un primer momento de la “clase media” y luego de los propios trabajadores. Así, durante el siglo XX, a pesar de sus terribles guerras y la encarnizada lucha ideológica que también atravesó al Movimiento Obrero, los pueblos, munidos de estas herramientas organizativas, hicieron oír su voz, respetar sus derechos y en muchos casos, alcanzaron niveles de igualdad sin precedentes en la historia humana, poniendo al estado al servicio de estos objetivos.

Sin embargo, a mediados de la década de 1970 la destrucción de los “estados de bienestar” abrió una nueva etapa histórica que se profundizó con la disolución del bloque socialista y la reconfiguración unipolar del mundo. La globalización neoliberal puso en crisis las antiguas formas de representación política y sindical. La nueva situación social planteada por **las políticas de desindustrialización y la desesperanza de los sectores populares se combinaron con el triunfo cultural del individualismo hedonista más desvergonzado dirigido a neutralizar esas estructuras en muchos casos con la anuencia de sus dirigentes.**

Así, entre la presión disolvente del Imperio del Dinero que atacaba de manera sistemática todas las estructuras que pudieran hacerle frente (estado, partidos, sindicatos, iglesia) y la propia claudicación de estas estructuras frente al triunfalismo del capital, los excluidos no sólo quedaron afuera del sistema sino desheredados de organización para transformar la realidad.

Pese a todo, la rebelión frente a la injusticia reverdeció y en los “rincones oscuros” de la tierra, los descamisados del siglo XXI, los desocupados, los cartoneros, los aborígenes, los campesinos, los migrantes, los vendedores ambulantes, los sin techo, sin tierra, sin trabajo, sin derechos, los trabajadores

³⁴ Confederación de Trabajadores de la Economía Popular (2013), Declaración del Primero de Mayo, Buenos Aires.

excluidos, abandonados por un movimiento obrero derrotado, huérfanos de herramientas organizativas, empezaron, a mano y sin permiso, desde abajo y “en patas”, a moverse nuevamente y forjar sus propias organizaciones para luchar por su dignidad.

El Movimiento de los Excluidos, fuerza difusa, atomizada, dispersa, comienza a cristalizar **nuevas formas de organización popular**, que muchas veces adoptaran el nombre de “movimientos”.

¿Cómo surgen? Las organizaciones populares surgen en general por la confluencia de la lucha espontánea de un sector del pueblo frente a un derecho conculcado y la intervención militante que apuntala organizativamente esa lucha. Así, en la organización coexiste de manera un tanto contradictoria el carácter esencialmente reivindicativo de la base con la orientación político-ideológica del núcleo militante. Esta coexistencia ha dado lugar a interminables debates al interior de los movimientos, ha sido negada o exagerada, pero en mi experiencia es la combinación que cataliza genuinamente la estructuración organizativa de los excluidos.

¿Por qué luchan? Las organizaciones populares tienen una gran diversidad de reivindicaciones inmediatas, desde la obtención de alimentos para subsistencia y subsidios para desocupados, hasta la construcción de viviendas populares y la integración urbana de los barrios. Existen movimientos que luchan por el acceso a la tierra, a la vivienda digna, por los derechos laborales de los trabajadores excluidos, por la recuperación de fábricas en quiebra, por el acceso a infraestructura barrial, por la salud y la educación popular, para que los servicios públicos esenciales estén al alcance de todos, etc. En el territorio y en los ámbitos laborales precarizados, bregan por la creación de relaciones sociales solidarias y contra el poder mafioso (ver 3.2). En general, los movimientos comparten una visión crítica al sistema político, económico y social hegemónico y la perspectiva de transformarlo radicalmente para construir otro mundo.

¿Cómo se organizan? Las formas organizativas varían, pero en general existe una tendencia hacia una mayor horizontalidad y protagonismo de las bases que en las organizaciones políticas y sindicales tradicionales. No obstante, la mayoría de las organizaciones que se consolidaron y perduraron en el tiempo tienen fuertes liderazgos y una conducción bien definida. La “no institucionalidad” de las organizaciones populares permite una gran flexibilidad organizativa que en ciertas ocasiones es una ventaja frente al burocratismo y en otras una fuente de fragmentación, atomización y desviaciones hacia manejos arbitrarios. Las formas jurídicas como “cooperativas”, “asociaciones civiles”, “fundaciones”, suelen utilizarse como herramientas meramente formales para la interacción con el Estado.

¿Cuáles son sus métodos? Las organizaciones populares, salvo casos excepcionales como el de Bolivia y en menor medida los de otros países latinoamericanos, no tienen reconocimiento estatal ni espacios institucionalizados de negociación. Es a través de la lucha, de distintas formas de acción directa, que obtienen las reivindicaciones particulares de sus miembros y, en ocasiones, reivindicaciones de carácter general como políticas públicas. En general, la lucha de las organizaciones tiene un impacto inmediato en la vida de sus miembros y un impacto mediato, más difícil de aprehender, en la puja que determina la distribución de la riqueza social. A diferencia de los obreros industriales que cuentan con la huelga como principal herramienta, los excluidos sólo pueden hacerse oír a través de piquetes, movilizaciones y otras formas de lucha que suelen ser criminalizadas.

¿A qué se enfrentan? En su lucha contra la exclusión, suelen enfrentar la represión del estado que por lo general trabaja al servicio de los sectores de poder, que ven la organización popular como una amenaza y no como herramienta para procurar el bien común. Al estar sumergidos en las periferias sociales, las organizaciones populares también deben enfrentar el creciente fenómeno de la criminalidad organizada que avanza fuertemente sobre las barriadas populares en todo el mundo. En ocasiones, nuestras organizaciones son la última barrera de contención contra la opresión mafiosa de los carteles de drogas y la disolución del tejido social.

¿Cuáles son sus logros? Las organizaciones populares han tenido un profundo impacto en la lucha por la distribución del ingreso y han forzado la adopción de políticas sociales de largo alcance en diversos países. Han logrado dar la voz de alarma sobre las devastadoras consecuencias socioambientales de la globalización neoliberal. Han fundado distintos tipos de cooperativas, mutuales, sindicatos y hasta movimientos políticos; sostienen comedores, merenderos, emprendimientos productivos, centros culturales, escuelas populares y guarderías infantiles. Han permitido la construcción de viviendas sociales y mejorado la infraestructura de los asentamientos. Han logrado el reconocimiento legal y el mejoramiento laboral de distintas actividades de la economía informal.

¿Qué ejemplos se pueden dar? Latinoamérica ha sido un semillero de organizaciones populares y existen numerosos ejemplos. En Argentina, el Movimiento de Trabajadores Excluidos (MTE), entre otras conquistas, ha logrado organizar a miles de trabajadores cartoneros (recicladores) en cooperativas, obteniendo importantes mejoras en las condiciones de trabajo del sector, reduciendo drásticamente la incidencia del trabajo infantil y propiciando un considerable aumento en los volúmenes de residuos reciclados. El MTE ha promovido la unidad con otras organizaciones de trabajadores

desocupados (“piqueteros”), empresas recuperadas, campesinos, vendedores ambulantes, artesanos, mensajeros, costureros, etc. Junto a estas organizaciones ha fundado la Confederación de Trabajadores de la Economía Popular (CTEP). Asimismo, coordina acciones con organizaciones similares en América Latina y el mundo.

El Movimiento de los Sin Tierra (MST) de Brasil ha logrado recuperar miles de hectáreas de tierra improductiva para distribuirla entre los campesinos, fundando cooperativas para la industrialización e intercambio de los productos, sosteniendo escuelas de capacitación y peleando por la soberanía alimentaria. Ha conseguido la sanción de importantes leyes para el sector y la aplicación de políticas públicas de compra anticipada de alimentos de la agricultura familiar. Forma parte de la Vía Campesina, con más de 100 organizaciones en todo el mundo.

Existen una gran variedad de organizaciones populares en otros países del mundo como la *Self-Employed Women's Association of India* de India, *Spirit of the Youth*, una organización de los Zabaleen (cartoneros) egipcios (cristianos coptos), la *União Nacional de Camponeses* (UNAC, Mozambique), la Asamblea de los Pobres de Tailandia o la Federación de los Pobres Urbanos de Sudáfrica.

¿Cuáles son sus debilidades y riesgos? Las organizaciones populares sufren un fuerte proceso de atomización y fragmentación, producto de la enorme heterogeneidad de problemas que abordan y la gran diversidad ideológica de sus núcleos más activos.

Por otro lado, en su lucha por obtener recursos para llevar adelante su función, se ponen en contacto de sectores de poder como gobiernos, empresas y financiadores internacionales que van, directa o indirectamente, imponiendo condiciones para prestar su ayuda. En muchos casos, los cuadros de conducción enfrentamos una enorme responsabilidad que impacta en miles de personas sin la formación necesaria para hacerlo eficazmente.

La utilización de las organizaciones populares por sus núcleos militantes más activos para el despliegue de agendas político-ideológicas enlatadas “*for export*” que no expresan el verdadero sentir de sus propios integrantes ni la realidad de sus pueblos me parece otra de las desviaciones a las que estamos constantemente expuestos. Tampoco estamos exentos de situaciones de corrupción, disputas internas de poder e infiltración de sectores criminales.

Otro riesgo que surge sobre todo cuando la organización obtiene cierto reconocimiento es el de convertirse en meras ONGs al servicio de la contención. De esta manera dejan de ser herramientas de lucha por la justicia social. A continuación, una breve crítica a esta “desviación” que podemos llamar neo-asistencialismo.

3.1 Crítica del neosistencialismo

Desde los centros de poder, en algunos casos en virtud de una solidaridad mal procesada y en otros como consecuencia de una planificada estrategia de neutralización de la lucha social, surgieron nuevos abordajes para responder a los “daños colaterales” del sistema.

Tal vez la forma más perversa sea lo que podemos llamar **el neo-asistencialismo**, una forma de “caridad” mal entendida, la moderna beneficencia. Las palabras de Eva Perón al respecto mantienen su vigencia: “*Porque la limosna fue siempre para mí un placer de los ricos: el placer desalmado de excitar el deseo de los pobres sin dejarlo nunca satisfecho. Y para eso, para que la limosna fuese aun más miserable y más cruel, inventaron la beneficencia y así añadieron el placer perverso de la limosna, el placer de divertirse alegremente con el pretexto del hambre de los pobres. La limosna y la beneficencia son para mí ostentación de riqueza y poder, para humillar a los humildes*”.³⁵

En general, la ayuda de los países ricos a las naciones pobres, además de cuantitativamente miserable y operativamente ineficiente, tiene un carácter sumamente hipócrita y cínico. Los montos transferidos “filantrópicamente” y administrados con pasmosos niveles de corrupción, no llegan siquiera a reparar una mínima parte del daño causado por la explotación voraz de los recursos naturales, la destrucción de las industrias nacionales, la exportación del daño ambiental, ni qué hablar de “indemnizar” a los pueblos oprimidos por los crímenes de las grandes potencias, como la esclavitud de los africanos.

Los créditos internacionales para programas sociales, además de intereses usurarios y estrafularias multas, imponen la contratación de una burocracia internacional de consultores técnicos que aportan sus profesionalizados saberes en el hasta ahora fracasado combate contra la pobreza. Plantean siempre políticas focalizadas, como si la miseria fuera un problema focal y no sistémico. Son políticas que tienden a fragmentar a los sectores populares y someterlos a una humillante dependencia, reduciéndolos a la calidad de objetos de asistencia en vez de sujetos de derechos.

El neo-asistencialismo también se estructura a través de una extensa red de ONGs benéficas que, en muchos casos, funcionan como organismos de privatización del gasto social y hasta como cortinas para la evasión impositiva por parte de las grandes empresas. El impacto social y la administración de estos fondos escapan de cualquier forma de control social y gestión democrática. **En muchos casos, terminan alimentando formas de explotación mal disfrazadas o sirviendo únicamente a su personal rentado.**

³⁵ Perón, Eva (2004), *La razón de mi vida*, Buró Editor, Buenos Aires.

En ese sentido, es importante hacer una crítica profunda a las formas que adopta la lucha “oficial” contra la pobreza para que los escasos fondos que se invierten en este objetivo permitan potenciar el camino hacia la justicia y lleguen efectivamente a quienes están destinados.

3.2. *La economía popular: realidad, camino, objetivo*

Dijimos que más que la asistencia de los ricos o la intervención de los estados, los excluidos subsisten en base a su trabajo en una esfera económica sumergida, informal, infraproductiva pero aun así subsumida en el sistema económico capitalista. En mi opinión, una de las funciones principales de los movimientos populares es disputar el carácter de la “economía popular”, es decir, **luchar por una (re)estructuración de los circuitos económicos periféricos** para construir relaciones de solidaridad social, dignificar el trabajo popularmente creado y satisfacer las necesidades materiales y espirituales de todos los compañeros.

Mucho se ha hablado de “economía social” y “economía solidaria” para caracterizar a la red de emprendimientos cooperativos o “sin fines de lucro”. Estas definiciones pueden llevarnos a la falsa creencia de que por arte de magia se puede integrar a los excluidos en “empresas sociales” horizontales de laboratorio. Se exponen “casos de éxito” que en general son experiencias aisladas y aun así se los idealiza. Lo cierto es que esta fantasía puede utilizarse como una forma de legitimación del orden social frente a la que debemos dar una contundente señal de alerta. En otro sentido, la creencia en la viabilidad de micro emprendimientos sociales es una forma de atribuir a los excluidos la responsabilidad por su situación: si se esfuerzan lo suficiente, a través de la “economía social” hay una salida.

Es importante entender que el sector “informal” de la economía se presenta como una realidad altamente condicionada por factores externos y no como una construcción social endógena de los sectores populares. En el capítulo sobre la dimensión laboral de la exclusión mencioné que existe un circuito económico residual o peri-capitalista, el sector donde trabajan los excluidos. **La característica de este sector es que puede desarrollar algunos “nichos” que por diversos motivos – costos, tecnología, normativas, resistencia social, etc. – las empresas modernas no pueden (o no quieren) explotar en forma directa.**

En general los medios de producción necesarios están al alcance de los sectores populares. **Esto no quiere decir, ni mucho menos, que tales medios de producción se exploten colectivamente, que el producto de esta economía se distribuya de manera equitativa, ni que las relaciones sociales sean horizontales.** Muy por lo contrario, en la rea-

lidad lo que vemos son relaciones de explotación donde los “más fuertes” dominan determinados nichos del mercado, por lo general en connivencia con las fuerzas de seguridad, el poder político y empresarios inescrupulosos.

Es interesante ver cómo en todos los casos concretos de formas populares de trabajo existe una disputa de recursos con los sectores integrados: los residuos, la tierra, los recursos pesqueros, el espacio público y muy especialmente el segmento “pobre” del mercado, la “Base de la Pirámide” (BoP).³⁶ A medida que se valorizan estos recursos, las disputas por la apropiación privada de los mismos se vuelven más descarnada.

Las grandes ferias informales son un buen ejemplo del fenómeno. Surgen, en general, como aglomerados pequeños productores que ocupan un determinado espacio para evitar la intermediación de los comerciantes y las marcas. Luego, si tienen éxito, se convierten en grandes centros comerciales con un pasmoso nivel de explotación y jerarquización interna basados en la coerción y la violencia que ejerce determinado grupo cuasi mafioso con una suerte de licencia para-institucional que se paga con lo que los argentinos conocemos como “coima”. Es llamativo que en todos los estudios al respecto, financiados por los organismos internacionales de crédito y las cámaras de comercio, se apunta únicamente al “fraude marcario” y recién a partir de la lucha de algunas organizaciones populares empieza a vislumbrarse la cadena de explotación que existe en este tipo de lugares. La “economía popular” molesta a los sectores integrados cuando compite, no cuando “contiene” explotando.

Así, tal como sucedió en los albores del capitalismo industrial, algunos “emprendedores” que sobre la espalda y la sangre de los más humildes logra acumular lo suficiente para formalizarse, pasan a integrar la nómina de los empresarios “decentes” del sistema. Esta tendencia es “elogiada” por los intelectuales neoliberales de la informalidad como Hernando del Soto.

Frente a esta tendencia a la estructuración patronal-mafiosa el único poder que se interpone es el de las organizaciones populares. A través de la asociación horizontal de los trabajadores por cuenta propia, la creación de cooperativas, la protección de formas artesanales de trabajo, la recuperación de recursos colectivos ociosos, la defensa de la agricultura familiar, y muy especialmente, la lucha por la distribución progresiva de la riqueza social y la aplicación de políticas públicas populares, los trabajadores excluidos luchan contra la explotación y la precariedad.

³⁶ C.K. Prahalad y Stuart Hart (2000), *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, Strategy + Business, Nueva York.

La CTEP expresa su concepción de “economía popular” en estos términos: *“Este camino ya lo hemos iniciado, desde abajo y a los ponchazos, a mano y sin permiso. No fue la virtud sino la necesidad la que nos llevó a juntar cartones, recuperar fábricas, defender nuestra tierra, abrir mercados populares, producir artesanías, pelear por programas sociales, crear miles de cooperativas. Sin embargo, esta necesidad nos fue mostrando cómo cuidar el ambiente, defender la soberanía alimentaria, proteger nuestro territorio, producir bienes necesarios, sacar a nuestros pibes de la droga, cuidar a nuestros niños. Hoy somos miles, tal vez millones y nos estamos organizando para que se nos reconozca como trabajadores y fundamentalmente para dignificar estos procesos que hoy existen bajo formas precarias, desreguladas y atomizadas”*.

“Creemos que sólo el trabajo estable, digno y con plenos derechos, nos permitirá construir la sociedad que queremos. A la vez, nuestra fuerza de trabajo correctamente orientada permitirá lograr objetivos sociales que están por afuera de las necesidades del ‘mercado’. Es maravilloso pensar que toda nuestra fuerza de trabajo que hoy está dispersa, precarizada, atomizada se puede poner al servicio del mejoramiento de nuestra comunidad. ¿Cómo lograrlo? Revalorizando los procesos de trabajo popularmente creado, integrándolos, regulándolos, formalizándolos, dignificándolos, planificándolos, coordinándolos e incluso subsidiándolos para canalizarlos hacia los grandes objetivos sociales que siguen inconclusos: la soberanía alimentaria, el cuidado del ambiente, la integración urbana de las villas, la recuperación de la infancia, la erradicación del paco, la promoción de una vida saludable y la provisión de bienes y servicios básicos para la existencia. Para alcanzar una verdadera Economía Popular, la redistribución de la renta es condición necesaria para no suficiente. Tenemos que avanzar hacia un verdadero cambio de paradigma en el que determinados bienes sociales, el trabajo primero que todos, sean valorados con reglas distintas a las del mercado”.³⁷

4. Otro mundo es urgente

“Los instrumentos de Dios son siempre los humildes”

Juan Crisóstomo

Como obispo de Buenos Aires, Jorge Mario Bergoglio, Francisco, acompañó las luchas sociales, a veces con su presencia silenciosa, a veces con homilías cargadas de esperanza, denuncia y compromiso. Tengo el inmerecido honor de haber compartido con él muchas de ellas, de recibir su solidaridad en los momentos difíciles, su apoyo frente la violencia de los poderosos, su consuelo frente a la muerte y persecución de compañeros. Lo admiro pro-

³⁷ Confederación de Trabajadores de la Economía Popular (2013), Declaración del 1º de Mayo, Buenos Aires.

fundamente y albergo una gran esperanza de que su pontificado sea un punto de inflexión en la espiral descendente de degradación social, ambiental y moral que venimos sufriendo, un grito de alerta frente al precipicio al que el barco en que viajamos todos se acerca vertiginosamente.

Sin embargo, y a pesar de que en un primer momento he caído en la tentación de atribuirle el poder (y la responsabilidad) de sacarnos de este infierno, mi convicción serena es que la historia la hacen los pueblos. Las estructuras, los estados, las organizaciones, los sindicatos, los partidos, los pensadores, los científicos, los militantes comprometidos y los grandes líderes como el propio Francisco no pueden transformar la realidad sin el pueblo y mucho menos contra el pueblo. Interpreto en este sentido su maravilloso gesto de inclinarse ante el la multitud reunida en la plaza de San Pedro en sus primeras palabras como Pastor Universal. El poder es servicio... sino es corrupción.

Los pueblos siempre han sufrido la opresión de minorías poderosas. También han resistido. A veces, incluso, han obtenido victorias parciales en su lucha por la justicia social. Los más humildes, como parte del pueblo, han soportado sobre sus espaldas lo más duro de estas luchas y han regado con su sangre todos los avances de la humanidad. Los que no tuvimos la buenaventura de nacer pobres, tenemos sí la oportunidad de adherir a sus luchas y luchar con ellos. Por eso, en la perspectiva de construir una sociedad de hermanos, creo que la tarea principal de todas las personas de buena voluntad es fortalecer los movimientos populares, sus organizaciones, sus luchas.

Debemos ser claros: las soluciones no llegará desde los centros de poder o sus organismos subordinados, sino desde lo profundo del pueblo, desde las periferias, hacia donde tenemos que ir con un corazón humilde y no con recetarios mágicos que siempre fallan y muchas veces huelen a hipocresía o incluso, a negocio.

Me permito ser escéptico en relación al cambio de actitud de los privilegiados y poderosos. No creo que ellos vayan a cambiar, a lo sumo podrán ceder. Sí creo, profundamente, que los pueblos del mundo, el 99% de los hombres que habitamos la Tierra, podemos rebelarnos contra los que la torturan con su frenética sed de lucro y de alguna manera pretenden hacernos cómplices de su inequidad. Y podemos luchar.

Nosotros llamamos “poder popular” a la comunidad que se organiza para pelear por su dignidad y creemos que de ahí puede nacer una nueva sociedad. El grito de los excluidos empieza a hacerse oír en todo el mundo. Es un grito de dolor pero también de esperanza. Es un grito que nos convoca nuevamente a la epopeya de terminar con la injusticia, la indiferencia, el fratricidio cotidiano al que hemos llegado.

Los graves antecedentes de intolerancia, totalitarismo, fanatismo y violencia nos llenaron de miedo. El terror abrió paso a la “era del vacío”: sin utopías, sin proyecto histórico, sin patrias, sin pueblos, sin ideales, sin Dios. Nos vendieron una paz sin justicia, una libertad sin igualdad, tolerancia sin solidaridad, placer sin amor, y al final no nos dieron una cosa ni la otra. La apropiación individual de la riqueza, la fama, el poder, el éxito y hasta de las personas, el desprecio por la memoria y la indiferencia por el futuro se convirtieron en el credo hegemónico de nuestras sociedades.

Tengamos coraje. La urgencia los hermanos que pagan en su carne el costo de esta farsa de “vida feliz” nos pide a gritos que luchemos con ellos por un cambio.

DISCUSSION AFTER MR. GRABOIS' PAPER

AMB. JUAN PABLO CAFIERO: Voy a hablar en español con Juan Grabois para coincidir en su diagnóstico. Creo que a partir de la Carta Evangélica *Evangelii Gaudium*, la *Alegría del Evangelio*, el Papa ha sentado una vez más las bases de un pensamiento crítico sobre la realidad social. Habla de muchos temas que son importantes para abordar en una jornada donde vamos a hablar sobre exclusión social. Se habla de un capitalismo sin fin, del fracaso del efecto derrame, se habla de muchos temas. Esta posibilidad se nos brinda a través de la Academia y de estas reflexiones, porque en realidad la jornada estuvo convocada antes del conocimiento de esta Carta, aunque se sabe que la Carta fue escrita durante el verano europeo, por lo tanto ya había cierta inteligencia en este punto. También el Papa Francisco últimamente ha hablado de las consecuencias de la indiferencia ética de la humanidad como una de las consecuencias de esta temática, es decir, en la indiferencia ética anida la corrupción, el trabajo esclavo, en fin, muchos de los fenómenos que hoy no encontramos solución. Me alegra escuchar por Juan Grabois, que percibo – y esta es la pregunta que yo te hago – dentro de los movimientos sociales en Argentina, en América Latina, esta presencia de Francisco y sus expresiones públicas, muchas de ellas que son netamente producto del Evangelio, porque muchas de las cosas que dice él son reproducciones literales del Evangelio y del Catecismo, por lo tanto recoge toda una tradición de la Iglesia en su impronta de denunciar las injusticias, pero también proponer. Vos pensás, Juan, que desde la elección del actual Papa hay una revitalización dentro de los movimientos sociales y un mayor vínculo entre los movimientos sociales y las iglesias locales para formar un “bloque”, para llamarlo así, un “bloque” de mayor nivel de debate, de mayor nivel de presencia, de mayor nivel de ser voz de los excluidos en nuestro continente?

MR. JUAN GRABOIS: Dos cositas para contestar la pregunta. Los movimientos populares, en América Latina particularmente, históricamente están vinculados al trabajo pastoral de la Iglesia, a determinados sectores de la comunidad cristiana que, de alguna manera, acompañaron los procesos de organización de los sectores excluidos. Es una característica de algunos sectores de la Iglesia latinoamericana. En Argentina tenemos muertos y desaparecidos como Mons. Angelelli, el Padre Carlos Mugica, y otros más, por acompañar los procesos de organización de los movimientos sociales. Francisco, puntualmente – y también aprovecho para mencionar algunas de las categorías de trabajo que él acompañó – siempre acompañó la organización de los tra-

bajadores cartoneros, de los trabajadores de empresas recuperadas, que son las fábricas que se recuperan después de ser quebradas fraudulentamente por sus patrones, de las organizaciones campesinas, de los vendedores ambulantes, que son seriamente perseguidos en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, de los artesanos, y yo creo que, con su asunción como Sumo Pontífice, debería haber un cambio de actitud en las distintas instancias de la Iglesia para acompañar los procesos de organización y lucha por la justicia social de los movimientos populares. Y yo creo que con el tiempo va a suceder. Lamento decir que, hasta ahora, por lo menos en mi experiencia, no he visto una primavera de acercamiento masivo a las organizaciones sociales, digamos. He visto que los mismos curas villeros, que son el equipo de sacerdotes para las villas de emergencia, que creó Bergoglio, siguen trabajando pero no hay nuevas vocaciones que se acercan masivamente hacia ellos. Tal vez forma parte también de esta globalización de la indiferencia donde un líder tan importante como Francisco plantea, con una claridad absoluta, no solamente los problemas sino la actitud que hay que tener antes esos problemas, y la verdad que a todos les resulta muy simpático pero son muy pocos los que efectivamente asumen y encarnan lo que plantea Francisco. Pero sí, yo creo que sí, que es un bloque fundamental para poder superar esta situación.

AMB.VICTOR MANUEL GRIMALDI CÉSPEDES: Quiero hacerle una pregunta, pero primero quiero recordar algo que todo el mundo debe saber, que es el Magisterio social de la Iglesia a partir de la Encíclica *Rerum Novarum*, del siglo XIX, y después el trabajo del Padre Luigi Sturzo en la formación de la democracia cristiana y como eso tiene, con el tiempo, un impacto en la América Latina. Viene el Concilio Vaticano Segundo y tiene una influencia y un impacto desde el punto de vista de la enseñanza social muy importante en América Latina y recordamos la Encíclica *Populorum Progressio* de Pablo VI que influyó mucho en América Latina. En esa época, estamos hablando de casi cincuenta años, la Iglesia y su Magisterio en América Latina tuvo mucha influencia en los movimientos sociales. Pero, qué ocurrió? Que al mismo tiempo la influencia de la revolución cubana radicalizó los movimientos populares y los partidos políticos. Todo esto es precisamente para ponerlo en el contexto de lo que ha planteado el expositor Grabois, porque él habla de que la Iglesia no está haciendo tal y tal cosa. Ocurrió que, cuando hubo un cambio de papado con Juan Pablo II, como el Papa no es solamente un magisterio espiritual sino temporal, cambió la táctica o la política de la Iglesia en América Latina y se alejó de los movimientos. Y esto coincidió con lo que hemos visto en los últimos 34 años, la política que implantó Reagan, que implantó la Thatcher en el mundo. Ahora lo que yo quiero preguntarle

a Usted es lo siguiente: en Bolivia, en Venezuela, por ejemplo, el sistema político se derrumbó y los movimientos populares emergentes tuvieron una expresión política que está en el poder. Por qué en la Argentina, con esa crisis que hubo a partir de 2001 que Usted describió, no ha habido una acción política que sea acción de poder, como en Brasil, por ejemplo, que el partido de los trabajadores llegó al poder y aplicó una política social que redujo sustancialmente la pobreza en los últimos años?

MR. JUAN GRABOIS: Rápidamente contesto un poco los dos puntos de la pregunta. Yo creo que no hay que tener miedo a ningún tipo de radicalización y nada por el estilo. No hay que tener miedo a eso, porque la radicalidad del proceso de exclusión y destrucción del mundo, del sistema que estamos viviendo, no tiene forma de equipararse. No hay nada que se pueda hacer del otro lado que equipare ese proceso de destrucción, o sea que todas las fuerzas que se puedan oponer en rescate de la humanidad pacíficamente, a través del dialogo, a través de – obviamente – la lucha, pero una lucha racional, bienvenidas sean, digamos, creo yo y creo que debemos tratar de acompañar esas luchas.

En cuanto a la segunda pregunta, lo que pasó después del 2001 en la Argentina fue que esa rebelión popular y la existencia de los movimientos populares, fundamentalmente lo que se conoció como movimiento piquetero en la Argentina, que eran los desocupados que cortaban rutas para conseguir recursos sociales, condicionó políticas sociales de la etapa posterior que efectivamente no fueron lo suficientemente profundas para construir una estructura de poder en la Argentina que permite un protagonismo de los sectores populares, ni para erradicar la exclusión. Pero sí hubo algunas conquistas, por ejemplo lo que nosotros conocemos con la asignación universal por hijo, que es un sistema de seguro social universal para todos los menores de edad argentinos, que reciben aproximadamente unos 50-60 dólares por cada chico que tienen las familias humildes, que es una de las conquistas de estos movimientos y una serie de programas de trabajo autogestionado. Pero la respuesta por la que yo creo que los gobiernos no tienen una influencia profunda de los sectores más humildes es porque todavía estamos, de alguna manera, pagando las consecuencias de la derrota ideológica, política, cultural, de las organizaciones de masas y de los sindicatos, que no lograron representar a este emergente sociedad que son los excluidos y se conformaron con representar a los trabajadores formales y convencionales que eran los que pagaban los aportes. De esta forma, yo creo que los procesos de organización en la Argentina todavía están verdes y están un poco profundizándose en algún punto para que puedan tener una participación importante en el gobierno. Sin embargo, y con esto

aclaro, en la Argentina existió un movimiento social de masa que fue el Peronismo que todavía hoy, incluso dentro del gobierno nacional, sigue manteniendo alguna postura de justicia social, como por ejemplo que la salud y la educación son públicas y gratuitas para todo el mundo, que en algunos países, incluso países del norte, son posturas revolucionarias, y en la Argentina esto existe hace alrededor de cincuenta años. O sea, estamos mal pero algunos elementos de justicia social todavía sostenemos.

THE TWO WORLDS IN THE ANTHROPOCENE: A NEW APPROACH FOR MANAGING AND COPING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE

■ VEERABHADRAN RAMANATHAN

Cardinal Turkson, Bishop Sánchez Sorondo, and distinguished members, I really feel privileged to be part of these important discussions. Early this year I spent about 10 weeks living in villages in India, starting from my home village in South India and travelling all the way up to the North and eating in women's huts like the one you see in Figure 1. Every ten days or so, I would retreat into nearby cities for air-conditioned rooms and other comforts. After shuttling back and forth about three or four times, living in villages for ten days and one day in a big city, I discovered that there are in fact two separate planets or two different worlds, if you may. And of course these two worlds are really co-dependent. Let me call the first one the Top 4 Billion, or T4B: these 4 billion human beings seem to behave as if they have unlimited access to fossil fuels. Unsustainable consumption is their problem. The world-wide discussions about slowing down environmental damage and climate change by reducing the carbon footprint, really applies to the four billion. I'm using the American definition for a billion, which is a thousand times a million. The other three billion, like the woman you see in the photo (Figure 1), the Bottom 3 Billion or B3B, lack access to fossil fuels. What they need is clean energy access. I think, if you read Jeffrey Sachs' book, you will note how energy access is critical for human well being.

This Vatican workshop is about the socially excluded and I must indicate where they belong in the *Two Worlds* model. The socially excluded living in peri-urban areas are still placed under the Top 4 Billion. There are perhaps about 1.5 billion that fall under the category of 'Socially Excluded' and I have included them under the Top 4 Billion, since they have access to fuel. However, they cannot afford it and this is a vital socio-economic problem which is beyond the scope of my paper. So, when we talk about human impacts on the climate, it applies just to the 2.5 billion living in urban areas who are primarily responsible for the emission of CO₂ (carbon dioxide) from fossil fuels, the major contributor to climate change. So what I found was that the 3 billion living in villages have been left behind with no access to modern sources of energy. Those who are living in the slums or shantytowns of the world of the Top 4 Billion are really those who fled villages

The B3B World

**Biomass is fuel source for cooking/Heating for about 2.7 Billion
Second largest source of Black Carbon; also CO/Methane/VOCs
4.2 Million die each year from air pollution (indoor/outdoor)**

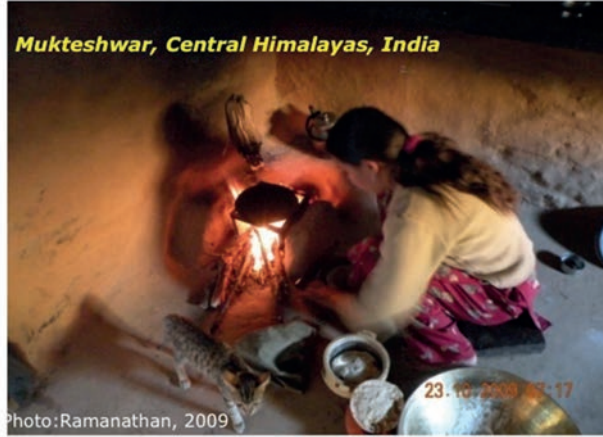


Figure 1.

for better access to energy and well being. I talked to many who fled villages and I interviewed over three hundred women villagers, who are aspiring to move to cities for jobs or better education for their children.

Since climate change is one of the biggest issues in sustainability, let us place the *Two Worlds* discussion in the context of climate change. When we travel in cars we are burning fossil fuels. What comes out of the tailpipe is a colourless gas, we call it carbon dioxide. The problem with this carbon dioxide gas is that once you release it, a fraction of it stays for centuries and accumulates in the atmosphere. We have already accumulated over a thousand billion tons of fossil fuel CO₂ since the pre-industrial era. Skeptics argue that this carbon dioxide has varied in the past, so I'm showing the carbon dioxide concentration over the last 800 thousand years (Figure 2). Of course it has varied, but if you see where it says 'Present', it has shot up three times the normal variation of the last 800,000 years to 400 parts per million parts of air molecules, a record high. This gas, since there are a thousand billion tons of it, surrounds the planet like a blanket. Just like a blanket which keeps you warm on a cold winter night by trapping your body heat, this carbon dioxide traps the heat (infra red radiation heat) coming from the earth and the atmosphere above and heats the earth. This is well-known physics and there's no question about the science behind it. I have been studying this problem

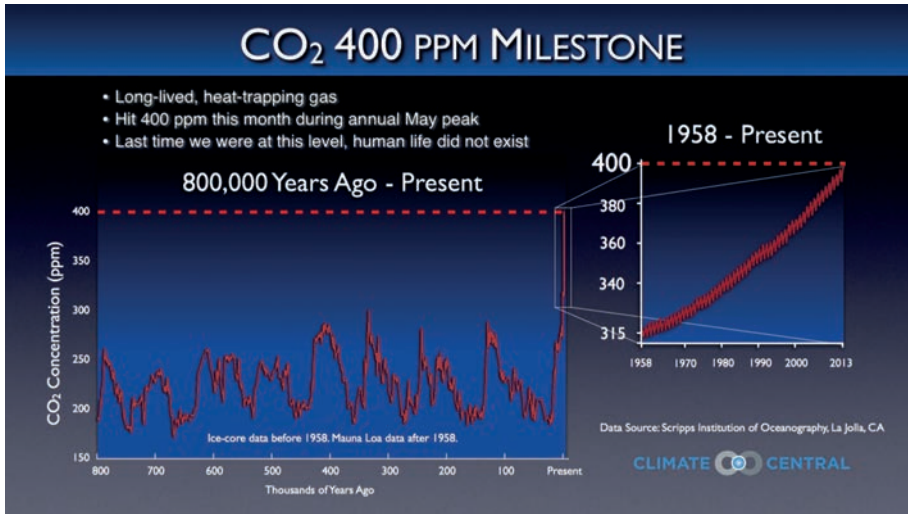


Figure 2. Reproduced from image in Climate Central webpage.

for the last forty years and about five years ago I made a forecast that the planet is likely to warm by about 2°C not two or three hundred years from now, but in less than fifty years from now, by mid-century and by as much as 4°C by the end of this century. So you can ask, why should we care about 2°C , since the weather varies by about tens of degrees in days? Let me give you a perspective of this. I'm showing you (the left hand panel of Figure 3) the variation of the climate over the last 50 thousand years. Climate does vary on its own, significantly, but the problem is that we recovered from an ice age some twenty thousand years ago and were already in the warmest epoch in climate. The fundamental reason for our concern about warming is that we're heating the planet another 2°C . The right hand side shows another 4°C , so warming the planet from an already warm epoch will push the system beyond anything we or the natural system has experienced. We must point out, the planet has already warmed by about 0.8°C since the pre-industrial era, i.e., we are already close to half way up towards 2°C .

What does a warming of this magnitude mean to the socially excluded and to the Bottom 3 Billion? I want to take you through some examples.

Hurricanes

This is of course Hurricane Sandy (Figure 4), which travelled further north than any other storm, and you can see the devastation in the New

Climate has Changed in the Past..... But

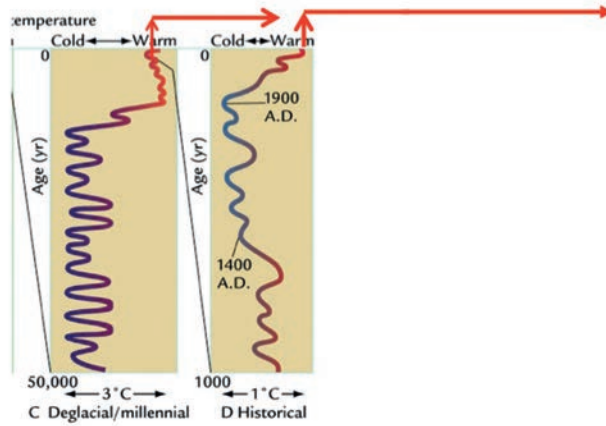


Figure 3. Adapted from W. Ruddiman's *Text Book on Climate*. The time series of temperatures are an exact reproduction from Ruddiman. The red arrows are inserted by the author.



New York, October 2012

Hurricane Sandy



Figure 4. Downloaded from the Google webpage.

York area due to fires and floods. And the next (Figure 5) is the most recent one, Hurricane Haiyan, which hit the Philippines. Let us ask what is the connection between climate change and hurricanes? Hurricanes have their genesis in tropical oceans. The question that arises is: why not high latitude oceans? Because hurricanes need warmer ocean (warmer than 27°C) to fuel the intense winds. Since the planet including its oceans is warmer by about 0.8°C , the area over which hurricanes can get their energy as well as the area of travel before dissipation is expanding and the energy of the water which fuels the storms is also increasing exponentially with warming. We expect to witness more such intense hurricanes. And in fact there are simulations done by my colleagues (Dr Jeff Kiehl and his colleagues in the US) which show that if the planet heats well beyond 4°C we can see the hurricanes travelling almost up to the North Pole.



**Philippines, November 2013
Haiyan Typhoon**



Figure 5. Downloaded from the Internet.

Floods

I'm showing you (Figure 6) the Himalayan floods in 2012. I was there until May, visiting villages in these regions. What is the connection of floods with climate change? As we know, warmer air pulls more moisture, that's



Figure 6. Downloaded from the Internet.

why summertime is more humid than winter. When you warm the air, it holds more moisture. This is a fundamental thermodynamic property of water vapour. So the rain in a warmer climate will be more intense. The second implication of warming is melting of snow packs and earlier melting of Himalayan snow packs and glaciers in the season. In fact in a workshop held in this Academy, a rather unique workshop on melting glaciers, we found out from our Austrian glaciologists that the Alpine glaciers have lost $\frac{3}{4}$ of their volume already, and the Himalayas is just starting to melt. The only major problem with the melting of the Himalayas is that it provides waters for the life-giving rivers of South and East Asia: the Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the others rivers in South and East Asia, including the Yangtze River. The early melting and intense rainstorms can give rise to flash floods. In addition, when over 50% of the glaciers have melted the river flow can start to decrease.

Droughts and Fires

The prediction is that regions which get rain will get more rain and regions which are dry, like the subtropics (Sahara is part of the subtropics) will

get drier. The area I live in, southern California, is borderline sub-tropics. California is projected to get drier and the California experience is that as the air gets drier, the fires become more intense. I have personal experience California. Just this summer, I planned a vacation with my family in Yellowstone and we had to nearly cancel it, because of the fires. They were raging in Yosemite (further westwards from Yellowstone park in northern California) and spared Yellowstone. We expect more such fires in California. The problem with the fires is that the trees hold enormous amounts of carbon, so the carbon dioxide we put from fossil fuels heats the air, causes more fires, and releases more carbon dioxide. In addition, when the trees burn off, it exposes the soil below to sunlight which will dry it further. If this begins to happen worldwide, it will become an amplifying force of global warming.

How do we solve the problem? We have so far warmed about 0.8 (8/10) of a degree C, since the last two hundred years. We are expecting a warming which is three times that during this century. Fortunately there is still time left to reduce the magnitude of the warming and limit it to a maximum of 2°C. World leaders are advocating cutting down fossil fuel consumption by calling for *decarbonisation and reduction of the carbon footprint*. But fossil fuel consumption and atmospheric loading of CO₂ continues to increase. My studies suggest that 1/3 of the warming is caused by four other pollutants: 1) methane, which leaks out of waste dumps, natural gas, fires; 2) black carbon, which is a particle and is the dark stuff that comes out of diesel trucks and fires; 3) Ozone produced in the lower atmosphere by air pollutants; 4) Hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs) used as refrigerants. Black Carbon is the second largest warming agent, next to CO₂ and methane is the second largest greenhouse gas warmer next to CO₂. Collectively these 4 warming pollutants are referred to as Short Lived Climate Pollutants (SLCPs), because their lifetime in the atmosphere is short compared with the century or longer lifetime of CO₂. The air pollution from sources that emit the SLCPs also causes deaths in millions, destruction of crops in millions of tonnes, melts snowpacks and glaciers worldwide.

The good news is there are technologies to cut their emissions rapidly so we can slow down the warming caused by the other 1/3 of the warming agents within our life times. We basically have two knobs: one knob is dialling down the carbon dioxide and that is a Top 4 Billion problem – the Bottom 3 Billion have almost nothing to do with this carbon dioxide problem. The other knob we have is to reduce the short-lived pollutants and these SLCPs are anywhere between 25 to 4000 times more potent (per tonne of emission) than carbon dioxide and they don't live long, so we can get almost immediate relief, within 10 to 20 years.

I don't expect you to follow this graph (Figure 7) but what we found is that cutting down carbon dioxide, which has to be done, by the Top 4 Billion, is not going to have much of an effect until about 50 years, because of its long lifetime. Meanwhile, climate is rapidly rising. To prevent this 2°C warming in the next 30 to 40 years the most effective, as well as practical way is to cut these other pollutants. We have proposed it to the United Nations Environment Program and they listened. Many nations and leaders including former US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, have formed a coalition: the Climate and Clean Air Coalition. Now over thirty nations have joined the coalition and are taking major efforts to reduce the emission of these pollutants. The mitigation of global warming through SLCPs reduction is now widely accepted (by over 30 countries) as a viable and practical policy option.

The main appeal of the SLCPs mitigation strategy is that we don't have to wait for 100+ nations to sign on a piece of paper. Individually we can take steps from the bottom. In what follows, I would like to share with you my attempt at a bottom-up approach for mitigating SLCPs: 1) Reducing emissions of black carbon from rudimentary cook stoves that burn firewood and dung; and 2) Reducing emissions of black carbon from the transportation sector.

A Hybrid Climate Mitigation Strategy for Warming & Sea Level Rise

Can slow down warming by 50% by 2050

Source: Ramanathan and Xu.2010 & HU Ramanathan, 2013

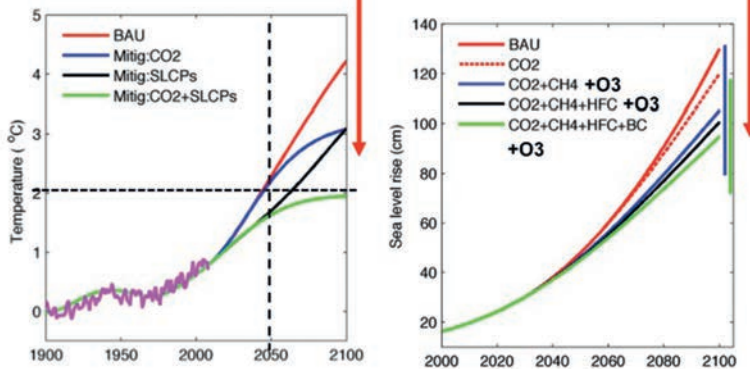


Figure 7.

I was living behind this woman's hut (photo in Figure 1) in central Himalayas. I went there in the morning, as she was cooking in the smoke-filled kitchen. I took her outside and showed her how the smoke is escaping to the air outside into the Himalayas and she was surprised. There are 160 million such homes along the Indo-Gangetic plains burning firewood from the forests just to meet basic needs such as cooking and heating. The next satellite image (Figure 8) shows this haze filling the entire subcontinent like a river of pollution. Over the last two decades, we have demonstrated that this soot (black carbon) absorbs the sunlight, heats the glaciers, disrupts the monsoon and cuts down enormous amounts of sunlight to the oceans so the whole monsoon is slowing down.

I have personal experience with solid biofuel cooking, I have seen my grandmother's kitchen filled with smoke from burning dung and wood and still have vivid memory of her nerve-racking cough after each cooking session. There are over 2.7 billion people who are still forced to burn firewood

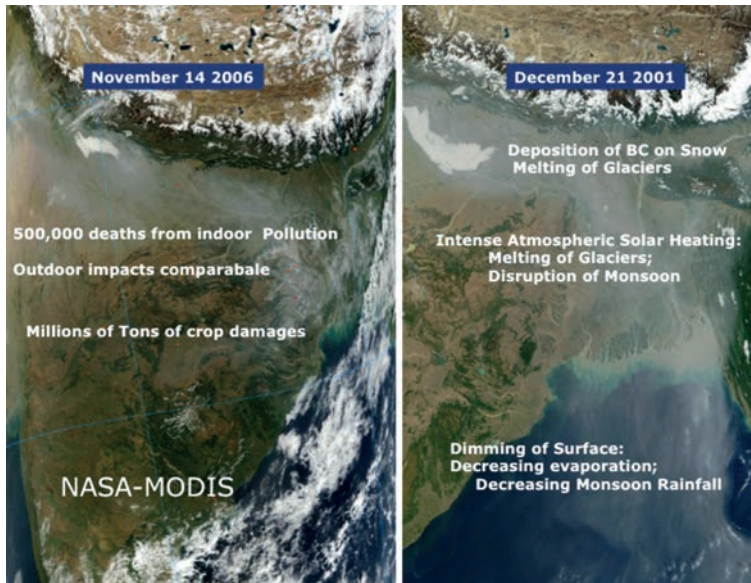


Figure 8. Atmospheric Brown Clouds over S. Asia and the surrounding Ocean and the Himalayan Range. The particles in the brown cloud extend from the surface to as high as 3km over the subcontinent during the winter season. It shows satellite data for one day for 2006 (left panel) and 2001 (right panel). The left panel summarizes impact on health and agriculture and the right panel on monsoon rainfall and Himalayan glaciers and snow packs.

for cooking. About 4.2 million die each year from the cooking smoke. The household air pollution kills about 3.5 million. When that smoke escapes outdoors, it is inhaled by the Top 4 Billion and kills about 1 million in the Top 4 Billion, so the two are co-dependent. That's the bad news. The good news is we know how to solve this problem.

We started Project Surya (www.projectsurya.org), teaming up with social scientists led by Mr. I Hafeez Rehman of TERI, India and engineers led by my daughter, Nithya Ramanathan, who is a wireless technologist and started an NGO (Nexleaf) to work with us on this problem of her great-grandmother. Our objective was to document this cooking, find out which technology helps, and replace it. I'm not going to go into detail but we were able to use cell phones and wireless technologies developed by Nithya to bring down the cost of data collection and do the measurements on a mass scale. Mr Hafeez Rehman and his group tested various cook stoves and developed a particular cook stove technology that still uses firewood (since it comes at no cost to the impoverished women) with a solar operated fan, but reduces the fuel use by a factor of two and cuts down the black carbon emissions by 90%. So it almost took care of most of the pollution problem, but the problem with our technology is that it is too expensive. The improved cook stove cost 70 USD, which is about six weeks of a villager's paycheck. Another major source of pollution and black carbon is the kerosene lamp used for lighting the homes, and we replaced them with solar lamps. So far Surya team members in India have deployed these new technologies in about 1,000 homes.

We have teamed up with the biggest rural bank in India, which gives each woman a loan to buy the stove and solar lamp. The stove temperature is monitored by the cell phone-based sensor and the duration of cooking is inferred from the stove temperature as a function of time. The cooking time is converted to the amount of reduction in CO₂ emissions and in black carbon emissions. The mitigated emission is converted into dollars and the climate credit earned by each woman is sent to her bank account in the bank which loaned her the stove and lamp; she uses this climate credit amount to pay off the loan and interest. Once this procedure is verified during a trial period of two years, Surya will connect each woman to the international voluntary carbon market. We have just started this with 500 homes. Our hope is that after the trial period, the approach can be scaled up to millions of homes. So basically the climate credit money would come from the Top 4 Billion, signing on to the voluntary markets, and offsetting their footprint.

We are also starting a joint programme between California and India, because California has taken pioneering steps to cut its pollution, particularly

black carbon emissions from diesel transportation. California will share its expertise in cutting down global warming pollution from its cars and trucks. We are hoping that such bottom-up approaches will complement the top-down approaches for cutting down CO₂ emissions by the Top 4 Billion.

I want to come back to the *Two Worlds* issue and connect the dots between the various issues I discussed. So let's go back to this Top 4 Billion and Bottom 3 Billion. The carbon footprint of the T4B (I put within parentheses 2.5 B, because remember what I said, the 1.5 billion living in the peri-urban areas can access fossil fuel but can't afford it) – is the biggest threat to B3B's sustainability. They are emitting about 36 billion tonnes per year and scientists like me and other international agencies estimated they have to cut it down by at least 50% for us to have any chance of keeping the warming under control. So the only option we have, either the T4B's carbon footprint must decrease – in other words, they should consume less – or, if they don't want to reduce their consumption, they need to go to renewable energy. So those are their two options. And just to understand, before I take you to the B3B problem, Figure 9 shows the energy consumption (from World Bank publication), so you can see the B3B consume less than 5% and the T4B consume the rest of the 95%. But in the T4B, if

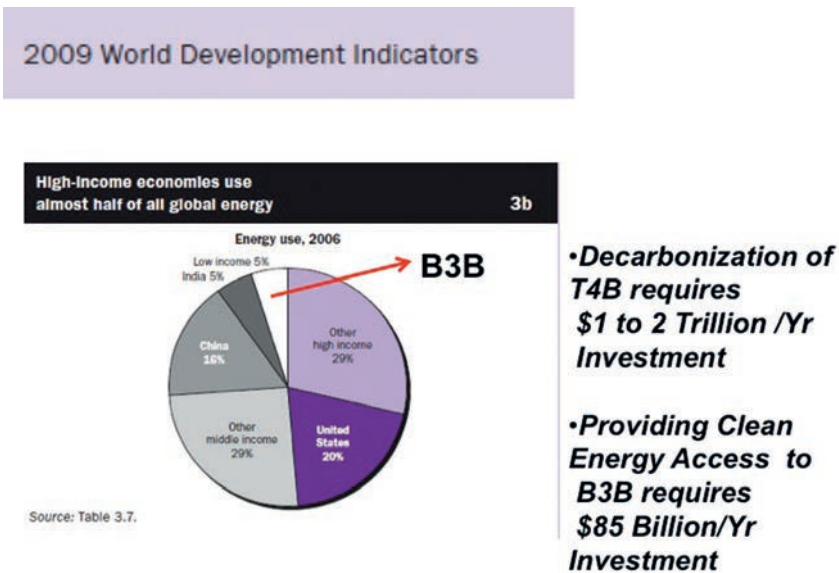


Figure 9. The pie chart is from World Bank Report: World Development Indicators 2009.

you leave out the socially excluded, most of the energy is consumed by about 1/3 of the population, so 2/3 are left behind. Interestingly, decarbonization the T4B requires about 1 to 2 trillion USD per year (International Energy Agency estimate) – this is, again, in American units, a thousand billion USD per year – whereas providing clean energy access to the B3B requires 85 billion USD per year (from IASA publication by Shonali Pachauri and others), ten times less. These are the rural areas. These are not my estimates, they come from the International Energy Agency and IASA and other institutions. So the scale of the problem, in terms of the money required, is much less to solve the energy access problem for B3B. As you may know, *Sustainable Energy for All* is a movement started by the UN with the personal interest of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. The issue we have to remember is that the B3B will soon become the B5B (due to increase in population from 7B to 9 Billion), unless we do something about it, by 2050. If the B3B follow our unsustainable example of fossil fuel consumption, their carbon footprint will increase from less than 1 tonne per year to 4.5 tonnes per year, which is the global average footprint, and their emission alone will grow to 23 billion tonnes. This means the T4B not only have to cut theirs by 50%, they have to figure out what to do about the B3B's 23 billion tonnes per year, because at 23 billion tonnes per year the warming occurring by our expectations would exceed 4°C.

So the case I'm making here is that the T4B for their own sustainability have to help B3B with renewable energy access. Because, when the climate warms by 4°C everyone is going to be affected. We need to help the B3B on the sustainable energy pathway. I discussed the examples of cooking and lighting. I will now add micro-grids of solar power for farming and other small-scale industrial needs, i.e., instead of highly polluting diesel pumps to extract water for irrigation, deploy solar water pumps, which are readily available. The reason I added the farming is that most villages in India can afford to have only one crop per year due to energy and water limitations. The one crop per year, since they have only 5 to 10 acres each, is barely enough to meet their own food demand. They need the second and third cropping for extra income: education, buying other goods, and health care. Their water comes from digging below, irrigation. Amazingly, whereas solar is too expensive for us, for the villagers, solar micro-grids are a much better option since they don't have other power infrastructure. Just to give you an example, there is a school just next to my grandfather's village home. I'd been visiting there in the last 10 years and I had bought them a TV, a computer and two fans: none of them were being used because in that village electricity comes for only three hours every day and the villagers don't

know, which three hours. Sometimes it comes at midnight, sometimes early morning. So I bought them a solar photovoltaic system to power the computer and fans. It cost only 400 USD. That was enough to power the computer, the TV and the two fans. The amazing thing was, I didn't have to go to America or Europe or China to buy that solar system, it was available within just five miles. So solar has penetrated deep into rural areas. Again the problem is affordability. This is where I feel bringing climate change as one other rationale on the table could provide powerful reasoning to have distributed solar systems in the B3B world.

The last topic I want to comment on is the food waste issue. I'm working with the UN Environment Programme and I was shocked to hear that 1/3 of the food produced never reaches the table or the stomach, it's wasted. And we are putting 3.3 billion tonnes of CO₂ per year to produce that wasted food. So saving that food waste not only would feed the B3B, but that 3.3 billion tonnes of CO₂ emitted to produce that food is 1/6 of the CO₂ we have to reduce! So that is another big low-hanging fruit in terms of climate mitigation.

The 2.5 billion (among the Top 4 Billion) is occupying most of the eco-space on the planet, and the B3B occupies a tiny corner, with very little access to energy. I'm hoping that by 2050 we shall be at the stage where everyone has equal access. In such a unified world, the B3B will morph into M5B, the Middle 5 Billion, living on renewable energy enjoying equal access as the Top 4 Billion.

I see an optimistic picture because we can slow down the warming with these other pollutants causing 1/3 of the warming to take care of a near-term threat, while simultaneously bringing down the carbon dioxide emissions to take care of the long-term climate change problem. However, no matter what we do, we are likely to get about 2°C warming, which is unprecedented. To do that, first of all we must prepare those who are going to suffer the most, this is the B3B plus the 1.5 billion, we heard from Mr Grabois, living in peri-urban areas. As a society we have to inform them, prepare them and develop ways to protect them from climate change-related extreme events.

Thank you.

DISCUSSION AFTER PROFESSOR RAMANATHAN'S PAPER

CARDINAL PETER TURKSON: It's not really a question, just an observation. About two months ago I participated in a conference in Iceland on the Arctic Circle. It was a three-day event. The first day was devoted to a discussion on the melting and disappearance of the ice sheet. The second day, to my surprise, was devoted to business opportunities that the disappearance of the ice offers, and the third was devoted, of course, to the indigenous peoples who live in the area. So my surprise was that the disappearance of the ice was also seen as offering a lot of business opportunities, it wasn't considered a disaster. In that sense I just wonder how you reconciled those two states of mind to the issues approached.

PROF. V. RAMANATHAN: Yes, I'm aware of these discussions. It makes scientists like me even more sad, because basically what they're expecting is that if the Arctic sea ice melts completely, there will be an open passage. The problem with that is that ships, as we all know, put out black smoke which is one of the worst contributors to the melting of the ice, so my worry or nightmare is that there will be more ships putting out more soot, this dark stuff, and it will melt faster and the business will see it as we are really helping the business more. So it is a huge problem we are not even thinking about, the species that are living there and their fate. Yes, I see that as another disastrous development coming up.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: I would like to ask a question. Of course I know your answer from our meetings, but it's important because it's the most popular question. Many people say, "Yes, we agree, we have climate change and we have global warming but maybe it depends not on human activity but on the Sun or other things". What is the conclusive reason that leads you to say no, it depends on human activities?

PROF. V. RAMANATHAN: Thank you, Bishop Sánchez Sorondo, that's in fact one of the major issues. They not only bring in the Sun, they bring in other factors but let me address the Sun issue. We have been monitoring the Sun – in fact, in 1976 I worked with NASA to put an instrument on a satellite to measure the Sun, and there have been rocket measurements – and it has been documented in several tens of studies, we have measured

the variations in the Sun's output, and with quantum mechanics we have calculated exactly how much heat has been trapped by these pollutant gases. The variation in the Sun's output is about ten times less than the additional heat we have trapped, and this has been published and documented. Unfortunately, this has not silenced the sceptics, because they argue that the Sun is influencing climate by other, mysterious, ways. So, as far as the physical arguments, that has been proved. As far as these metaphysical arguments, as you know, we don't know how to make such measurements to satisfy them.

FR. MICHAEL CZERNY: Professor Ramanathan, you said that the United Nations process is bogged down, and I think that's quite believable, and then you went on to talk about more local efforts, like California. Do you think that, let's say, the accumulation of local efforts can make enough of a difference or is that just a short-term distraction while we still absolutely must have global agreements and effective global programmes?

PROF. V. RAMANATHAN: The short answer is we need both, but what is less clear to the negotiators who are doing the negotiations and to many is that we have already lost the time to depend just on carbon dioxide decrease. The first step with respect to the carbon dioxide problem is, we don't have alternative technologies to maintain our big infrastructure or to capture the carbon dioxide. Even if we discover a scalable technology today, what scientists call "diffusion time", it takes about 20 to 35 years for that technology to propagate. If we don't take it to remote places in Argentina, India or China, it's not going to help. So that's the 35 years. So that is where this near term option of bringing these other pollutants would give us some time to bring down these other pollutants, because they come in the air pollution. China has a tremendous interest in cutting down its air pollution. The same thing in many parts of South America. So what I feel – I'm not a policy expert, I'm not a social scientist, so you should take what I say with caution – is that we need both. We need the UN effort on the top-down approach, but I feel we can't wait for them. We need to start from below and your question prompts me to say one more thing. What I have found is that scientists like me, or even politicians, we don't have the moral authority to tell the people to change their behaviour. After all, it needs a change of behaviour. That's what I discovered when I was elected to this prestigious Academy eight years ago, I discovered religion, and religious authorities have that moral authority to persuade people to change their behaviour. We have lost the luxury of waiting for one approach, we need all approaches.

SOCIAL INCLUSION AS A UNIVERSAL GOAL

■ JEFFREY D. SACHS*

It is a wonderful joy and great honor for me to be in the renowned Pontifical Academy of Sciences to discuss the crucially important topic of social inclusion. Pope Francis' recent exhortation to the world, *Evangelii Gaudium*, energizes us to overcome exclusion and environmental destruction, and return to moral passion to solve local and global problems. Pope Francis' warning to us about the "globalization of indifference" is the most central and important message of our time. This is because we do not lack for technical options; when we consider problems of poverty in our time we are considering problems of poverty in the midst of great wealth. Our crisis is fundamentally a moral crisis. It is not fundamentally an economic crisis or a financial crisis or a technological crisis.

An example of this crisis that that pains me enormously just occurred yesterday. The world has faced three epidemic diseases in our generation: HIV-AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis (TB). It was only a dozen years ago, at the start of the new millennium, that acting as a global community we began to tackle these three epidemics. I remember standing next to Cardinal Turkson's great compatriot Kofi Annan, when the then-UN Secretary General, in 2001 in Abuja, Nigeria, made the call for a Global Fund to fight AIDS, TB and malaria. I had the great honor to work with the Secretary General on designing that fund, which went into operation a few months after the Abuja meeting.

The Global Fund has saved millions of lives because modern medicine and public health sciences offer the technologies to enable people infected with HIV to stay alive and to lead normal lives and to raise their children. The health sciences offer us the technologies to block the transmission of malaria and to cure every single child who is infected with malaria with an 80-cent dose of medicine. The challenge is reaching the child in time, even in poor, rural communities that lack ready access to clinics. The health sciences offer the technologies to treat nearly every diagnosed case of tuberculosis and bring people back to health. With these gifts of technology and know-how, the Global Fund has been able to help save millions of lives.

* Director of the Earth Institute, Special Advisor to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon.

This year the Global Fund went for its financial replenishment, a three-year budget cycle. Its request for funds, \$5 billion per year over three years, was already scaled back from higher ambitions because of the dour global mood. It seems that while the wealthy are enjoying soaring incomes and wealth, the governments are cash-strapped, in no small part because they allow the rich to hide their incomes and assets from just taxation.

Thus, the Global Fund asked the entire world – governments, business, foundations, NGOs, and wealthy philanthropists – to come up with a mere \$5 billion per year to help save the lives and reduce the disease burden for hundreds of millions of people. I'm sorry to tell you that as of now the Fund has not been able to secure the \$5 billion from all of the governments in the world. The United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Japan, Singapore, Saudi Arabia – and I could go through the list – have not yet agreed to pool enough resources to reach \$5 billion. The world has so far pledged only \$4 billion and shrugged its shoulders and congratulated itself. Unless the gap of \$1 billion per year is closed, people will die in large numbers as a result of this shortfall.

I'm a macroeconomist, so I like to say that my true specialty is long division. I can put seemingly large numbers in proper context. In that spirit, I want to reflect on what missing \$1 billion for the Global Fund really means in this world. We have a \$90 trillion world economy, so \$1 billion is 1 part per 90,000 of our world output. The missing \$1 billion is less than one dollar a year from each person of the 1.2 billion people in the high-income world. The missing \$1 billion is one day's worth of Saudi Arabia's oil exports. The missing \$1 billion is roughly 14 hours of Pentagon spending. The missing \$1 billion is less than one hedge-fund manager took home last year in pay, \$1.3 billion for Mr. Steven A. Cohen, whose company was also convicted of insider trading but who got to keep his \$1.3 billion! The \$1 billion is 4% of the roughly \$25 billion in fines and settlements paid by J.P. Morgan financial wrongdoing. The \$1 billion is 0.0185% of the \$5.4 trillion net worth of the 1,426 billionaires in the world. The \$1 billion is roughly 5% of the annual Christmas bonuses received by Wall Street bankers. And the \$1 billion is less than the yearly taxes avoided annually by many companies, such as Google, that put their money in the Caribbean islands' tax havens under shady deals with the US Internal Revenue Service. Ours is a moral crisis.

There are plenty of doctors, nurses and community health workers who can fight AIDS, TB and malaria. What will happen if the \$1 billion gap is not filled? I can tell you what will happen. There won't be any alarm. There

won't be any single moment of realization of what the world has wrought. Yet when poor people go to the clinic, the medicines won't be on the shelf. It will be just as simple as that. A mother will rush with a child in her arms to a clinic and the child will die because there will have been a stock-out of the artemisinin-combination drugs for malaria. Or the community health worker who could have reached out in the village to make sure that the person who is coughing gets tested for TB won't have a job because the budget won't be able to support the government to hire that health worker. The deaths of the poor will be silent. Nobody will record them. The rich will not know or pay regard. Indeed, the rich world will congratulate itself on the generosity of its \$4 billion.

This is the central crisis of indifference, and Pope Francis put it exactly right. Whether it is climate change, or poor children, or dying people, we are living in an age of technological wonder where people can be helped, found, trained, reached, educated, cured, like never before. Yet the world fails to act.

All of the great religions made the call for charity during an age of mass poverty. Even then. Yet now, in an age of mass wealth, the message of charity seems even harder than ever. This is the paradox. Poor people give charity. Rich people have the cloud of indifference, or arrogance, or ignorance that completely clouds their lives. I frequently refer to the words of President Kennedy, who also put it just right in his inaugural address when he said: "For man holds in his mortal hands the ability to end all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life". Everything about our time is about choice. Nothing is about inevitability. Everything is about morality, not necessity.

Our opportunities to choose life, to end poverty, are greater than ever. Since 1957 the number of transistors that can fit on a semiconductor chip has been doubling roughly every two years, a pattern known as Moore's Law. Now in 2014 we enjoy roughly one billion times the capacity to store, process and transmit information than the world had 60 years ago. It's because of Moore's Law that we can reach anyone in the world by phone, connect any child to the world of information, empower any community health worker, and enable any clinic to contact an international expert for advice, anywhere in the world. These capabilities exemplify our ability to end all forms of human poverty.

At the same time, though, the very same technological revolution is radically changing job markets. Many jobs that once existed 20 or 30 years ago no longer exist. Young kids who might have gone to high school in the United States and then gone on to the local factory for middle-class work are instead unemployed today, because the jobs have been automated, or

because through the same advances in technology, workers halfway around the world are filling the jobs.

When I gave my course lecture recently at Columbia University, I spoke to 25 university campuses around the world simultaneously in a class with about 600 students worldwide. Now I am teaching a “MOOC” (massive on-line open course) to around 35,000 students worldwide. I receive emails and tweets from India, China, Chile, Ireland, asking me questions about the lectures. When Pope Francis made his glorious recent statement, I’m sure his message reached at least a billion people almost instantly. I myself downloaded it within minutes. That’s our possibility to work in harmony around the world, but we have to choose to deploy these capacities for human good.

Yesterday I met with students at Columbia University. These young people expressed their desire to join the cause to build a better future. I told them to read the Pope’s message and I’m sure that it will give them even more hope. Young people are not cynical. They may be dismayed. They may be having a difficult time economically. But they are ready to choose a brighter future of compassion, cooperation, and mutual support.

Let me turn briefly to some specifics in the fight against poverty and the struggle for social inclusion. In every area of concern – disease control, safe water, sanitation, job training, infrastructure, quality education – there is great expertise and a great ability to solve problems, even for the poorest and most marginalized peoples on the planet. Indeed, extreme poverty rates have been declining, and could decline even faster in the coming years – if we try.

In the late 1990s, just in advance of the Jubilee Year 2000, Pope John Paul II spoke out about cancelling the debts of poor countries, so that these countries would have the financial wherewithal to invest in their own future. The policy worked. Debts have been cancelled, investments in health and education have increased, and Africa and other low-income regions have experienced positive and accelerating economic development. This has demonstrated the value of putting financial resources to work in global problem solving.

I’ve recently been asked by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to help create a new knowledge network to support this problem solving. We call it the Sustainable Development Solutions Network, or SDSN. We are hoping that universities, think tanks, scientific academies, and other thought leaders around the world will join the network, so that in any part of the world, local expertise can support local problem solving, and global experts can support and encourage local experts. I hope that the SDSN will be able to support the great efforts of the Church and the unique initiatives of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences.

Let me conclude by describing the time horizon we face as humanity. In 2012 the world's governments came together on the 20th anniversary of the pivotal Rio Earth Summit. Three big treaties had been signed there: on climate change, desertification, and biodiversity. But 20 years on when the world's governments came together, there was a feeling of profound crisis because not one of these treaties had been properly implemented by the member states. The world has not yet changed direction on human-induced climate change; the world has not yet slowed the loss of biodiversity; and the world has not yet reversed the process of desertification.

The governments therefore realized that we need a new global awareness, a new global era, that puts the problems of sustainable development front and center in the world's awareness and agenda. The governments therefore adopted the plan to introduce new Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs, to help guide the world in problem solving. On September 25, 2013, the UN General Assembly set a timeline to set a timetable to 2015 to agree on the new SDGs. These new goals give us hope of breaking the globalization of indifference, and focusing the world's attention on the great challenges of ending poverty, promoting social inclusion, and stopping the human damage to the natural environment.

I believe the message of the Church is absolutely vital for the success of sustainable development. The core social teachings of the Church call upon us to protect the environment, promote community, and fight poverty. The Church calls upon us to protect the dignity of every human being.

The timeline is extraordinarily pressing upon us, because reality is pressing upon us and because the governments have made the commitment to do this. The time is right to break through this crisis of moral indifference. The Pope said in paragraph 59, "We are far from the so-called 'end of history,' since the conditions for a sustainable and peaceful development have not yet been adequately articulated and realized". We are at the moment, I believe, when together we can help the world to articulate the conditions for sustainable and peaceful development.

DISCUSSION AFTER PROFESSOR SACHS' PAPER

CARDINAL GEORGES COTTIER: Volevo ringraziare gli oratori, specialmente il Professor Sachs che abbiamo sentito adesso. Ci hanno messo davanti a un paradosso. Abbiamo problemi enormi su scala mondiale e abbiamo tutte le possibilità di rispondere a questi problemi, ma abbiamo anche un fenomeno come se la nostra società producesse, insieme, gli ostacoli alla realizzazione di questi problemi. Cioè, i mezzi ci sono, ma l'applicazione dei mezzi sembra un'impossibilità. Quando si fa una teoria su questi fatti, il pericolo è di teorizzare a un livello non abbastanza elevato di fronte alle esigenze profonde, che sono esigenze etiche. Voglio dire, si può costruire un sistema economico, un sistema politico, che presenta la non inclusione, l'esclusione, come un fatto necessario, che non è. Penso che sarebbe utile e al fondo della dottrina sociale della Chiesa, questo, di riflettere sulle cose elementari. Ho cercato di farlo e sarò brevissimo. Aristotele ci dà due definizioni dell'uomo: l'uomo è un animale razionale e l'uomo è un essere naturalmente sociale o politico, la *polis*. Vuol dire che queste due definizioni sono legate l'una con l'altra. Vuol dire che l'uomo può realizzare la sua umanità soltanto quando è membro attivo della società, che porta il contributo e riceve. L'esclusione vuol dire che costruiamo delle società dove da principio una parte dell'umanità non ha diritto di vivere la sua umanità. Questo è il problema di fondo, perciò il problema che state studiando adesso è fondamentale. Dunque, non è vero che gli esclusi sono esclusi dalla natura. Gli esclusi sono gente a cui si impedisce di vivere la propria umanità. Non soltanto non viverla, ma anche andare verso un degrado terribile. Io penso spesso a una cosa nella vita della Beata Teresa di Calcutta, che alla fine della vita ha vissuto quello che i mistici chiamano "la notte dello spirito". Lei ha vissuto, penso, questo, che significa essere in condizioni di cibo, di abitazione, di attività che sono sia nella criminalità, sia nel degrado umano. È inutile fare la descrizione di queste grandi miserie umane. E come è stato detto, viviamo come se questo non fosse importante, o come se fosse una fatalità. È importante e non è una fatalità, dunque starei per concludere, se me lo permette il Professor Sachs, perché ho capito questo, che siamo davanti a un problema etico e chi dice etica dice convinzione e necessità di impegno. Anche il primo intervento diceva questo. E grazie a voi dei vostri interventi.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: Quello che ha detto il Cardinale è molto importante. In fondo, molti accettano che gli esclusi sono necessari

nel sistema e quindi questo è il punto di fondo che evidentemente nessuna teoria economica deve sostenere, almeno se ha una visione umana e cristiana. Grazie.

MR. JUAN GRABOIS: Un comentario sobre la exposición del compañero de panel. Yo creo que el tema de la crisis moral, ética, como dice Francisco, es que también es una crisis política, porque en primer lugar, un poco dando el ejemplo que daba Sachs, los 5 mil millones de dólares que faltan para este Fondo. Ya es una inmoralidad que el acceso a la salud no sea un bien universal y gratuito, y una forma de resolver esa carencia sería decirles a los laboratorios que no cobren estas patentes aberrantes que cobran. Y también, por ejemplo, mi país le podría prestar los 5 mil millones de dólares al Fondo sino se los tuviera que pagar a RepsolYPF que nos robó el petróleo durante diez años e impunemente destruyó nuestra empresa petrolera nacional gracias a las privatizaciones impuestas por los organismos internacionales de crédito. Hoy le tenemos que pagar 5 mil millones de dólares, con eso podríamos haber completado el Fondo. También es inmoral. La inmoralidad es no solamente que el 1% no aporte el 1%, porque ellos no van a aportar nunca nada, eso es parte del sistema, el sistema es que se lo quedan. Por lo menos que no manden la basura y no le roben el petróleo a los Africanos, que con eso podrían mejorar su sistema de salud.

Entonces, un poco para sintetizar, me parece que hay que resaltar dos temas. Primero, el carácter estructural de este problema, que es un problema político-estructural que tiene que ver con la raíz propia del capitalismo, y segundo, cuál va a ser el poder que se oponga a esa élite que vive explotando el resto de la humanidad y excluyendo. Bueno, esto es otro tema que tenemos que hablar y ahí tiene que ver también el proceso de organización popular.

AMB. DENIS FONTES DE SOUZA PINTO: Thank you, Monsignor. It's just a follow up of the commentary of Cardinal Cottier. Mr Sachs, you said that we live in our days a moral crisis. As a professional diplomat I know that, in the end, it's just a political question. We all know that there are a lot of resources available in many international organizations. How do you see changes in the international system of how the principal, the main international organizations work, in the time of the exhortation of Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*?

PROF. JEFFREY SACHS: First, on the question of whether our crisis is moral or political, of course one can take an optic of both, and at some level government and, as the Pope expresses it very clearly, government is supposed to represent the collective will and aspirations of the society. This doesn't

work adequately and we know this. But I would still assert that the moral voice can play a determining role in this time, this would be my own theory of politics, if I might say so, and the reason is actually this paradox, that we have so much capacity to solve these problems, that they threaten so much – they threaten everybody by the way, the rich as well as the poor, though the rich sometimes believe that climate change somehow stops at the gates of their community, but it doesn't. I believe that what the Pope says, that mostly we are living in a confusion and in an era of image and superficiality, is probably the most important political point as well, right now. In other words, powerful interests are powerful, I have no doubt that Exxon is a powerful lobby in the United States, and the oil industry is very powerful, but I don't fear it as somehow being able to dominate human interests or even dominate our society. What I do feel, though, is that we are adrift with lack of clarity, lack of clear goals, lack of good understanding of what the risks are and lack of understanding about what the solutions are. And so to my mind it is mostly the fog rather than the power, which is our biggest obstacle. This is my own view, having been involved in these issues for thirty years. It is a lot of confusion, a lot of drift, a lot of moral indifference, a lot of casualness, but I would be happy to take on the moneylenders, and I don't believe that they're so powerful, by the way, and I believe that they can be influenced, and I believe in young people also taking on this cause. What I feel, very powerfully I must say, is watching even in these months that the world has changed with Pope Francis because he has touched people and hearts and ideas in just a short period of time, in an amazing, powerful way. Why is that? Because there is a hunger for this that is very significant, a hunger for the authenticity of a moral voice. One of the things that you feel in any of our societies right now is that there are few moral voices. You know, if you ask a young person in the United States, who's your moral guru? Who's your moral voice? Most people wouldn't be able to come up with a name. It's not a politician, it's not a celebrity, it's not their favourite movie star and so when you see Pope Francis carrying this message, it's extraordinarily powerful. I believe that the world hungers for this, actually, the whole world, not any particular denomination or Church but young people everywhere, and that's why I feel that there's an opportunity that is unique, and my own experience – for the past thirteen years I've been adviser to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the Millennium Development Goals – I can tell you my experience with this, which is that in this noisy world where politicians have every capacity to neglect the obvious, or to create wars or to do many terrible things, just having these global goals has made a difference. Not a definitive difference but it has opened eyes, shifted

attention, given heart, energized communities, energized experts, mobilized – once in a while – funds, and so the mere fact of having some goals that the world has agreed to, that we should fight poverty – strangely enough it's been obvious that we should fight poverty, perhaps – but having the world's governments say we should fight poverty and by 2015 achieve something, has made a difference, because there's a hunger for some guidance in our society. Where are we going? For what purpose? And so, if we can put some guidance that we need to save the planet before it's too late, we need to end extreme poverty because it's within our grasp to do so, and if I might say, I hope just to give you my reaction also to the Pope's message which, of course, is one of joy and hope. This is extraordinarily important also, because we're never going to win this battle against climate change by fear. It's by the possibilities, not by the fear that we're going to win this and that's the whole message here, look what humanity can do if we pay attention to each other. That's an extraordinarily powerful message. That's why I don't want to sound naïve to politics, it's real, but I believe that it's not the fundamental issue, because our political leaders are followers, they're not leaders anyway. So they will follow if there is leadership and that's why I'm convinced that they're part of the process, but they're not the definitive blockade to the process.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: I'd like to make a 30-second observation that both is very supportive of Professor Sachs but also Cardinal Cottier. Aristotle said that there were three characteristics of the good society: 1) that we are a productive one and create knowledge; 2) that we find means for what he called and Joseph Pieper called "leisure", the best uses of leisure and entertainment; but 3) was that we create a society that is contemplative, that is reflective, and I think we have in both Cardinal Cottier's remarks and Professor Sachs a reality that our society has done a great job of devising knowledge and producing entertainment, but has failed miserably in being able to produce a contemplative society that reflects on its responsibilities to each other. And I think Pope Francis' message, I think Cardinal Cottier, Professor Ramanathan and Professor Sachs, and very much the spirit of Juan Grabois, is really talking to us about how we desperately need to have a contemplative society.

GLOBAL LITERACY AND SOCIALLY EXCLUDED PEOPLES*

■ MARYANNE WOLF¹, STEPHANIE GOTTWALD¹, TINSLEY GALYEAN^{2,4}, ROBIN MORRIS³

From ongoing research about early brain development, cognition, and education, we know that the acquisition of reading changes the brain; in the process, it transforms how the child thinks, and it propels the personal, social-emotional, and economic trajectory of that individual over time (Wolf, 2007). When a child acquires literacy, both the life of the child and the surrounding society are affected. Within that context, the fact that close to 200 million children, through no fault of their own, will never become fully literate has immutable implications for them and for our world. Quite simply, these children and, more than likely, their children will never reach their full potential for cognitive and social transformation. It is a tragedy that is a key factor in the seemingly unchangeable lives of many socially excluded peoples. We believe it is changeable.

Kant described three questions that will be used to structure this chapter: *What do we know? What should we do? How can we hope?* (See discussion in J. Dunne, 2006) This chapter will be organized around each of these questions. In the first more theoretical section, a brief depiction of what it means to have a reading brain will be presented. The second section will describe our own response to Kant's difficult question about what one should do with the knowledge we have. Tolstoi asked a similar question, and his response, paraphrased here, has guided our own: "Do what is in front of you to do". Our way of implementing Tolstoy's response has been to combine

*Chapter to appear in: *Proceedings of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Meeting on the Socially Excluded Peoples*. Volume editors: Jeffrey Sachs, Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo. Vatican, 2014.

Note: This chapter is one of two papers written for the Pontifical Academies that describe our work from different perspectives: the present chapter emphasizes implications for socially excluded peoples; the other chapter represents a longer version of this paper with emphases on cognition and educational methods (see the companion volume, *Proceedings of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, Bread and Brain Meeting*).

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our collective fields in cognitive neuroscience, technology, data analysis, and child development to develop a digital learning experience for children that will promote learning to read wherever they are, whatever their circumstances.

As will be detailed in the second section, we are involved in a new way to promote global literacy in both remote regions of the world, and also in the unknown places in our own backyards in the United States where poverty and social exclusion can arrest a child's potential as thoroughly as in Bangladesh or Mumbai. Although this technology-driven initiative is a radical departure from traditional modes of teaching, we do not aim to replace any teacher or to suggest that good schools and teachers are not critical to every society. Rather, our major goal is to create digital materials and learning experiences that become part of an open-source platform that supports literacy development for millions of children – whether they are in areas where there are no schools, or in schools where there are insufficient resources. We want, therefore, to provide a platform that can help promote the untapped potential of young human beings who would otherwise never become fully literate.

In the third section – which asks *what may we hope* – we will argue that global literacy represents one of the most intrinsically hopeful antidotes to the transformation of the lives of socially excluded peoples.

What do we know?

The Origins of the Reading Brain

One of the more surprising discoveries in the science of reading is the disarmingly simple fact that human beings were never meant to read. We humans are biologically programmed to speak, see, think, and remember, but not to read. Each of these other basic processes requires vast neuronal networks that are genetically given. Very pertinent to literacy, many of these other processes are the component parts for the development of a new *reading circuit* in the brain of every literate person. The reading circuit represents one of the most powerful examples of the brain's semi-miraculous ability to form new circuits from the neuronal networks used for older, genetically programmed processes (see Dehaene, 2009; Wolf, 2007). . Numeracy (see Dehaene, 2011) and writing represent other examples. In the case of reading, the networks for vision, language, cognition, affect, memory, and attention are all brought together for something outside our basic repertoire of abilities. Pascal once wrote that there is nothing new under this earth, but that there is “rearrangement”. The reading brain circuit is, from our perspective, the physiological instantiation of Pascal's principle of *rearrangement*.

The beginnings of this circuit begin slowly as young children develop each of the genetically preprogrammed parts of the circuit, particularly processes underlying language, hearing, cognition, and vision. For most individuals, about five years are required for the development of each of these individual component parts before children gradually learn how to integrate the separate parts into one wholly new circuit for the purpose of reading. This integration, which is the basis of the reading circuit, never simply emerges without exposure to a writing system or without the nurturance of the environment or culture around the child. In this sense reading is neither natural nor easily acquired, in the way that oral language is.

Indeed most children learn to associate what they see, hear, and know with symbolic characters through varying amounts of teaching assistance. Although some children might be able to induce the alphabetic principle themselves, the alphabetic principle requires highly demanding cognitive insights into the nature of a symbolic function. Whether the child is learning the alphabetic principle or concepts underlying other writing systems, the child must learn that a visual symbol corresponds to a specific sound, syllable, word, or concept. While this cognitive leap may sound simple enough, one has only to think about Helen Keller. Specifically, recall the moment in which Helen Keller, deaf and blind, discovered with her tutor that the feeling of water had a word attached to it, and further, that there was a sign possible to communicate this word. Learning the alphabetic principle in the child's early years can well be likened to Helen Keller's epiphany. A major question that is a leitmotiv in our work is whether we can create conditions in which the child is led to these insights about the alphabetic principle on her or his own, or whether some intervention by a literate person is needed by most individuals. There are varied permutations possible for such an intervention: for example, varying amounts of time and assistance needed.

To understand why the reading acquisition process is so complex, even before learning the alphabetic principle, consider the circus! The linguistic, perceptual, and cognitive hoops that every child has to move through to learn to read are much like a three-ring circus in the brain. In the first ring, various "acts" representing each aspect of the entire language system must be developed: from the outset, children must be exquisitely attuned to the unique individual "phonemes" or sounds of their language, that make up the sound structure of each word. Equally importantly, they must know the meanings and grammatical functions of hundreds and ultimately thousands of words, so that when they eventually read the word, they know what it means in a sentence. There are many more linguistic "acts" in the first ring

of language processes (like grammar itself!), but for now let us be content with a somewhat more metaphorical level of description for what happens in the first linguistic ring.

The second ring is comprised of the fine-tuned perceptual processes that allow the child to detect the often subtle visual features of individual letters or characters. There are very specific groups of neurons responsible for the particular features that letters are comprised of, but only if the child is sufficiently exposed to those features and letters (Dehaene, 2009). In similar fashion, with sufficient exposures, other “working groups” of neurons become specialists for recognizing the longer letter patterns, and highly used words in any writing system. The visual areas of the brain of a child have to become like little repositories of all the letters, letter patterns, and eventually morphemes of that writing system. The more they are seen, the better and faster they can be activated when seen in a book or text on the screen.

The third ring involves the continuum of increasingly sophisticated and abstract cognitive processes that allow the child first to learn that a letter (or character) symbolizes a sound; second, that in an alphabetic system these sounds are blended to make words; and third, that words come together to give meaningful thoughts and information that ultimately propel their own thoughts. This last set of acts is developmentally extended over the life span and requires ever more complex processes over time like inference, analogical and deductive thinking, insight and sometimes novel thought, all of which contribute to what we call “deep reading” (Wolf & Barzillai, 2009).

Finally, the circus performance is ready when each ring’s basic “acts” are learned individually and can be performed in tandem – flawlessly and synchronously – as a group of seemingly effortless performances. In other words, what we do when we read is very much like what a ringmaster does while conducting a three- ring performance. In terms of development, in a young reader, huge portions of the brain’s visual, linguistic, cognitive and motoric areas are activated when first reading a single word or sentence. Later in development, a great deal more is added to this circuit: for example, the readers’ feelings, affective associations, and background knowledge, which often propel insights and new thoughts for the reader. The older and more we know about words and concepts, the more and more elaborated this circuit becomes. From a physiological perspective, it is one of the most impressive displays of activated cortex that represents the most difficult feat the young brain is ever called upon to perform at so early an age.

Understanding exactly which specific processes and underlying areas of the brain are activated at different stages of reading’s development has been one of the foci of our work and that of many of our colleagues. It is a crit-

ical basis for our group's efforts to create new approaches for helping children learn to read. Indeed it is this theoretical knowledge that undergirds our approach to digital learning and propels our hope that we can eventually create better and better iterations of a learning experience that simulate the reading brain.

More specifically, in our work just previous to the present global literacy initiative, we created innovative reading methodologies that were designed to systematically target each component part of the developing reading circuit for children struggling to learn to read for reasons like dyslexia (Wolf, Bowers, & Biddle, 2000; Wolf, Barzillai, Gottwald, *et al.*, 2009; Wolf, Ullman-Shade, & Gottwald, 2012). Along with colleagues Robin Morris in Atlanta and Maureen Lovett in Toronto, we demonstrated through more than a decade of systematic, randomized treatment – control design studies how carefully targeted emphases in reading methods can help young and particularly young readers with difficulties, learn to read with fluency and comprehension (see Morris, Lovett, Wolf *et al.*, 2012). From these studies, and related studies by other researchers, we have learned how to model the reading brain and to apply this knowledge to the teaching of the young in traditional school settings. We have had considerable success with changing the trajectory of learning for countless children who receive these interventions. The question, however, was whether this knowledge base could be translated to digital learning experiences.

What should we do?

In the process of our work on intervention with struggling readers, we became increasingly aware of literacy issues outside our traditional research base in classrooms in the United States. Although our work originally focussed on children who cannot read because of underlying learning challenges like dyslexia, we asked whether our work might have implications for children who were unable to read because of their environments, not their physiological differences. The realities of these children are even more daunting: 72 million children worldwide will never become literate because they have no school. At least another 100 million children have such insufficient resources in their schools that they will never become functionally literate. The great majority of these children live in environments that are home to masses of socially excluded peoples, most especially in Sub-Saharan Africa and India. The realities of these 172 million illiterate children pose staggering challenges and questions.

It was within this context that we were originally approached by Nicholas Negroponte, founder of the MIT Media Lab and the One Laptop Per Child

initiative. He asked questions concerning whether the acquisition of literacy was possible in remote regions around the globe – that is, in places where there are neither schools nor teachers. Negroponte had become concerned about these issues because of what he discovered during his leadership of the One Laptop Per Child initiative. During this time 2.4 million laptops were distributed in varied regions of the world to children, many of whom were not literate and were, therefore, unable to derive full use of the laptop.

With him we began to ask a new set of questions: Can our insights into the formation of the young reading brain and our research on methods for teaching children with dyslexia and other learning differences provide the basis for a completely new application of this knowledge base in mobile technologies? For example, can we select and/or create apps and activities that target the important areas in the reading brain circuit? Will children with no schools be able to teach themselves and each other with no adult instruction or help? Can mobile technologies prove capable of delivering these apps and also assessment tools to ensure the efficacy of the approach? How can we implement these technologies and evaluate the children in the remote regions where most of these 172 million children live? In other words, we asked ourselves *whether it is possible to create a digital learning experience capable of combating illiteracy through mobile technology devices like tablets and smart phones in places and situations where schools and teachers are either unavailable or insufficient.*

Three factors convinced us that we *should begin* to use our collective knowledge bases to approach illiteracy in a new way on a global scale, particularly for children who are the next generation of the socially excluded peoples. First, our increased understanding of the young reading brain and how to teach it makes the curation and development of innovative digital content a conceivable goal. Second, within technology there are increasing breakthroughs that make new mobile computer technologies affordable and available around the world, thus making the financial basis of digital learning possible for large numbers of children, something that would have been heretofore impossible. Moreover, wirelessly connected mobile computing devices have become a cost-effective platform for delivering learning content through multiple experiences (e.g., apps, videos, e-books, games, and online communities) to children across varied knowledge bases and skill domains, and most importantly, across all economic strata. In other words, the increasing access to mobile devices like cell phones, even in the most economically distressed environments like the slums of Mumbai and refugee camps in Sudan, makes mobile technologies a truly possible vehicle of learning around the globe for the children of socially excluded peoples.

Third, the growing ubiquity of connectivity, along with cloud computing and big data analytics, enable completely new forms of assessment, both of individual children's progress and also of the performance of large populations (e.g., from the village to the country to the global levels). More specifically, by creating a tightly iterative design in which a child's performance can be immediately assessed, we could eventually provide ever more targeted individualized instruction on the specific areas of need for a given individual. Such a design could provide one of the most important means for advancing learning on digital technologies, particularly in remote areas where many of the world's socially forgotten peoples live.

These three factors became the context for our research consortium. Members of the Tufts Center for Reading and Language Research, MIT Media Lab, Georgia State University, and most recently the Dalai Lama Center for Ethics and Transformative Values came together to work towards one overarching goal: to investigate whether our evolving knowledge of the young reading brain, big data analytics, child development (particularly child-driven learning), and new technologies can be applied on mobile technologies. Specifically, we sought to understand whether theoretically based content on affordable tablets could help children learn to read by helping themselves and each other, even in the absence of a teacher or literate adult.

First Deployment: Ethiopia

In the fall of 2011, our Global Literacy Project began an extraordinary, ongoing study in two remote regions of Ethiopia. Ethiopia represents one of the ten countries with the highest rates of illiteracy. Over half of its population of 91,196,000 people are illiterate. Two thirds of the women are not literate. The government spends approximately \$86 per person a year on education, making it one of the lowest rates in the world. These particular sites were selected because of the infrastructure provided by the earlier OLPC initiative. Through these existing contacts with the Ethiopian government, and the critical support of the government and local leadership, the particular villages were chosen as representative of most of Ethiopia's inaccessible populations. The government refers to children in these regions as "pastoralist children" who will have almost no opportunity for any form of traditional education in their area. The first village, Wonchi, is found on the rim of a volcanic crater at 11,000 feet and is an agrarian community with relatively good access to well water, but little access to main roads. To reach the village requires transportation by foot or animal in the last segments.

The second village, Wolonchete, is located at the edge of the Great Rift Valley. There is no easy access to water in this second, tiny village, where chil-

dren and adults walk daily a total of five hours to and from the nearest source of water for their village. There is little vegetation in the arid, harsh living conditions surrounding Wolonchete, and access to the village is extremely difficult. To assure that the investigators could reach their village by overland vehicle, the elders of the village removed almost one – half mile of large volcanic rocks to allow passage from the nearest road to their settlement.

Children and the adults in these two villages have neither electricity nor running water nor sanitation nor easy access to any form of transportation or communication. To the best of our knowledge, the children have not seen books or paper or pencils; they have not seen any form of technology, although this has not been independently confirmed. Perhaps most importantly for this work, the children speak Oromo, one of several languages in Ethiopia, and have never, or very rarely, heard English, or seen written language in either Oromo (which uses a Latin script) or English.

The four major hurdles that the children face are individually and collectively massive. First, they have had no exposure to any technology and must become computer literate at a basic level for any digital learning to occur. Second, many of the concepts that would appear on any of the varied apps and activities would be unknown by the children (for example, even the verb “swim” is a foreign concept to children who have no easy access to water). Third, the children have no exposure to the English language, and there were no appropriate apps or digital activities available in the children’s native Oromo language. Fourth, although Oromo possesses a writing system, the children have had no exposure to it or to any other form of symbolic representation. No adults in these villages have had formal education or read in any language. Any one of these hurdles, much less all four, could prove insurmountable. The reason, however, for such a radical choice for our first deployment was that if we are able to demonstrate that children in these most difficult of conditions can make progress towards literacy, then there is a reasonable rationale to believe that the millions of children in similar, seemingly impossible conditions for learning can also learn to read, using digital devices with carefully curated and/or designed learning applications.

Despite these large impediments, there are two counteracting, powerful forces that mitigate against the acknowledgedly difficult hurdles these children face. The first is what we refer to as “Child-Driven Learning”. We believe that children everywhere around the world learn best when motivated by their own curiosity and desire to understand and “figure things out” for themselves. Child-Driven Learning involves learning that occurs alongside one’s peers, almost all of whom share similar interests and have a drive to discover together. We believe that this additional factor is a key aide in ed-

ucation in areas where children do not have access to teachers. This form of learning has been the focus of some ground-breaking work in India by Sugata Mitra, who served as a consultant to our project in its earliest conceptualization. We sought from the start to study whether children would share their knowledge (which we conceptualize as a form of “teaching”) with each other in this intrinsically peer-learning setting. This is not to ignore an earlier question as to whether some limited intervention by a literate person or even non-literate adult might prove helpful. Sugata Mitra (2012, personal correspondence), for example, suggests that the added effect of what he calls a “granny” is often critical to the children’s progress.

The second powerful force that we encountered from the outset involves the desire of the children’s parents for their children to learn English. Indeed it is more important to the parents that the children are learning English than literacy, because they know that their children have more opportunities for future employment if they know English. The parents feel that the ability to speak English in Ethiopia is a virtual pass to higher paying jobs. From the perspective of the Ethiopian government, if the children begin to learn English, this factor might enhance some of the children’s chances for future educational opportunities in Ethiopian schools, where English is typically taught. Based on these reasons, in our sites to this point, we have focused on the deployment of an English language-based literacy curriculum.

Although there were and are good reasons for this initial choice in our sites, it is one that we hope to shift gradually to include more of the native Oromo language as described below. Indeed in future deployments we will hope to have templates for learning to read that, while based initially on English, can be the basis for apps to be developed in whatever native language is used. The points here are several: it is extremely useful for the social, economic, and educational development of the children to learn English; it is usually easier to learn to read in one’s first language; it is often impossible to find apps in the languages of children in many of the more remote areas of the world; we hope to use our first iterations of apps on our tablets as templates for their development in different languages, which will be elaborated shortly.

Directly corresponding to the four seemingly insurmountable hurdles that the children embody, we set four seemingly impossible goals for our work with them. The first goal of the project is to propel the children to a level of computer literacy, without human direction or instruction, that enables digital learning to occur. Without it, the rest of our work would be meaningless. The second goal involves helping the children to understand basic concepts of child development that may not be known in their cul-

ture, for example, basic categories around time, nature, colors, number knowledge (etc) are not necessarily known in remote villages like Wonchi or Wolonchete. Because our apps employ many of the basic concepts in their content, it is important to ensure sufficient exposure to these categories of conceptual knowledge so that the apps will be effective in teaching more abstract pre-literacy skills.

Our third goal is comprised of activities to help the children begin to gain an understanding of oral English. For example, we have begun to create the first Oromo-English vocabulary apps that are based on the principle that children learn words most easily when they represent things (animate and inanimate) in their immediate environments. Thus, we asked our Ethiopian counterparts to take pictures of the children holding their own personal objects with the words *spoken and written* in both Oromo, the children's language, and English. For example, a boy from Wonchi is holding up a very thin chicken, while a girl from Wolonchete points to a very dusty, furry donkey. In the newest app, the words for the objects will appear on the side in both English and Oromo, and are audible when the viewer touches the word on the screen, a technique the children have mastered already from other existing apps on the tablet.

Ultimately, we seek to build a set of more *universal templates* for learning to read across various languages and writing systems. Towards that end, we are attempting to construct principles for the choice and/or creation of all apps, regardless of language. For example, from a linguistic viewpoint, we want children to know the full repertoire of the phonemes in whatever language they are learning to read, as well as the meanings of the basic concepts in early child development, regardless of culture. We want to provide apps, therefore, that present the more universal perceptual, linguistic, and cognitive principles that are needed for the development of the reading circuit, whatever language is being read. Similarly, we want all apps embedded within a design that arouses children's intrinsic curiosity and allows them to learn on their own initiative. This design will be agnostic of content and curriculum and even mobile device.

Our fourth and most difficult goal is to introduce the children to the *precursors of literacy*. These include the important elements of alphabetic knowledge, such as 1) learning the alphabet and being able to "recite the alphabet" in a group or as an individual; 2) learning to identify letters by pointing to a letter that is heard; 3) learning to give the name of the letters in both serial and mixed arrays of letters; 4) knowledge of letter-sound correspondences (e.g., being able to give the sound or sounds associated with each letter of the alphabet); 5) writing letters to dictation; and 6) acquiring

very basic sight word recognition (e.g., reading – though *not yet decoding* – the most common early words like *mother, father, baby*).

Our thinking throughout this early phase of our deployment is that if we can someday achieve all of the first four goals, the immediately subsequent goals will involve basic decoding of simple words and basic reading comprehension of brief passages. We will then be able to introduce several other curricular domains, such as numeracy, health and hygiene, and ethical development. For example, for the last year we have taught two student seminars at Tufts and MIT, with auditors from the Rochester Institute for Technology, to create apps that will begin to extend learning into these domains.

An old maxim in reading research used by the late renowned reading researcher Jeanne Chall is that children must “learn to read”, so that they can “read to learn” (Chall, 1983). Our ultimate objective for these children is to enable them to move along a continuum of literacy from pre-reading precursors to reading acquisition to that critical reading transition from learning to read to reading to learn. In other words we want two Helen Keller experiences for our children: first to decode words in print; second to decode sufficiently to begin to understand whole new areas of knowledge. If we can propel them to this second stage, we can also introduce them to learning across multiple domains from numeracy to history to science. Indeed we hope to write early stories that embody principles of STEM and ethical development for even the earliest of readers.

If, over time, we can help the children in the two tremendously challenging Ethiopian environments to attain first or even second grade levels of reading comprehension, this level of early reading development is sufficient to serve as a platform for true literacy in the children. Such a level involves fluent decoding and what we are calling “deep reading” (Wolf & Barzillai, 2009). As noted earlier, the latter form of reading represents a hierarchy of skills that are necessary for more sophisticated forms of thought including: inference, analogy, inductive and deductive reasoning, and finally insight and novel thought. These skills, in turn, become the foundation for the equally abstract thought necessary to develop more heightened understanding of concepts like empathy, perspective-taking, and moral problem-solving.

If we can reach the stage of learning in which children are reading fluently across varied domains, our very ambitious goal is to have developed a global open-source platform that is a repository of many different apps from around that world that can introduce children to multiple areas of learning and whole different cultures and languages. We are already receiving requests from Ethiopia for content in health and hygiene. We wish to ensure the opportunity for all types of learning to occur on our platform,

particularly in numeracy, math, science, and ethical development. We envision that such a platform will also include data collection and data analytics to be able to measure and assess what children are doing with the tablets or other devices, their level of engagement, and their level of mastery of the materials and activities in each of these areas.

A key dimension of this platform involves harnessing the power of Child-Driven Learning as a social force that propels how children explore, discover, share and learn together. Our vision is not only to support child-driven learning within each local community of children, but also to connect these learning communities eventually across the globe. In this way, children from different deployment sites will be able to discover, share and communicate with each other through specially designed apps that support children's desire to create, communicate, and share with one another. For instance, something as simple as a dictionary of culturally relevant concepts (e.g., the concept of "home") could be co-created with children in different locations via a specially designed app that grows as children add contributions. Children can take pictures or videos of what constitutes a "home" in their culture, describe it with written words, recorded voices, or their personal drawings, and then share them with each other. Over time, children all over the globe could contribute what "home" means to them. This not only serves to build children's conceptual knowledge and vocabulary in a rich multi-modal format, it also helps to build empathy and understanding across different cultures, a parallel goal of our work.

Summary of Results

We have now collected our first round of behavioral testing in both villages. We will collect a second round in the very near future. The results from our first formal assessments of the four goals for the children in Ethiopia after one year are promising (i.e., technological familiarity; basic conceptual growth and vocabulary development; and literacy precursor skills).

First, in the domain of computer knowledge, almost all the children are completely "computer-literate" with the tablets. The earliest data indicated that in Wonchi, all the children were able to turn on their laptops within the first day without instruction or direction; in Wolonchete, by the second day all were engaged. By the end of the first month every app had been activated. The children are totally "at home" with these technologies.

With regard to our second and third goals for growth in concepts and vocabulary, all of the children in Wonchi knew some of the tested English vocabulary words in a receptive vocabulary task created by us (a brief test with a format like the well-known Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Dunn

& Dunn,2007); over half of the children knew the meaning of over half of the words. This result is encouraging when one takes into account two facts: 1) the words on the assessment were randomly chosen from the apps on the tablet; and 2) the children had no environment to practice their knowledge of these words. Despite the fact they speak no English, most of the children learned some basic vocabulary words.

The “precursors of literacy” goal is both the most challenging and the most surprising. The children are achieving remarkable precursor literacy skills with the tablets. Almost all of the children were able to recite the letters of the alphabet. Indeed without direction from anyone, the older girls in each village regularly conduct alphabet drills that would rival any 1950s Kindergarten! Most of the children recognize most letters in any array – serial or mixed. Most were able to write their letters, despite not having had paper or pencil before the testing (although we have pictures of them writing letters in the dirt with sticks). In other words, they were able to generalize motoric skills from tablet and ground to paper. A smaller group knew letter-sound correspondence rules. This group can recognize almost all English letters in any array, can write letters from memory, and most importantly can read a group of sight words. The children who were the best performers, therefore, were and remain on the cusp of beginning to read. No child in either village was able to decode the words in the decoding task. They are for all purposes in the moment **before** the first Helen Keller experience. It remains to be learned whether this next step can be accomplished with no human intervention, or whether a delimited intervention by a literate adult needs to occur.

It is noteworthy that in both villages, the older girls are among the most advanced readers and are actively teaching the other children: the “creation of a teacher”, from a village in which there had been no teacher ever before, is to us an important discovery. It is akin to watching the emergence of the “first school”.

This latter observation suggests at the present moment that with improvements to the platform and the applications and media that are to be delivered in the coming year, some portion of the children in the two villages will be able to make the next critical step to learn to decode and to comprehend what they are reading. To help them connect this textual knowledge to their own knowledge, we are presently creating stories and apps that are based on Ethiopian village life and also on these first analyses of the engagement data.

We have also begun to analyze some of the massive data we have to date on multiple dimensions of the children’s usage of the tablet. At the most

general level, data collected over the last year indicate that children used the tablets about 6 hours a day, often sharing the multiple apps and educational media on the tablets with each other. As the year progressed, quantitatively, children opened less apps, but qualitatively, they spent much more time using a specific app, thus indicating more in-depth engagement with apps over time.

When taken as a whole, the behavioral data in this early deployment provide a vehicle for studying the emergence of literacy in a group of children who have never seen symbolic text. They also demonstrate a first proof of concept to show how mobile devices like the tablet can give children access to the precursors to literacy and to beginning to learn another language. What they have not proven is whether true decoding can take place with no intervention outside of what is provided on the tablets to date. It remains to be seen whether new apps that are being added by us and that will be custom designed by us will change the equation.

There are observational data that are less formal, but that require note. As described both by the first author and by the two computer engineers in the bi-weekly site visits, the child-driven learning dynamic that emerged in both groups of children in Ethiopia has created a natural collaborative atmosphere in which kids of greater ability appear compelled and excited to help the other children by taking a leadership role. If expanded and reinforced over time, we believe that such positive, collaborative exchanges among children will create a natural environment for the development of such interactional abilities as empathy, a sense of interconnectedness, and a stronger awareness of self and other. They may also contribute to facilitating heretofore unknown leadership capacities. Certainly the young boy who taught everyone how to use the tablets initially became the unlikely hero of the village and took on the role of teacher over the last year. Similarly the older girls were clear teachers for the younger children in both villages.

The collective pilot data and our insights into them are still ongoing in the deployments in Ethiopia. The children of Wonchi and Wolonchete have given us a never expected petri dish for literacy and a still unfolding story. The government of Ethiopia has a particular concern for children whom they refer to as the “pastoralist” children who remain outside the capacity of the government to teach. By and large, these are the most socially excluded people in their country who live outside of any reach. The government has, therefore, asked us to deploy in a new site that is 750 kilometers outside of Addis Ababa. This third deployment will indeed be our most challenging in Ethiopia. Together the three sites in Ethiopia with all their different insights provide a new chapter in our society’s collective under-

standing of what literacy and child-driven learning mean in the life-course of a young human being, wherever and whatever the circumstances.

What can we hope?

We know that literacy can open the child to a potential lifetime of knowledge, to creativity, personal growth, and critical thought. In a society we know that literacy can fuel discovery, productivity, and innovation, which, in turn, can drive economic growth, public health, and the well-being of that group of people. But what of the socially excluded peoples? Will literacy in the harsh conditions that govern the lives of the socially forgotten be sufficient to help children overcome those conditions? Can we replicate the same early learning curves we find for the relatively well-nourished children in two Ethiopian rural villages with children whose environments require survival as the first priority? Although the parents of the children in both Ethiopian villages could not have been more supportive, what of the parents of children in a Mumbai undercity, like those described so eloquently by Katherine Boo (2012), who have no such supportive families and whose basic goal must be to eat? What of children who have schools, but schools which are so overpopulated and understaffed that 60 to 100 children may be taught in a single classroom by one insufficiently prepared teacher? And what of children in our own “backyard” in rural United States, where poverty and inadequate language environments render them at risk for school failure before they even enter the Kindergarten door? What are we to hope for these different populations of children, each of whom represents a different face of the socially excluded in our world?

To address these and related questions of generalizability, we plan or have begun new deployments in each of the above situations: in undercity populations in Bangladesh and in India; in settlement schools in South Africa; in day care centers in Uganda; and in language-impooverished populations in rural Georgia and Alabama. Each of these deployments bring unique challenges to our work and for testing the utility of our platform for increased numbers of children. We have already encountered the limits of our work when funding and personpower are insufficient; we have, however, seen what is possible when factors like local supervision, better content, and sufficient funding and maintenance are aligned.

A more global hope is to use our collective insights about the present content on our tablets to foster the development of more carefully constructed, language and literacy-relevant content on an international scale. This can be done by empowering app developers to work with experts in various schol-

arly domains on the creation of content directly related to language and reading development. Such a process, we believe, will enable teachers, researchers, and facilitators to contribute socially and culturally relevant material: For example, the development of photographs and picture collections that represent vocabulary in the local context, or the creation of local myths, fables, and stories that can be uploaded into interactive storybooks.

One can also imagine in some settings for socially excluded peoples the enlisting of older, literate children, not only to interact with younger children on such apps as the Wolonchete, but also to propel their own development. One important activity for such groups of youngsters would be to write stories using particular vocabulary words that could become developed into “local” apps for the younger children. This has several benefits beyond providing content that is contextualized and relevant to the local population. It creates a community of creators that keeps evolving the material over time, allowing the system to react to the growing and changing population of users. It also allows the project to cross-pollinate different populations and to continue to develop the skills of older children.

As one present example in our most recent deployment, we hope to inspire children in the rural US to create material for vocabulary and stories that can be sent to Ethiopia, and vice versa in an exchange. This would not only expand and reinforce their understanding of the vocabulary by showing variations in new physical and social contexts, but, just as importantly, it fosters curiosity and understanding about another culture. We believe that these children will become far better prepared to understand and empathize with other children from all over the world, and will have a new perspective on who is “other”. Thus the development of apps for literacy to us is, in fact, a potential vehicle for the conceptualization of a far broader learning experience that can embody principles of ethical and character development.

Indeed, based on our ongoing work to date, we envision three primary vehicles for how ethical development curriculum could be extended within the present platform in the near future: 1) weaving aspects of character and ethical development into future language-literacy curricula through stories that portray empathy and leadership qualities among characters, as well as that provide moral problems and dilemmas to solve; 2) leveraging the connections between different learning communities to inspire greater understanding and connectedness with people outside children’s immediate environs; and 3) adapting and/or developing specific apps in ethics curricula for older ages (Note: an ongoing area of work in the Dalai Lama Center for Ethics and Transformative Values) for use with younger populations.

In his *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope Francis wrote:

We are living in an information-driven society which bombards us indiscriminately with data – all treated as being of equal importance – and which leads to remarkable superficiality in the area of moral discernment. In response, we need to provide an education which teaches critical thinking and encourages the development of mature moral values.

It is our hope that as the children learn to read, they simultaneously learn to think critically about what they read. In addition, we are planning to develop a new series of stories that are written to encourage the development of ethical thinking and a sense of being part of the large human family.

The ultimately envisioned platform is conceptualized as a global hub to foster a new, intellectual/technological movement in which an international community of users, developers, technologists, scientists, education practitioners, policy makers, and families work together to create a place where the digital assets, findings, and methods of best practice can be shared by all to help all children have their best chances to reach their potential. We think of this future entity as a kind of place where interactive educational content can be deployed on mobile devices to any corner of the globe, and become an investment in all the individuals and communities reached.

Summary

At the end of both our papers for the Pontifical Academy meetings, we ask what are the implications for the future generations? In particular in this chapter, we ask what are the implications for the future children of the socially excluded peoples of our world? If our combination of a theoretically based, digital-learning experience and child-driven learning can prove even moderately successful across diverse cultures and settings, we estimate that millions of children could have the potential to become literate in the next generation. The implications of such an advance in literacy and its sequelae would be extraordinary, beginning with decreasing poverty and mortality rates, and extending, it is our hope, to increased understanding and connections across vastly different cultures. Literacy does not insure a conflict-free world; but its absence ineluctably assures the existence of conflicts between the literate and the non-literate.

At the most basic level, literacy changes the brain of every literate person through new circuitry, which allows new forms of thinking and learning. At the level of society, literacy rates translate into greater community involvement and civic participation. Further, each new generation of readers passes these skills and their accompanying expectations on to their children

and grandchildren, thus potentially ending the cycle of illiteracy and, very importantly, changing its insidious correlate—poverty. Poverty is the major marker of the socially excluded peoples. It is the major target of much of the directives by Pope Francis. In his *Evangelii Gaudium*, quoted earlier, he described the plight, indeed the emergency, of the poor and the moral imperative involved in helping the poor have truly equal access to education, human rights, and the dignity of economic employment.

It is our belief that at a minimum higher rates of literacy empower young women to seek greater educational, economic, and even entrepreneurial challenges, which, in turn, make them more likely to raise healthy, literate, economically independent children. With the most basic of tools, individuals with an adequate to advanced level of literacy can become full-fledged members of society and can become involved on an equal basis in social and political discourse. As the world around us changes the way information can become available to anyone with access and the ability to read and understand it, there is a potentially revolutionary leap forward possible for the citizens of our world, wherever and whoever they are. There has never been a time in human history when literacy has been more important to a child's future, or more possible.

Until we demonstrate that children in our villages can learn to read, our acknowledgedly bold hope at the time of this chapter's writing is that the unfolding story of a literacy initiative in two tiny villages in remote Ethiopia will inspire us all to keep trying until they do. We are both elevated and humbled by the possibilities and the impediments to be faced in meeting that challenge and the future challenges in our next phase of deployments in India, South Africa, Uganda, and Bangladesh. We hope to bring to the collective consciousness around the world the profound, intellectual generativity that lies at the heart of reading and the great waste when children never enter the worlds of knowledge opened for them by literacy.

In so doing, we seek to release the potential of children who might otherwise be exploited, underutilized, or completely excluded from the ever-changing societies in our own world. If we achieve even some part of our goals, we predict that whole new forms of literacy will emerge that will increase connectedness among children and individuals around the world and, in the process, usher in new dimensions of empathy and compassion for human beings they would never otherwise have encountered in their lives in Mumbai, Wonchi, Wolonchete, Johannesburg, Bangladesh, Uganda, urban Los Angeles, and the little forgotten towns in American backyards.

Our final thought comes from John Steinbeck's great American novel, *East of Eden*:

The greatest terror a child can have is that he is not loved, and rejection is the hell he fears. I think everyone in the world to a large or small extent has felt rejection. And with rejection comes anger, and with anger some kind of crime in revenge for the rejection, and with the crime – guilt – and there is the story of mankind. I think that if rejection could be amputated, the human would be not what he is. Maybe there would be fewer crazy people I am sure in myself there would not be many jails. It is all there – in the start, the beginning. (Steinbeck, 1952, pp 271–272)

It is our best hope that literacy, which is at the “start” of the education of our young, will give the world one of its best, simplest weapons against “rejection” and its twin isotope, *exclusion* – of children, of families, of peoples.

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DISCUSSION AFTER PROFESSOR WOLF'S PAPER

PROF. ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE: What first came to my mind, looking at you, rather than listening to you, is Professor Rizzolati and his studies on the mirroring neurons. He explains that, when you see, there are some areas of our brain that are immediately encouraged to do the same, to act in the same way. Imitation has a tremendous power for teaching. And Socrates also came to my mind and you quoted him, the seventh letter of Plato, the most important things cannot be written on paper, they must be written on the soul of the people. And I found a kind of contradiction, perhaps a kind of complementarity between what Professor Tognon said and what you have been saying now, because you have told us of a method in which it seems that the teacher almost disappears. I don't believe it's possible. Perhaps Professor Tognon exaggerated a little bit, I don't think we can send so many people to teach in foreign countries and I wonder how will they be received in Islamic countries, for instance. But on the other hand, we cannot do without.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: Exactly. Now you are literally... I could not really explain the Nicholas of Cusa Paradox, the contradictions that I live, but that is at the heart of them. But my answer is what I am learning and that is, the children become the teachers in ways that I never would have understood. The little girl who was giving the alphabet, she was an amazing teacher. These little girls, she was drilling them. She had become a teacher. Now, it does not mean I believe this replaces teachers. You heard me say that. I don't want that, but can it complement teachers? Or, when it is not there at all, can we use this to inspire the teaching of each other? So one piece of the whole work is called "Child-Driven Learning" and there's an interesting professor in India, who's called the slum professor, Sugata Mitra, who goes and sticks a computer in a village wall and then comes back and many of the kids are computer-literate, this is a piece, not the whole.

PROF. ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE: Then, one important aspect is to communicate enthusiasm because, if you don't communicate enthusiasm, it is very unlikely that things may work.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: You're so correct about enthusiasm. One of the ways that we look at apps – we have all the data so any child that puts on

an app, how many minutes, that comes back to us – if it doesn't engage, it's out. So that's a piece of the formula.

MR. JUAN GRABOIS: A brief comment and one question. First, as I told you in the taxi, from the popular sectors in Latin America we have a very rich experience. For instance, if I'm not wrong, one of the most literate countries is Cuba and it has a system called "Yo sí puedo" that has educated several million kids in different countries of the world where there are no schools. So that's one experience to take into account. Another experience, more in the line of Tognon, is what we call "popular education" and the theoretician of this is Paulo Freire, which is another experience of a new model for education. A third thing, more basic, is taking Pope Francis' words to value the historical memory of old people in the transmission of knowledge, that should be, I think, as important as technical thinking in education.

The last thing, and a question for you is, in your model I don't see the role of the State and I think that education is not a voluntary thing, it's a right, and the State has to compulsorily make everybody able to study. What is the role of the State in your model?

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: In the United States I'm working with something called "Literate Nation" in which literacy is to be declared a right. We are using that state by state, so that same philosophy, I believe, should be country by country. In essence, what we are doing when we go into a country where we asked to have a deployment, we engage, for example in Ethiopia, in long conversations about why literacy should be a human right. So I could not agree with you more, I'm working on it in my own country, state by state. I believe that when we go into a country and work with people we do that in a small way, but in a large way the large sense that you are talking about, I myself am not doing anything yet but I will join any effort towards that.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: I have a question and in reality it's not only for you, but it's a real question that wasn't put on the table, we can say, but which is very central for Pope Francis: the question of corruption. He says that corruption is the devil, is the antichrist, and we all are sinners but the corrupted have no salvation, and these very strong statements about corruption. I think this is also very important in education because, in the end, the people who caused all these questions, for example in the financial sector, were people who were educated in the most important universities, in Harvard etc. and the consequence was this. And this was the question that the Queen of England asked the London School of Economics, how

could it be possible that these people didn't see it coming? I think this is a very important question and what is the solution to communicate values.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: I cannot solve the question of good and evil, but I can quote Solzhenitsyn who said, "if only it were possible to have evil in only one place", but the reality is that there is a dividing line between good and evil in every person and it is up to us all to choose, I would say, to choose daily. And what I would say to you about all of this is that corruption, if we read Katherine Boo's book, in Mumbai's Annawadi, you know, one of the most horrible slums in the world, you see good and evil being debated in people who are illiterate as well as highly literate. It's in us all to fight but what I would say, as a solution, and it's not a solution, it's an approach, I have really benefited from – I think you know – Venerable Tenzin, who was the second under the Dalai Lama, and we are literally making stories that children learn from. They learn how to read, but they learn how to think about dilemmas. I studied with Lawrence Kohlberg, among other people, who was a philosopher of moral development, and I actually never believed that I would be using his work as a cognitive neuroscientist, but I'm using his work to establish dilemmas that children read about what is right and what is not, and these are part and parcel of the ethical development that I hope that we can give, when we are confronted not only by a society that's influenced by Pope Francis, but a very secularized society. So we want this for everyone.

FR. KEITH PECKLERS: I want to ask about the One Laptop Per Child initiative, because it seems related to what you're actually speaking about.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: It's related in that Nicholas Negroponte had, let's say, mixed success with One Laptop Per Child. One Laptop Per Child several years ago had a foundation and distributed 2.4 million laptops and they went to many places, and some of them were very successful, for example Uruguay was a great success story, other places were not. And he actually came to me and said, part of the reason why they were not successful was because the children were not literate. What do you do with a laptop if you have no literacy? And so he asked the question and then a group of us became so completely committed to this idea. Nicholas has gone on to what is called the X Prize. The X Prize in the USA gives money for huge societal impact, and the last one was on oil, one was on space, one was on energy, etc. This one, based on the Ethiopia data, is going to be on global literacy and how can countries around the world, with all of their expertise,

contribute. It's like a Margaret Mead story, can a small group of people do something? We ignite – like Pope Francis but at a tiny level – we ignite the imagination and I think it's imagination and a moral vision that is what's needed. We have knowledge, but how do we take our imagination and apply it in new ways. And so I think that's what's happening.

L'APPROCCIO SOCIOPOLITICO

■ ROMANO PRODI

Il punto di partenza per la disamina sociopolitica dell'emergenza degli esclusi può essere ben riassunto da un'interessante espressione recentemente utilizzata da Papa Francesco e ripresa anche da Jeffrey Sachs nel corso del suo intervento: ci troviamo oggi a vivere nella *globalizzazione dell'indifferenza*. I dati sociali ed economici a nostra disposizione ci indicano, infatti, che il mondo si sta sviluppando a un ritmo sostenuto e forse mai eguagliato prima, ma che tale crescita si compie al prezzo di inasprire fortemente esclusioni e disegualianze fra gli esseri umani. Il quadro di riferimento del mio intervento si situa dunque nel solco di questa considerazione: tecnica, economia e progresso sono strumenti al servizio della crescita ma, per molti aspetti che analizzeremo, si sono rivelati incapaci di servire altrettanto bene la giustizia sociale.

Quasi un quarto della popolazione mondiale si trova oggi a vivere al di sotto della soglia di povertà. Come precedenti interventi a questo convegno hanno ben illustrato, le soluzioni tecniche per affrontare questo problema esistono. Mancano invece soluzioni che sappiano inglobare esigenze etiche e politiche. In particolare, Monsignor Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo ha sollevato nel suo discorso la tematica della corruzione. Tale questione non è di per sé legata alla finanziarizzazione dell'economia o ad altri aspetti tecnici dello sviluppo dei paesi. Essa è invece una questione etica, che accomuna paesi ricchi e poveri e riguarda tutti gli strati della società. I mutamenti tecnici possono fare ben poco per combattere questa piaga. Ciò che davvero conta sono gli esempi concreti e questo fatto dovrebbe essere tenuto in dovuto conto da tutte le strutture educative, fra cui la Chiesa.

L'ultimo documento pontificio usa ripetutamente una parola particolare, quasi una forzatura della lingua italiana, ovvero *inequità* (invece che iniquità). Inequità è un termine molto espressivo. Richiama il fatto che, sia nei paesi poveri che in quelli ricchi, il principio di equità che dovrebbe essere alla base dello sviluppo sociale ed economico viene invece negato.

La struttura politica degli stati adotta spesso un approccio di sostanziale indifferenza verso i problemi dello sviluppo dei paesi più poveri. Parlo di indifferenza "sostanziale" perché, dal punto di vista formale, le espressioni di impegno e di partecipazione di sprecano.

Negli ultimi anni abbiamo infatti assistito alla formulazione di grandi obiettivi (come i Millennium Development Goals) e alla creazione di numerosi strumenti e fondi (sia pubblici che privati). Tuttavia, nonostante il fiorire

di queste lodevoli iniziative, il flusso degli aiuti verso i paesi a più basso reddito ha sempre mantenuto una dimensione modesta e insufficiente rispetto agli obiettivi che si proponeva. Nel corso della mia carriera istituzionale ho partecipato a dieci G8, cinque volte come Primo Ministro italiano e altrettante come Presidente della Commissione Europea. Ebbene in nessuna occasione siamo stati in grado di mantenere le promesse di aiuto fatte ai paesi in via di sviluppo. Le espressioni di volontà riguardo l'ammontare dell'impegno economico in supporto a tali paesi cominciavano con percentuali vicine all'1% e procedevano regolarmente al ribasso. Gli effettivi contributi versati erano sempre solo una frazione dell'impegno effettivamente sottoscritto. Questo esempio ci dimostra come la piaga delle ingiuste differenze fra gli esseri umani non riguardi solo alcune categorie, ma rappresenti un problema universale, che tocca tutta l'umanità e che la politica non ha saputo o non ha voluto affrontare. Tenendo presente il divario che corre fra gli impegni presi e la loro effettiva implementazione, non sorprende che, come menzionato in precedenti interventi, gli obiettivi della conferenza sullo sviluppo sostenibile Rio+20 siano sostanzialmente disattesi.

Se ci concentriamo sul periodo di tempo successivo al 1980, notiamo che il problema dell'inequità si è fatto ancora più forte in tutti i paesi, indipendentemente dal loro livello di sviluppo. Una parziale eccezione è rappresentata dai paesi scandinavi, il cui livello di disuguaglianza non è cresciuto. Per qualche anno, anche il Brasile è riuscito a ridurlo; oggi il livello di disuguaglianza brasiliano si avvicina a quello statunitense (con effetti però assai più gravi dovuti al maggiore livello di povertà del paese sudamericano). In tutti gli altri paesi del mondo, la disuguaglianza è aumentata. Se cerchiamo le cause di tale crescita, dobbiamo guardare alle dottrine economiche che hanno preso piede agli inizi degli anni '80, ovvero dottrine riconducibili al neo-liberismo (reaganismo e thatcherismo). Sino a quel momento, gli studiosi di economia avevano registrato un lieve ma costante avvicinamento a una maggiore equità nella distribuzione del reddito. Non vorrei essere frainteso. Non sto parlando dell'età dell'oro perché anche prima del 1980 il livello di disparità e di ingiustizia gridava vendetta.

Dico solo che vi era stato un trentennio di leggero miglioramento e che si pensava che, col progredire dell'economia, migliorasse passo per passo anche la giustizia distributiva.

Al contrario, la divergenza è cominciata ad aumentare, a partire dall'inizio degli anni '80. I punti fondamentali delle nuove dottrine neo-liberiste propugnavano infatti l'idea che le imposte fossero in se stesse un male, indipendentemente dal loro effettivo peso sui contribuenti. Il primo obiettivo di un governo doveva dunque essere quello di abbassare le tasse a qualsiasi

costo, senza valutare il rapporto costi-benefici fra l'imposta e l'utilizzo del reddito da essa derivato. Il risultato di questa teoria ha effetti che durano sino ad oggi: l'opinione pubblica difficilmente voterà chi solleva la possibilità di introdurre tasse. Tale valutazione ha sostanzialmente modificato le scelte politiche dei paesi. Le imposte medie, prima negli Stati Uniti e poi in Europa, sono calate nel corso degli anni '80 e i tagli alle tasse sono divenuti un obiettivo prioritario di ogni governo.

Un secondo fattore, importante anche se meno ricco di conseguenze, riguarda la generale diminuzione (o abolizione) delle imposte di eredità. Tale questione è particolarmente interessante perché ha ridotto l'attenzione verso il problema dell'ascensore sociale, ovvero quel sistema che agevola il cambiamento di stato sociale e aiuta la maggiore integrazione fra strati diversi della società. Senza ascensore sociale, i figli dei ricchi tendono a mantenere il loro status ed i figli dei poveri a non migliorare il proprio. L'abolizione o la diminuzione drastica delle imposte di eredità produce evidentemente un vantaggio per le famiglie ricche ed uno svantaggio per quelle povere.

Un terzo aspetto concerne il legame fra nuove tecnologie e disoccupazione, su cui mancano per ora studi sufficienti. Le rivoluzioni tecnologiche del passato (come ad esempio quella elettrica, ferroviaria, dell'automobile) hanno spostato la concentrazione di manodopera da un settore all'altro, ma nel complesso hanno aumentato i posti di lavoro (ad esempio per la costruzione di strade, rotaie e la costruzione e gestione delle raffinerie). Al contrario, la rivoluzione digitale e i cambiamenti tecnologici hanno promosso la disuguaglianza. Le professioni che si creano in seguito a questa rivoluzione sono di livello elevato, mentre sta scomparendo la categoria dei lavoratori di livello intermedio. Diminuiscono infatti mestieri legati a operazioni di segreteria, disegno tecnico, contabilità. È assai difficile prevedere dove ci condurrà questo cambiamento tuttora in corso, ma è certo che esso accresce e pone nuove sfide al problema occupazionale.

Un quarto punto da analizzare è inerente alla finanziarizzazione dell'economia. Tale processo ha permesso una rapidissima accumulazione di redditi molto elevati. Tali redditi sono divenuti un riferimento da raggiungere sia per le élite dei paesi sviluppati che per quelle dei paesi in via di sviluppo. Si tratta per di più di rendite da capitale e introiti finanziari, per loro natura estremamente mobili, e dunque più facilmente soggetti a problemi di evasione e soprattutto elusione fiscale. La continua possibilità di spostare tali capitali fra i diversi paesi, sfuggendo a ogni forma di controllo, ha contribuito a indebolire il lavoro, fattore produttivo maggiormente statico, aumentando di conseguenza la disoccupazione. La finanziarizzazione ha anche reso più fragili le strutture

di protezione del lavoro, come i sindacati che, per un lungo periodo della nostra storia avevano avuto un ruolo determinante nell'innalzare il reddito dei lavoratori, specie dei lavoratori delle categorie meno favorite.

L'aumento dell'iniquità degli ultimi trent'anni è quindi insieme frutto di ideologie e di decisioni economiche ma è anche il frutto di mutamenti nei rapporti e forze all'interno della società che (come l'indebolimento dei sindacati) a loro volta sono influenzati e influenzano le ideologie e le decisioni economiche.

Un quinto elemento da sottoporre a grande attenzione riguarda i fenomeni migratori. Se consideriamo anche le migrazioni interne ai paesi, possiamo contare i migranti nell'ordine delle centinaia di milioni l'anno. La conseguenza politica di questo fenomeno è l'erezione di muri fisici (fra Messico e Stati Uniti e, più di recente, in Australia) e soprattutto di muri istituzionali. Dopo il lungo periodo in cui l'Europa ha investito sul principio della libertà di circolazione delle persone, assistiamo oggi a un passo indietro. Nel dicembre 2013, il Primo Ministro britannico, in seguito a una verifica degli umori del suo elettorato, ha annunciato ai suoi cittadini che il numero di lavoratori bulgari e rumeni in entrata in Gran Bretagna sarebbe stato sottoposto a controllo, nonostante le disposizioni che prescrivono la libera circolazione delle persone all'interno dell'Unione Europea. Nello stesso periodo, il Ministro dell'Interno francese ha manifestato la volontà di procedere verso crescenti restrizioni all'arrivo di lavoratori stranieri in Francia.

Come richiamato dal Cardinale Georges Cottier, l'esclusione è un fenomeno che danneggia l'umanità tutta. Ciò che è però straordinario (e che mai sarebbe accaduto una generazione fa) è la sempre più diffusa accettazione della disuguaglianza come un fenomeno ineluttabile. E quest'atteggiamento di fatale accettazione della crescita dell'ineguaglianza è comune ai paesi ricchi che a quelli poveri ed è dottrina dominante anche nei paesi (come la Cina) che, pur praticando un'economia di mercato, si definiscono tuttora politicamente comunisti. Si è arrivati persino a considerare ragionevole il progressivo perdersi delle conquiste del welfare state, che è stato un obiettivo condiviso di quasi tutta la generazione di politici del secolo scorso. Il welfare state rappresenta, in effetti, la sola vera e positiva conquista di un secolo di guerre e scontri. Trent'anni fa scrissi un articolo in cui denunciavo come eccessiva la differenza di livello salariale fra i lavoratori di base e il consigliere delegato di un'impresa, differenza che era nel rapporto di uno a trenta. Ricevetti moltissime lettere di approvazione perché una tale distanza venne ritenuta iniqua ed eccessiva. Ebbene, oggi differenze di 1 a 400 sono ormai considerate la norma e nessuno se ne scandalizza. Sono diventate un fatto normale. Non vi è tempo di entrare maggiormente nei

dettagli di queste trasformazioni ma certo non sono estranee alla finanziariaizzazione dell'economia, e alla conseguente evasione ed elusione fiscale. Papa Francesco ha giustamente ironizzato su coloro che fanno la carità dopo aver evaso le imposte, sottraendosi dall'autorità statale. La finanziariaizzazione dell'economia ha certamente reso più comune questo comportamento e, di conseguenza lo ha reso anche "accettato" come fatto inevitabile.

Un'ultima considerazione che vorrei fare in relazione all'aumento delle disuguaglianze riguarda l'ormai universale accettazione del concetto di precarietà. Un tempo contratti che non prevedessero il tempo indeterminato erano considerati una sgradevole eccezione alla regola. Oggi, il 90% dei giovani entra nel mondo del lavoro con un contratto precario, negli Stati Uniti come in Europa, e lo mantiene per un lungo periodo, spesso accettando di subire frequenti licenziamenti e riassunzioni che permettono di perpetuare questo tipo di contratto nel tempo.

Se nei paesi sviluppati la disuguaglianza aumenta, nei paesi in via di sviluppo la tendenza è la stessa, anche se, in alcuni casi, veloci e prolungati tassi di crescita generale sembrano nascondere questi fenomeni. In Cina ed in India la differenza di reddito medio fra diverse regioni varia da 1 a 5, ed è accettata come un fatto della vita. Contrariamente a quanto ci si potrebbe attendere, anche in molti di questi paesi il problema della giustizia sociale non è dominante, bensì subordinato ad altre gerarchie di valori. Il continuo sviluppo economico diminuisce la povertà in senso assoluto, ma i modelli di consumo adottati sono quelli, della società consumistica occidentale. In una società più povera questi modelli sono evidentemente ancora più inaccettabili. Il rischio è dunque di perpetuare e accentuare ovunque le disuguaglianze cui assistiamo oggi. Un esempio concreto riguarda il già descritto fenomeno della corruzione. Le classi dirigenti africane la considerano spesso un fenomeno naturale, anche perché è un modello che vedono adottato dalle classi dirigenti dei paesi sviluppati e che, naturalmente, trova nelle società più arretrate strumenti di controllo ancora più deboli.

Il carattere dell'esclusione è stato poi ulteriormente accentuato dalle recenti crisi economiche che hanno attraversato il mondo, dall'Argentina al Sud-Est asiatico e, oggi, all'Europa. Vale la pena ricordare che la disoccupazione giovanile si accompagna oggi al senso di esclusione di coloro che non si presentano neppure nel mondo del lavoro, scoraggiati dall'alta difficoltà di essere assunti ed è quindi ancora più elevata di quanto non ci dicano le statistiche.

Possiamo qui nuovamente richiamare le ultime riflessioni del Papa, il quale afferma che gli esclusi non sono solo gli sfruttati, ma soprattutto gli "avanzi", un concetto di straordinaria efficacia che assorbe e riassume le conseguenze delle decisioni politiche che, consapevolmente o inconsapevolmente, hanno

prevalso nella politica degli ultimi trent'anni. Vi sono ulteriori categorie che oggi sono trattate come avanzi, dando luogo a scenari spesso drammatici. Mi riferisco in particolare ai problemi delle minoranze, siano esse etniche, religiose, politiche o linguistiche. Tali minoranze sono spesso vittime di persecuzioni sanguinose, ed è ritenuto addirittura un fatto normale che vengano escluse dalle carriere pubbliche o dalla stessa vita economica.

Il quadro qui tracciato richiama con urgenza problemi etici, in particolare rispetto ai danni causati da una gerarchia valoriale che vede il denaro come dominatore assoluto e l'accumulazione delle risorse come unica via al progresso. Quando tutti gli aspetti della società sono resi funzionali al solo aspetto economico, la necessaria ascesa sociale degli strati più umili della popolazione diviene molto difficile. Tali strati debbono inoltre scontrarsi con l'impossibilità di accedere al credito, anch'esso strumento di ascesa sociale. Non a caso, le sperimentazioni effettuate da Muhammad Yunus con il microcredito al fine di aumentare la giustizia distributiva sono interessanti e costituiscono un tentativo di risposta insufficiente ma assai utile al problema dell'esclusione dall'accesso al denaro.

Ulteriori esclusioni riguardano il campo dell'istruzione, forse il più grande ed efficace ascensore sociale. In merito a questo, è necessario sottolineare prima di tutto la scarsità delle risorse dedicate all'istruzione in tutto il mondo sottosviluppato.

E aggiungere un ulteriore esempio di "inequità" richiamando quanto ha detto Giuseppe Tognon sull'"esagerato" livello di risorse dedicato da molti paesi sviluppati all'istruzione di eccellenza. Quando all'eccellenza vengono dedicate risorse eccessive rispetto a quelle destinate all'istruzione di base, si aumenta la discriminazione. Le alte dotazioni di alcune università americane, spesso derivanti da generose donazioni degli *alumni*, innescano un processo virtuoso che alimenta il progresso, ma non debbono drenare risorse dalla formazione delle categorie più disagiate.

Vorrei concludere il mio intervento ricordando l'importante ruolo giocato dalle agenzie internazionali (fra cui UNDP, WHO, ILO, FAO) nella gestione dell'emergenza esclusi. Questi organismi hanno spesso compiuto l'errore di sostenere politiche neo-liberiste che, come abbiamo visto, si sono rivelate inadeguate a favorire l'avvicinamento fra le classi sociali e un progresso inclusivo. Esse restano però importanti strumenti di dialogo e coordinamento fra gli stati, che meglio e maggiormente dovranno essere utilizzati in futuro. Solo uno sforzo coordinato da parte sia dei paesi sviluppati che di quelli in via di sviluppo può infatti generare un modello di crescita diverso, che sappia trasformare gli avanzi in ingranaggi preziosi per il progresso.

Vi ringrazio per l'attenzione.

DISCUSSION AFTER PROFESSOR PRODI'S PAPER

DR. JOAO PEDRO STEDILE: Quisiera compartir con Ustedes no una pregunta, sino que una reflexión sobre puntos que me parece son muy importantes como causas de la exclusión y por lo tanto, si buscamos la solución, debemos también reflexionar sobre ellos. El primero es que, en esta etapa del capitalismo mundial, hay una ofensiva del capital para privatizar la propiedad de todos los bienes de la naturaleza. Ellos se están apropiando de la tierra, del agua, incluso ahora del aire, y eso nos trae también exclusión no sólo de los campesinos como provocan los problemas climáticos. El segundo tema que alguien también ya comentó es la manipulación y el control de los medios de comunicación, porque son los medios de comunicación que generan en los pobres los falsos valores, son los medios de comunicación que manipulan y generan un sentido común falso entre la gente, incluso sobre la razón de sus problemas, entonces no habrá salida sino democratizamos los medios de comunicación en nuestras sociedades. Tercer punto, es que la democracia burguesa está quebrada. La gente ya no se reconoce en los parlamentarios y gobiernos que elige, porque la forma de elección es fraudulenta y ahí está la causa principal de la corrupción. La corrupción no es un problema moral, la corrupción es una forma de los gobernantes de gobernar, porque quien gobierna hoy y quien elige nuestros gobernantes son las empresas, incluso en Brasil. Las empresas más corruptoras están en Brasil que van ahí para comprar los gobiernos, elegir sus diputados y después sacar las ganancias de los recursos públicos. Entonces tenemos que pensar otra forma de democracia, una democracia participativa donde el pueblo, como dice en todas las constituciones, tenga el derecho sobre las decisiones y no solo transferir a los que después los van a traicionar. Y el último tema que quisiera agregar es que hay una separación entre el poder económico mundial, que hoy es controlado por no más que 300 empresas, y los gobiernos nacionales. Por eso es que la crisis sigue! Es que los gobiernos hacen 300 reuniones – G8, G10, G20 etc. – y no resuelven nada, porque al final de la cuenta ni las Naciones Unidas, nadie las respecta, nadie sabe que función han las Naciones Unidas, porque quien manda en el mundo son las 300 empresas. Ellas deciden en el Fórum de Davos y no en Nueva York, entonces mientras no se reponga el poder político real, para los gobiernos nacionales no tendremos salida en esa situación. Discúlpenme por poner estas cuestiones pero en mi país siempre que los pobres reclaman, los ricos dicen: “*Vai reclamar com o bispo*” entonces estoy aquí reclamando a aquel obispo. Gracias.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Condivido molto di quello che ha detto, però guardi, credo di avere un'esperienza abbastanza articolata, la corruzione non è prerogativa delle democrazie, ma la corruzione che si ha nei paesi dittatoriali è perlomeno uguale, se non più forte. Questa è proprio esperienza empirica, i governanti dei paesi dittatoriali sono i primi ad esportare capitali, sono i primi ad accettare e a fomentare le differenze, è un problema che magari fosse legato solo a una parte del mondo, io lo trovo estremamente pervasivo. Questo non risolve mica i nostri problemi, intendiamoci! Semplicemente, è meglio ancora per me una democrazia imperfetta, anche dal punto di vista dell'equità, con tutti i drammi che mi sembra di aver illustrato prima, che non toccare la democrazia. Il problema, che lei ha toccato, dei media, invece, è di una gravità enorme, perché i media mettono dei modelli che non sono mai egualitari, sono dei modelli da invidia per definizione, premiano la disuguaglianza. Su questo io non so cosa si possa fare, ma tutti i giorni noi abbiamo di fronte, alla televisione, il premio della disuguaglianza.

AMB. ALFONS M. KLOSS: Thank you very much. I would like reflect on a remark of Professor Prodi but put it in a contest which refers to almost all of the speakers, and that is, Professor Prodi was speaking of the problem of *precarietà*, that young people have no chances and they get only limited-time working contracts. I think one of the major challenges for us, for the States and for the Church, is the exclusion of the young. We are depriving the young generation of a future in dignity and we are not doing enough for working places, we are not giving them the motivation and, at the same time, we see that the world, as it is now – and we got a very good analysis today – there's a lot to do and it's the world which our generation has shaped as it is now, and I was very glad to hear from Professor Sachs that he deals a lot with young people. Young people give you hope, you said. And, obviously, young people get a lot of hope from the Holy Father. I think, if you look who is following the words of Pope Francis the most, it's the young people and most interested also are those who have been most further out of Church, because they are just sort of touched by him. Anyway, I think that if we want to change the world for the better, who else to put our trust in other than the young? They are idealistic, they are critical at the same time, but they want to work for a better world, and I think we should not underestimate their readiness to help shape the world of the future. Also the word of the globalization of indifference has really marked them and I get so many remarks back that this is a notion with which we can really define where we have got to. This is just an appeal and I think it's an appeal to the States as it is to the Church and Church institutions. And Professor Tognon talked

about the *deficit di volontà*: we could ask ourselves who has the most *volontà*? Who has to do something? It's the young, and I would be very glad if all of us could work for that. Thank you.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Non si può mica dare una risposta, perché la verità è che ha fatto un'affermazione perfetta: chiudi l'ascensore sociale, sostituisci con nuove tecnologie la manodopera, e cosa succede? Un'esclusione dei giovani, non ricambiamo. Ma, vede, il problema è che... Perché prima io ho insistito sul fatto che tutto questo viene accettato, che è il punto per me fondamentale? Quando penso a che riforme forti si possono fare, non riesco a capire da che punto partire, perché, tutto sommato, non si è ancora creata una tensione verso un cambiamento che bisogna fare in questi casi, perché lei capisce che non è che si possa prendere una crescita, rincorrere con una crescita ancora più forte, etc. C'è una produttività che sta crescendo molto in fretta coi nuovi mezzi tecnologici, in teoria uno dovrebbe dividere il lavoro esistente fra un numero più elevato di persone, quindi lavorare tutti assieme sull'orario di lavoro, tutte queste cose che noi economisti abbiamo studiato anche a fondo, ma che non mi attento nemmeno a esporre, perché so benissimo che non c'è accordo nei paesi e non c'è accordo tra i paesi. Esporrei un'utopia e io ho un obbligo morale di non esporre utopie. Allora insistevo e insisto sulla formazione di una coscienza che prenda atto di questi problemi. Per essere molto concreto, io mi aspettavo, coi dati che noi abbiamo, che succedesse l'ira di Dio tra i giovani in Europa. Il '68 e altre esplosioni giovanili sono avvenute per fatti molto meno discriminanti e molto meno importanti. Il fatto che non succeda nulla potrà rallegrare i governanti, e sotto certi aspetti sono anch'io contento, mi metto nei panni del Ministro dell'Interno, però, di fatto, non c'è una società pronta ai cambiamenti che possa dare una risposta alla sua domanda. Non c'è, perché i rimedi di fronte a questi enormi cambiamenti di società e tecnologia devono essere cambiamenti radicali. Accennava prima al problema che si vuole privatizzare perfino l'aria. Ma questo è accettato nella quasi totalità, cioè voglio dire, quando io ero giovane su questo si discuteva, pro e contro, c'era una variabilità di opinioni che adesso non c'è. Io, con onestà intellettuale, non vi posso dire che vi sia una soluzione realistica. Vi dico solo che siamo in questa situazione che non accenna a migliorare e che non vedo una risposta etica forte della società, l'unico richiamo davvero di valore è stato quello del Papa, non perché siamo all'Accademia delle Scienze del Vaticano, ma perché è organichissimo, perché un giorno tocca la corruzione, un giorno gli evasori, un giorno il problema degli emarginati, un giorno il problema dei precari, tocca tutte queste cose. L'ultimo documento è un elenco di questi problemi, però

io non è che veda molto altro, non c'è nessuno che abbia un programma politico simile. Analizzate scientificamente i programmi dei partiti, non viviamo mica in un mondo di luna, analizziamoli assieme, se volete si fa una seduta su questo, non c'è mica niente di queste cose che dice il Papa. Basta, questo è quello che io, con tutta onestà, vi devo dire.

PROF. ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE: Io vorrei partire proprio da quest'ultima osservazione del Professor Prodi. Chi fa politica oggi è, in genere, demoralizzato, perché ha l'impressione di non poter incidere sulla realtà. Abbiamo bisogno di una rivoluzione morale, di una capacità di impegno gratuito, bene pensare ai giovani, ma questa accettazione della disuguaglianza non avrà proprio niente a che fare con la scristianizzazione dell'Europa, mi domando? Può darsi che ci sia una connessione, varrebbe la pena di approfondirla. Secondo, bisogna poi guidare l'energia morale, perché se la porti a sbattere contro un muro, l'energia morale si disperde. Professor Prodi, oggi, se noi aumentiamo le tasse, i capitali vanno a farsi tassare altrove, dove hanno delle condizioni migliori, e perdiamo posti di lavoro. Non lo possiamo fare. Non è che alla radice ci sono gli accordi di Marrakech del 1994, cioè la globalizzazione? Ma se noi blocchiamo la circolazione delle merci e la globalizzazione, condanniamo i poveri a morire di fame o a farci la guerra. Non credo che sia una soluzione plausibile ma mi piacerebbe sentirla perché molti vorrebbero bloccare la globalizzazione. Non sarà che dobbiamo fare una globalizzazione del lavoro? Dopo il *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*, il *General Agreement on Wages and Labour*, in modo tale che, il capitale, spostandosi nel mondo, non possa più trovare delle aree in cui è in grado di comprare il lavoro per niente, o poco più che niente? Non è questo un obiettivo politico concreto su cui potremmo cominciare a cercare di mobilitare energie? È difficile, ma anche per fare il WTO, l'Organizzazione Mondiale del Commercio, ci hanno messo venti o trent'anni. Se non si comincia mai, non lo faremo mai.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Non potrei essere più d'accordo ma è proprio quello che è impossibile in questo momento o, perlomeno, che è estremamente difficile in questa fase storica, come dicevo prima. Globalizzazione del lavoro vorrebbe dire armonizziamo le condizioni di lavoro, le condizioni salariali, un po' di orari, e gestiamo il mondo secondo un ordine compatibile, non dico secondo le identità, ma su questo sai benissimo che ci vorrebbe un autorità mondiale ed è stata questa che è stata messa fortemente in crisi e contestata nell'ultimo periodo di tempo. Il nostro sogno ONU, o anche il sogno Comunità europea, hanno perso di importanza nel passato e io credo che questo sia un punto importante.

Sulla scristianizzazione dell'Europa dobbiamo stare molto attenti, secondo me, prima di tutto perché, nonostante tutto, in termini di giustizia distributiva, siamo ancora il miglior continente del mondo, qualche esempio della dottrina europea c'è ancora e, in secondo luogo, io non credo affatto che questa scristianizzazione sia più forte che in altri posti o in altri continenti. Per me, uno dei momenti più complicati della mia vita è stato il problema di introdurre, nella supposta Costituzione europea, il problema delle radici cristiane. È stata interpretata da molti, nel mondo della Chiesa, la non introduzione di questo preambolo, come un cedimento, e invece guardate, io che l'ho vissuta a fondo, era un problema del passato, c'era l'impossibilità di alcuni paesi, come il Belgio e la Francia, che avevano nella Costituzione la proibizione di questo e, invece, riguardo al presente, abbiamo poi fatto proposte ancora più innovative. Sì, non è stata messa nel preambolo la radice cristiana, ma abbiamo messo l'articolo 52 con un riconoscimento delle Chiese, della religione, anche in modo operativo, molto più forte di quello che non fosse un generico richiamo delle radici cristiane e con le stesse persone. Voglio dire, quando parlavo con Chirac e dicevo, "Mettiamo questo preambolo con il riconoscimento delle radici cristiane, messe in un ambito che potete riconoscere anche voi in Francia", lui diceva, "Mettitelo in tasca questo emendamento!" Quando però abbiamo fatto l'articolo 52 con il riconoscimento delle Chiese, l'abbiamo assolutamente potuto fare, non è stato semplicissimo ma infine è andata avanti. Attenzione a non confondere il futuro con il passato. Anche se De Gasperi, Adenauer e Schuman non credo abbiano mai chiesto permesso alla Chiesa sul come fondare l'Europa, avevano delle radici cristiane profonde dentro a loro e hanno creato una struttura, secondo me, che abbastanza teneva conto dei valori cristiani di pace, di fraternità, di sviluppo dei paesi più poveri rispetto a quelli più ricchi, cosa che c'è stata. Il problema è che questo si è perduto nella politica, ma si è perduto, e termino, perché non voglio essere troppo lungo, per l'incrocio fra gli *opinion poll* e le elezioni sempre più frequenti. Cosa succede, succede che, per gli *opinion poll*, ogni elezione, anche quella comunale, regionale, è diventata un'elezione di carattere vitale, quindi il politico è sempre sotto elezioni e non riesce, non ha mai il coraggio di affrontare i problemi di lungo periodo che nel breve gli toglierebbero voti ma nel lungo gliene possono dare. Cioè, io non sento più un politico, come mi diceva Kohl, quando creammo l'euro, "I tedeschi non vogliono abbandonare il marco, ma io voglio l'euro perché mio fratello è morto in guerra, perché voglio la pace, perché", e ripeteva la frase di Thomas Mann, "non voglio un'Europa germanica, ma voglio una Germania europea". Cioè, questo concetto diventa difficilmente compatibile con l'abbreviarsi degli orizzonti di lungo periodo della politica. Se noi non

pensiamo a queste cose, non riusciremo mai a liberarci dal giorno per giorno, dal termine breve, e ad affrontare i discorsi di oggi, che sono tutti discorsi di riforma. Il discorso che ha fatto Tognon sull'istruzione, vuol dire muovere risorse verso questi campi e questo, con un'elezione sempre il giorno dopo, nessun politico riesce ad affrontarlo, questo noi dobbiamo metterci in mente della gravità dei problemi che abbiamo, nell'esplicazione della nostra vita democratica.

PROF. JEFFREY SACHS: I just wanted to add to the discussion a couple of things that we might think about as addressing some of the marginalization of youth. Germany actually offers a positive model, a very rare one, of very low youth unemployment. It's just about the only place in the world where the unemployment rate of young people is actually less than the average typically, and we know that this is the result of a longstanding developed system of moving from school to work, effectively through apprenticeship programmes that link the private sector and the public sector, and I think we should see that there are some institutions that could be quite valuable and useful more generally. We don't have those institutions in the United States, most countries in Europe don't have them, but they seem to be working, actually, and the state finances part of the training of youth, but the training is on the job in companies that end up employing young people, so skills that are developed then lead more directly to longstanding employment, so I just wanted to raise that. I think we can also see many, many areas where young people who are currently marginalized can find gainful employment in extraordinarily socially-valuable activities, and Juan mentioned the example of recycling, I would mention community health workers, where we know that one doesn't need a medical education to have a huge positive impact on the health of the community, because many kinds of interventions that can be done and that are needed, actually, don't really require full medical degrees, but do require some training. But this is a way both to lower healthcare costs and to provide employment. I think the same is true in education, in environmental services, in the community, in clean-up, in recycling, in helping an aging population, where the elderly will definitely need more care, companionship, help and so forth. There are many, many new areas of employment that with a little more consciousness and structure can lead to very gainful, productive employment within the communities with proper training. Clearly there is a role for greater redistribution of income as well, and here's where the politics really hits the road, because we've been unable to touch the top of the income distribution for quite a long time, ever since Thatcher, Regan, and the emergence of very deeply ingrained tax havens all over Europe and

the Caribbean and other parts of the world. One of the positive developments recently, I think, has been a big public backlash against these tax havens and we need to continue to pressure governments to take action. This is where Africa also loses a tremendous amount of resources that go untaxed through transfers through Mauritius or through other places that are designed, right now, to hide income. There's no reason to take this as given, of course. This has to be closed down. The Cayman Islands, the British Virgin Islands, this is abuse. It is not with any justification whatsoever, in economics, in public finance, it is just the most abusive kind of behaviour that one can imagine, and it's trillions and trillions of dollars that are sheltered in these tax havens, an estimated 20 trillion dollars of accounts that flow through these little islands. Of course, they don't do anything there, they just hide from the tax authorities, usually with the connivance of the United States Internal Revenue Service and with the British tax authorities and so forth, but this is where public outrage, I think, can be harnessed very effectively and we could actually make real progress in this area.

AMB. JUAN PABLO CAFIERO: La mia domanda era al Professor Prodi. Ho sentito già una riflessione importante del Professor Prodi, si è parlato qui della globalizzazione dell'indifferenza, dell'indifferenza etica, del ruolo del mercato, del capitale e ho sentito anche alcune critiche, una voce critica che ha detto l'altro giorno, assimilando Papa Francesco a un marxista.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Io mi definivo un pericoloso Reaganiano in confronto a Papa Francesco! Non l'ho detto, anzi, il Papa parla proprio non degli oppressi ma dei rifiuti, che è tutto diverso dal Marxismo.

AMB. JUAN PABLO CAFIERO: È una categoria d'analisi storica da studiare, ma non quel senso di piccolo settore ma importante nell'opinione pubblica nordamericana che ha detto questo. Lei è un uomo con un'esperienza politica straordinaria, Professor Prodi, e il Santo Padre nell'esortazione apostolica invita a un ruolo speciale al governo, allo Stato, di intervenire a favore del bene comune. Questo invito è per tutta la società, ma in particolare per la politica. Penso che questa sia l'esigenza, se la politica è in grado di mettere in campo leggi sull'economia o la finanza di contenuto etico, per un equilibrio in questo senso, non solo nell'economia nazionale, per il programma di un partito, anche nell'economia mondiale. Penso, se lei può riflettere su questa possibilità di aggiungere questa dimensione etica, e se la politica ha veramente la capacità e la forza, non oggi ma nel tempo, nel lungo periodo, di agire in questo senso.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Le rispondo con un aneddoto della mia vita. Molti, molti anni fa, prima di Cristo, io incontrai il Presidente Botha, in Sudafrica, prima, quando ancora c'era il tempo dell'apartheid. Parlavamo così, parlavamo dei problemi seri dell'apartheid e a un dato punto mi ferma e mi dice, "Professore, io accetto da lei tutti i consigli, meno quelli che mi fanno perdere il posto come Primo Ministro" e mi ha fermato. Poi, però, l'apartheid è andato avanti, la rivoluzione è andata avanti, ma c'era un'opinione pubblica, per quello ho insistito tanto nel mio discorso sul problema della formazione di un'opinione pubblica, perché adesso gli elettori, chi parla di imposte perde le elezioni. Le posso dire che ho anche un'esperienza in materia, avevo vantaggi enormi, li ho vinti appena appena perché è stata fatta una battuta sull'imposta l'ultimo giorno. Se lei ha un'opinione pubblica così, in un regime democratico diventa difficile se non c'è la formazione delle coscienze, se uno dice, no, la sanità è un bene prezioso. Guardi che è profondo il problema. Quando io faccio un'analisi, lei legge i media italiani, ma ho visto anche i francesi uguali, il sistema sanitario non va bene, è marcio, va abolito, poi quando chiedi ai singoli le analisi sociologiche, "Nell'ultimo anno lei è stato malato?" "Ah, meno male che mi hanno curato gratis, sono stato così contento del mio ospedale", etc. cioè, perfino l'esperienza personale viene cambiata per effetto di un'opinione pubblica formata da quei valori. Per me questo è un caso impressionante, vedere, lei prende i giornali, la critica al sistema sanitario e, in fondo, il fatto che la gente dice, meno male che non vivo negli Stati Uniti, oppure negli altri posti, etc. Quando prima le dicevo che questo diventa un valore, guardi che in Cina io ho partecipato a dei dibattiti sul sistema sanitario, mi sono trovato di fronte ad una classe dirigente compatta nel dire che il welfare non è cosa cinese, una sanità distribuita, etc. Poi adesso c'è revisione, ci sono fatti, ma di fronte al discorso, la spesa europea, italiana, è il 7% del PIL e siamo tutti curati e viviamo 7 anni di più che negli Stati Uniti, dove ci sono 50 milioni fuori dal welfare, la risposta è, il nostro modello di welfare è quello americano. È il mondo che è fatto così e io, di fronte all'Accademia pontificia, avevo l'obbligo di dire quello che penso. Non dico che sia la verità, ma nella mia esperienza io vedo che questo è la deriva, è l'andamento delle democrazie contemporanee. Jeffrey ha fatto una giusta obiezione sulla Germania e ha perfettamente ragione, però la Germania ha 240 miliardi di euro di attivo commerciale. Siccome l'attivo commerciale nel mondo non può esserci – la somma è zero, fra attivi e passivi, per definizione – il caso tedesco mi serve per la Germania, per dire che sono più bravi degli altri, ma non mi serve per affrontare il problema generale che noi, in questa sede, dobbiamo affrontare. Questo è il mio dramma.

PROF. GIUSEPPE TOGNON: Volevo riprendere un concetto emerso da Romano Prodi, perché c'è questa accettazione dell'ingiustizia della precarietà, che significa spegnere il fuoco della rivolta, o del cambiamento. Quello che vorrei dire, o che ho cercato solo in parte di dire, è che a livello giovanile, soprattutto nei paesi dell'Occidente, l'esperienza personale non è sufficiente a combattere il pregiudizio mediatico che in questa società, se non sei meritocrate, cioè se non sei eccellenza, non vali nulla. La mia preoccupazione è che l'Occidente sta sposando la meritocrazia come imposizione di un modello astratto concettuale per disaggregare la solidarietà tra gli esseri umani e per espropriare del tempo e dello spazio quello che è l'individuo. L'intelligenza, la scienza, è molto esigente ma non si è mai posta il problema di essere meritocratica. Sono i sistemi di istruzione, o i sistemi politici di una certa parte del mondo che hanno elaborato questa idea della meritocrazia. La mia preoccupazione, e chiudo, è che tra la meritocrazia come modello dell'accumulazione della conoscenza e come proposta di eccellenza per sedare, per calmare il bisogno di cambiare il mondo, e la misericordia della Chiesa, si crea ancora una volta una separazione, come se i due problemi fossero su piani completamente diversi. Da una parte il mondo ricco parla di meritocrazia, dall'altra il Papa parla di misericordia. Ma tra la meritocrazia e la misericordia c'è il merito, la solidarietà, la compassione, l'impegno, ed è per questo che io penso che spostare risorse mal poste su una meritocrazia che è narcotica verso l'accensione della mente della maggior parte del numero di bambini nel mondo, nelle forme che si dovranno trovare, significa non sedare, fin dall'inizio, quella che è la capacità di indignarsi dell'essere umano. Bisogna portare i bambini, non i nostri, ma i bambini del mondo, ad avere un pensiero astratto rapido perché l'origine del valore, del sentimento della differenza, e quindi dell'ingiustizia, è legata alla possibilità di elaborare presto il pensiero astratto. Il pensiero astratto ha una formulazione molto semplice: il punto interrogativo in fondo a un'affermazione. Quando io pongo la domanda, significa che sono entrato in una logica comparativa, perché presuppongo che possa anche essere diverso. "Perché è così?", significa aver acquisito il fondamento di un'elaborazione anche morale. Allora tra meritocrazia falsa, che uccide noi, i nostri bravi giovani nelle università si sentono falliti e cercano di andar via perché pensano di non riuscire mai a raggiungere il mito della meritocrazia dell'eccellenza scientifica, tecnologica, produttiva e fisica. Siamo prigionieri di una cosa che abbiamo costruito noi mediaticamente, ma tre quarti del mondo non ha queste preoccupazioni, hanno problemi esistenziali di tempo e di spazio ed è da lì, se noi accendiamo dentro lì, subito, presto, l'idea della comparazione della vita, che possiamo trarre beneficio anche noi come Occidente. Ovviamente tra meritocrazia e misericordia non ci può essere il vuoto.

ESCLUSIONE

■ GEORGES CARD. COTTIER, O.P.

1. Il Professor Jeffrey Sachs ha enunciato un paradosso della civiltà moderna. Ci troviamo di fronte a problemi di dimensioni mondiali, abbiamo i mezzi per risolverli, ma sembra che simultaneamente creiamo degli ostacoli che ne impediscono la trasmissione e l'applicazione.

Questo vale per il problema dell'esclusione.

Secondo il livello d'approccio scelto, economico o politico, il fenomeno è considerato sia come un processo inevitabile e necessario, quale un aspetto inscindibile del fenomeno globale dell'urbanizzazione, sia, all'opposto, come un problema che si può risolvere. In questa prospettiva, il problema diventa un problema etico. Tocca alla nostra responsabilità trovare una soluzione.

2. È dunque la responsabilità della nostra coscienza etica. Quest'ultima presuppone *convinzioni*, le quali non possono essere fondate sui sentimenti e di conseguenza sulla soggettività degli individui. Le convinzioni richiedono un fondamento oggettivo.

L'antropologia costituisce questo fondamento oggettivo, come l'incontriamo alla base della *dottrina sociale della Chiesa*.

Tommaso d'Aquino ha fatto sue, alla luce della Rivelazione biblica, due affermazioni di Aristotele, che sono ambedue delle definizioni:

a) *l'uomo è un animale razionale,*

b) *l'uomo è naturalmente un essere sociale o politico* (da *polis*, città).

Questi principi sono percepiti dalla ragione naturale (legge naturale). Dalla Rivelazione biblica, sappiamo che l'individuo, membro della società politica, è una persona, creata all'immagine di Dio, e, dice il Concilio Vaticano II (*Gaudium et spes*, n. 24) la sola creatura in terra che "Dio ha voluto per se stessa".

Appartiene alla natura della persona essere membro della società. Ma questa sua finalità sociale naturale non costituisce la sua finalità ultima e suprema, la quale è sopra e trans-storica: consiste nell'unione diretta e personale con Dio.

3. Le due definizioni sopra ricordate hanno valore di principi. Non devono essere separate. La seconda esprime un'esigenza della prima. L'una e l'altra sono relative alla natura dell'uomo.

Perciò contengono i criteri che ci permettono di giudicare, dal punto di vista determinante dell'etica, il significato umano del fenomeno moderno dell'esclusione.

In virtù di un'esigenza della sua natura, l'animale razionale, che è una persona, richiede la sua integrazione nella vita sociale e politica. Soltanto così può attuare la sua umanità. L'esclusione si oppone ad esigenze radicali della natura umana. È un peccato contro l'umanità dell'uomo.

Il concetto di *dignità umana* significa l'insieme delle esigenze che scaturiscono, per ogni uomo, dalla sua natura.

L'esclusione è un fenomeno di vasta dimensione. Segue una tendenza generale, su scala mondiale, della distribuzione degli uomini sulla terra, che va verso una crescente urbanizzazione. La crescita delle città è accompagnata dal fenomeno delle *slum*. I numeri sono impressionanti: 200.000 nelle quali vivono circa 1,3 miliardi di persone.

1,3 miliardi di persone prive di fatto della loro umanità, cioè della loro integrazione dovuta nella società umana.

Prive della loro umanità: l'espressione è da intendere secondo diversi gradi: infraumano, antiumano, inumano, ecc.

Esistono delle forme imperfette, fragili, d'integrazione come il lavoro nero ma forme contrarie come le organizzazioni che appartengono alla criminalità: traffico di bambini e "dono" di organi, prostituzione, traffico di droga, senza contare le conseguenze della promiscuità, incesti, violenze sessuali, alcolismo, fragilità familiare, ecc.

L'immagine di Dio è deturpata, sfigurata.

Pensiamo alla lunga notte dello spirito vissuta, alla fine della sua vita, dalla Beata Teresa di Calcutta. Avrà misurato gli abissi di miseria e di offesa a Dio che rappresenta l'esclusione.

Siamo dunque davanti ad una sfida drammatica che interpella il nostro senso dell'umano: o si tratta di un problema che si può e si deve, in virtù di una esigenza della coscienza, risolvere, o di una situazione inevitabile, accettata con cinismo, come condizione del nostro benessere a scapito della negazione dell'umanità di altre persone umane. Assecondare quest'ultima opzione, significa negare, nel suo principio, la fraternità umana.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

MR. JUAN GRABOIS: Como estamos terminando, quería hacer una reflexión, una autocrítica colectiva y principalmente a mi mismo, que probablemente haya tenido la responsabilidad de exponer el tema, al principio, y no lo haya hecho de manera del todo correcta. Por qué digo esto? Porque creo, y es mi sensación, de que nos pasa lo que suele suceder y que es una de las causas de los problemas que tenemos, que vamos de arriba para abajo y no nos detuvimos lo suficientemente a analizar y a pensar y a ver la situación, las luchas, los padecimientos reales y concretos de los compañeros excluidos. No hemos tenido tiempo para ver, por ejemplo, las distintas categorías de actividad que se desarrollan en todos los países del mundo, porque no es verdad que los compañeros son desocupados, todos trabajan de algo porque nadie le regala el pan. O trabajan juntando la basura en la calle, o vendiendo cosas en la calle, o trabajan en un taller clandestino, en algún lado trabajan, y no hemos podido analizar con precisión las características de este trabajo. Tampoco hemos podido analizar con precisión las características de la vida en las villas miseria/asentamientos informales. Quedará para otra ocasión ver en profundidad esto, pero la reflexión iba por este lado: la tendencia hegemónica del pensamiento en los últimos años, sobre todo el pensamiento social, es la de tratar de ofrecer recetas e inventar soluciones sin tener un oído en el pueblo, ni en sus luchas reales, ni en su realidad cotidiana. Yo coincido con lo que dijo alguno antes que yo de que acá no va a haber ninguna solución técnica y creo que el mensaje de Francisco hay que leerlo bien y hay que leerlo entero, porque la radicalidad del mensaje no es simplemente una cuestión de distribución del ingreso. Cuando se habla de distribución del ingreso, generalmente se olvida uno de hablar de distribución de la riqueza, que no es lo mismo, porque el ingreso un poquito se distribuye pero la riqueza consolidada no se distribuye nunca. La radicalidad del mensaje de Francisco, en mi opinión, y creo que lo dice con bastante claridad, tiene que ver con un cuestionamiento de la esencia del sistema capitalista en su fase actual y la construcción de paradigmas alternativos. No nos tenemos que asustar con esto que hace la CNN o los sectores concentrados del poder norteamericano de decir que es un Marxista, que es lo que sea... La construcción de un sistema alternativo es una obligación y una deuda que tenemos. Probablemente gran parte de este sistema alternativo ya esté de manera latente entre los sectores populares, que en su lucha cotidiana van construyendo nuevas relaciones de solidaridad y que, muchas veces, desde las superestructuras y los organismos internacionales no se ven.

Yo quiero agregar una última cosita a esto. Creo, cuando Francisco habla de corrupción, que se refiere a un fenómeno mucho más amplio que es la situación de los gobernantes recibiendo una coima, un soborno, de las grandes empresas o de algún sector que se quiere enriquecer a partir de los servicios públicos. Esto existe y es gravísimo y muy doloroso, porque deberían ser los que velan por el bien común. Coincido con João Pedro Stédile que ésta es una característica estructural del capitalismo hoy. Necesitan gobiernos débiles para poder hacer negocios, pero la corrupción no se limita a los gobiernos y de hecho, a veces, se utiliza ese argumento, como me parece que más o menos dijo Prodi, para tratar de deslegitimar el rol del estado en la distribución de servicios públicos. Claro, como la salud pública es corrupta, privaticémosla; claro, como las aerolíneas de bandera son corruptas, privaticémoslas. La corrupción es un elemento fundamental de las empresas que hoy funcionan, en el mundo de las grandes empresas, y la situación de la evasión impositiva, están todos los recursos informáticos, todos los recursos tecnológicos para hacerlo. Obviamente los gobiernos no lo hacen porque efectivamente van a perder su trabajo, si lo hacen, porque el poder real no está hoy en los gobiernos. Lo último, un poco para terminar, es reafirmar esto: leamos entero el mensaje de Francisco, leamos cuando él cita Crisóstomo y dice que no compartir los bienes es robar de los pobres porque los bienes no son nuestros, son de todos. Hay que entender esa radicalidad porque sino, como decía Bolívar – yo soy un latinoamericano, bolivariano, creo en la unidad y en la patria grande – estamos arando en el mar.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: Bisognerebbe anche approfondire la soluzione, alla quale più o meno – peccato che non tutti hanno potuto leggere il tuo testo – ha accennato anche João Pedro Stédile, questa rivoluzione di far gestire il potere al popolo, questo è l'ideale ma il problema è come si fa! Naturalmente tutti vogliono questo e poi chi è il popolo, non è solo il popolo degli esclusi, perché qui non possiamo identificare il popolo con gli esclusi, il popolo sono tutti e quindi questo mi sembra che bisogna approfondire un po' di più, perché effettivamente questa crisi di disuguaglianza sta portando via il capitalismo. Il capitalismo si mette in seria crisi con questo, anzi questo tipo di capitalismo della disuguaglianza sta mettendo a repentaglio la democrazia. Forse il Professor Prodi ci può dire qualcosa dalla sua esperienza.

PROF. ROMANO PRODI: Negli studi che si hanno, anche se sono studi non sicuri al 100%, di solito l'aumento delle disuguaglianze precede crisi ancora più forti, perché fa mancare il potere d'acquisto, accumula il capitale in coloro che non acquistano e quindi uno potrebbe anche essere tentato

di dire che solo una crisi profonda ci porterà a riflettere su quello che sta avvenendo. Mi sembra, però, che la crisi l'abbiamo già avuta, di grandi riflessioni non ne abbiamo avute, di altro la scienza economica non è che possa aggiungere molto, insomma. Ripeto, il problema è un problema politico e, pur essendo fanaticamente democratico, vedo i limiti della democrazia di oggi e la necessità di correggerla, perché altrimenti rimedi noi non ne riusciamo ad avere, perché il rimedio di scavalcare la democrazia perché non ci dà una risposta è peggiore di qualsiasi male che noi possiamo immaginare.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: I think part of the issue, and I'm going to speak from a micro level, is that we are all speaking about the poor, the destitute, the excluded and I'd rather think that one of the things that one could do is transform the entire discussion and say "all work is the release of human potential". In essence, what I'm saying is that some of our emphases have always been on the negative, instead of the absolute positive that every human being possesses and I think that's inherent in Pope Francis' message, but I actually think, and I'm going back to you, Juan, when you were talking of the multinationals, there's a yearning everywhere, if you look at advertising companies around the world – there's one by Havas – what is their new marketing but how can a corporation get a higher mark on the index of doing good. How can we, in essence, capitalise on that ourselves by really talking about not helping but, in fact, rendering for all of us the potential that exists in every human child. And I will end by saying that, at the very beginning of life, there is such potential that we could release. I don't know what I can do personally, at a state level, but I know there is enormous potential among so many people at doing good for our youth from the very start. I would just end by saying it's my hope that one message here is that we are releasing the human potential of our children for us all.

CARDINAL PETER TURKSON: I suppose I'd like to tag in on that and encourage all who have participated in this way by just observing that what has transpired over here is an attempt to share the message and to diffuse the message that one of the solutions or ways of dealing with the socially excluded is to learn to invest in this human capital. Investment in human capital probably provides one of the best solutions to dealing with this phenomenon of exclusion. I draw attention to this because in 2010 I had the chance of leading the Holy See delegation to the United Nations to discuss the Millennium Development Goals and a lot of the positions that were presented in that connection, especially with a view to realizing the goals, bordered also on controlling population, or became a demographic issue in

the sense that they generated a lot of interest and discussion about birth control policies and anti-natality tendencies and policies as a way of dealing with this, so at a certain point we had to observe that dealing with the excluded and the poor is not by eliminating them but is rather by finding ways of investing in this human capital so you can transform and turn them into profitable use within society.

That's one observation. The other is about inequality. In our discussions we probably would also want to recognise the fact that inequality is not quite the same as diversity and sometimes we need to recognise certain forms of diversity which should not be equated with inequality. Differences and diversities do exist, and whether they are signals of inequality in the sense of all of them not making the same salary, all of them not living the same lifestyle, all of them not having access to the same, we need to, at a certain point, try to make that a distinction. As for the thing about the discussion, I don't want to get into politics with the politicians sitting behind me for fear that I'll get a knock on my head, but it is something that our own dicastery is seriously looking at. The occasion of the celebration, this year, of the 50th anniversary of *Pacem in Terris*, is driving us to look seriously at the issue of politics and indeed to see whether we cannot help our society deal with and reflect on the issue of politics by attempting to provide a small *vademecum*. It's an issue that we want to constitute readily, a kind of a small seminal workbook to discuss, because it appears to be the experience of several communities that they have become a little bit disenchanted with politics and political affairs. If politics cannot succeed in formulating the people towards a goal and a vision, then there are a lot of things that probably are missing and that merit a lot of questioning.

The thing about meritocracy, I would think that a society needs merit and needs to be able to reward merit, otherwise also there is no advancement, so while we need to find a way of rewarding merit and recognising merit where it is, probably we don't have to get to what you were talking about as meritocracy. From the experience that we have because of Professor Tognon and the Italians we have met over here, young university graduates, their problem rather is that advancement here in the Italian society depends on whom you know. If you do not know anybody who can push you, give you a lift, you don't go anywhere, and so it becomes a question of nepotism, probably. So these were a few brief random observations I wanted to make, thanks.

SR. HELEN ALFORD: I would like to just speak up about some of the points that people made about the role of religion and the importance of religion of bringing about the kind of moral change especially Professor

Sachs emphasized, but it came across in all the talks. There are various things I think about this. We had some discussions in the Pontifical Council of Justice and Peace about whether it would be a good idea to have something – this is probably not the right way of saying it – but something like a Catholic World Development Report and you could think about this for other religions as well, you know, what are the religions doing to actually support all these kinds of initiatives, just to get it out there. A lot of it is going on very quietly and very silently and there is a very good sense to that. I know one foundation that probably many of you also know and they like the idea of taking the words of the Scriptures, *the right hand shouldn't know what the left hand is doing*, in other words they want it to be hidden, but the trouble is, of course, you don't then see, or other people don't see, what's going on and they don't make the connections between what the religious communities are doing and all these kinds of issues. So I think there's one thing about making it visible about what these communities are doing. There was a time when Wolfensohn was at the World Bank and we had the *Mind, Heart and Soul* book, and there are a few things like that but I think we could think a bit more about it, especially in this kind of council.

I think, also, if the religions could come together more to work on this issue. I'll just give you one little example. I'm involved with a little project in London, which is mostly run by business people who are Catholics but they are trying to get it to become an interreligious project, the whole idea being that if we're going to have a healthy society we have to have trust between business and the rest of society, and that trust has totally broken down. People have no trust anymore in big business especially, for good reason, especially in the UK with all the bailing out of the banks, and the only way we can do this is that the companies have to hold themselves to a standard which they don't control and they want this standard to come from the moral teachings of the religious traditions, and they want it to be an inter-religious basis although it's starting off from a Catholic line. So, you know, I think this is a sort of way in which the religions can be, if you like, guarantors, or somehow giving the wider population a sense of confidence and credibility, because then we come back to the hope, and we come back to people's willingness to participate, that kind of thing. You talked very rightly, Maryanne, about there being good and evil in all of us, and it's always present there, how could we give people credibility that an institution has not become corrupted because of the evil that's in the people who are in it, that they can actually be part of it, the young people of whom you were talking before, and contribute in a way that's going to help resolve a problem rather than reinforce a problem, because you're not always sure what the outcome

is going to be. You know you want to do something but you're not educated enough, necessarily, but you want to participate, you need to have this sense of trust, that you can trust these people and then you gradually learn in participating. And I think it also does connect a bit with what Professor Buttiglione was saying about dechristianisation, or generally a loss of religious faith as a resource for morality in society, because we just have to face it that historically it has been religion that has been the main source of people's morality. What other body has been carrying forward moral principles in that way? We can think about institutions like schools, maybe some other institutions, but the main provider – and sometimes they did it very badly, I don't want to canonize them – but they just have been, historically. Losing that influence in society does create a gap, it creates a vacuum and it makes us weaker in terms of dealing with these moral questions. I think probably in many ways what we need now is interreligious to move forward but we're just at the beginning of doing that. I'd be interested if anybody else had any views about that.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: Bene, credo che con queste parole bellissime di Sr Alford possiamo concludere. Naturalmente noi volevamo fare una conclusione, uno Statement, ma in fondo ci ha anticipato il Papa col suo documento, perché noi vogliamo offrire al Papa le cose che poi lui ci ha detto adesso, comunque cercheremo di fare qualcosa e lo manderemo a tutti per la loro approvazione.