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The slogan, the subject, and the programme.

A good motto must synthesise the spirit, the characteristics and the fundamental purpose of the person who adopts it, be it a person or a movement. Let us think a little about Pope Francis' motto: *Miserando atque eligendo*. I am not going to refer to it, but let's think about all the elements that it brings together: the gaze of Jesus, the spirit of mercy, the unexpected choice, the inclusion of an excluded person, and the conversion of an outcast into a disciple.

The motto “land, housing, and work” that we chose together with Pope Francis also synthesises a spirit and a purpose. These three things are so human and so simple that we could call them pre-ideological and collectively reaffirm them as sacred rights. We could say, perhaps, that it expresses a triple dimension: the people, the situations, and the purpose. Subject, circumstances, and perspective.

The subjective aspect speaks to us of three groups excluded from the rights that by nature correspond to any human being: land, housing, and work in sufficient quality and quantity. These are three vital elements for the integral development of human beings from which many other social goods necessary for life emanate.

Those excluded from having a roof over their heads are, for example, the inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods who do not have access to electricity, water, sewage, and electricity; who often live completely overcrowded, without their own bathrooms, in a context of environmental deterioration or violence. They are also the tenants who have to pay up to 50% of their income to sleep or those who suffer from unpayable mortgages that put them permanently at risk of eviction. Of course, this also includes people who live on the streets, in abandoned buildings or in any hole they can find in the cities, and in particular, children and the elderly.

Those excluded from work are those expelled from the classical productive system who find themselves unemployed or in marginal forms of work. Many of them invented their own work in the popular economy and managed to organise themselves communally. Others were not so lucky and suffer situations of exploitation ranging from precarious employment or informal work to slave labour. Migrant workers are particularly affected by this situation, with the aggravating factor that in addition to being exploited, they are under the permanent threat of expulsion when they are ‘lucky’ enough not to die along the way.

Those excluded from the land are the Indigenous peoples, agricultural workers, small producers, family farmers, rural communities. In some cases, they are excluded because they have no territory; in other cases, because they do not have sufficiently productive land; and in other instances, because they are permanently threatened by real estate speculation, the advance of agribusiness, the various forms of pollution, or extractivist forms of land appropriation. Others because the central economic system creates commercial conditions that make their way of life

and the work of the rural family unviable, replacing it with the dehumanised methods of large corporations.

All three groups are also the most vulnerable in the face of environmental crises and extreme weather events, situations of violence and war, abuses of power and persecution by state and para-state forces. They are all too often the discarded of the earth who nevertheless do not resign themselves to their passive role as victims, but rather assume the destiny that Pope Francis has described in his four speeches. A destiny of struggle for their own rights but also of collective salvation for the whole of humanity.

The situation of injustice suffered by our brothers and sisters in humanity must be addressed by the whole of society, in particular by the political leadership and international organisations.

The **labour market** has changed profoundly and will continue a dizzying process of change as a result of new technologies, changing the occupational structure of all countries in an extreme, mostly negative way.

The **real estate market** has made it almost impossible for many middle-class families to access their own housing and permanently discards the most disadvantaged to situations of severe housing exclusion with no public or social alternatives to address the problem.

Extractivism in all its forms not only displaces rural populations but also seriously damages the ecosystems that sustain them, affecting not only the people who inhabit territories formerly destined for small-scale food production but society as a whole.

All these structures of injustice engender violence that sooner or later expresses itself, in one way or another, contributing to instability that the contradictions of the oligarchies and dominant states themselves resolve with trade sanctions or directly with criminal wars that never take place on their own territory but in 'proxy' spaces where poor countries pay for disputes in which they have nothing to gain.

In our four meetings, those excluded from land, housing, and work have addressed the realities they experience in dialogue with Pope Francis, drawing up a roadmap to help solve the problems that afflict them. This roadmap is a true programme of social political transformation that, when properly adapted to the different realities of the various countries, can be applied almost across the board.

In the first place, we can speak of a **mixed economy** where the public, private, and popular sectors coexist, guided by the principle of social justice, which should be the articulating axis of the slogan 'no worker without rights.' In some countries, this may involve the application of a universal basic wage and public policies to strengthen community production projects in the popular economy. In other countries, it will require a different kind of response. What is certain is that the popular-community sector – which includes activities with an ecological, cultural, and social impact, which has its epicentre in care and low-intensity production, and which must be valued beyond its market productivity – will tend to absorb those who for various reasons are excluded from the central economic processes. This transition can be a positive thing insofar as the people

involved enjoy recognition, income, and rights similar to those of other workers. It will be extremely negative if it is simply a throwaway mechanism.

Secondly, it is a matter of addressing **socio-urban integration** – a concept that arises from Bergoglio's experience as Archbishop of Buenos Aires in tackling the problem of the slums of the city – which implies the integral improvement of the housing conditions of the excluded in order to make the slogan 'no homeless family' a reality, but respecting that our cities are a mosaic of cultures where no one has the right to colonise anyone else or try to 'civilise' others in a haughty manner. The task is to find a fair interaction between the different sectors of the city without leaving anyone out. Projects in the slums must be linked to the needs, desires, and aspirations of their inhabitants; they must be designed in a participatory way and connect the marginalised city with the formal city in order to avoid the formation of made-up ghettos.

Thirdly, we aspire to a **comprehensive agrarian reform** that aims to provide secure access to land for the poor in rural communities in order to make the slogan 'no rural population without land' a reality, and a serious policy of economic strengthening for rural communities that allows them to fairly value their production. Furthermore, comprehensive agrarian reform implies a scrupulous care for nature and natural ecosystems that puts a stop to the irresponsible devastation derived from an unsustainable agribusiness model that, together with the production of fossil fuels and polluting mega-mining, feeds a system of life that a frenetically consuming minority enjoys – and often suffers – but which leads to the destruction of the planet that we all inhabit: rich, middle classes, and poor alike.

Thus, we have the historical subject of the excluded, their main problems, and a 'rough draft' agenda for the necessary political-social reforms.

Our itinerary is clear: in addition to raising the **slogan** "land, housing, and work," which he launched at the first meeting, Pope Francis gave us **three very important tasks** for our second meeting.

1. to put the economy at the service of the people,
2. to work for peace among our peoples,
3. to care for nature.

In the third meeting, Francis gave us some tips as to how to deal with the relationship between the social and the political, warning us against the dangers of *corruption* and *rigidity*.

Finally, in the fourth meeting, he encouraged us to use our **political imagination** to move away from possibilism and promote a structurally different system, while continuing to promote concrete proposals such as a **universal basic wage** or a **reduction in the working day**.

Cementing the slogan launched at the first meeting as a collective banner, and consolidating the strong ideas of the subsequent meetings as the basis for a common vision, was the great achievement of the conversation between the popular movements in dialogue with Pope Francis. His speeches are a message to all of humanity that takes up our voice in order to amplify and

validate it, echoing our outcry and our aspirations. It is a miracle that this has taken root. I think we should be very grateful.

Of course, social change does not depend on the Pope. It depends fundamentally on us and on the rest of the oppressed. The Pope's contributions along with his other documents are indispensable study material for all activists and supporters of popular movements – whether they are Catholic or not – because Francis' social thinking, at least for me, is revolutionary, like our faith in Jesus. It is undoubtedly the best school of humanist formation in the ethical, philosophical, and political terms of our time.

Ten years after the first meeting, the organising committee has decided to hand over the baton to a new generation of leaders to continue and revitalise our work in the consolidation of a network of popular movements for land, housing, and work in dialogue with Pope Francis that will deploy an initiative of international advocacy in favour of these rights, with the support of the Dicastery for Integral Human Development, the Regional Bishops' Conferences, and the local Churches. It is our wish to apply that wise teaching of Pope Francis: 'It is better to initiate processes than to occupy spaces.' We leave you with a book on *The Meetings of Popular Movements and Our Social Thought* as a consolidated reference resource.

I hope that the new organising committee, together with the operational committee and the Dicastery, will be able to draw up a multi-year strategic plan in the coming months, bearing in mind that there is already a sufficient conceptual basis for action without the need to repeat costly face-to-face meetings, which if repeated, can too often alienate leaders from their bases and turn them into airport militants. I hope that they can achieve what we could not: to give continuity to the articulation between the meetings, design an adequate system of external and internal communication, use the space to influence public policies in all regions of the planet, contribute with the experiences of the most consolidated movements to the development of the most incipient ones, systematise good practices in terms of co-management of projects, and so on.

I am sure that you will have the support of Pope Francis. I thank you all for your trust during these years, and I greet with affection my colleagues from the initial organising committee: the former Prefect of the Justice and Peace Commission, Cardinal Peter Turkson, who took up this challenge back in 2013; Bishop Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, who has always helped us on behalf of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences; and the current Prefect, my friend Cardinal Michael Czerny, who has always been in the trenches of the organisation from the very beginning.

Of course, I thank Pope Francis for his permanent support for popular movements, the struggle for land, housing, and work, his teachings on human nature and its socio-environmental challenges... and his courage to choose the humble in a world of the powerful, to support those who take up worthy causes, making the effort to stand with them and never betraying his values.

I remain at your disposal in any way that may be of assistance, and I wish you all the best.