



FRATELLI TUTTI AND GOAL 16 OF THE 2030 AGENDA OF THE UNITED NATIONS

A reasoned reading of the Papal Encyclical



Quaderni
dell'ASviS

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The **Italian Alliance for Sustainable Development (ASviS)**, which was established on 3 February 2016 on the initiative of the Unipolis Foundation and the Tor Vergata University of Rome, is committed to spreading the culture of sustainability at all levels and to raising awareness among Italian society, economic actors and institutions of the importance of the 2030 Agenda for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. ASviS is the largest network of civil society organisations ever created in Italy, and has rapidly become an institutional point of reference and authoritative source of information on sustainable development issues, which is disseminated via the www.asvis.it website and social media.

The **Prioritalia Foundation**, which was established in 2017 by Manageritalia and Cida, promotes the civil and social commitment of the managerial community, with a view to restoring values and skills to support concrete, innovative projects. The Prioritalia Foundation is the entity within ASviS that coordinates the Working Group on Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions), aimed to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”.

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Introduction

The connection between the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* and Goal 16 of the UN 2030 Agenda

I am delighted to present the ASviS Booklet on a reasoned interpretation of the Papal Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, in the light of Goal 16 of the United Nations 2030 Agenda. How dear the theme of fraternity and social friendship is to Pope Francis' heart is borne out by what he said at the feast of St Francis of Assisi, on 4 October 2020, when he presented his new Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* to the world: *"I offered it to God on the tomb of Saint Francis, who inspired me [to write] it, as in the previous Laudato si'. The signs of the times clearly show that **human fraternity and care of creation form the sole way towards integral development and peace**, already indicated by the Popes Saints John XXIII, Paul VI and John Paul II."*

Fraternity is both the method and the goal to be pursued in building peaceful and inclusive societies aimed towards sustainable development, an aspiration that is present in Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development¹. In fact, fraternity cannot be relegated only to interpersonal relationships, but must open itself to world of politics, a place of encounter, dialogue and shared responsibility and openness to the other, with its riches and its weaknesses..

Fraternity as a **method** is a manifestation of concrete actions, integration between countries, the primacy of rules over force, development and economic cooperation and, above all, an instrument of dialogue seen not as an anaesthetic or an occasional "quick fix", but rather as a weapon that has far greater destructive potential than any arms². *"Unlike disagreement and conflict, persistent and courageous dialogue does not make headlines, but quietly helps the world to live much better than we imagine"* (FT 198).

Fraternity as a **goal** is the progressive extension from the individual to the family, social, national and international spheres of belief in a common origin and descent of all human beings, from which their inviolable human dignity and fundamental human rights derive. We all belong, in many ways, to the same womb. This, therefore, should lead to a common sense of our human dignity that leaves no one behind³.

Moreover, growing global interdependence means that **no one can really think of themselves as independent from the other inhabitants of the world. We are increasingly interconnected and share the same destiny. We share not only a common origin and descent with our brothers and sisters, but also a common destiny, namely fragile and vulnerable creatures in terms of our health and fate**, as the historical period we are living through has clearly shown. Indeed, we are currently sharing a common health threat and crisis: the Covid-19 pandemic⁴.

Our globalised society means we are neighbours but lacking in brotherhood (Benedict XVI, CiV. 19). Indeed, the lack of brotherhood among individuals and peoples is a major cause of poverty and underdevelopment. The development of peoples depends above all on the recognition that they belong to one family, working together in communion to pursue a **universal common good**, which refers to the "world" as a great space of a good that can no longer be traced back to particularistic horizons. In his new encyclical letter, Pope Francis reminds us to adopt fraternity as a useful tool in international relations: *"This demonstrates the need for a greater spirit of fraternity, but also a more efficient worldwide organisation to help resolve the problems plaguing the abandoned who are suffering and dying in poor countries"* (FT 165). In the face of the universal common good, the sovereignty and independence of each nation cease to be an absolute and must be subject to the *"rule of law, based on the realisation that justice is an essential condition for achieving the ideal of universal fraternity"* (FT 173).

1. See the speech by Cardinal Pietro Parolin, Conference on the Encyclical Letter *Fratelli tutti*, 4 October 2020.

2. Ibid.

3. See *Brothers and Sisters: From the Same Womb*, Cardinal Peter K. A. Turkson.

4. Ibid.



In the last decade we have witnessed a growing mistrust of multilateral institutions, a dangerous tendency to **build walls**, to withdraw into self-protectionism, nationalism and isolationism. In order to reverse this course, to support collective and multilateral commitments, and to work in cooperation between nations, Pope Francis reminds us that *“courage and generosity are needed in order freely to establish shared goals and to ensure the worldwide observance of certain essential norms”* (FT 174).

Individuals are also called upon to assume their responsibilities and ask political leaders to act in the interests of the common good and the quest for peace, in order to end the many conflicts that still cause pain, suffering and death in so many parts of the world. *“War is not a ghost from the past but a constant threat. Our world is encountering growing difficulties on the slow path to peace upon which it had embarked and which had already begun to bear good fruit”* (FT 256). The Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* invites each of us to become a **peacemaker** because, as Pope Francis reminds us, *“war is a failure of politics and of humanity, a shameful capitulation, a stinging defeat before the forces of evil”* (FT 261). We cannot remain indifferent. We are urged to hope and take on responsibility, based on the Parable of the Good Samaritan, a paradigm of the need for a **culture of caring for one another**, rather than of indifference.

We are called upon to shrug off the torpor of indifference, partly in response to the many people who in the ups and downs of life are left behind along the road, left behind in culture, left behind in development, left behind in income, and left behind in education. Such experiences separate us and make us unequal, by subjecting us to many kinds of “human dignity deficit”. Let’s go and find our brothers and sisters whose humanity and dignity are tarnished and reduced to a flicker by modern slavery and human trafficking. Let’s go and look for our brothers who have been rejected and left behind. Let’s go and look for our sisters abandoned by the wayside. Let’s seek out the men and women whose absence makes us feel less whole and less healthy, in order to gather them all together, and bring about the unity and health of the human family, of God’s creation⁵.

Cardinal Peter Kodwo Appiah Turkson
Prefect of the Dicastery for Promoting
Integral Human Development

5. See *Brothers and Sisters: From the Same Womb*, Cardinal Peter K. A. Turkson.

Foreword

The idea for this Booklet was sparked by the ASviS Working Group on Sustainable Development Goal 16 ("**Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions**"), under the guide of Enrico Giovannini. The aim is to initiate a shared reflection on the universal message of the **Papal Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* in the light of the 2030 Agenda** and its long-term vision, with a special focus on Goal 16 and its various Targets. Indeed, the encyclical deals with principles, themes and topics that are frequently reiterated in the 12 Targets of Goal 16, such as human rights, tolerance, justice, harmony, equity and social inclusion, as well as the need for greater governance capacity in combating universal forms of violence, hatred and discrimination.

There is a growing need at all levels for integrated visions and ambitious action programmes that recognise how fragile our current political, economic and social system is, respond to the major challenges of our time, and foster a culture of **dialogue** and **encounter** between all kinds of diversity: gender, geographical, socio-economic and generational.

As Pope Francis reminds us, taking up the message contained in the Encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*, "*as society becomes ever more globalised, it makes us neighbours, but does not make us brothers*". He says, "*it is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organised international institutions*", partly to promote multilateral cooperation that can guarantee cultivation of a truly universal common good. This entails a radical shift in perspective, both in international relations and at the interpersonal level: fraternity as a place of openness and new social ties which, based on listening and proximity, in politics as well as in religion, lead to respect for **human dignity** and the **fundamental rights** of each person.

The road towards fraternity requires common paths. In this regard, the United Nations 2030 Agenda, is one of the most important global commitments ever adopted by the international community, as evidenced starting in its Preamble. With its 17 Sustainable Development Goals to be achieved in less than nine years, the 2030 Agenda is now serving as a compass for many public and private actors, which is able to interconnect seemingly separate issues.

In particular, the vision expressed by Pope Francis in his encyclical - focused on the essential role of fraternity and hospitality as the quintessence of fair and inclusive policies devoted to the **common good**, and aimed at transmitting values of **solidarity** and mutual **respect** and curbing any kind of discrimination and violence - seems to be fully reflected in Goal 16 and its message based on the fundamental importance of peace, justice and strong institutions in ensuring fully active and responsible citizenship.

Especially in this era of social isolation arising from the pandemic crisis, the extraordinary global effort to develop vaccines for SARS-Cov-2 is a significant example of what humanity can achieve through a **cooperative international approach** and unprecedented public and private investment.

The next few years will be decisive in understanding whether, in emerging from the crisis, we will also manage to generate lasting transformations in individual behaviour that will result in more sustainable consumption and production; changes in the way the economic and financial system works, with a shift towards development that respects natural systems and human rights; a restart of international institutions and multilateral dialogue, geared towards a new kind of global governance; stable changes in the way public policies are drawn up at national and local level that favour sustainable development; and overhauls of institutional systems that lead to greater effectiveness and more advanced forms of democratic participation.

A complex transition towards a more sustainable world and **integral human development** will require commitment from all of us: a major collective effort by governments, businesses and civil society, in the awareness that, as Pope Francis reminds us, "*it is extremely difficult to carry out a long-term project unless it becomes a collective aspiration*".



I would like to thank all the authors who have contributed to this Booklet and, in particular, Cardinal Turkson for his enlightening introduction.

Pierluigi Stefanini
President of ASviS

Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda and the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*: a shared horizon





1. Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda and the Encyclical “Fratelli tutti”: a shared horizon

1.1. The craft of peace

1.1.1. “Never again war!” An outright condemnation of the “just war” thesis

Encyclicals are a very ancient way of spreading the ideas of ecclesial authority. They can be likened to a kind of open circular letter that the pope sends to the bishops, or to all the faithful, and even, as in this case, to all men and women in the world. Via these documents, the pope sets out the guidelines that characterise his teaching, and therefore also engage the actions of the Catholic faithful. Even though they are written in dialogic or narrative form, this doesn't mean that they don't also have normative content. Therefore, they should be considered as real guidelines, through which the pope suggests ways of adapting the Gospel message to changing times.

Not all encyclicals are of equal importance. Some of them quickly end up in bottom drawers and are soon forgotten, while others stand the test of time and are real historical monuments, marking turning points for the whole of mankind. This has especially been the case for encyclicals that dealt with social issues, and thus significantly influenced the very way we live our daily lives. Starting with “*Rerum Novarum*”¹ in 1891, popes have progressively updated the Church's magisterium on social matters via encyclicals, giving rise to a specific area called the Church's social doctrine². Pope Francis, who has been Bishop of Rome since 2013, has written three encyclicals, two of which can be considered as being primarily social in nature: *Laudato si'* (2015) and *Fratelli tutti* (2020). “Primarily social” because Pope Francis' magisterium has not maintained the previous distinction between dogmatic and social teaching, as he has always highlighted the social impact of Christian life, which should be expressed in evangelical ways in every life situation, and not only in the moral or devotional sphere. This choice clearly emerges in the Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium*, which was issued a few months

after his election, but was largely drafted before he became pope, and is deemed to be the programmatic basis of his pontificate.³ In this document, the pope clarifies the indissoluble link between inner faith and the practice of life; he speaks about an extroverted Church, defined through the image of the “outgoing Church”, similar to “a field hospital”, whose shepherds have the “smell of sheep”. He bears witness to this closeness of the Church to the world by adopting a different lifestyle from his predecessors: he lives in a room in the Vatican guesthouse; he travels in an ordinary car and doesn't take holidays in the villa in Castel Gandolfo; he rejects the princely rites that still revolved around the figure of the Bishop of Rome; and he greets everyone and asks them to pray for him. This down-to-earth nature also emerges in his encyclicals, which are not at all reminiscent of theological or philosophical treatises, but rather presented as concrete compendia of positions that have already been expressed on various occasions, and then finally rearranged in the text of the encyclical.

In order to understand the meaning of Pope Francis' magisterium, we must first of all be aware of the debt he owes to the Poor Man of Assisi - traditionally identified as *alter Christus* - to the extent of taking his name. Therefore, it should not escape our notice that two of his encyclicals open by quoting Francis of Assisi. The Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* opens with the expression Francis of Assisi used to address everyone - “brothers and sisters” - and “proposed to them a way of life marked by the flavour of the Gospel” (FT 1). The pope repeats this invitation, and calls for “a love that transcends the barriers of geography and distance” (FT 1). The encyclical's subtitle suggests that it is about concrete things, namely practising “fraternity and social friendship”.

The encyclical is copious, comprising 285 paragraphs divided into eight chapters. The first chapter reviews the “Dark Clouds Over a Closed World”. It provides a kind of snapshot of the state of suffering in the world, afflicted by injustices, wars and epidemics that shatter

1. The encyclicals take their name from the words of their incipit.

2. Here's a list of the so-called “social encyclicals” following the *Rerum novarum* of 1891: *Quadragesimo anno* (1931); *Mater et magistra* (1961); *Pacem in terris* (1963); *Populorum progressio* (1967); *Octogesima adveniens* (1971); *Laborem exercens* (1981); *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987); *Centesimus annus* (1991), *Caritas in veritate* (2009).

3. Yañez, H.M. (2014), *Tracce di lettura dell'Evangelii gaudium*, in (ed.), *Evangelii Gaudium: il testo ci interroga. Chiavi di lettura, testimonianze e prospettive*, Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, p. 9.



dreams of social integration and common life. The second chapter poses a spiritual question based on the Parable of the Good Samaritan. The pope tells the story of the parable, puts it into context and asks us to pause, so that each and every one of us can identify with one of the protagonists of the story told by Jesus. The pontiff explicitly asks the reader to stop and reflect on this Gospel passage in an inner way. In essence, he tells us that it is useless to carrying on reading without having done this spiritual exercise. In order to understand the Gospel message, you need to find your place in the story, and identify yourself in a journey of suffering in which each person plays a different part. If you don't find your place, you can't identify with the reality of social life. So, only after doing this exercise can you tackle the third chapter "Envisaging and Engendering an Open World". Just like that: envisaging and engendering; reasoning in order to intervene and enlarge your "I" to "We".

The fourth chapter sets out the challenges facing the brothers and sisters who have chosen to open their hearts to the whole world. Here we find many questions that demand friendly answers. These are then developed in the fifth chapter, which finally presents a proposal "*based on the practice of social friendship on the part of peoples*" with "*a better kind of politics, one truly at the service of the common good*" (FT 154) that is neither populist nor polarised. Here we find other proposals for "*finding common ground*" (FT 198) and building relationships based on dialogue (which is the subject of chapter six). In the seventh chapter, dialogue is presented as the main instrument at the disposal of the "*peacemakers*" (FT 225), namely those who aim to approach conflicts in order to build peace by following new paths. Finally, the eighth chapter presents a proposal for collaboration between the different religions, which, "*based on their respect for each human person as a creature called to be a child of God*" (FT 271), are invited to serve fraternity around the world.

"Fratelli tutti" is striking due to its lack of a specific audience and its reference to the influence of the pope's relations with Patriarch Bartholomew ("*my brother*" - FT 5) and the Sheikh of Al-Azhar. Starting with his own friendships, he recommends everyone practise social friendship everywhere. In this way, he moves beyond the bounds of Catholicism and, in turn, opens up wider and more common horizons. It cannot be overlooked that the encyclical also recalls "*our brothers and sisters who are not Catholics: Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu, Mahatma Gandhi and many more*" (FT 286). These are peacemakers, united by the desire to put their spiritual life into practice to serve the common good. As mentioned above, this

is a social encyclical, but it cannot be read without sufficient spiritual commitment.

From the pope's standpoint, the craft of peace is expressed not so much through practical activities for justice, but rather through its effectiveness as an expression of a universal spirituality of common friendship. Peacemakers are friends who share the difficulties of the journey with all their companions, seeing them as their own difficulties. None of us can save ourselves. None of us can be satisfied with reaching the safe shore, especially if this entails sacrificing others. Peacemakers don't build for themselves, but rather make what they produce available to others. Without this spiritual awareness, the text of the encyclical ends up being a mere analytical document, which loses its strength. Therefore, it is not a good idea to replace a full reading with summaries or abstracts. If you want to get to grips with the depth of the invitation, you must have the courage to put in the humble, concrete effort that all craftsmen need to make.

The craftsmanship the pope refers to has nothing to do with instructions on how to use a product or writing methodological recipes. Peace is not an outcome, but rather a process. A process that begins deep down and is expressed through concrete facts. The craft of peace develops in the awareness that "*every act of violence committed against a human being is a wound in humanity's flesh*" (FT 227). Peacemakers are aware of their own proactive strength, and know that the construction of "*a new society, a society based on service to others, rather than the desire to dominate*" (FT 229), also depends on them. The craft of peace is embodied in collective solidarity processes, aimed at promoting the dignity of human beings, without distinction and, when necessary, engaging in real social battles to win denied rights, as popular movements do, which the pope defines almost lyrically as: "*sowers of change, promoters of a process involving millions of actions, great and small, creatively intertwined like words in a poem*" (FT 169). This craftsmanship is developed in terms of positive peace, which - as we already know - is not merely the absence of war, but rather the outcome of justice, solidarity and forgiveness.

On the subject of peace, "Fratelli tutti" also goes a step further by explicitly condemning defensive warfare, which, in the Catholic magisterium, still appeared as a possible justification for the use of armed force. It is worth highlighting this innovation, which is based on two partially different reflections. On the one hand, the above reflection on positive peace as a perspective for building a peaceful world free from injustice, and on the other hand, the reflection on the



justification of war as a political instrument. These two issues developed in parallel in the second half of the 20th century in the context of a controversial acceptance of the traditional theological-juridical doctrine of the just war. This was undermined by Pope John XXIII's "Pacem in terris" (1963), which had the merit of shifting the focus from the central importance of war and its possible limitations to the central importance of peace and the conditions for building it. Indeed, after the Second World War and its related disasters - amongst which the use of atomic weapons is one of the greatest blunders - for Pope John XXIII the very idea of war was beyond rationality ("*alienum est a ratione*"), and peace appeared to be the fruit of mutual trust and common actions aimed at pursuing the universal common good. This magisterial stance of condemning war was progressively consolidated by linking positive peace firstly with the development of peoples ("*Populorum progressio*", 1967), and then with the exercise of solidarity ("*Sollicitudo rei socialis*", 1987). In this way, the nexus of consequentiality linking peace with justice (and hence, war with injustice) becomes unequivocal. On the political front, this was also helped by the condemnation of war established on 10 February 1947, when the United Nations Charter - still in preparation in the aftermath of the Second World War - prohibited the use of force, or the threat of force, as a legitimate form of political intervention.

"Fratelli tutti" takes up these demands and echoes the dream of eliminating war from history. Pope Francis unequivocally condemns war, which is often "*chosen by invoking all sorts of allegedly humanitarian, defensive or precautionary excuses*" (FT 258). He also criticises the Catechism of the Catholic Church, which still "*speaks of the possibility of legitimate defence by means of military force, which involves demonstrating that certain rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy*" (FT 258). In his opinion, "*we can no longer think of war as a solution, because its risks will probably always be greater than its supposed benefits. In view of this, it is very difficult nowadays to invoke the rational criteria elaborated in earlier centuries to speak of the possibility*

of a 'just war'" (FT 258). He joins the cry of his predecessors: "*Never again war!*" (FT 242).

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1.1.2. Peace as a method and a goal in the achievement of sustainable development and integral human development

The Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* and the universal 2030 Agenda comprise two pillars that undergird the social structure of our future, especially in relation to **Goal 16 ("Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels")**, which provides a useful link to the reflections developed by Peace and Conflicts Studies (PCS) on the current meaning of peace.

Peace and Conflicts Studies were consolidated after the Second World War, following in the footsteps of peace research which, first in the USA and then in Northern European countries⁴, gave a voice in scientific and academic spheres to the pacifist mass movements that rebelled against war and, in particular, against the use of scientific research for war purposes⁵. The involvement of the academic world has led to the emergence of a cross-cutting area of research,⁶ which after focusing on conflict was extended to include an analysis of economic phenomena, social justice, human rights and sustainable development, characterised by a markedly interdisciplinary and holistic approach. A hallmark of PCS is the conceptual distinction between conflict and war, and between conflict and violence. The thesis is based on the assumption that conflicts are a physiological and non-pathological element of social life, and as such cannot be prevented, whereas war is a violent conflict management instru-

4. B. Venturi, *Il demone della pace. Storia, metodologie e prospettive istituzionali della peace research e del pensiero di Johan Galtung*, Emil, 2013.

5. Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, *Addressing the Nuclear Weapons Threat: The Russell-Einstein Manifesto Fifty Years On*, 2005.

6. After the traumas of the Second World War, academic departments, research centres and researchers dedicated to understanding peace and conflict emerged in the United States and Europe. In 1959, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), a pioneering institution in this field headed by Johan Galtung, was established in Norway. The first journal on peace and conflict, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, was also established in 1957, led by Elise Boulding, Kenneth Boulding, Anatol Rapoport, Herbert Kelman and Norman Angell. In 1964, under the leadership of John Burton, Kenneth Boulding, Johan Galtung, Bert Roling and Elise Boulding, the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) was founded. Common among all these academics is the development of a research agenda consistent with the assumption of trying to offer a sane way out of the alternatives of nuclear deterrence and the Cold War (Nigel YOUNG, *Concepts of Peace: From 1913 to the Present*, in EIA 2013, p. 168). In Italy, this research perspective has been taken up by the CISP (Interdisciplinary Centre for Peace Studies) <https://cisp.unipi.it> and by the Peace Studies degree courses (three-year and master's degrees) established in 2001 at the same university: <https://scienzeperlapace.cfs.unipi.it>.



ment, and as such can be prevented. More specifically, it is a question of learning to distinguish the causes of conflict from traditionally violent ways of dealing with it, in order to replace the latter with nonviolent methods and techniques that address these causes, thereby preventing violence from being added to violence, and transforming conflict from a potential opportunity for mutual destruction into an opportunity for transformative relations.

In other words, PCS replace the traditional binomial that contrasted war with peace and considered peace to be the mere absence of war (so-called negative peace), with a binomial that contrasts violence with nonviolence, and assumes peace to be a condition that can be achieved by activating nonviolent conflict management techniques, such as building peace in terms of positive actions aimed at addressing the causes of conflicts and preventing their violent management (so-called positive peace). In this renewed conceptual framework, violence, which is typically associated only with acts of aggression against people or things (so-called direct violence or personal violence), is conceived in broader terms and identified with all situations that prevent human beings from developing their human potential⁷; this is referred to as “structural violence”⁸. Johan Galtung, who is considered to be the father of PCS, later refined this insight by talking about “cultural violence”, namely the legitimisation that culture often provides for direct and structural violence.⁹ In this way he points out that violence can also be used symbolically. When it is “embedded in a culture, it doesn’t kill or maim like direct violence or structural violence. However, it is used to legiti-

mise one or both of these, as is the case for example in the theory of a *Herrenvolk*, or a superior race”¹⁰. On the basis these initial renewed conceptual foundations, various PCS exponents then defined more detailed forms of structural and cultural violence, relating them to social injustice¹¹, the economic mechanisms imposed by globalisation¹², forms of development cooperation¹³, and so on. From this point of view, PCS reveal a causal link between violence and the failure to satisfy human needs, linking up with the theses foreshadowed in the field of psychology by Abraham Maslow¹⁴, developed in the field of economics by Max Neef¹⁵ and also taken up by Galtung himself¹⁶. The reflections developed by PCS clearly emerge in the perspective accepted and promoted in the economic, social, environmental, as well as cultural, dimensions of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda¹⁷, and also in the Encyclical “Fratelli tutti”.

In the 2030 Agenda - a document ratified by an organisation that also arose from the ashes of war – the word peace, even before being used as the identifying element of Goal 16 and its Targets, appears among the references in the Preamble (“*This Agenda [...] seeks [...] to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom*” - 2030 Agenda, Preamble) as one of the “*areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet*”: People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace, Partnership. The conviction that “*there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development*” is explicitly stated in the 2030 Agenda. This is in contrast to the previous “Millennium Goals”¹⁸, to which the 17 “*universal, transformative and people-centred*” Goals and 169 Targets are clearly a complement: “*They seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and*

7. See M. Fabbro, *Un lessico per la pace*, Arezzo 2014, p. 157ss.

8. “When human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations”: J. Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3): 167-191, cit. p. 168.

9. J. Galtung, *Cultural Violence*. *Journal of Peace Research*. 1990;27(3):291-305.

10. J. Galtung, *Cultural Violence*, cit., p. 292.

11. B. Rylko-Bauer, P. Farmer, *Structural violence, poverty, and social suffering*, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Social Science of Poverty*, edited by D. Brady & L.M. Burton, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 47-74.

12. M. Pilisuk (1998) *The Hidden Structure of Contemporary Violence, Peace and Conflict*: *Journal of Peace Psychology*, 4:3, 197-216, DOI: 10.1207/s15327949pac0403_1.

13. P. Uvin, *Development Aid and Structural Violence: The case of Rwanda*. *Development* 42, 49-56 (1999). <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1110060>

14. A. H. Maslow, (1943). *A theory of human motivation*. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396.

15. M. Max-Neef, *Development and human needs*, in MAX-NEEF, Manfred; ELIZALDE, Antonio; HOPENHAYN, Martin. *Development and human needs. Real-life economics: Understanding wealth creation*, 1992, pp. 197-213.

16. J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*. *Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo 1996.

17. See M. Amari, *Manifesto per la sostenibilità culturale*, Milan 2012.

18. The United Nations Millennium Declaration, signed on 20 September 2000 by 189 Heads of State and Government, adopted eight Millennium Goals (and the same number targets) to be achieved by 2015: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Achieve universal primary education; Promote gender equality and empower women; Reduce child mortality; Improve maternal health; Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; Ensure environmental sustainability; Develop a global partnership for development.



complete what they did not achieve” (2030 Agenda, Preamble).

“In its scope, however, the framework we are announcing today goes far beyond the Millennium Development Goals. Alongside continuing development priorities such as poverty eradication, health, education and food security and nutrition, it sets out a wide range of economic, social and environmental objectives. It also promises more peaceful and inclusive societies. It also, crucially, defines means of implementation. Reflecting the integrated approach that we have decided on, there are deep interconnections and many cross-cutting elements across the new Goals and targets” (2030 Agenda §17).

The aspects of universality, interconnectedness and indivisibility - *“These are universal goals and targets which involve the entire world, developed and developing countries alike. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development”* (2030 Agenda §5) – together with the emphasis on violence on the one hand (*“We envisage a world free of fear and violence”*), both within SDG 16 (**Target 16.1 “Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related deaths everywhere”; Target 16.2 “End abuse, exploitation trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children”; Target 16.a “Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacities at all levels, in particularly in developing countries, for preventing violence and combating terrorism and crime”**), and in other parts of the Agenda (*“A world which invests in its children and in which every child grows up free from violence and exploitation”* (2030 Agenda §8); *“Factors which give rise to violence, insecurity and injustice, such as inequality, corruption, poor governance and illicit financial and arms flows, are addressed in the Agenda”* (2030 Agenda §35), and in the individual Goals and Targets (Target 4.7 *“By 2030 ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development”*; Target 5.2 *“Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation”*). Moreover, regarding inclusiveness, in the actual title of SDG 16 and in various places in the Agenda (*ex multis*) *“Sustainable development recognizes that eradicating poverty in all its forms and dimensions, combating inequality within*

and among countries, preserving the planet, creating sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and fostering social inclusion are linked to each other and are interdependent” (2030 Agenda §13); *“We will adopt policies which increase [...] financial inclusion”* (2030 Agenda §27); *“We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives”* (2030 Agenda §37); *“Those whose needs are reflected in the Agenda include all children, youth, persons with disabilities (of whom more than 80 per cent live in poverty), people living with HIV/AIDS, older persons, indigenous peoples, refugees and internally displaced persons and migrants. We resolve to take further effective measures and actions, in conformity with international law, to remove obstacles and constraints, strengthen support and meet the special needs of people living in areas affected by complex humanitarian emergencies and in areas affected by terrorism”* (2030 Agenda §23); Target 10.2 *“By 2030 empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status”* and Target 11.b *“By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion”*, allow for an interpretation of SDG 16 within the broader horizon of meaning that the concept of peace takes on in the 2030 Agenda, and which clearly resonates when *“peaceful, just and inclusive societies”* are described.

“Sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security; and peace and security will be at risk without sustainable development. The new Agenda recognizes the need to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies that provide equal access to justice and that are based on respect for human rights (including the right to development), on effective rule of law and good governance at all levels and on transparent, effective and accountable institutions” (2030 Agenda §35); the causes of violence, insecurity and injustice are highlighted, the *“Factors which give rise to violence, insecurity and injustice, such as inequality, corruption, poor governance and illicit financial and arms flows, are addressed in the Agenda”* (2030 Agenda §35), some paths to be taken are identified *“We resolve, between now and 2030, to end poverty and hunger everywhere; to combat inequalities within and among countries; to build peaceful, just and inclusive societies; to protect human rights and promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls; and to ensure the lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. We resolve also to*



create conditions for sustainable, inclusive and sustained economic growth, shared prosperity and decent work for all, taking into account different levels of national development and capacities” (2030 Agenda §3), “As we embark on this great collective journey, we pledge that no one will be left behind. Recognizing that the dignity of the human person is fundamental, we wish to see the Goals and targets met for all nations and peoples and for all segments of society. And we will endeavour to reach the furthest behind first” (2030 Agenda §4) and “We pledge to foster intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility. We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development” (2030 Agenda §36).

Compared with a text dedicated to sustainable development (“Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”), a concept linked to the awareness of the limits of development and to the reflection imposed by the related environmental, social and economic problems, the Encyclical Fratelli tutti includes many references to development in accordance with the universal vocation (“development of everyone and the common good”; “development of all humanity”; “development for everyone”; “universal human development”) and above all in the sense of “integral human development” (Paul VI, *Populorum progressio*¹⁹), which concerns everyone and neglects no human dimension and is expressed through overcoming inequalities, the true path to achievement of peace.

“Those who work for tranquil social coexistence should never forget that inequality and lack of integral human development make peace impossible. Indeed, ‘without equal opportunities, different forms of aggression and conflict will find a fertile terrain for growth and eventually explode. When a society – whether local, national or global – is willing to leave a part of itself on the fringes, no political programmes or resources spent on law enforcement or surveillance systems can indefinitely guarantee tranquillity’ [222]²⁰” (FT235).

“If we accept the great principle that there are rights born of our inalienable human dignity, we can rise to the challenge of envisaging a new humanity. We can aspire to a world that provides land, housing and work for all. This is the true path of peace, not the senseless and myopic strategy of sowing fear and mistrust in the face of outside threats. For a real and lasting peace will only be possible ‘on the basis of a global ethic of solidarity and cooperation in the service of a future shaped by interdependence and shared responsibility in the whole human family [108]²¹” (FT 127), which requires responsibility and commitment, “the peace process requires enduring commitment. It is a patient effort to seek truth and justice, to honour the memory of victims and to open the way, step by step, to a shared hope stronger than the desire for vengeance’ [209]²²” (FT 226).

“Negotiation often becomes necessary for shaping concrete paths to peace. Yet the processes of change that lead to lasting peace are crafted above all by peoples; each individual can act as an effective leaven by the way he or she lives each day. Great changes are not produced behind desks or in offices. This means that ‘everyone has a fundamental role to play in a single great creative project: to write a new page of history, a page full of hope, peace and reconciliation’ [216]²³” (FT 231).

“There is no end to the building of a country’s social peace; rather, it is ‘an open-ended endeavour, a never-ending task that demands the commitment of everyone and challenges us to work tirelessly to build the unity of the nation. Despite obstacles, differences and varying perspectives on the way to achieve peaceful coexistence, this task summons us to persevere in the struggle to promote a ‘culture of encounter’. This requires us to place at the centre of all political, social and economic activity the human person, who enjoys the highest dignity, and respect for the common good. May this determination help us flee from the temptation for revenge and the satisfaction of short-term partisan interests’ [218]²⁴” (FT 232).

“For peace ‘is not merely absence of war but a tireless commitment – especially on the part of those of us charged with greater responsibility – to recognize, protect

19. Christian vision of development. 14. The development we speak of here cannot be restricted to economic growth alone. To be authentic, it must be well rounded; it must foster the development of each man and of the whole man. As an eminent specialist on this question has rightly said: “We cannot allow economics to be separated from human realities, nor development from the civilization in which it takes place. What counts for us is man – each individual man, each human group, and humanity as a whole.”

20. [222] Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (24 November 2013), 59: AAS 105 (2013), 1044.

21. [108] Address on nuclear weapons, Nagasaki, Japan (24 November 2019): *L’Osservatore Romano*, 25–26 November 2019, p. 6.

22. 209] Message for the 53rd World Day of Peace 1 January 2020 (8 December 2019), 2: *L’Osservatore Romano*, 13 December 2019, p. 8.

23. [216] Address at Interreligious Meeting with Youth, Maputo, Mozambique (5 September 2019): *L’Osservatore Romano*, 6 September 2019, p. 7.

24. [218] Address to the Authorities, the Diplomatic Corps and Representatives of Civil Society, Bogotá, Colombia (7 September 2017): AAS 109 (2017), 1029.



and concretely restore the dignity, so often overlooked or ignored, of our brothers and sisters, so that they can see themselves as the principal protagonists of the destiny of their nation' [220]²⁵ (FT 233).

and a solidarity-based approach,

"Development must not aim at the amassing of wealth by a few, but must ensure 'human rights – personal and social, economic and political, including the rights of nations and of peoples'. [99]²⁶ The right of some to free enterprise or market freedom cannot supersede the rights of peoples and the dignity of the poor, or, for that matter, respect for the natural environment, for 'if we make something our own, it is only to administer it for the good of all' [100]²⁷ (FT 122).

in a dialogic dimension in which "there is genuine dialogue and openness to others" (FT 203) and "true peace 'can be achieved only when we strive for justice through dialogue, pursuing reconciliation and mutual development' [214]²⁸ (FT 229).

By involving everyone and the institutions referred to in SDG 16 of the 2030 Agenda, an architecture of peace can be built, which should be accompanied by an art of peace that involves everyone. *"There is an 'architecture' of peace, to which different institutions of society contribute, each according to its own area of expertise, but there is also an 'art' of peace that involves us all. From the various peace processes that have taken place in different parts of the world, 'we have learned that these ways of making peace, of placing reason above revenge, of the delicate harmony between politics and law, cannot ignore the involvement of ordinary people. Peace is not achieved by normative frameworks and institutional arrangements between well-meaning political or economic groups [...] It is always helpful to incorporate into our peace processes the experience of those sectors that have often been overlooked, so that communities themselves can influence the development of a collective memory' [217]²⁹ (FT 231).*

*The lack of a reference to "sustainable development" does not mean that the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* is not part of a spirit that is in many ways similar to the spirit of the Agenda, which in turn, while referring several times to the idea of peace, does not mention it when setting out "the world we envisage"; even though it uses all the*

words that describe it. "We envisage a world free of fear and violence. A world with universal literacy. A world with equitable and universal access to quality education at all levels, to health care and social protection, where physical, mental and social well-being are assured. A world where we reaffirm our commitments regarding the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation and where there is improved hygiene; and where food is sufficient, safe, affordable and nutritious. A world where human habitats are safe, resilient and sustainable and where there is universal access to affordable, reliable and sustainable energy" (2030 Agenda §7),

"We envisage a world of universal respect for human rights and human dignity, the rule of law, justice, equality and non-discrimination; of respect for race, ethnicity and cultural diversity; and of equal opportunity permitting the full realization of human potential and contributing to shared prosperity. A world which invests in its children and in which every child grows up free from violence and exploitation. A world in which every woman and girl enjoys full gender equality and all legal, social and economic barriers to their empowerment have been removed. A just, equitable, tolerant, open and socially inclusive world in which the needs of the most vulnerable are met" (2030 Agenda §8),

"We envisage a world in which every country enjoys sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and decent work for all. A world in which consumption and production patterns and use of all natural resources – from air to land, from rivers, lakes and aquifers to oceans and seas – are sustainable. One in which democracy, good governance and the rule of law, as well as an enabling environment at the national and international levels, are essential for sustainable development, including sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development, environmental protection and the eradication of poverty and hunger. One in which development and the application of technology are climate-sensitive, respect biodiversity and are resilient. One in which humanity lives in harmony with nature and in which wildlife and other living species are protected" (2030 Agenda §9).

In referring to the adjective "sustainable" with the complex meanings it has taken on in recent years, rather

25. [220] Address to the Authorities, Civil Society and the Diplomatic Corps, Maputo, Mozambique (5 September 2019): L'Osservatore Romano, 6 September 2019, p. 6.

26. [99] St John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (30 December 1987), 33: AAS 80 (1988), 557.

27. [100] Encyclical Letter *Laudato si'* (24 May 2015), 95: AAS 107 (2015), 885.

28. [214] Korean Catholic Bishops' Conference, Appeal of the Catholic Church in Korea for Peace on the Korean Peninsula (15 August 2017).

29. [217] Homily at Holy Mass, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia (10 September 2017): AAS 109 (2017), 1086.



than to development, or equity, which implies consideration of the concrete condition of the individual,

“Eliminating inequality requires an economic growth that can help to tap each region’s potential and thus guarantee a sustainable equality” (FT 161), the Holy Father’s words, with their own unique voice, embrace the breadth of meaning that the word peace has acquired.

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1.2. Rights, justice and equity

1.2.1. The ecumenism of reason

In order to fully understand the innovative, perhaps revolutionary, scope of the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, a significant consideration that guides the whole document should be taken into account.

In this encyclical, Pope Francis uses arguments that, while in line with Christian doctrine, identify a secular and universal vision of human nature and social relations. *“This is a non-negotiable truth attained by the use of reason and accepted in conscience”* (FT 207). And this means that there is no opposition between the two, but rather a substantial, universal harmony. We hear a pope say that *“no one possesses the whole truth”*, as if we were listening to the great philosopher André Glucksmann, who in this encyclical would have been able to recognise the reconciliation of the communities of the convinced with the solidarity of the wavering, which is the basis of his magnificent essay *“The Eleventh Commandment”*.

Certain elements provide concrete and tangible evidence of this.

The Pope often speaks about politics, populism, human rights, the erosion of nation states and the need to strengthen international institutions to ensure world governance, in language that clearly refers to **Target 16.6 “develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels”**; **Target 16.10 “ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements”**; and

Target 16.8 “broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance”, as formulated in Goal 16 Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions of the 2030 Agenda.

“The twenty-first century ‘is witnessing a weakening of the power of nation states, chiefly because the economic and financial sectors, being transnational, tend to prevail over the political. Given this situation, it is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organized international institutions, with functionaries who are appointed fairly by agreement among national governments, and empowered to impose sanctions’ [149]³⁰. When we talk about the possibility of some form of world authority regulated by law, [150]³¹, we need not necessarily think of a personal authority. Still, such an authority ought at least to promote more effective world organizations, equipped with the power to provide for the global common good, the elimination of hunger and poverty and the sure defence of fundamental human rights.”

“This charity, which is the spiritual heart of politics, is always a preferential love shown to those in greatest need; it undergirds everything we do on their behalf. [183]³² Only a gaze transformed by charity can enable the dignity of others to be recognized and, as a consequence, the poor to be acknowledged and valued in their dignity, respected in their identity and culture, and thus truly integrated into society. That gaze is at the heart of the authentic spirit of politics. It sees paths open up that are different from those of a soulless pragmatism. It makes us realize that ‘the scandal of poverty cannot be addressed by promoting strategies of containment that only tranquilize the poor and render them tame and inoffensive. How sad it is when we find, behind allegedly altruistic works, the other being reduced to passivity.’ [184]³³ What are needed are new pathways of self-expression and participation in society. Education serves these by making it possible for each human being to shape his or her own future. Here too we see the importance of the principle of subsidiarity, which is inseparable from the principle of solidarity” (FT 187). His in-depth analysis of populism is much more like studies conducted by political scientists, such as Rosanvallon, than the teaching of the head of Christianity. Indeed, the pope never forgets that he is a Jesuit, whose approach and actions are always based on the reality of the world around us. Christianity is politics, and it offers politics a universal and ecumenical model

30. [149] Encyclical Letter *Laudato si’* (24 May 2015), 175; AAS 107 (2015), 916-917.

31. [150] See Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 67; AAS 101 (2009), 700-701.

32. [183] See St John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (30 December 1987), 42; AAS 80 (1988), 572-574; Id. Encyclical Letter *Centesimus annus* (1 May 1991), 11; AAS 83 (1991), 806-807.

33. [184] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (28 October 2014); AAS 106 (2014), 852.



of the rights and dignity of human nature and of an organisation of civil society based on these principles. It is therefore no coincidence that the realism of this encyclical extends to the importance of relations between people, affirming that the remote encounters - largely imposed by Covid-19 - via current means of communication, preclude the vision of body language, physical contact and even the perception of smells.

Critical analyses of current economic systems based on liberalism are by no means lacking. "Opening up to the world" is an expression that has been co-opted by the economic and financial sector and is now used exclusively of openness to foreign interests or to the freedom of economic powers to invest without obstacles or complications in all countries. Local conflicts and disregard for the common good are exploited by the global economy in order to impose a single cultural model. This culture unifies the world, but divides persons and nations, for 'as society becomes ever more globalized, it makes us neighbours, but does not make us brothers'. [9]³⁴. *We are more alone than ever in an increasingly massified world that promotes individual interests and weakens the communitarian dimension of life. Indeed, there are markets where individuals become mere consumers or bystanders. As a rule, the advance of this kind of globalism strengthens the identity of the more powerful, who can protect themselves, but it tends to diminish the identity of the weaker and poorer regions, making them more vulnerable and dependent. In this way, political life becomes increasingly fragile in the face of transnational economic powers that operate with the principle of 'divide and conquer'" (FT 12).*

If this is based on everyone's freedom to express their potential through work, trade and production, this individual strength should be regulated in order to pursue the holistic economic development of human communities. Every woman and man should be assured food, health and education, but above all access to opportunities. This approach in no way diminishes the Christian dimension of his teaching, but it is openly based on the great philosophers of human ethics, from Socrates to Aristotle, from Descartes to Kant. Indeed, the strength of his message derives precisely from its reaffirmation of the fundamentals of human dignity, which were adopted before him by many great Church figures, such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Among other things, through this ecumenical and universal approach, concrete and positive dialogue between the great religions and all faiths that recognise the equal dignity of all human beings is possible.

"We are still far from a globalization of the most basic of human rights. That is why world politics needs to make the effective elimination of hunger one of its foremost and imperative goals. Indeed, 'when financial speculation manipulates the price of food, treating it as just another commodity, millions of people suffer and die from hunger. At the same time, tons of food are thrown away. This constitutes a genuine scandal. Hunger is criminal; food is an inalienable right'. [188]³⁵ Often, as we carry on our semantic or ideological disputes, we allow our brothers and sisters to die of hunger and thirst, without shelter or access to health care. Alongside these basic needs that remain unmet, trafficking in persons represents another source of shame for humanity, one that international politics, moving beyond fine speeches and good intentions, must no longer tolerate. These things are essential; they can no longer be deferred" (FT 189).

It is no coincidence that the encyclical begins with the pope's meeting with Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb, which is part of the effort to engage the Islamic world in an overall agreement on fundamental values. which is a key feature of this pope's vision. Moreover, the pope often refers to the Bible and the Jewish world, always from the same ecumenical standpoint aimed at uniting the efforts of men and women of good will in order to defend human beings at this time of momentous challenges.

In a nutshell, Francis interprets Christian precepts by placing them within a framework of a universal vision of faiths that affirms dignity and human rights as the lowest common denominator, a common banner for women and men in our global world. **A vision that refers to Target 16.10 "ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements" and Target 16.b "promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development", as set out in the 2030 Agenda, which was signed by all the countries in the world in 2015.**

Pope Francis' attentive and passionate reference to the Parable of the Good Samaritan probably sums up the meaning of the entire encyclical. The indifferent attitude of the priest and the Levite represent the inability to understand, or the selfishness, of many leaders of the ruling classes, locked in a conception of belonging and truth that exclude "others", namely all those who are different because of their community, religious, racial and social affiliations, and so on.

Here there is certainly a criticism of the ministers of the

34. [9] Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 19: AAS 101 (2009), 655.

35. [188] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (28 October 2014): AAS 106 (2014), 853.



Church, but also of many other faiths that have lost the ability and responsibility to encounter diversity, partly because they find it more convenient and productive to carry on limiting themselves to preaching to the converted. The poor man lying wounded by the side of the road doesn't just represent a different person, a migrant, a member of one of our many minorities, but rather all of us, because we can all suffer pain from violence and discrimination, not just physically but also spiritually as a result of the uncertainty and confusion that prevails in our world today. Fortunately, there is a Good Samaritan: it does not matter if he or she is a foreigner, a different person, someone who does not belong to our community, because the responsibility for defending human dignity is universal and is part of the conscience of homo sapiens. It is inherent to human nature, as has been affirmed in a struggle lasting centuries, from the Magna Carta to the American Constitution, and the rights of man and citizenship of the French Revolution.

Concerns about and criticism of the market society and inhuman globalisation are linked to a call for political responsibility.

Some great interpreters of our world, such as Attali and Harari, warn us against the possible developments of science and technology. Machines will know more about us than we will be able to know about ourselves. We can decide what colour our children's hair will be or whether they will be tall or short. Francis and the great imam reaffirm their faith in science, but like Attali and Harari, in concluding troubling analysis, they tell us that we, and our teachers and leaders, must always be the conductors of the orchestra. Technologists and scientists are the musicians, but the orchestra plays according to the conductor's baton: we need credible conductors who have the courage to manage change. This call for responsibility unites lay people and Christians, atheists and people of faith, and is perhaps the greatest warning of this encyclical.

Entrusting human rights to jurists may be extremely limiting. Human rights will never be affirmed if we don't know how to make them penetrate our minds and hearts, not so much in order to demand that they be applied, but rather so that every woman and man sees them as basic criteria for community relations, and lives them as founding values of the age-old social contract.

As the book "The Different Woman" reveals, it is impossible to forget the many lessons taught by invisible women encountered around the world. Mabrouka, the protagonist of the book, is a small woman from the Tunisian desert who can neither write nor read, but she is also a great mother, who used to say to her

daughters, when they were discussing whether or not they should cover their hair, "I'm not interested in what you have on your head, but what you have in your head".

The greatest, most primordial diversity is the one between women and men. Pope Francis often speaks to us about women, who have been subjugated and discriminated against not only in cultures other than our own, but also throughout the centuries and even today by communities that call themselves Christian. As well as being considered equal to men in terms of citizenship rights, the enormous contribution women make to the human community should be recognised. Women are created to endure upheavals of their bodies and minds, not only during pregnancy and childbirth, but also when defending the most vulnerable, such as the elderly and children, who have always been entrusted to women's ability to give life and protect dignity.

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1.2.2. Peace and brotherhood to care for of the world

"All brothers," wrote Saint Francis, the poor man of Assisi, and we feel like much smaller and more inadequate brothers and sisters when dealing with the complex and delicate language of this pope who has adopted the saint's name and words. Words of the most vulnerable made to prevail with the strength of their belief in a "*fraternal openness that allows us to acknowledge, appreciate and love each person, regardless of physical proximity*" (FT 1).

This encyclical is devoted to "fraternity and social friendship", because, "*some eight hundred years ago, Saint Francis urged that all forms of hostility or conflict be avoided and that a humble and fraternal 'subjection' be shown to those who did not share his faith*" (FT 3), seeking "*harmony with all*".

It is striking that the pope felt prompted by letters received "*from many individuals and groups throughout the world*" (FT 5), and followed up this Franciscan universal dimension of openness to other people of goodwill in the context of the unexpected Covid-19 pandemic, which exposed our false sense of security as "*their inability to work together became quite evident*" (FT 7). It is precisely in such cases that it is not enough to improve "*existing systems and regulations*" (FT 7), which



would be to deny reality, but rather the support of an entire community is needed.

And here he emphasises that *“certain trends in our world hinder the development of universal fraternity”* (FT 9) in a world which, having emerged from *“wars and disasters”* (FT 10), has appeared to be *“moving towards various forms of integration”* (FT 10), capable of *“bridging divisions and fostering peace”* (FT 10), as in the case of a united Europe, or the process of Latin American integration which has made progress.

Attention should stay focused, however as nationalism has arisen *“under the guise of defending national interests”* (FT 11) in *“a kind of deconstructionism”* (FT 13), in which freedom is presented as being able to *“create everything starting from zero”* (FT 13) *“in new forms of cultural colonization”* (FT 14) in which individuals are empty, uprooted, distrustful and only capable of giving in to mirages.

If *“historical consciousness, critical thinking, the struggle for justice and the processes of integration”* (FT 14) were to disappear and controversy and opposition prevail, what would the concepts of *“democracy, freedom, justice or unity really mean?”* (FT 14). They would become *“meaningless tags that can be used to justify any action”* (FT 14), without any plan.

“The fray of conflicting interests, where victory consists in eliminating one’s opponents” (FT 16), exasperated, exacerbated and polarised *“in this craven exchange of charges and counter-charges”* (FT 15), shows that the *“great goals for the development of our entire human family nowadays sounds like madness”* (FT 16).

With climate change and the depletion of the Earth’s resources *“the scene will be set for new wars, albeit under the guise of noble claims”* (FT 17).

Similarly, *“human rights are not equal for all”* (FT 22), and not yet sufficiently universal to enable integral human development, and a path of love, justice and solidarity.

For example, *“the organization of societies worldwide is still far from reflecting clearly that women possess the same dignity and identical rights as men”* (FT 23). Disguised forms of slavery demean the world and enrich criminal networks; the falling birth rate and the abandonment of the elderly impoverish the family; there is insufficient support for disability; *“there exists a typically ‘mafioso’ pedagogy that, by appealing to a false communitarian mystique, creates bonds of dependency and fealty from which it is very difficult to break free”* (FT 28); international arms trafficking gets richer in a climate dominated by *“uncertainty, disillusionment and fear of the future”* (FT 29); we witness *“the dismantling,*

year after year, of healthcare systems” (FT 35); migration is an unstoppable process of hunger and escape from war, and no wall can stop it unless we retreat within the enclosure we have built; the waste generated by consumerism is growing out of all proportion, and ancestral fears of otherness have not yet been overcome by technological and scientific progress. All this might lead to a loss of hope and self-esteem and turn us into docile subordinates, yet we could choose to care for the world, which is equivalent to caring for ourselves by valuing a *“culture of encounter”* (FT 30).

We could transform the sorrowful human events narrated by the poet Virgil into a common path of hope - walking together in faith - where the anxiety and impatience caused by the virtuality of means of communication could be replaced by a free desire to be citizens, and to offer citizenship, rediscovering a taste for the shared reality of *“a single family dwelling in a common home”* (FT 17). Rediscovering *“once for all that we need one another”* (FT 35), that *“digital connectivity is not enough to build bridges, and is not capable of uniting humanity”* (FT 43) and *“to reject the discriminatory use of the term minorities, which engenders feelings of isolation and inferiority.”* (FT 131).

With all of us being citizens with equal rights and duties in the name of justice and free personal fulfilment.

This is because everyone’s choices influence the entire international community: *“The West can discover in the East remedies for those spiritual and religious maladies that are caused by a prevailing materialism. And the East can find in the West many elements that can help free it from weakness, division, conflict and scientific, technical and cultural decline”* (FT 136). Either we will all be saved or no one will be saved.

Against the backdrop of these observations, some of the principles connected with Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda *“Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions”* strongly emerge, including: **combating and rejecting all forms of violence and unlawfulness (Target 16.1, Target 16.2, Target 16.4); affirmation of the rule of law (Target 16.3); and respecting and promoting non-discriminatory laws and sustainable development policies (Target 16.b).**

One point is crucially important. *“The attempt to see populism as a key for interpreting social reality is problematic in another way: it disregards the legitimate meaning of the word ‘people’. Any effort to remove this concept from common parlance could lead to the eli-*



mination of the very notion of democracy as ‘government by the people’” (FT 157). “To be part of a people is to be part of a shared identity arising from social and cultural bonds. And that is not something automatic, but rather a slow, difficult process... of advancing towards a common project” (FT 158); a people “is [...] constantly open to a new synthesis through its ability to welcome differences” (FT 160). Overcoming differences in a sustainable way, creating potential, supporting immediate needs, and yet basing collective development on striving for “a life of dignity” (FT 162).

Together with these efforts, it is also important to consolidate and strengthen institutions to meet the difficulties we are facing in the current situation. We should take advantage of the great potential of technological development and the capacity for renewal inherent in human intelligence, which has given us an organisation in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity and led to the writing of charters that promote the sovereignty of law in which justice is an essential requisite for achieving universal brotherhood. “There is a need to ensure the uncontested rule of law and tireless recourse to negotiation, mediation and arbitration, as proposed by the Charter of the United Nations, which constitutes truly a fundamental juridical norm” (FT 257), and to protect the United Nations Organisation from delegitimization by giving fresh impetus to the principles set out in the Preamble, in favour of the force of law and against the right to force.

Participation, local community action and civil society organisations complement state action. This is the sweet spot of politics where there is “room for a tender love of others” (FT 194), to practise kindness and to accept “that some things may have to be renounced for the common good” (FT 221), namely to practise dialogue and social friendship, where the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

The scope of the pontiff’s analysis includes, among other things, politics and forms of government, and the relationship between centres of power and global citizenship, which are aspects that are covered in several Targets of Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda. In particular, **Target 16.6 “develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels”**; **Target 16.7 “ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels”**; and **Target 16.8 “broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance”**.

The Holy Father reiterates a message of political “fraternity” and, together with St Francis of Assisi, recalls

non-Catholic brothers such as Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu, Mahatma Gandhi, as well as Blessed Charles de Foucauld [242] and even St Augustine - who although he put forward the idea of a “just war” that we no longer subscribe to - said that “it is a higher glory still to stay war itself with a word, than to slay men with the sword, and to procure or maintain peace by peace, not by war” (Letter 229, 2: PL 33, 1020).

Diva Ricevuto

President, Sulleregole Association

1.2.3. Anti-discrimination principles and laws in the Encyclical Fratelli tutti and the United Nations 2030 Agenda. A case of “parallel convergence”

In the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* the word “discrimination” rarely occurs, at least in explicit terms and as a defined concept. The document contains even fewer explicit references to the impressive legal endeavours which, since the end of the Second World War and under the heading of “anti-discrimination legislation”, have formed one of the pillars in the progressive construction of a system of multilevel governance, based on a distribution of sovereignty between the state level and the international and supranational levels that has been gradually extended to as many participating countries as possible.

It’s worth noting that the construction of multilevel governance has proved to be one of the few instruments capable of tackling and channelling the animal spirits set in motion by the globalisation process, and that the pursuit of the Goals and Targets of the United Nations 2030 Agenda - whilst making individual countries responsible for the obligations and commitments they have undertaken - is closely intertwined with the essential elements of the parallel process of creating this governance system.

Eloquent examples of the relationship between the construction of multilevel governance and the 2030 Agenda include, among others, the agreements relating to:

1. environmental protection and combating global warming;
2. the ex-ante fight against and prevention of corruption via administrative and civil law measures, in order to go beyond the constraints of traditional criminal repression policies.

On the one hand, these issues have given rise to fundamental international agreements and European and national legislation, and on the other they occupy



a prominent position in the overall balance struck by the 2030 Agenda between the many possible priorities that could have been adopted as Goals or Targets. Without attempting, within the limits of this contribution, to define what globalisation is and how it operates, and in particular whether it has the effect of accentuating or creating inequalities and discrimination, it does however appear quite obvious that in recent decades the process of globalisation has tended to coincide with the emergence of new forms of discrimination or persistence of old manifestations of this phenomenon.

Despite the great debate that has developed over the last few decades on the issue of the relationship between globalisation and discrimination - with its classic polarisation (sovereignist versus anti-sovereignist positions that are both critically discussed in the encyclical, and some of which are reviving and quite explicitly re-evaluating discriminatory themes and proposals) - however one looks at this relationship does not automatically mean that the cause of a new season of discriminatory expansion can be unequivocally traced back to the process of globalisation as such.

However, it cannot be denied that the extension of traditional forms of discrimination, and even more so the emergence of new forms of discrimination, has often accompanied the phenomena that collectively fall within the category of "globalisation", to the extent of being one of the salient features of the current historical period.

At the same time, however, under the aegis of multilevel governance, the ability to curb and combat discrimination has intensified and expanded, through regulations, practices and policies that are commonly categorised as "anti-discriminatory" and have a significant impact on various fields and sectors.

In the light of these observations, it is somewhat surprising that the encyclical contains few explicit references to discrimination and the means provided to combat it, all the more so if we consider the encyclical's "global" approach, which is aimed at addressing all the ills of humanity, and seeking to resolve them in terms of "fraternity". It would be misleading to think that this "lukewarmness" can be explained by a supposedly exclusively personalistic approach in the encyclical. Indeed, if its gravitational centre is located in the ethics of inter-individual and interpersonal relations, this highlights that fraternity between people is also the keystone for achieving a re-balance between the human species and ecosystems, and, moreover, does not neglect the role of institutions, as institutional, and economic, dimensions are needed to complete the construction of a fabric of social relations marked by the primary value of "fraternity".

This is borne out by the fact that, even though there are few explicit references, the entire encyclical is brimming with ideas, critical observations and recommendations that are completely in tune with anti-discrimination laws and practices, and even seems to promote them, although without mentioning them.

In support of this last assertion, it is worth briefly reviewing these passages from the encyclical, even though it is inevitably incomplete given the complexity of the pope's thinking. The encyclical begins by noting that *"one effective way to weaken historical consciousness, critical thinking, the struggle for justice and the processes of integration is to empty great words of their meaning or to manipulate them"* (FT 14). It goes on to identify the great words emptied of meaning as *"democracy, freedom, justice and unity"* (FT 14).

What stands out in this series is the absence of the term "equality". Since the dawn of the contemporary era (the Age of Revolutions), this - undoubtedly "great" - word has been one of the cornerstones of any coexistence that can now be considered civilised. And this absence certainly cannot be attributed to an unlikely opinion of the pope that the egalitarian dimension is currently subject to fewer tensions, or that its realisation is now presented in contemporary societies as being peaceful and painless.

However, it is also true that the word "equality" is highly ambiguous. Its status as an accepted value is strongly contested and, more frequently, it is deemed to be only basically and partially accessible, offsetting it with other values that are to a greater or less extent in tension with it.

So much so that anti-discrimination legislation and policies are often seen as one of the few ways in which the principle of equality has been brought about at institutional level and beyond the general principles, given that such legislation and policies aim to combat and prevent various forms of unjustified inequality.

This aim is also expressly mentioned in the 2030 Agenda and, in particular, is in line with Target 16.b "promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development".

As mentioned above, the individual themes dealt with in the encyclical frequently include "substantially" anti-discriminatory ideas. Here are a few examples, although many more could be also be given:

- *"Some parts of our human family, it appears, can be readily sacrificed for the sake of others considered worthy of a carefree existence"* (FT 18);
- *"In addition, a readiness to discard others finds expression in vicious attitudes that we thought long past, such as racism, which retreats underground only to keep re-emerging. Instances of racism con-*



tinue to shame us, for they show that our supposed social progress is not as real or definitive as we think” (FT 20);

- *“It frequently becomes clear that, in practice, human rights are not equal for all”* (FT 22);
- *“Similarly, the organization of societies worldwide is still far from reflecting clearly that women possess the same dignity and identical rights as men. We say one thing with words, but our decisions and reality tell another story”* (FT 23);
- *“We should also recognize that even though the international community has adopted numerous agreements aimed at ending slavery in all its forms, and has launched various strategies to combat this phenomenon, millions of people today – children, women and men of all ages – are deprived of freedom and forced to live in conditions akin to slavery”* (FT 24);
- *“In some host countries, migration causes fear and alarm, often fomented and exploited for political purposes [...]. No one will ever openly deny that they are human beings, yet in practice, by our decisions and the way we treat them, we can show that we consider them less worthy, less important, less human”* (FT 39);
- *“Many persons with disabilities feel that they exist without belonging and without participating. Much still prevents them from being fully enfranchised. Our concern should be not only to care for them but to ensure their active participation in the civil and ecclesial community [...]. We need to have the courage to give a voice to those who are discriminated against due to their disability, because sadly, in some countries even today, people find it hard to acknowledge them as persons of equal dignity”* (FT 98).

The condemnation does not hesitate to broach highly topical areas such as discrimination against the elderly or information and cultural inequalities, leading to *“an acknowledgement of the worth of every human person”* (FT 106). This is qualified as *“a basic principle of social life that tends to be ignored in a variety of ways”* (FT 106). All these passages, as can be seen, stress condemnation of the discriminatory problems that are still very much alive and well, but they do not also provide an assessment of the solutions and instruments that, however imperfect, have gradually been put in place.

Although the theme of equality has been at the top of the agenda throughout history, it can be argued that, on the contrary, specific anti-discrimination instruments are a peculiar development of the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, and it would be extremely interesting to have

an assessment carried out in the light of the universal canon of “fraternity”, with regard to their formal configuration and always imperfect and perfectible application, which does not mean, however, that they have never been implemented.

Indeed, moving on from a detailed discussion of the encyclical to take a brief look at what has happened at various institutional levels, including institutions in individual countries, the European Union and the Council of Europe, the United Nations and its many agencies, and intergovernmental forums (G7, G8, G20), we may note an extremely varied and well organised panorama of various types of legislation and implementation policies that aim to address unequal treatment - and more generally, unjustified discrimination - through the establishment of fundamental principles and, moreover, through “monographic” legislative compendia, namely those dedicated to individual forms of discrimination.

With regard to principles, we now have a comprehensive arsenal at our disposal, which is so widely known that it is hardly worth mentioning, including Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1965), concerning the entitlement “of everyone to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration”; Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Racial Discrimination (1965); the interesting and highly topical statement of Article 20, second paragraph, of the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (“any call to national, racial or religious hatred constituting incitement to discrimination, hostility and violence shall be prohibited by law”); Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Nice Charter, 2000); and Article 10 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, in which the fight against discrimination is expressed not only as a set of rights and obligations, but also as a general programmatic objective of European policies, without forgetting the previous, and therefore precursory, Articles 2 and 3 of the Italian Constitution.

In order to draw some conclusions from the parallel reconstruction conducted so far, it should be noted that, **compared to the encyclical’s approach, which is consistent in its basic values but apparently rather sceptical about the validity of the instruments, the 2030 Agenda, while envisaging the anti-discrimination objective explicitly set out in Goal 16, Target 16.b and elsewhere**, also allocates relatively little space to this issue. In both cases, the amount of space given to the issue is disproportionate to its actual importance, as briefly explained above. There are two possible explanations for this choice, which are not necessarily alternatives. Firstly, the



“holistic” approach of both the 2030 Agenda and the encyclical, which sees sustainability on the one hand, and fraternity on the other, as extending far beyond the limits of a single issue, to impact the social, economic, political and institutional spheres as a whole, and in which discrimination is thus one of the problems. Secondly, is the somewhat less noble but essentially pragmatic awareness that discrimination issues are extremely divisive factors among the 2030 Agenda’s signatory states, as well as among political and institutional systems and religions. Indeed, many of these still theorise and practice pervasive and penetrating forms of discrimination, even though they would not admit it.

So is this perhaps a “parallel convergence” between the encyclical and the 2030 Agenda towards a limbo of prudent diplomacy, which prefers to leave the spawdework of globalisation at the cultural level to time, to the exemplary behaviour of the most advanced countries, and finally to the levelling action of the markets, but above all to an evolution of widespread ethical awareness via a globalised humanity, a gradual evolution of all countries towards the full development of anti-discrimination instruments on a global scale?

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1.3. Politics, institutions and governance

1.3.1. Politics for the common good

In the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* we find the awareness, which has now become experience, of an ongoing world crisis and the desire to offer a universal and impartial contribution to the construction of a social, economic and political world order that is finally just because it is founded on the ideal of brotherhood. The language is universalistic; Pope Francis is addressing all people of good will. This contribution, *Fratelli tutti*, is not specifically intended to show us how to get out of the current pandemic crisis as quickly as possible, but rather to help us become aware, once and for all, of the fact that during the 2007/08 crisis we already had the tools to understand, to act and to change, but we didn’t do so. Therefore, the pontiff insists and makes an “appeal” so that the mistakes of the past are not repeated, when people didn’t want to take the opportunity to “develop a new economy, more attentive to ethical principles and new ways of

regulating speculative financial practices and virtual wealth” (FT 170). Therefore, Pope Francis is pre-emptively warning us that “anyone who thinks that the only lesson to be learned was the need to improve what we were already doing, or to refine existing systems and regulations, is denying reality” (FT 7), so let’s not waste another opportunity, let’s start “rethinking the outdated criteria which continue to rule the world” (FT 170). Pope Francis is very afraid that this important and far-reaching structural reform process might still take a long time to come to fruition, and that therefore the great clamour for change might translate into little more than political marketing, and in the section on “*The politics we need*” he returns to the issue by repeating that “*global society is suffering from grave structural deficiencies that cannot be resolved by piecemeal solutions or quick fixes*” (FT 179).

In order to finally tackle this historic “challenge”, which can be summed up as replanning and reorganising politics and the economy to bring about the common good, it is necessary to replace the cultural paradigm that has dominated us over the last three decades, noting that “*the dogmatic formulae of prevailing economic theory proved not to be infallible. The fragility of world systems in the face of the pandemic has demonstrated that not everything can be resolved by market freedom. It has also shown that, in addition to recovering a sound political life that is not subject to the dictates of finance, ‘we must put human dignity back at the centre and on that pillar build the alternative social structures we need’ [142]³⁶*” (FT 168).

In order to put people at the centre of the system rather than financial returns, the pontiff acknowledges that politics as an instrument of government is irreplaceable, and to get us thinking, he rhetorically asks us whether “*a world without politics can work*”. He appeals for a “*renewed appreciation of politics as a lofty vocation and one of the highest forms of charity, inasmuch as it seeks the common good*” (FT 180).

A politics that, in order to pursue the common good, must revert to restoring its hierarchical supremacy over the economy: “*politics must not be subject to the economy, nor should the economy be subject to the dictates of an efficiency-driven paradigm of technocracy*” (FT 177).

This politics should revert to thinking with a broad vision, aimed at supporting an integral approach, a “*healthy politics... capable of reforming and coordinating institutions, promoting best practices and overcoming undue pressure and bureaucratic inertia*”, and firmly assert in a definitive answer to the que-

36. [142] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (28 October 2014): AAS 106 (2014), 858.



stion about the role of politics that “we cannot expect economics to do this, nor can we allow economics to take over the real power of the state” (FT 177).

The politics that need to be restarted are based on “high principles and think of the long-term common good” (FT 178), in which the effective recognition of all fundamental human rights is only the starting point for ensuring the right to food and work. And given that the market alone doesn’t solve everything, but rather has overwhelmed everything and everyone with the ever-greater acceleration imprinted on it by the process of globalisation, and that this unstoppable “rise” has gone hand in hand with constant weakening of all national and supranational legal systems, “it is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organized international institutions, with functionaries who are appointed fairly by agreement among national governments, and empowered to impose sanctions [...], to provide for the global common good, the elimination of hunger and poverty and the sure defence of fundamental human rights” (FT 172).

Therefore, Pope Francis deems necessary “a reform of the United Nations Organization, and likewise of economic institutions and international finance” (FT 173). The objective is to restore the undisputed rule of law in the knowledge that justice is a vital prerequisite for brotherhood in order to create “an economy that is an integral part of a political, social, cultural and popular programme” (FT 179), and thereby ensure “a firm belief in the common destination of the earth’s goods” (FT 124).

The predominance of a global right nurtured by a political love that “spurs people to create more sound institutions, more just regulations, more supportive structures” (FT 186). Therefore, Pope Francis reminds everyone that “it is also an act of charity, even if we do not know that person, to work to change the social conditions that caused his or her suffering” (FT 186). From this point of view, *Fratelli tutti* is also a call for responsibility, to take action so as to “not expect everything from those who govern us, for that would be childish” (FT 77), and by “creating and putting into place new processes and changes” (FT 77), whilst urging us not to act alone and not to be discouraged because the “difficulties that seem overwhelming are opportunities for growth, not excuses for a glum resignation that can lead only to acquiescence” (FT 78).

A call to act in line with the guiding principle of the knowledge that either we are all saved or no one is saved, and that therefore “we need to attain a global juridical, political and economic order which can increase and give direction to international cooperation for the development of all peoples in solidarity” (FT 138).

It is a strong, authentic message that repea-

tedly touches on the areas of politics, forms of government, relations between states, and the structure and direction of global governance, which seems to fertilise the principles set out in some of the Targets of Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda, such as Target 16.6 “develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels”; Target 16.7 “ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels”; and Target 16.8 “broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance”.

A formidable appeal in the interest of the common good (to eliminate social and economic exclusion), keeping faith with the initial intention of warning us that no one believes it is possible to reform a system that causes so much injustice without reversing the balance of power in favour of the people, of brothers and sisters and in the interest of the common good. Will we be ready this time?

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1.3.2. For integral human development: people, politics and the future of democracy

Pope Francis’ Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* contains strong and continuous references to an historical political tension, and one often comes across deep systemic reflections on the capacity of democracies and representative institutions to guarantee and preserve social peace, as well as on the governance structures that the pontiff deems most appropriate to ensure harmony between peoples and fundamental human rights.

The underlying guiding thread of this tension is undoubtedly the meditation shared with the Grand Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb, which in the encyclical sometimes takes the form of an appeal to rulers and institutions to promote a culture of coexistence and peace and, by abruptly changing course, to curtail the policies of hatred and fear put in place by governments and nations that are still fighting each other (FT 192).

As also emerges in other pages of this reasoned analysis of the encyclical, the concept of peace referred to by the pontiff is a concept of “positive” peace,



which permeates and encompasses the theme of the inalienable rights of the human person and not merely cessation of violence and hostility.

“Certainly, all this calls for an alternative way of thinking. Without an attempt to enter into that way of thinking, what I am saying here will sound wildly unrealistic. On the other hand, if we accept the great principle that there are rights born of our inalienable human dignity, we can rise to the challenge of envisaging a new humanity. We can aspire to a world that provides land, housing and work for all. This is the true path of peace, not the senseless and myopic strategy of sowing fear and mistrust in the face of outside threats. For a real and lasting peace will only be possible ‘on the basis of a global ethic of solidarity and cooperation in the service of a future shaped by interdependence and shared responsibility in the whole human family’ [108]³⁷” (FT 127).

A concept based on an absolute propensity, which permeates the political and institutional level as far as the “culture of dialogue as a path”, and also “mutual cooperation as the code of conduct; reciprocal understanding as the method and standard” (FT 285).

The consistency of the appeal launched by the pontiff is supported and legitimised first and foremost by the depth of the historical and political analysis that is discussed and explained. This is based on a close examination of the historical course of nationalism in relation to the current political resurgence, which in the rhetoric of slogans and claims, or in the common vulgate of our time, is labelled in a bombastic, improper and misleading way as “sovereignism”.

It also contains a copious and noteworthy interpretation that legitimises and substantiates this critique of the relationship between populism and democracy, in which the dialectic between people and the system of representation, and between government and rights, is fully explored with assumptions in which both constraints and benefits emerge clearly through a far-reaching and diachronic vision.

Therefore, the pontiff justifies and legitimises his analysis on the basis of a substantial, almost “doctrinal” interpretation. Indeed, the arguments used are, as expressly stated below, very prominent and substantial, and within the organisation of the encyclical are tied to a concept of high politics, whose mission is deemed so important that it is the subject of a specific chapter entitled “A Better Kind of Politics”.

“Popular leaders, those capable of interpreting the feelings and cultural dynamics of a people, and significant trends in society, do exist. The service they provide by their efforts to unite and lead can become the basis of

an enduring vision of transformation and growth that would also include making room for others in the pursuit of the common good. But this can degenerate into an unhealthy ‘populism’ when individuals are able to exploit politically a people’s culture, under whatever ideological banner, for their own personal advantage or continuing grip on power. Or when, at other times, they seek popularity by appealing to the basest and most selfish inclinations of certain sectors of the population. This becomes all the more serious when, whether in cruder or more subtle forms, it leads to the usurpation of institutions and laws” (FT 159).

This is the type of scenario where, according to the pontiff, the populist matrix has become prevalent in some areas of political organisation and world governance, to the extent of “showing signs of a certain regression” (FT 11), in which:

“Ancient conflicts thought long buried are breaking out anew, while instances of a myopic, extremist, resentful and aggressive nationalism are on the rise. In some countries, a concept of popular and national unity influenced by various ideologies is creating new forms of selfishness and a loss of the social sense under the guise of defending national interests” (FT 11).

In this interpretation, populism ends up representing a deformation of the “healthy” relationship between the people and the mechanisms of demographic representation. Hence:

“The attempt to see populism as a key for interpreting social reality is problematic in another way: it disregards the legitimate meaning of the word ‘people’” (FT 157).

Moreover, this tension between represented and representatives, according to the pontiff, should not be quelled by excessive recourse to “globalist” politics that water down the differences between peoples and communities in the name of “detached” governance, far removed from peoples and communities and able to legitimise itself as a mere composition of individual interests, albeit in a more or less organised form.

“Any effort to remove this concept from common parlance could lead to the elimination of the very notion of democracy as ‘government by the people’. If we wish to maintain that society is more than a mere aggregate of individuals, the term ‘people’ proves necessary. There are social phenomena that create majorities, as well as megatrends and communitarian aspirations. Men and women are capable of coming up with shared goals that transcend their differences and can thus engage in a common endeavour. Then too, it is extremely difficult to carry out a long-term project unless it becomes a collective aspiration. All these factors lie behind our use of the words ‘people’ and ‘popular’. Unless they are

37. [108] Address on nuclear weapons, Nagasaki, Japan (24 November 2019): L’Osservatore Romano, 25-26 November 2019, p. 6.



taken into account – together with a sound critique of demagoguery – a fundamental aspect of social reality would be overlooked” (FT 157).

And also:

“The concept of a ‘people’, which naturally entails a positive view of community and cultural bonds, is usually rejected by individualistic liberal approaches, which view society as merely the sum of coexisting interests. One speaks of respect for freedom, but without roots in a shared narrative; in certain contexts, those who defend the rights of the most vulnerable members of society tend to be criticized as populists. The notion of a people is considered an abstract construct, something that does not really exist. But this is to create a needless dichotomy. Neither the notion of ‘people’ nor that of ‘neighbour’ can be considered purely abstract or romantic, in such a way that social organization, science and civic institutions can be rejected or treated with contempt [138]³⁸” (FT 157).

For the pontiff, this “unnecessary polarisation” - which is increasingly growing and evident, including a trace in the most recent non-fiction on the subject³⁹- is therefore the responsibility of those who interpret populist degeneration as a paradigm, but also, in part, of those ruling classes who, while blaming the latter, take shelter in the mediation of particular interests, conducting their political action and the power of government as aseptic “technical” management of material resources.

“Otherwise, political propaganda, the media and the shapers of public opinion will continue to promote an individualistic and uncritical culture subservient to unregulated economic interests and societal institutions at the service of those who already enjoy too much power. My criticism of the technocratic paradigm involves more than simply thinking that if we control its excesses everything will be fine. The bigger risk does not come from specific objects, material realities or institutions, but from the way that they are used” (FT 166).

A “criticism of the technocratic paradigm” that in essence also reverberates in an observation on the prerogatives and ultimate goals that, according to the pontiff, every democratic system should have, at the level of legitimation of power mechanisms, and therefore institutional functioning, as well as regarding the representativeness and inclusiveness of decision-making processes.

“I would also insist that ‘to give to each his own – to cite the classic definition of justice – means that no human

individual or group can consider itself absolute, entitled to bypass the dignity and the rights of other individuals or their social groupings. The effective distribution of power (especially political, economic, defence-related and technological power) among a plurality of subjects, and the creation of a juridical system for regulating claims and interests, are one concrete way of limiting power. Yet today’s world presents us with many false rights and – at the same time – broad sectors which are vulnerable, victims of power badly exercised’ [148]⁴⁰” (FT 171).

Reading between the lines of this approach and these arguments, crucial references to **several Targets of Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda immediately become apparent, including: Target 16.6 “develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels”; Target 16.7 “ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels”; and not least Target 16.b “promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development”.**

And this last Target is indeed the starting point for setting out the pontiff’s value proposition based in the encyclical on the paradigm of welcome and fraternity, and therefore on “social” peace - the archetype of the Good Samaritan is a central and recurrent theme in the encyclical - with respect to the principle of a sustainable development that tends to overcome all discrimination. Throughout the encyclical and in the pontiff’s interpretation, the concept of “popular” shifts from a “political” to a broader cultural, economic and social meaning that fulfils the aims of participation and inclusiveness within an effective and responsible democratic representation that is healthy, vital and not “atrophied”.

Therefore, it is capable of not falling into line, not becoming accustomed to, and not abdicating its role, even in the face of the tumultuous economic and financial globalisation that has taken place in recent decades.

“The twenty-first century is witnessing a weakening of the power of nation states, chiefly because the economic and financial sectors, being transnational, tend to prevail over the political” (FT 172).

“One model of globalization in fact ‘consciously aims at a one-dimensional uniformity and seeks to eliminate all differences and traditions in a superficial quest for unity [...] If a certain kind of globalization claims to make everyone uniform, to level everyone out, that globalization destroys the rich gifts and uniqueness of each

38. [138] Something similar can be said about the biblical concept of the “Kingdom of God”.

39. See Yascha Mounk *The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It; Popolo vs Democrazia. Dalla cittadinanza alla dittatura elettorale*, Feltrinelli 2018

40. [148] Address to the United Nations Organization, New York (25 September 2015): AAS 107 (2015), 1037.



person and each people' [78]⁴¹. This false universalism ends up depriving the world of its various colours, its beauty and, ultimately, its humanity. For the future is not monochrome; if we are courageous, we can contemplate it in all the variety and diversity of what each individual person has to offer⁴²" (FT 100).

"In some closed and monochrome economic approaches, for example, there seems to be no place for popular movements that unite the unemployed, temporary and informal workers and many others who do not easily find a place in existing structures. Yet those movements manage various forms of popular economy and of community production. What is needed is a model of social, political and economic participation 'that can include popular movements and invigorate local, national and international governing structures with that torrent of moral energy that springs from including the excluded in the building of a common destiny', while also ensuring that 'these experiences of solidarity which grow up from below, from the subsoil of the planet – can come together, be more coordinated, keep on meeting one another.' [143]⁴³ This, however, must happen in a way that will not betray their distinctive way of acting as 'sowers of change, promoters of a process involving millions of actions, great and small, creatively intertwined like words in a poem'. [144]⁴⁴ In that sense, such movements are 'social poets' that, in their own way, work, propose, promote and liberate. They help make possible an integral human development that goes beyond 'the idea of social policies being a policy for the poor, but never with the poor and never of the poor, much less part of a project that reunites peoples'. [145]⁴⁵ They may be troublesome, and certain 'theorists' may find it hard to classify them, yet we must find the courage to acknowledge that, without them, 'democracy atrophies, turns into a mere word, a formality; it loses its representative character and becomes disembodied, since it leaves out the people in their daily struggle for dignity, in the building of their future'. [146]⁴⁶ (FT 169).

This strong reference to the "people" as a subjectivity that should not be left out of the processes of legitimisation and representation and, also as a foundation from which to draw legitimacy in order to build fair and inclusive policies of social "justice", takes concrete

form in the call to consider social marginalities as a cornerstone for building policies that are truly forward-looking and therefore fully sustainable.

"This also means finding ways to include those on the peripheries of life. For they have another way of looking at things; they see aspects of reality that are invisible to the centres of power where weighty decisions are made" (FT 215).

The development of this line of analysis also includes a more personal and almost intimate interpretation of politics devoted to the "common good" that refers to the strong idea of "politics as a vocation", which is already present in Weber's historical concept of "*Politik als Beruf*"⁴⁷.

This is clearly a vocation which, in the pontiff's view, is aimed towards the foundations and the map of values of Catholicism, but also approaches universal objectives of willingness to recognise and welcome our neighbour, and ultimately the "other" person as part of the same humanity.

"Each day we have to decide whether to be Good Samaritans or indifferent bystanders. And if we extend our gaze to the history of our own lives and that of the entire world, all of us are, or have been, like each of the characters in the parable. All of us have in ourselves something of the wounded man, something of the robber, something of the passers-by, and something of the Good Samaritan" (FT 69). Therefore, in the pontiff's vision, these two non-negotiable values (fraternity and welcome) are the quintessence of politics devoted to the common good. "What happens when fraternity is not consciously cultivated, when there is a lack of political will to promote it through education in fraternity, through dialogue and through the recognition of the values of reciprocity and mutual enrichment? Liberty becomes nothing more than a condition for living as we will, completely free to choose to whom or what we will belong, or simply to possess or exploit" (FT 103).

"Social friendship and universal fraternity necessarily call for an acknowledgement of the worth of every human person, always and everywhere. If each individual is of such great worth, it must be stated clearly and firmly that 'the mere fact that some people are born in places with fewer resources or less development does not justify

41. [78] Address at the meeting on religious freedom with the Hispanic community and other immigrants, Philadelphia, USA (26 September 2015): AAS 107 (2015), 1050-1051.

42. [79] Address to young people, Tokyo, Japan (25 November 2019): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 25-26 November 2019, p. 10.

43. [143] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (28 October 2014): AAS 106 (2014), 858.

44. [144] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (5 November 2016): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 7-8 November 2016, pp. 4-5.

45. [145] Ibid.

46. [144-146] Address to the participants at the World Meeting of Popular Movements (5 November 2016): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 7-8 November 2016, pp. 4-5.

47. <https://larivistaculturale.com/2018/03/28/le-caratteristiche-del-politico-di-professione-vocazione-analisi-sociologia-secondo-max-weber/>



the fact that they are living with less dignity'. [81]⁴⁸ This is a basic principle of social life that tends to be ignored in a variety of ways by those who sense that it does not fit into their worldview or serve their purposes" (FT 106). "Only a social and political culture that readily and 'gratuitously' welcomes others will have a future" (FT 141). The idea of combining the principle of gratuitous welcome with a cultural, social and political orientation is broadly echoed in Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda, especially in **Target 16.b "promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development"**.

Indeed, the broad meaning of policy⁴⁹ encompasses the admonishment to develop and promote integration and non-discrimination policies, which, drawing on these fundamental principles, put in place forward-looking and sustainable management of migration, via an approach based on harmony and mutual wellbeing among governments around the world.

This marks another important juncture in the encyclical in which the pope - starting from the nauseating phenomenon of discrimination and racism that is often, albeit instrumentally, fuelled by migration - analyses the relationship between the universal rights of the human person and the world governance system. The boundaries of "citizenship" are redrawn in terms of the depth of this relationship.

"For those who are not recent arrivals and already participate in the fabric of society, it is important to apply the concept of 'citizenship', which 'is based on the equality of rights and duties, under which all enjoy justice. It is therefore crucial to establish in our societies the concept of full citizenship and to reject the discriminatory use of the term minorities, which engenders feelings of isolation and inferiority. Its misuse paves the way for hostility and discord; it undoes any successes and takes away the religious and civil rights of some citizens who are thus discriminated against' [112]⁵⁰" (FT 131).

"Here I would mention some examples that I have used in the past. Latino culture is 'a ferment of values and possibilities that can greatly enrich the United States', for 'intense immigration always ends up influencing and transforming the culture of a place [...] In Argentina, intense immigration from Italy has left a mark on the culture of the society, and the presence of some 200,000 Jews has a great effect on the cultural style of Buenos Aires.

Immigrants, if they are helped to integrate, are a blessing, a source of enrichment and new gift that encourages a society to grow' [118].⁵¹" (FT 135).

The call for sustainable development policies based on a wide-ranging and far-sighted cultural vision, underpinned by the value of human fraternity, not only encompasses the concept of a "Christian" welcome for people who are different, and therefore the rights of the human person, but also extends to global governance and international relations, in which an accurate geopolitical and geo-economic analysis may be compared to **Target 16.8 "broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance"**.

"Nowadays, a firm belief in the common destination of the earth's goods requires that this principle also be applied to nations, their territories and their resources. Seen from the standpoint not only of the legitimacy of private property and the rights of its citizens, but also of the first principle of the common destination of goods, we can then say that each country also belongs to the foreigner, inasmuch as a territory's goods must not be denied to a needy person coming from elsewhere. As the Bishops of the United States have taught, there are fundamental rights that 'precede any society because they flow from the dignity granted to each person as created by God' [104]⁵²" (FT 124).

"This presupposes a different way of understanding relations and exchanges between countries. If every human being possesses an inalienable dignity, if all people are my brothers and sisters, and if the world truly belongs to everyone, then it matters little whether my neighbour was born in my country or elsewhere. My own country also shares responsibility for his or her development, although it can fulfil that responsibility in a variety of ways. It can offer a generous welcome to those in urgent need, or work to improve living conditions in their native lands by refusing to exploit those countries or to drain them of natural resources, backing corrupt systems that hinder the dignified development of their peoples. What applies to nations is true also for different regions within each country, since there too great inequalities often exist. At times, the inability to recognize equal human dignity leads the more developed regions in some countries to think that they can jettison the 'dead weight' of poorer regions and so increase their level of consumption" (FT 125).

48. [81] Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (24 November 2013), 190: AAS 105 (2013), 1100.

49. *Politica pubblica* by Gloria Regonini - Enciclopedia del Novecento III Supplemento (2004) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/politica-pubblica_%28Enciclopedia-del-Novecento%29/

50. [112] Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together, Abu Dhabi (4 February 2019): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 4-5 February 2019, p. 7.

51. [118] *Latinoamérica. Conversaciones con Hernán Reyes Alcaide*, Ed. Planeta, Buenos Aires 2017, 105.

52. [104] United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Open Wide Our Hearts: The Enduring Call to Love. A Pastoral Letter against Racism* (November 2018).



"We are really speaking about a new network of international relations, since there is no way to resolve the serious problems of our world if we continue to think only in terms of mutual assistance between individuals or small groups. Nor should we forget that 'inequity affects not only individuals but entire countries; it compels us to consider an ethics of international relations.' [105]⁵³ Indeed, justice requires recognizing and respecting not only the rights of individuals, but also social rights and the rights of peoples. [106]⁵⁴ This means finding a way to ensure 'the fundamental right of peoples to subsistence and progress,' [107]⁵⁵ a right which is at times severely restricted by the pressure created by foreign debt. In many instances, debt repayment not only fails to promote development but gravely limits and conditions it. While respecting the principle that all legitimately acquired debt must be repaid, the way in which many poor countries fulfil this obligation should not end up compromising their very existence and growth" (FT 126). "Even when they take such essential steps, states are not able, on their own, to implement adequate solutions, 'since the consequences of the decisions made by each inevitably have repercussions on the entire international community.' As a result, 'our response can only be the fruit of a common effort' [113]⁵⁶ to develop a form of global governance with regard to movements of migration. Thus, there is 'a need for mid-term and long-term planning which is not limited to emergency responses. Such planning should include effective assistance for integrating migrants in their receiving countries, while also promoting the development of their countries of origin through policies inspired by solidarity, yet not linking assistance to ideological strategies and practices alien or contrary to the cultures of the peoples being assisted' [114]⁵⁷" (FT 132).

"Although this has always been true, never has it been more evident than in our own day, when the world is interconnected by globalization. We need to attain a global juridical, political and economic order 'which can increase and give direction to international cooperation for the development of all peoples in solidarity'

[120]⁵⁸ Ultimately, this will benefit the entire world, since 'development aid for poor countries' implies 'creating wealth for all.' [121]⁵⁹ From the standpoint of integral development, this presupposes 'giving poorer nations an effective voice in shared decision-making' [122]⁶⁰ and the capacity to 'facilitate access to the international market on the part of countries suffering from poverty and underdevelopment' [123]⁶¹" (FT 138).

"There are powerful countries and large businesses that profit from this isolation and prefer to negotiate with each country separately. On the other hand, small or poor countries can sign agreements with their regional neighbours that will allow them to negotiate as a bloc and thus avoid being cut off, isolated and dependent on the great powers. Today, no state can ensure the common good of its population if it remains isolated" (FT 153). Once again in line with **Target 16.8 "Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance"**, the pontiff thus puts forward a true value proposition consistent with his own conception of the legitimisation of power and global governance.

"Given this situation, it is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organized international institutions, with functionaries who are appointed fairly by agreement among national governments, and empowered to impose sanctions' [149]⁶². When we talk about the possibility of some form of world authority regulated by law, [150]⁶³ we need not necessarily think of a personal authority. Still, such an authority ought at least to promote more effective world organizations, equipped with the power to provide for the global common good, the elimination of hunger and poverty and the sure defence of fundamental human rights" (FT 172).

"In this regard, I would also note the need for a reform of 'the United Nations Organization, and likewise of economic institutions and international finance, so that the concept of the family of nations can acquire real teeth' [151]⁶⁴. Needless to say, this calls for clear legal limits to avoid power being co-opted only by a few countries and to prevent cultural impositions or a restriction of

53. [105] Encyclical Letter *Laudato si'* (24 May 2015), 51: AAS 107 (2015), 867.

54. [106] See Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 6: AAS 101 (2009), 644.

55. [107] St John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus annus* (1 May 1991), 35: AAS 83 (1991), 838.

56. [113] Address to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See (11 January 2016): AAS 108 (2016), 124.

57. [113-114] Address to the Diplomatic Corps Accredited to the Holy See (11 January 2016): AAS - 108 (2016), 122/124.

58. [120] Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 67: AAS 101 (2009), 700.

59. [121] *Ibid.*, 60: AAS 101 (2009), 695.

60. [120-122] Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 67: AAS 101 (2009), 695 and 700.

61. [123] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, 447.

62. [149] Encyclical Letter *Laudato si'* (24 May 2015), 175: AAS 107 (2015), 916-917.

63. [150] See Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 67: AAS 101 (2009), 700-701.

64. [[151] See Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 67: AAS 101 (2009), 700.



the basic freedoms of weaker nations on the basis of ideological differences. For ‘the international community is a juridical community founded on the sovereignty of each member state, without bonds of subordination that deny or limit its independence’ [152]⁶⁵. At the same time, ‘the work of the United Nations, according to the principles set forth in the Preamble and the first Articles of its founding Charter, can be seen as the development and promotion of the rule of law, based on the realization that justice is an essential condition for achieving the ideal of universal fraternity [...] There is a need to ensure the uncontested rule of law and tireless recourse to negotiation, mediation and arbitration, as proposed by the Charter of the United Nations, which constitutes truly a fundamental juridical norm’ [153]⁶⁶. There is need to prevent this Organization from being delegitimized, since its problems and shortcomings are capable of being jointly addressed and resolved” (FT 173).

“The seventy-five years since the establishment of the United Nations and the experience of the first twenty years of this millennium have shown that the full application of international norms proves truly effective, and that failure to comply with them is detrimental. The Charter of the United Nations, when observed and applied with transparency and sincerity, is an obligatory reference point of justice and a channel of peace. Here there can be no room for disguising false intentions or placing the partisan interests of one country or group above the global common good” (FT 257).

“Courage and generosity are needed in order freely to establish shared goals and to ensure the worldwide observance of certain essential norms. For this to be truly useful, it is essential to uphold ‘the need to be faithful to agreements undertaken (pacta sunt servanda), [154]⁶⁷ and to avoid the ‘temptation to appeal to the law of force rather than to the force of law.’ [155]⁶⁸ This means reinforcing the ‘normative instruments for the peaceful resolution of controversies... so as to strengthen their scope and binding force.’ [156]⁶⁹ Among these normative instruments, preference should be given to multilateral agreements between states, because, more than bilateral agreements, they guarantee the promotion of a truly universal common good and the protection of weaker states” (FT 174).

Therefore, a global governance which, starting from the principles of integration, justice and equity, according to the pontiff, will also have to rely on civil society’s energy and capacity for aggregation and

organisation, in directing state action towards the goal of pursuing fundamental human rights, via implementation of the principle of subsidiarity.

“Providentially, many groups and organizations within civil society help to compensate for the shortcomings of the international community, its lack of coordination in complex situations, its lack of attention to fundamental human rights and to the critical needs of certain groups. Here we can see a concrete application of the principle of subsidiarity, which justifies the participation and activity of communities and organizations on lower levels as a means of integrating and complementing the activity of the state. These groups and organizations often carry out commendable efforts in the service of the common good and their members at times show true heroism, revealing something of the grandeur of which our humanity is still capable” (FT 175).

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1.4. Universal culture and an open society

1.4.1. Universalism, culture and solidarity

What does the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* have to say to cultural operators and their stakeholders?

Culture puts us in touch with time, space and other people; it makes us feel at home even if we are far from home, because it provides us with rules for belonging to a community. And we know that the most difficult thing to plan, achieve and experience is that feeling of being truly at home. This is the theme that lies at the heart of **Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda**.

“Working to overcome our divisions without losing our identity as individuals presumes that a basic sense of belonging is present in everyone. Indeed, ‘society benefits when each person and social group feels truly at home. In a family, parents, grandparents and children all feel at home; no one is excluded’” (FT 230).

What suggestions about attitudes, behaviour and courses of action emerge from a text that goes to

65. [152] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, 434.

66. [153] Address to the United Nations Organization, New York (25 September 2015): AAS 107 (2015), 1037.1041.

67. [154] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, 437.

68. [155] St John Paul II, Message for the 37th World Day of Peace 1 January 2004, 5: AAS 96 (2004), 117.

69. [156] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, 439.



the heart of the meaning of cultural activity, namely relations between people?

One of the points made in the encyclical is that “*all things human are our concern*” (FT 278). Therefore, culture, which is the founding and characteristic element of humanity (in the sense of everything that is human), should definitely concern us and also consider the problem of representing and giving a voice to everything that is human, regarding not just in-person but also virtual relations which, even though they seem to bring us closer, are not enough to create a sense of belonging.

“As I was writing this letter, the Covid-19 pandemic unexpectedly erupted, exposing our false securities. Aside from the different ways that various countries responded to the crisis, their inability to work together became quite evident. For all our hyper-connectivity, we witnessed a fragmentation that made it more difficult to resolve problems that affect us all. Anyone who thinks that the only lesson to be learned was the need to improve what we were already doing, or to refine existing systems and regulations, is denying reality” (FT 7).

Attention should be paid to the digital space because it can distance people from communities and also increase the risk of overexposure for individuals, as the pontiff wisely points out.

“Oddly enough, while closed and intolerant attitudes towards others are on the rise, distances are otherwise shrinking or disappearing to the point that the right to privacy scarcely exists. Everything has become a kind of spectacle to be examined and inspected, and people’s lives are now under constant surveillance. Digital communication wants to bring everything out into the open; people’s lives are combed over, laid bare and bandied about, often anonymously. Respect for others disintegrates, and even as we dismiss, ignore or keep others distant, we can shamelessly peer into every detail of their lives” (FT 42).

The negative aspect of digital connectivity - as a potential source of unprecedented forms of aggression and insult that through verbal and psychological violence can harm people and even have extreme consequences - is recalled in some Targets of Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda, especially in Target 16.1 “Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere”, and Target 16.2 “End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children”.

If culture is what puts us in touch with other people, then cultural organisations should take on the task

of defining “safe distances” between individuals and between groups, which will enable quality dialogue and also respect for individuals.

“Nor can I reduce my life to relationships with a small group, even my own family; I cannot know myself apart from a broader network of relationships, including those that have preceded me and shaped my entire life” (FT 89). In this perspective, the task of cultural organisations is to support people by encouraging them to look up and imagine the world, while at the same time making them proud of their own origin and specificity. In calling for global fraternity, the encyclical inevitably draws attention to how fraternity is brought about as a chain, in a network of nodes that are increasingly distant from one another. Cultural organisations should explore and narrate each party’s identity in an effort to speak with several voices.

The fourth chapter (“A Heart Open to the Whole World”) explores the theme of the virtuous tension between individual and global dimensions, and thus helps to characterise the “safe distance” that cultural organisations are called on to try out and define.

“It should be kept in mind that ‘an innate tension exists between globalization and localization. We need to pay attention to the global so as to avoid narrowness and banality. Yet we also need to look to the local, which keeps our feet on the ground. Together, the two prevent us from falling into one of two extremes. In the first, people get caught up in an abstract, globalized universe [...] In the other, they turn into a museum of local folklore, a world apart, doomed to doing the same things over and over, incapable of being challenged by novelty or appreciating the beauty which God bestows beyond their borders: [124]⁷⁰” We need to have a global outlook to save ourselves from petty provincialism. When our house stops being a home and starts to become an enclosure, a cell, then the global comes to our rescue, like a ‘final cause’ that draws us towards our fulfilment. At the same time, though, the local has to be eagerly embraced, for it possesses something that the global does not: it is capable of being a leaven, of bringing enrichment, of sparking mechanisms of subsidiarity. Universal fraternity and social friendship are thus two inseparable and equally vital poles in every society. To separate them would be to disfigure each and to create a dangerous polarization” (FT 142).

The pontiff’s analysis, in his invitation to open our hearts to the whole world, dwells on the richness of cultural diversity, stressing the importance of striving to achieve

70. [124] Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (24 November 2013), 234; AAS 105 (2013), 1115.



an osmosis between different cultures through dialogue between people, and within families and communities. "Indeed, when we open our hearts to those who are different, this enables them, while continuing to be themselves, to develop in new ways. The different cultures that have flourished over the centuries need to be preserved, lest our world be impoverished. At the same time, those cultures should be encouraged to be open to new experiences through their encounter with other realities, for the risk of succumbing to cultural sclerosis is always present. That is why 'we need to communicate with each other, to discover the gifts of each person, to promote that which unites us, and to regard our differences as an opportunity to grow in mutual respect. Patience and trust are called for in such dialogue, permitting individuals, families and communities to hand on the values of their own culture and welcome the good that comes from others' experiences' [117]⁷¹" (FT 134).

In this perspective, the first chapter ("Dark Clouds Over a Closed World") defines the terms of the problem: "The ever-increasing number of interconnections and communications in today's world makes us powerfully aware of the unity and common destiny of the nations. In the dynamics of history, and in the diversity of ethnic groups, societies and cultures, we see the seeds of a vocation to form a community composed of brothers and sisters who accept and care for one another [75]⁷²" (FT 96).

However, given the possibilities for geographical and existential openness, many political realities (and currently the health emergency) are driving us towards closure, while globalisation offers possibilities not only for the movement of people and ideas at a much faster pace and intensity than in the past, but also the emergence of market operators with the power to determine significant and lasting imbalances. And in parallel, the digital space (which is global by definition) has to endure the presence of agitators and prevaricators who question its value and potential. The place of culture in such a context is obvious: to maintain a sense of history, to counter depersonalising and overwhelming cultural models, to encourage the circulation of ideas as a means for individual and collective growth, to operate in public contexts as well as in cultural markets, and to take part in the process of building a common digital space, in order to serve as an antidote, *"as society becomes ever more globalized, it makes us neighbours, but does not make us brothers"* (FT 12).

The protection and enhancement of cultural biodiversity are important first steps to safeguard everything that is different from the risks of standardisation or subjugation.

"These are the new forms of cultural colonization. Let us not forget that 'peoples that abandon their tradition and, either from a craze to mimic others or to foment violence, or from unpardonable negligence or apathy, allow others to rob their very soul, end up losing not only their spiritual identity but also their moral consistency and, in the end, their intellectual, economic and political independence' [11]⁷³" (FT 14).

These observations, as well as the perspectives of engagement by cultural organisations to counteract the end of historical awareness and critical thinking, recall Target 16.b "Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development".

Traditions as well as individual and community history nourish a sense of belonging. Therefore, recognising the importance of the traditions and histories of "others" is an important step in building mutual understanding that starts from an idea of equality and equal dignity. It is also a prerequisite for building an idea of citizenship that is distinct and superior to each person's origins and specificity.

At the same time, paying attention to the culture of others imbues the welcome of people who *"experience separation from their place of origin, and often a cultural and religious uprooting as well"* (FT 38) with a humanity that we all need.

If, in the process of enhancing this biodiversity, cultural organisations are then able to stimulate the intellectual curiosity of their audiences, this helps to cultivate imaginations and combat indifference, cynicism and disillusionment.

Intellectual curiosity and respect for cultural biodiversity are elements through which cultural organisations can foster the ability to listen to their audiences, which is a vital prerequisite to *"seek the truth in dialogue, in relaxed conversation or in passionate debate"* (FT 50). The first chapter of the encyclical suggests another area of endeavour for cultural organisations as a precursor to building a space for dialogue and brotherhood, namely paying attention to and advocating for the correct use of words, as: *"One effective way to weaken historical consciousness, critical thinking, the struggle for justice and the processes of integration is to empty great words of their meaning or to manipulate*

71. [117] Address to the Authorities, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (6 June 2015): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 7 June 2015, p. 7.

72. [75] Message for the 47th World Day of Peace 1 January 2014 (8 December 2013), 1: AAS 106 (2014), 22.

73. [11] Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, S.D.B., Homily at the Te Deum in Santiago de Chile (18 September 1974)



them. Nowadays, what do certain words like democracy, freedom, justice or unity really mean? They have been bent and shaped to serve as tools for domination, as meaningless tags that can be used to justify any action” (FT 14).

If cultural organisations are committed to equipping responsible citizens with discernment, the ability to detect the misleading use of words forms another pillar for the creation of a space for dialogue and brotherhood, as: “*The process of building fraternity, be it local or universal, can only be undertaken by spirits that are free and open to authentic encounters*” (FT 50).

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1.4.2. Beyond the “dark clouds over a closed world”: towards the affirmation of an open and inclusive culture

“We’ve learned to fly the air like birds, we’ve learned to swim the seas like fish, and yet we haven’t learned to walk the earth as brothers and sisters”

Martin Luther King

Pope Francis’ latest encyclical *Fratelli tutti* starts from “dark clouds over a closed world”, marked by the end of historical consciousness, the loss of meaning and critical thinking, and the distortion of great words such as peace and justice.

“As society becomes ever more globalized, it makes us neighbours, but does not make us brothers” (FT 12). As we face the waning of the dream of building justice and peace together and moving towards a horizon of wellbeing and harmony, the pontiff’s call for openness and social dialogue as a prerequisite for rediscovering social friendship and fraternity in order to unite humanity in a single destiny is powerful.

How can we get out of our current “closed world” and into an “open world”?

By starting with a radical culture shift that goes beyond a “throwaway” world in which: *“Some parts of our human family, it appears, can be readily sacrificed for the sake of others considered worthy of a carefree existence. Ultimately, ‘persons are no longer seen as a paramount value to be cared for and respected, especially when they are poor and disabled, ‘not yet useful’ – like the unborn, or ‘no longer needed’ – like the elderly.*

We have grown indifferent to all kinds of wastefulness, starting with the waste of food, which is deplorable in the extreme’ [13]⁷⁴” (FT 18).

In this regard, the pontiff gazes tenderly on the elderly who in some parts of the world, as a result of Covid-19, have been left in painful isolation without the caring accompaniment of their families, which in turn have been lacerated and impoverished.

Similarly, he identifies wastefulness in the widespread obsession with reducing labour costs, without realising the consequences in terms of unemployment and poverty. This is an inconvenient truth for the advocates of hyper-efficiency, who have often sacrificed fairness on the altar of economic growth, failing to embrace a broader perspective of commitment to integral human development.

Therefore, he urges us to take action to affirm a new culture based on respect for human rights, which are often not the same for everyone. Despite the declarations of principle and proclamations about equal human dignity for all, intolerable forms of injustice such as discrimination against women, persist around the world.

“Similarly, the organization of societies worldwide is still far from reflecting clearly that women possess the same dignity and identical rights as men. We say one thing with words, but our decisions and reality tell another story. Indeed, ‘doubly poor are those women who endure situations of exclusion, mistreatment and violence, since they are frequently less able to defend their rights’ [20]⁷⁵” (FT 23).

This painful observation resonates in **Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda, especially in Target 16.b “Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development”**.

The first step to be taken is to encourage the necessary evolution towards a fairer and more inclusive culture regards the sphere of communication.

We live in an age of hyper-communication, hyper-information, hyper-self-representation, hyper-connectivity and hyper-individualism, and all of this is done through words, whether written in newspaper articles, in posts on social networks, or in group chats on WhatsApp. The internet and social networks have often proved to be a connective tissue in which the proliferation of fake news and hostile content has been able to undermine the right to access to and the ethics of public information.

74. Address to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See (11 January 2016): AAS 108 (2016), 120.

75. [20] Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium* (24 November 2013), 212: AAS 105 (2013), 1108.



The infosphere, which has few protective barriers and an unparalleled reach, can also be used to transmit forms of social aggression that target vulnerable people, which may even be illegal and unjust, such as hate crimes, cyberbullying and online child pornography.

“Even as individuals maintain their comfortable consumerist isolation, they can choose a form of constant and febrile bonding that encourages remarkable hostility, insults, abuse, defamation and verbal violence destructive of others, and this with a lack of restraint that could not exist in physical contact without tearing us all apart. Social aggression has found unparalleled room for expansion through computers and mobile devices” (FT 44).

It is pointed out that people may become victims of *“shameless aggression”*, which can lead to loss of self-esteem and self-confidence. In this regard, a sensitive passage of the encyclical highlights the risks connected to what the pontiff defines as *“the illusion of communication”*, in which he mentions, among other things, the many platforms that encourage encounters between like-minded people, which hinders the airing of differences.

This issue, which relates to freedom of opinion and expression, is inherent in the personalised data that people receive according to their preferences and interests, which can create so-called filter bubbles or cultural and ideological bubbles that exclude them from opening up to different perspectives and points of view.

The condemnation of this perverse mechanism that facilitates the spread of false information and news, thereby fomenting prejudice and hatred, may be approached in the same way as Target 16.10 *“Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements”*.

If we also take into account that automated decisions, the quality of data analysis and the adaptability of systems, based on human-generated models, may give rise to misrepresentation and prejudice, it is clear that improper use of new technologies can generate forms of discrimination, increase inequalities and undermine respect for human rights.

In this regard, Target 16.b *“Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development”* immediately comes to mind, as it calls for the application of policies and regulations on the use of new technologies to avoid discriminatory effects that may jeopardise human rights.

Moreover, in the context of Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda, this scenario has led to the launch of a wide-ranging reflection on the accessibility of knowledge and the

promotion of active and responsible citizenship, especially digital citizenship, as prerequisites for promoting a fairer and more inclusive society, in which forms of discrimination and violence are curtailed.

The pontiff reiterates the central importance of the educational challenge starting from early childhood, in order to prevent risks through the empowerment of citizens and users. Indeed, education appears to be the most effective countermeasure, and therefore it is important that people train themselves to look at the world with their own eyes, to think for themselves, and to develop a critical spirit and a sense of citizenship. In this regard, the recommendation to reinstate civic education in schools, made by the Goal 16 Working Group in ASviS reports, was aimed at raising young people’s awareness of the ways in which the rights and duties of citizenship are fully exercised, so that they may increasingly become actors in society, rather than mere spectators or even victims. Similarly, the encyclical’s recognition of the decisive role played by social media - together with the vital roles of the family, schools, cultural operators and youth centres - in transmitting the values of solidarity and respect for others, is a strong reminder of their educational responsibilities in forming active and responsible citizens.

The encyclical also clearly highlights what is needed to facilitate encounters with reality and between people.

“They lack the physical gestures, facial expressions, moments of silence, body language and even the smells, the trembling of hands, the blushes and perspiration that speak to us and are a part of human communication” (FT 43).

What is striking is the marked reference to the physical nature of contact, a totally human dimension that is relegated to second place in most digital interactions and relationships, which are destined to develop through scrolled words and images on the flat screens of computers and mobile devices. A dimension that can make a big difference at all times when it is important to *“sit down and listen to others”* (FT 48) in order to welcome them.

The Parable of the Good Samaritan, which is the cornerstone of fraternity, accompanies us in our understanding of the paradigm of welcome, consisting of encounter and openness to the variety and diversity of the contributions that each person can make, care for the vulnerability of others, gratuitousness, and love for one’s neighbour.

The kind of neighbour - whom the parable aims to teach us to recognise - who does not accept being



categorised as “there is no such thing as a neighbour: a neighbour is a person I decide to be close to”⁷⁶.

A profound human attitude that requires presence, will, listening, and awareness of your own limits and time. Giving your time to another person may mean pausing, abandoning the hectic pursuit of personal goals, reformulating priorities, breathing more slowly, and eschewing haste.

In the Parable of the Good Samaritan, this is not done by the priest and the Levite, who fail to feel compassion for the wounded man. The only one willing to “waste” his time to help him is the Samaritan, who for the Jews of Jesus’ time was equivalent to a heretic, almost a pagan and detested by real Jews. He’s the one who chose to pause, who was patient and interested in establishing a positive relationship with the other, whose welfare he is concerned about.

We live in an age of haste, in which speeding up in order to have more time for ourselves seems to have become the imperative of our lives. An “age of breathlessness” which, instead of enriching, ends up impoverishing our identity, which is compressed and suffocated in fragmented, short-term activities.

It is not surprising that the Korean philosopher Byung Chul Han reached the same conclusion, having studied philosophical concepts of time, ranging from Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas, and from Heidegger to Arendt. He believes that being unable to forgo the need to produce and consume as the only form of human fulfilment causes us to lose our spirit and our breath⁷⁷.

Welcome is interpreted from a generative perspective of acceptance of cultural and physical diversity, as coming to terms with diversity is vital not only to combat discrimination, but also to spread a clear and comprehensive awareness of ourselves and our Earth. Appreciation of other cultures promotes a healthy openness to the richness of human life, without ever clashing with a people’s cultural identity.

Cultivating diversity and integrating different realities is not an easy process, but it’s the only way to ensure robust and lasting peace.

A perspective of commitment that entails strengthening the capacity for dialogue with others.

“Authentic social dialogue involves the ability to respect the other’s point of view and to admit that it may include legitimate convictions and concerns. Based on their identity and experience, others have a contribution to make, and it is desirable that they should articulate their positions for the sake of a more fruitful public debate” (FT 203).

The healthy culture we must strive for in order to emerge from the dark clouds should aspire to be an open and welcoming culture that is able to create a new synthesis between different cultures by integrating their various elements in its own way.

Moreover, by its very nature the progress of humanity depends on the resolution of tensions that are most often based on differences. Therefore, a willingness to embrace differences becomes a fundamental characteristic of the new culture, which comprises encounters with others and kindness.

To some extent, the most revolutionary feature of Pope Francis’ economy lies precisely in its revival of the absolute value of kindness, which has been removed from the bounds of good behaviour, so that it may become the main instrument of social cohesion and the basis of contact and cooperation with others.

Kindness, which encourages us to have our neighbour’s welfare at heart as much as our own.

“Kindness is the golden chain by which society is bound together,” wrote the great thinker and philosopher Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Described as mankind’s greatest delight by the emperor and philosopher Marcus Aurelius, in more recent times kindness has been considered unrealistic or at least suspect, supplanted by the increasingly frequent use of force, oppressive violence and foul language.

The pontiff gives back to kindness its role as the cornerstone of healthy and peaceful coexistence.

“Kindness frees us from the cruelty that at times infects human relationships, from the anxiety that prevents us from thinking of others, from the frantic flurry of activity that forgets that others also have a right to be happy. Often nowadays we find neither the time nor the energy to stop and be kind to others, to say ‘excuse me,’ ‘pardon me,’ ‘thank you.’ Yet every now and then, miraculously, a kind person appears and is willing to set everything else aside in order to show interest, to give the gift of a smile, to speak a word of encouragement, to listen amid general indifference. If we make a daily effort to do exactly this, we can create a healthy social atmosphere in which misunderstandings can be overcome and conflict forestalled. Kindness ought to be cultivated; it is no superficial bourgeois virtue. Precisely because it entails esteem and respect for others, once kindness becomes a culture within society it transforms lifestyles, relationships and the ways ideas are discussed and compared. Kindness facilitates the quest for consensus; it opens new paths where hostility and conflict would burn all bridges” (FT 224).

76. <https://www.monasterodibose.it/fondatore/riflessioni-sul-vangelo/10598-fare-misericordia>

77. Byung -Chul Han, *Il profumo del tempo. L’arte di indugiare sulle cose*, Vita e Pensiero, 2017.



An attitude that is able to build bridges and break down barriers and resistance in order to chart new paths to peace, thus enabling us to work together for the common good and firmly oppose all acts of violence, with the strength that comes from remembering past injustices.

*“Every act of violence committed against a human being is a wound in humanity’s flesh; every violent death diminishes us as people [...]. Violence leads to more violence, hatred to more hatred, death to more death. We must break this cycle which seems inescapable [211]”*⁷⁸ (FT 227).

A strong appeal with great impact that takes us back to Target 16.1 “Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere”.

The encyclical, by awakening our conscience to the fact that *“in today’s world, there are no longer just isolated outbreaks of war in one country or another; instead, we are experiencing a ‘world war fought piecemeal’*” (FT 259), does not leave us without an answer and without hope, but rather shows us, as a way of salvation, *“an education in fraternity, through dialogue and through the recognition of the values of reciprocity and mutual enrichment”* (FT 103).

A fervent text that contains and proposes two completely contemporaneous and highly powerful messages, to believers and non-believers alike.

On the one hand, recognition of the vulnerability of the current economic, social and cultural system, threatened by fear and conflict, and on the other, enhancement of diversities of gender, generations and people in order to move towards a new culture of dialogue and encounter.

The hope we need to get us back on track and grasp the opportunities offered by the transformative times we are living through.

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78. [211] Address at the Great Prayer Meeting for National Reconciliation, Villavicencio, Colombia (8 September 2017): AAS 109 (2017), 1063-1064, 1066.

The broad vision of sustainability and Pope Francis' path





2. The broad vision of sustainability and Pope Francis' path

2.1. The dialectic of proximity as a dialectic of sustainability¹

"If society is to have a future, it must respect the truth of our human dignity and submit to that truth" (FT 207)

Introduction

Commitment to the integral development of the person in the context of open fraternity is the message of Pope Francis in the new encyclical. The point of reference is and should not be the *particular*, or in other words the individual and egocentric dimension, but rather the whole world in accordance with a vision that should be long-term.

Throughout the encyclical, almost as an implicit thread, the theme of sustainability underlies the idea of human development for our present and future brothers and sisters, but also for brothers and sisters who are spatially distant.

Francis speaks of a *"heart which knew no bounds"* (FT 3) when, telling the story of St Francis' visit to the Sultan, he presents us with a vision that is indeed *"without boundaries"* - a vision that is countercultural, almost messianic, for the times of the saint from Assisi - beyond distances arising from colour, nationality, origin or remoteness. Promotion of a civil economy entails intentionally educating people to behave in a non-instrumental way, yet in a way that expresses civic virtues, by educating them to ensure that economic value is interpreted beyond the traditional market and profit models, which are based on self-interest. In an address he gave at Roma Tre University in September 2013, Pope Francis argued that *"universities are the*

place where the culture of proximity is developed". Namely, the place where a culture of dialogue and constructive discussion is taught in order to promote understanding of the richness of others, precisely because it is a factor in personal growth. Many people believe that the third mission of universities should be seen as a civil one: to provide continuous training to meet local training requirements, but above all to drive improvement in the quality of life of people and local communities, in order to promote inclusiveness and combat inequalities.

Therefore, the dialectical dimension of the theme of proximity can be seen as the *"heart"* of the new encyclical. In this brief exposition, the theme is developed in terms of *"open fraternity"*. The fundamental dialectical poles that denote the idea of *"open fraternity"* are: the value of dignity, love as a bond between people and, finally, integration of the various dimensions of complexity in the local/global relationship.

Therefore, the encyclical can be defined as a call for the educational cultivation of fraternity.

In this order of priority - the relevance of open fraternity - the values of sustainability, understood in the deepest sense of *"a future to be built together"*, take root as an implicit dimension.

Regarding the theme of human dignity:

"We must put human dignity back at the centre and on that pillar build the alternative social structures we need" (FT 168)². The reflection on human dignity frequently recurs with strength and determination in the encyclical as the cornerstone of the entire argument.

"If society is to have a future, it must respect the truth of our human dignity and submit to that truth" (FT 207).

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2. Francis, *Fratelli tutti*, Encyclical Letter on Fraternity and Social Friendship, San Paolo, Rome, 2020.



The fact that every human being has had the same inviolable dignity in every historical period is a binding principle for Francis, which entails universal moral requirements. In the encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, respect for human dignity is at the centre of a dense network of multi-disciplinary references.

We are well aware that the history of the concept of dignity is much broader and more complex. It may suffice to recall that in the post-war period the value of human dignity was universally accepted by a number of Constitutions, including the Italian Constitution.³ It should also be pointed out that dignity refers to concrete persons, but also to their network of relations, and therefore enters into the life contexts that characterise them. We only need to consider the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, in which the opening article is dedicated to the principle of dignity.

In concluding a posthumously published work, Stefano Rodotà explained that “the association between person and humanity, which are the principles explicitly mentioned there (in the Preamble and Article 1 of the Charter), poses a general question as a matter of principle: the insistence on human dignity in its connotation or even creation of a new subjectivity takes on an indisputable anthropogenetic significance”.⁴

The explanations accompanying the Charter state that “the dignity of the human person is not only a fundamental right in itself but constitutes the real basis of fundamental rights”. Indeed, dignity has its foundation in the instance of the inner self (*de interiore homine*). But we have to go back to Immanuel Kant to link the idea of dignity with a person’s capacity for autonomous choice and therefore with the will. For this philosopher, human beings are “moral agents capable of choosing regardless of their material environment, and therefore should not be treated as means to other ends but rather as ‘ends in themselves’”.⁵

For G.W. Friedrich Hegel, the link between moral choice and human dignity would later mean the struggle for recognition. The history of this concept is the subject of a fine essay by Axel Honneth, who defines the idea of recognition as being essentially “European”. Taking up the view that emerges from Scottish moral philosophy, Honneth argues that inter-subjective encounter is almost automatically associated with a “positive social effect”, whereby individuals learn to adapt to the rules

of their society. The effects of recognition (identity and dignity) of the person translates into legitimisation and approval of the person, for whom it is therefore “positive” and socially beneficial.

The theme of the dignity of men and women cuts across the argument of the 2030 Agenda and is the common thread running through some of the Goals, especially Goal 8, where it is no coincidence that the adjective “decent” is used in connection with the concept of work.

This implies that labour cannot be reduced to a commodity, and “workers” cannot be treated as “objects”. Descriptive interpretations may vary, and range from the quality of the work experience to the right to be paid a fair wage. This issue is even more keenly felt today given the serious employment crisis arising from the health emergency, which has inexorably wiped out job descriptions and roles, especially for women and young people.

Beyond the dark clouds over a “closed world”

Statistics undoubtedly present us a snapshot of a world that is increasingly marked by inequalities. As Enrico Giovannini warned in a publication in 2018: “While in recent years, 49 of the 83 poorest countries have recorded increases in average income and consumption opportunities, the gaps between the richest and the poorest have widened in almost all countries, especially in emerging economies such as China and India”. According to the Oxfam Report, since the beginning of the new millennium, the poorest 50% of the world’s population has received just 1% of the growth achieved, while more than half of the new value added has gone to the richest 1%. The result is that, in 2016, the eight richest people in the world possessed the same wealth as the poorest half of the world’s population, whereas in 2010, to achieve the same result, the wealth of 388 people had to be taken into account.⁶

Some economists - albeit from different perspectives - also assert that economic growth itself generates the conditions for increased inequalities. For example, in the work of Angus Deaton, Enrico Moretti and Joseph Stiglitz, which the author has analysed in other publications.⁷ Inequality, combined with widespread corruption, has implications on several levels. In addition to its impact on social cohesion and fundamental human rights, inequality can undermine the conditions

3. See the reconstruction of the concept drawn up by Stefano Rodotà in the posthumously published work, *Vivere la democrazia*, Laterza, Rome-Bari, 2018.

4. Rodotà, op. cit., p. 152.

5. Fukujama F., *Identità. La ricerca dell'identità e nuovi populismi*, Utet, Milan, 2019, p. 55.

6. Giovannini E., *L'utopia sostenibile*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2018, p. 15.

7. See Alessandrini G. (ed.), *Atlante della pedagogia del lavoro*, Franco Angeli, Milan, 2018 and Alessandrini G., *Manuale per l'esperto dei processi formativi*, Carocci Editore, Rome, 2016.



for the survival of democracy. In turn, this hampers prospects for economic and social growth. Inequality also increases the risk of social unrest, in the same way that environmental unsustainability can lead to social unsustainability.

From the educational perspective, the key issue is not just highlighting the inequality gap, but above all understanding how its effects can be stemmed through training. In post-war Europe, and especially during the economic boom that occurred in Italy, a kind of "social elevator" was introduced that led to participation by the subordinate classes in the liberal and managerial professional roles of the public sector. The geography of contemporary work reveals a fragmented landscape featuring protected roles with permanent contracts – corresponding to medium-to-high skill profiles - and insecure poorly paid jobs with temporary contracts.

This phenomenon, which is sometimes simplified in literature as a comparison between "high income/high ability" and "low income/low ability" roles, is an unacceptable educational paradox that raises new questions. Is ability an individual expression that is not channelled through appropriate educational and motivational processes, or vice versa, is it and should it be accompanied by mentoring, motivational support and skills development processes that enable people to express their full potential, regardless of their social class and family income? Undoubtedly, educational support is a vital aspect in promoting a person's full expression.

Still within the Italian context, we may note the great lesson of an educator like Don Giovanni Bosco regarding training strategies to free young people from hardship and develop their talents, including through craftsmanship and the habit of sharing and responsibility.⁸

Everything is connected: "love creates bonds"⁹

"Life is not simply time that passes; life is a time for interactions" [57]¹⁰ (FT 66), the encyclical says. The expression goes deeper than it might seem at first hearing. "Interaction" can also mean dispute and wound,

epiphany of the different, threat or risk of loss. But also listening, enrichment or gift. In the original lemma of the word, *communitas* contains the word *munus* which means "gift". "No one can face life in isolation. "We need a community that supports and helps us, in which we can help one another to keep looking ahead" [6]¹¹ (FT 8). Hence the highly effective expression in which Pope Francis argues that: "By yourselves, you risk seeing mirages, seeing things that are not there. Dreams are built together"¹².

In the face of new forms of selfishness and loss of social meaning, justice and solidarity must be rebuilt day by day: without fairness, new poverty is born. The pandemic emergency, by exposing individual vulnerabilities, presents the bond of fraternity in the community as an antidote.

The theme of safeguarding the common good - from the perspective of cohabitation linked to the idea of collective intelligence - generates new sensibilities.¹³ Awareness of a vision of caring for the environment as a complex action for which everyone is responsible has been strengthened, partly thanks to the impact of Pope Francis' 2015 Encyclical *Laudato si'*. The term "integral ecology", which is used in the encyclical, means the interconnection between the natural environment, technological fields and the potential of human action, and also expresses the call for everyone to be responsible for protecting Creation.

It may be noted that the Upper School for the Environment (ASA) of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart - which has been active for ten years - has taken the encyclical as its inspirational text and common basis for the contribution of civil society in guiding action for the care of Creation.¹⁴ "Actions that damage the environment cannot be dismissed as inevitable side effects of so-called progress. The degradation of natural ecosystems is a protean, public evil that simultaneously affects all forms of life in the biosphere".¹⁵ The ASA project is aimed at developing higher education activities to train specific, socially responsible professionals for activities relating to protection of our planet (green capabilities).

8. See Salesian Historical Institute, *Don Bosco e la sua opera*, Las, Rome, 2014.

9. The expression in italics is used in the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, III, 88.

10. [57] Videomessage at TED 2017 in Vancouver (26 April 2017): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 27 April 2017, p. 7.

11. [6] Address at the Ecumenical and Interreligious Meeting with Young People, Skopje, North Macedonia (7 May 2019): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 9 May 2019, p. 9.

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15. Ibid, p.175.



Intergenerational dialogue

To counter those people who sow the seeds of hopelessness, it can be argued that across the generations there is a desire for dialogue, as well as to welcome diversity as an element of richness and recognition of the other. There are many good experiential practices that can be presented in real life and work contexts, as we have tried to do in a recent publication.¹⁶

“Taking care of other people’s vulnerability”, - an expression often repeated by Pope Francis - resonates strongly in the encyclical as the binding element of an authentic community, in which all members are obviously not the same, but rather made up of different and heterogeneous elements linked by mutual “recognition”.

Age is still another powerful stereotype (compared to “gender”) that operates in relations between people by conditioning attitudes, approaches and values, even though changed lifestyles would suggest otherwise. This stereotype can become something more biting and negative, almost a “stigma” that bears down on people, excluding actual consideration of their individual characteristics and abilities.

In a recent publication edited with Marcella Mallen, the need for a commitment to promote and support intergenerational dialogue as a form of civic engagement in business contexts was emphasised, in order to further develop a culture of responsibility that concerns everyone, and to transmit confidence to young people, who at the same time should be entrusted with the responsibility of embarking on new avenues of dialogue.

A culture of educational dialogue where diversity exists

Sustainability is a challenge, and first and foremost an educational one, to counteract global deterioration. Hence the urgent need for solidarity that is projected into space and time, in order to provide significance, and therefore a horizon of meaning and direction for a future to meet the expectations, wishes and needs of integral human development.

In the context of sustainability, the circular economy is an economic model aimed at using resources more efficiently and ensuring that this efficiency continues. The aim is to develop a sustainable and responsible economy, to generate new competitive advantages by respecting the environment, enhancing the skills of professionals, creating new modes of production

and trade, and creating new jobs. In addition to the economic element, this relational aspect also has a moral connotation: a company should be seen as a community of people who, in different ways, pursue self-development and aspire to fulfil their ambitions. Sustainability requires a deep anthropological and moral reflection that cuts across the sciences, and not merely cultural adaptation provided by society when awareness of the need for urgent action regarding economic and environmental development arises.

The educational dimension of sustainability also entails a commitment to cultivating otherness as the “life-blood” of the prospect of human coexistence: listening, respect, empathy, recognition are all elements of the primacy of otherness, as the lessons of Emanuel Levinas or Martin Buber teach us.

Others as an embodied promises

This idea is specific to education in its broadest sense: teaching is not one-way transmission and doesn’t involve moulding the students. Teachers listen to their students in a maieutic way, see their potential and accompany them by promoting their persons in situations that can sometimes be difficult or laborious. Recognising that individuals, whether in childhood or adulthood, can flourish and realise their potential is an element of the habitus of the educator. Being a “promise that they embody”¹⁷ means that that the core of opportunity needs to be “flushed out” and cultivated as if it were a plant: this is the educator’s arduous task, and endless responsibility.

The sense of respect for human dignity, the need to combat inequalities of any kind, and the need to rebuild the conditions for social justice should be used to pivot educational processes towards a social and political horizon in which inclusion of those who are different, the practice of empathy, and paying attention to fairness underpin a new active and responsible welfare system.

Proximity in this area can encompass many dimensions, including explicit educational intentionality, a systemic interpretation of Creation, and ethical commitment on the economic and social level.

Local and universal: complexity as sustainable coexistence

The “polyhedron” beyond the sum of its parts

In chapter four of the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, entit-

16. See the book edited by G. Alessandrini and M. Mallen, *Diversity management. Genere e generazioni per una sostenibilità resiliente*, Armando Editore, Rome, 2020. The book brings together a wide range of research data, as well as European and international reports on gender equality.

17. Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, VII, 228.



led "A Heart Open to the Whole World", Pope Francis refers to the metaphor of the "polyhedron", adding that "*the whole is greater than the part*" (FT 215). The "polyhedron" ultimately represents a society in which differences coexist, integrating and illuminating each other, despite the difficulties involved. Looking at the global helps us to get out of the "enclosure", out of the narrowness of everyday life, but returning to the local can be a source of subsidiarity and even "leaven". Therefore, local and global are two inseparable poles for practising "open" brotherhood.

Only if you have roots can you welcome others, by offering them something authentic that relates to the Earth and home, and interacting within the logic of a whole that is greater than the part. Interchange promotes love for one's neighbour and at the same time extends dialogue towards a broader vision.

Here, too, we find language that gives a glimpse of the terms of sustainability. Caring for a fertile Earth that must be preserved for future generations also means paying attention to local areas and their specific features. If we had had more space here, it would have been useful to expand on the latest Territorial Report by ASviS in order to discover the dialectic of proximity, in the sense of being rooted in local communities and living together in diversity, namely a "polyhedron" to use the metaphor found in the encyclical.¹⁸

"Local narcissism" is undesirable, as the encyclical says.¹⁹ Cultural identity should dialogue with the planetary dimension: human communities can find beauty and universal communion in the intertwining of the local and the global. Solidarity and reciprocity are the founding values, as well as the possibility of living relationships of proximity through gratuitousness.

Subsidiarity

"Thinking and acting in terms of community" (FT 116), is a principle set out in chapter four. Given the pandemic emergency, it seems hard to heed this warning today. It may be useful to reflect for a moment on two words, *communitas* and *immunitas*. The first means fraternal sharing between individuals who identify with the common feeling of a social group; the second is a term frequently mentioned recently which means the absence of contagion by infecting organisms.

Communitas includes the idea of being available for others, and openness to participation and encounter, while *immunitas*²⁰ implies keeping a distance, and fear of contagion.

In the face of growing disintermediation and the threat of new forms of community disintegration, proximity, dialogue and sharing to the point of fraternity are the humus in which a just approach between individuals is transplanted, which goes beyond exacerbated forms of individualism. "*Radical individualism is a virus that is extremely difficult to eliminate*"²¹ (FT 105) - says Pope Francis - together with the threatening idea of a world closed in on itself, as the encyclical advises us to rediscover a taste for the path of fraternity.

How, then, can we counteract what we might call the risk of relational "degradation" in the future? Namely, the risk that the habit of social distancing and the fear of contagion may - as the pandemic persists - affect and bring about irreversible changes in people's lifestyles, for example in intergenerational relations. Or, in other words, the risk of dissatisfaction with authentic relationships, consisting of dialogue and civil and democratic discussion. Tullio De Mauro argued some time ago that "*democracy lives only in the presence of culture*".²² Cultural degradation is the ground on which relational degradation consolidates. In Italy - as emerges from the Labour Market Report published by the National Council for Economics and Labour (CNEL) in December 2019 -, with particular regard to OECD data, approximately 11 million adults lack the basic skills for living in today's society, including literacy and numeracy skills (52% of men, 47% of women).²³ In countering the risk of disintermediation between individuals and civil society (exacerbated by the pervasive and often distorted use of social media), intermediate bodies play a vital role. According to a recent survey carried out by IPSOS, intermediate bodies, which can basically be defined as proximity bodies, serve to promote safeguarding and protection measures for the most vulnerable - a vital aspect that resonates greatly in these times - rather than as a planning tool through participation and a community vision of the future.

But which are the most important intermediate bodies for overseeing interaction, including citizens' associa-

18. See Territorial Report: <https://asvis.it/rapporto-territori-2020/>.

19. Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, IV, 146.

20. The concept has a historical meaning which (according to an institution dating back to the late Roman Empire) referred to exemption from public obligations (*munera* in Latin) for certain categories such as ecclesiastics. In a medical sense, it means "condition of refractoriness to an infecting organism".

21. *Ibid*, III, 105.

22. From an interview quoted in Loiero S, Lugarini E. (ed.), *Tullio De Mauro: Dieci tesi per una scuola democratica*, Editore Cesati, Florence, 2020.

23. The CNEL Report was published in December 2019 and is available on the organisation's website. See in particular Chapter XI written by G. Alessandrini.



tions? According to the above survey, intermediate bodies that deal with voluntary associations, consumer protection and the public sector are deemed more important than trade unions and political parties (which rank last).²⁴ The crisis has made the role of voluntary organisations more evident and necessary. The latest CENSIS (Italian Centre for Social Investment Studies) Report (2020) shows that 41.1% of authorities have set up new local services for the population in order to alleviate new forms of poverty, which have been made more acute by the pandemic crisis. Considerable efforts have also been made to combat educational poverty among children and adults: for example, distribution of electronic and multimedia devices (14.5%).²⁵

Rebuilding hope

In a short but substantial book on the pandemic emergency, Edgar Morin outlines some principles that may give us some glimmers of light. These are the principles of hope: the sudden emergence of the improbable, the principle of regeneration, extreme possibility inseparable from risk, and the utopian aspiration of humanity for another life and another world. “*Hope is not a certainty*”, he adds, “*and it involves being aware of the dangers and threats, but it makes us take a stand and place our bets*”.²⁶ Albeit from a secular perspective, the idea of hope is set out by the French sociologist, who is almost 100 years old, with a healthy dose of courage and awareness.

These ideas can be “antibodies” for opposite opinions that speculate about fear and a pessimistic view of the future.

“*The best way to dominate and gain control over people is to spread despair and discouragement*”²⁷, says the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* (FT 15).

As Ivano Dionigi sums up in a book in which he imagines a dialogue between Lucretius and Seneca on the subject of happiness: “*Our concept of hope (Spes), which in classical times was never a value, entered the world precisely through Christianity and its linear conception of time and history. An absolute hope that goes beyond all expectations (Spes contra spem)*”.²⁸

Therefore, rebuilding hope is a compelling and paramount task for us all, but especially for people involved in education, and above all it is also an intrinsic dimension of sustainability. A path of regeneration can

only give rise to hope in a future for humanity that is capable of “*envisaging and engendering an open world*”.

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2.2. The tension between universal and local in *Fratelli tutti*

Pope Francis’ latest encyclical is generally seen as a vibrant call for universal fraternity, and for recognition by all peoples that they belong to one huge human family, as big as the universe, created by God to live in friendship and everlasting harmony, in a dimension that transcends this transient world. It undoubtedly is, but it is also a troubled appeal, which essentially sounds like a warning with a universal impact that is likely to be more clearly understood only in the light of events that might occur in the coming years due to loss of the sense of fraternity between individuals, social groups and nations. *Fratelli tutti* expresses a much less irenic - and one might almost say lacerating - vision, as was the case with the spiritual life of the saint from whom the encyclical takes its inspiration: Francis of Assisi. A tormented life, very different from the harmonious stereotypes that have been attributed to it over the centuries.

There are no shortcuts or “magic” formulas: only the concrete commitment of each person of goodwill can help to build a world together in which the fruits of fraternity are tangible.

The Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* includes frank criticism of all forms of closure and prejudice, as well as the option for a culture of dialogue and solidarity. The commitment to overcome the limits that hinder true and full social dialogue is an issue that concerns all political sides, as well as all social groups. “*It keeps different sectors from becoming complacent and self-centred in their outlook and their limited concerns*” (FT 203).

However, this risk has materialised in the economy. *Fratelli tutti* reiterates the condemnation made in *Laudato si’* about the lack of response to the misrepresentations

24. See the survey carried out by IPSOS for the Astrid Foundation and the Subsidiarity Foundation. A summary of the results may be found at www.astrid-online.it. On the subject of intermediate bodies and democracy, see also Bottalico G., Satta V. (eds.), *Corpi intermedi. Una scommessa democratica*, Ancora, Milan, 2015 (with a preface by R. Prodi).

25. See the summary of the 2020 Annual Report on the CENSIS website.

26. See *Cambiamo strada, le 15 lezioni sul Corona virus di Edgar Morin*, Raffaello Cortina Editore, Milan, 2020, p. 117.

27. Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, I, 15.

28. Dionigi I., *Quando la vita ti viene a trovare. Lucrezio, Seneca e noi*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2020.



that led to the 2008 financial crisis. Not only was the political reaction to the need for reform of the global economic and financial system inadequate, but also, as the pontiff notes, *"the actual strategies developed worldwide in the wake of the crisis fostered greater individualism, less integration and increased freedom for the truly powerful, who always find a way to escape unscathed"* (FT 170).

Therefore, in the light of the dual socio-economic and pandemic crisis we are going through, the world needs to restart with the way of thinking of the Poor Man of Assisi, who *"did not wage a war of words aimed at imposing doctrines; he simply spread the love of God [...] and became a father to all and inspired the vision of a fraternal society"* (FT 4). The encyclical aims to promote a worldwide aspiration for fraternity and social friendship. Based on the fact that we all belong to the human family, that we recognise that we are all brothers and sisters because we are all children of the same Creator, and that we are all in the same boat and therefore need to realise that in a globalised and interconnected world we can only save ourselves together, by re-establishing fair relations between people, social groups and states, in a continuous tension and a structural and ineradicable interrelationship between the local and the universal: *"Universal fraternity and social friendship are thus two inseparable and equally vital poles in every society"* (FT 142).

Little has been said about the fact that in this encyclical the pope strongly advises against taking refuge in social and class barriers, as a prerequisite for universal openness to fraternity. Professional orders, guilds and "castes" of various kinds should once again give priority to specifically serving the common good rather than to the legitimate defence of their own group interests. To make this concept more incisive and show its natural dependence on openness to the Transcendent, Pope Francis quotes a passage from a social encyclical by one of his predecessors, St John Paul II's *Centesimus annus*: *"If there is no transcendent truth, in obedience to which man achieves his full identity, then there is no sure principle for guaranteeing just relations between people. Their self-interest as a class, group or nation would inevitably set them in opposition to one another. If one does not acknowledge transcendent truth, then the force of power takes over, and each person tends to make full use of the means at his disposal in order to impose his own interests or his own opinion, with no regard for the rights of others"* (FT 273).

Without this passage, one risks not fully grasping the perspective of the encyclical *Fratelli tutti*. The possibilities of building a better and more sustainable future together for humanity are linked to the recognition that there is something higher than the vested interests

of the strongest social groups and nations. For the pope, *"The true worth of the different countries of our world is measured by their ability to think not simply as a country but also as part of the larger human family"* (FT 141). Thinking as a human family also means, as the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recommends, identifying priorities for the entire human race and calling on states to work together to achieve them.

This path towards social friendship and universal fraternity can only be realised if it is based on acknowledgement of *"the worth of every human person, always and everywhere"* (FT 106) because of *"their great dignity as human persons, a dignity based not on circumstances but on the intrinsic worth of their being"* (FT 107). Based on this principle, Pope Francis sets out a migration policy which should be designed on a global scale and always linked to a parallel commitment to development in the areas of origin. But he goes beyond that. His gaze is wider and takes in every situation of imbalance and social and economic inequality, including those that are normally underestimated. From this point of view, paragraph 121 of the encyclical takes on the meaning of a policy programme inspired by social and environmental sustainability and appears to be in stark contrast with the policies of centralisation, cuts and impoverishment of the economic and social fabric of local in favour of a few global powerhouses located around the planet. This paragraph is worth quoting in full due to its clarity and innovative power: *"No one, then, can remain excluded because of his or her place of birth, much less because of privileges enjoyed by others who were born in lands of greater opportunity. The limits and borders of individual states cannot stand in the way of this. As it is unacceptable that some have fewer rights by virtue of being women, it is likewise unacceptable that the mere place of one's birth or residence should result in his or her possessing fewer opportunities for a developed and dignified life"* (FT 121).

The living tension in the encyclical between the universal and the local emerges in this light. The pope refers to *"local flavour"* (FT 143-145) and *"a universal horizon"* (FT 146-150) as necessary elements to be held together, thus avoiding *"dangerous polarization"* (FT 142). A tension that is never completely resolved but in perpetual oscillation. Substantial gains are made by neither pole but rather by their relationship, which, on closer inspection, manifests the figure of the divine, as a reflection of the limitless dialectic between the One and the Many. A reflection affixed as a "signature" to Creation and a seal of the future, of what is to come, as St Peter writes: *"That day [of God] will bring about the destruction of the heavens by fire, and the elements will melt in the heat. But in keeping with his promise, we*



are looking forward to a new heaven and a new earth, where righteousness dwells" (2 Peter 3, 12-13).

This is why fresh attempts by a few to seize the riches of the Earth - deluded by the new, formidable and also disturbing possibilities offered by digital technologies and bioengineering - are destined to fail, but not before causing major new disasters if they are not halted in time. Any system of power that thinks it can override the foundations laid out in *Fratelli tutti*, relating to the harmonious development of the human family, will be unable to serve humanity well. On the contrary, programmes such as the Agenda for Sustainable Development fit spontaneously within the ontological value framework set out here by Pope Francis. Namely, recognition of the sacredness of every human being, of the coordinated and joint efforts of individuals, civil society, business and institutions, at all levels from the local to the global, to eliminate everything that hinders the full realisation of the person and social life.

A duty that citizens of the Italian Republic can appreciate even further as Article 3 of the Italian Constitution states: "All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions. It is the duty of the Republic to remove those obstacles of an economic or social nature which constrain the freedom and equality of citizens, thereby impeding the full development of the human person and the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organisation of the country".

The essence of sustainability has always been in the Constitution and is also genuinely and originally echoed in Pope Francis' encyclical.

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2.3. How can we build forms of proximity while overcoming the danger of social distancing?

In the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*, neighbourliness becomes a new way of doing politics, of collaborating for the

common good, of listening in order to dialogue, of forgiving by learning from the good and evil of the past, and of undertaking common actions of charity in the encounter between religions.

While the whole world has been fighting the pandemic, Pope Francis has published an encyclical on fraternity and social friendship. "I offer this social encyclical as a modest contribution to continued reflection, in the hope that in the face of present-day attempts to eliminate or ignore others, we may prove capable of responding with a new vision of fraternity and social friendship that will not remain at the level of words" (FT 6).

Reading these words, one immediately thinks of the book of Joel in which the prophet says "Your old men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions" (Joel 2:28). Faced with a troubled world, the pope continues to dream, but not alone because "by ourselves, we risk seeing mirages, things that are not there. Dreams, on the other hand, are built together. [6]²⁹ Let us dream, then, as a single human family, as fellow travellers sharing the same flesh, as children of the same earth which is our common home, each of us bringing the richness of his or her beliefs and convictions, each of us with his or her own voice, brothers and sisters all" (FT 8).

The encyclical is long and might discourage an uninitiated reader, but it is like a journey. Those of us who love to walk in the mountains know that every path has sections in the forest where less light filters through, and then suddenly immense spaces open up. Or trails that hold surprises after a few bends. This Encyclical *Fratelli tutti* is a journey through the social thinking of Pope Francis.

So that we don't get lost, paths have waymarks to help walkers find their way. The "waymark" that leads to discovery of the encyclical is proximity. Being neighbourly, as the Good Samaritan does in Jesus' famous parable. It is not by chance that the text is quoted in full and the entire second chapter is devoted to commenting on this biblical passage. Indeed, proximity is one of the secrets of building fraternal bonds.

But let's proceed in order. In the first chapter, the pontiff dwells on current world trends that hinder the development of fraternity. Thus, we are told about shattered dreams, such as that of a united Europe³⁰. This is because "goodness, together with love, justice and solidarity, are not achieved once and for all; they have

29. Address at the Ecumenical and Interreligious Meeting with Young People, Skopje, North Macedonia (7 May 2019): *L'Osservatore Romano*, 9 May 2019, p. 9.

30. "For decades, it seemed that the world had learned a lesson from its many wars and disasters, and was slowly moving towards various forms of integration. For example, there was the dream of a united Europe, capable of acknowledging its shared roots and rejoicing in its rich diversity. We think of 'the firm conviction of the founders of the European Union, who envisioned a future based on the capacity to work together in bridging divisions and in fostering peace and fellowship between all the peoples of this continent'. There was also a growing desire for integration in Latin America, and several steps were taken in this direction. In some countries and regions, attempts at reconciliation and rapprochement proved fruitful, while others showed great promise" (FT 10).



to be realized each day" (FT 11). It can be dangerous to lose the sense of history, so in chapter seven we find a key passage on the importance of memory.

Individualism, injustice, violence and other evils result in failure to recognise people's dignity. The journey to fraternity requires common paths, because "no one is saved alone" (FT 32) and only as "us" can we remove the dark clouds that have shattered dreams.

The starting point – which is never taken for granted – is once again listening, which leads to dialogue, calm conversation and passionate debate. This is an art to be rediscovered in frenetic communication that fuels forms of aggression and destroys people. Listening requires proximity, so the Good Samaritan becomes an icon for looking after the vulnerable and a way of caring for others that overcomes indifference. How can we build forms of proximity in this era of Covid-19? We need to go beyond the world of membership associations in which relations are merely self-interested. Pope Francis subscribes to the ideas of the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who back in the 1960s reflected on the distinction between member and neighbour in relationships. We cannot imagine relationships that are merely based on self-interest, which is the case when you are a member of an association.

The word "neighbour" needs to be redefined, and in this regard it is worth recalling that in *Caritas in veritate* Benedict XVI called for charity to underpin macro-relationships as well as micro-relationships.

If the principle of gratuitousness is lost, fraternity is endangered. Perhaps this call poses questions for us all. What are my relationships like? Do I reach out to others out of self-interest, or can I make gratuitous gestures with no ulterior motives? Can I go beyond my personal interests for the sake of the common good? When the challenge is great and pressing, we must act together, and look for common goals and values. Therefore, it is vital to pursue development initiatives by increasingly engaging all actors: governments, society, international bodies and the private sector. The pope calls for a radical shift in perspective, not only at the interpersonal level but also in international relations. One of the areas where proximity is always in danger is in relations with migrants: "Complex challenges arise when our neighbour happens to be an immigrant" (FT 129). Chapter four focuses on people who have to leave their homeland out of necessity. The encounter between cultures can become a mutual gift. "Mutual assistance between countries proves enriching for each [...] Nowadays we are either all saved together or no one is saved" (FT 137).

The call is for greater collaboration between countries for the development in solidarity of all peoples. The observations on the link between the global and the

local are well worth noting. At the same time, though, the local has to be eagerly embraced, for it possesses something that the global does not: "We need to have a global outlook to save ourselves from petty provincialism. [...] At the same time, though, the local has to be eagerly embraced, for it possesses something that the global does not: it is capable of being a leaven, of bringing enrichment, of sparking mechanisms of subsidiarity" (FT 142). Praising local culture and the spirit of neighbourliness are essential to avoid the risk of globalisation, which would like to standardise everything at the risk of losing the richness of so many traditions. As the pope has pointed out on other occasions (World Economic Forum), it is essential to create the right conditions to allow each person to live in dignity in their own country, and the business world has a responsibility to develop long-term partnerships with the countries that provide resources and host production facilities. The pope draws attention to the importance of multilateralism in dealing with burning issues and crisis situations. Justice must recognise and respect social rights and the rights of peoples by ensuring assistance and progress for everyone, through a solidarity approach that entails "responsibility for the fragility of others". This inspires the mission of many companies that seek to reflect local development alliances in their development models.

The challenge of proximity also affects the political sphere. "A better kind of politics" is precisely the kind that does not give in to populism and listens to what people have to say. A kind of politics that is "close" to the people, and recognises that the strength of democracy primarily lies in people's ability to participate in making the decisions that affect their country. "Closed populist groups distort the word 'people', since they are not talking about a true people. The concept of 'people is in fact open-ended" (FT 160). However, in order to be able to contribute to the good of society, people need to have a job. That's why the emphasis is rightly placed on one key point: "the biggest issue is employment" (FT 162). Politics cannot give up the goal of ensuring that each person has a way to contribute to society with their own resources and commitment, not only for survival, but also for personal growth and being jointly responsible for improving the world.

Employment is a theme that is dear to Pope Francis, and we all know that without employment a dignified life is impossible. Covid-19 has made the issue of employment more problematic and, in some cases, even dramatic. Everyone's commitment will be needed to support employment. Politics can and must play its part in helping to create a new mindset that can transform the economic and social sphere into healthy coexistence.



Chapter five contains an outline of the “politics we need” (FT 177-179). Institutions are called upon to come up with structural solutions to get to the root of problems. An elderly person who needs to cross a river can be helped by an individual’s charitable gesture, whereas a politician will carry out his charitable deed by building a bridge³¹.

The pope dreams about a kind of politics that makes room for tenderness, which once again is one of the aspects of proximity. In short, the pope’s dream is about politics that is close to the people and takes care of the most vulnerable, first and foremost through employment policies.

If, as already mentioned, proximity is dialogue, then the pope dedicates chapter six to the quest for truth. A polite style is recommended to overcome the habit of discrediting one’s opponents and not respecting one’s interlocutors. It is not a straightforward path, and there are many pitfalls. Therefore, the path of fraternity should always be “waymarked” by proximity. But closeness can easily generate rifts and conflicts in which people get hurt. So here are the words for meditating on forgiveness and remembrance. These are passages from chapter seven, which should be read slowly. One passage says, *“Forgiving does not mean forgetting”* (FT 250). Memory plays a decisive role in moving forward in history. But if one does not forget, how can one forgive? *“Those who truly forgive do not forget. Instead, they choose not to yield to the same destructive force that caused them so much suffering”* (FT 251).

The pontiff conjures up the memory of evil and recalls terrible events such as the Shoah, the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, persecutions, the slave trade, and ethnic massacres. But he adds, *“to remember goodness is also a healthy thing”* (FT 249).

This reflection on forgiveness and memory moves towards restorative justice, which is already present in some places. This theme is highly topical and calls for ways of bringing it about, perhaps starting with measures already in place.

Finally, the encyclical calls into question the dialogue between religions. This is not surprising given that one of the inspirations for the text was precisely the meeting in Abu Dhabi at which Pope Francis and Grand Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb signed an important document on human fraternity for world peace and living together (4 February 2019). Religions have the opportunity to exercise charity together to uphold the dignity of every person. In short, it is a call to do something concrete to take care of the most vulnerable, through common acts of charity.

This path is framed by the figures of saints: St Francis,

who inspires the very title of the encyclical, and who lived in proximity with everyone, from the poorest to the Sultan, and Charles de Foucauld, who is mentioned as the last true builder of universal fraternity. These saints, together with great non-Catholics like Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu and Mahatma Gandhi, really did try to build bonds of fraternity.

Apparently, this path, which is well mapped out by “proximity”, bring us to contemplate images of fraternity that entail new social ties, based on tenderness and kindness, which, by learning the art of listening, lead us to appreciate each person and deem them worthy of having their fundamental rights respected, especially the right to work. Proximity can become a new way of doing politics, free from the lust for power and able to imagine ways of serving to enhance the common good. Proximity that becomes forgiveness, to start again without forgetting evil, but also helped by the memory of good. Finally, proximity between religions in order to exercise straightforward charity that starts with those most in need, just as the Good Samaritan did. This is how the dream can come true. Finally, let’s not forget that this pandemic era requires even more neighbourliness to prevent loneliness and isolation from destroying the souls of the most vulnerable.

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2.4. The alphabet of care and change

The encyclical signed by Pope Francis in Assisi on 3 October 2020 contains a project for society and an invitation to look after and protect the quality of life through ecological, social and economic choices. This is an important document, to be studied rather than merely read. It provides a long and wide-ranging overview of the need to bring the concept of citizenship back to the centre, based on equal rights and duties under whose umbrella everyone can enjoy justice.

Three pillars undergird the architecture of Francis’ pontificate: peace, care for Creation, and fraternity that

31. (See the end of FT 186).



leads to solidarity for the least, so that no one is left behind and alone. Indeed, adopting these values as the guiding principles of one's mandate shifts the focal point: from an individualistic technical and industrial civilisation to a civilisation of solidarity, in which all life is cared for and preserved.

This step is urgently needed to break the deadlock of the current "dark clouds".

Modernity has enabled all of us to grow a lot in many ways, but it has left us "illiterate" when it comes to taking care of the most fragile and vulnerable in our communities. The pandemic crisis has imposed a period of change and renewal, with fraternity and social friendship as a social attitude. The response to the pandemic proposed by Europe is clear: a "kind" economy because no one saves themselves. We have to tackle the crisis together and it can only be surmounted if we change and set out a new path for recovery and the future. Next Generation EU has provided a strong impetus for ecological, digital and circular economy transition. In order to build a brighter future and a better society, we need to think about a more people-friendly and sustainable economy, as set out in the Assisi manifesto, which is better able to tackle the climate crisis and the challenges we face without leaving anyone behind, and also opposes the throwaway culture.

The encyclical points the way to recovery, and offers a ray of hope. "Moral disengagement" and indifference, the evils of our time, are accessories to inequality and injustice, and going beyond them has major social and economic implications.

What can each of us do? Like the Samaritan, whose parable is the foundation of the fraternity promoted by the pontiff, we are called to take action by activating a process, but not alone. The message of the encyclical is to inspire and activate a new fraternity and social friendship project, involving individuals, groups, institutions and entire peoples.

This is a social pact based on the "good fight of the culture of encounter" (FT 217), on dialogue and on "a taste for recognising others". In other words, we need to practise - in every context and each of us in our own roles - encounter as culture, with respect for diverse positions, ideas and cultures.

So Pope Francis shows us a "working method": dialogue, respect for diversity, and kindness, which is by no means a minor detail or a superficial attitude. "Precisely because it entails esteem and respect for others, once kindness becomes a culture within society it transforms lifestyles, relationships and the ways ideas are discussed and compared. Kindness facilitates the quest for consensus; it opens new paths where hostility and conflict would burn all bridges" (FT 224).

This aggravation is increasingly bound up with the issues of employment and development, and is even more disruptive in the most peripheral and vulnerable areas, such as the Italian region of Basilicata. One of the most interesting passages on the theme of conflicts – caused by social even more than war factors - is one that links them to development. At the heart of current tensions are inequalities relating to opportunities, access to food and rights, or in other words, the lack of integral human development. The pandemic has only served to accelerate and exacerbate these issues, especially in the areas most remote from development and welfare options.

The pope issues a warning: in terms of wellbeing, the crucial issue is employment; work which, in a broader perspective, becomes a form of emancipation from social isolation and marginalisation, serving as an instrument for restoring individual and collective identity. "In a genuinely developed society, work is an essential dimension of social life" (FT 162), the encyclical says.

Finally, Pope Francis focuses on those who are engaged in serving the common good. Politics requires vision and a capacity for productiveness rather than immediate results, and politicians are asked to be the expression and voice of the people rather than of populism. The experience of Covid-19 has reminded us of the urgent need to rethink the relationship between the market (economy), the community, and common and public goods, starting with the dramatic experiences of health facilities put under stress by the virus.

Indeed, we are finding out, at great cost, that all human beings are a common good, and their health and illness affect everyone else; conversely, a fragile person who falls ill and is badly cared for becomes a common evil. To sum up, we welcome this period as a time for genuine social dialogue, which certainly presupposes "the ability to respect the other's point of view and to admit that it may include legitimate convictions and concerns" (FT 203).

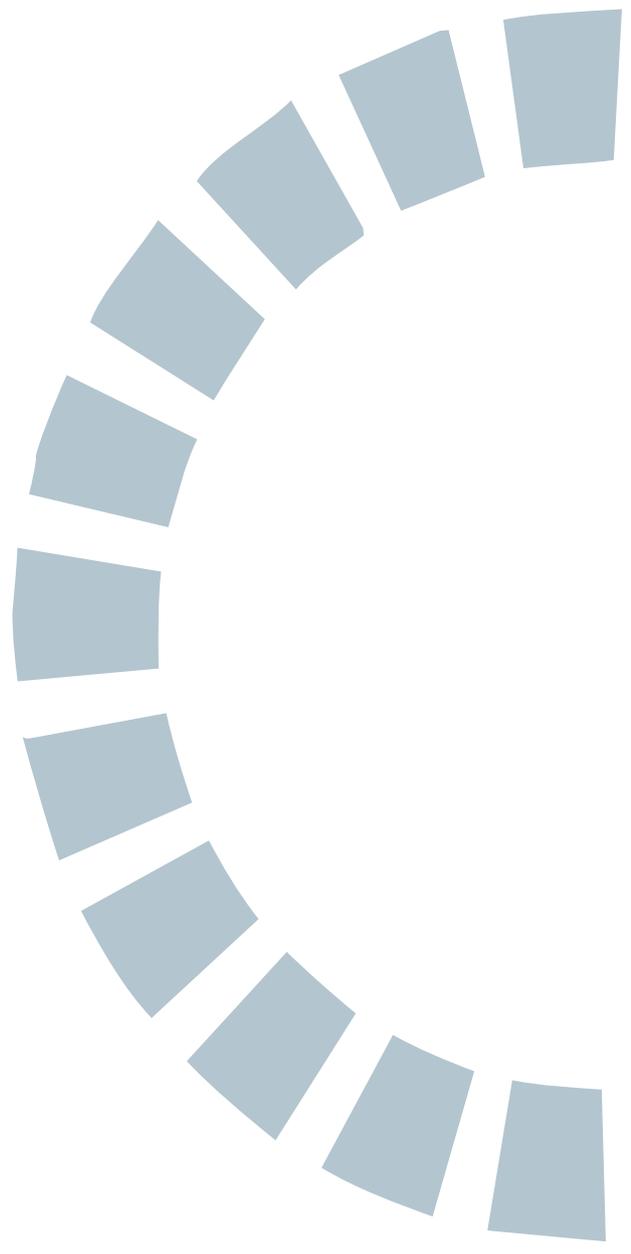
A culture of encounter and dialogue, which is not a good in itself, but rather a way of doing the common good.

This powerful text rings out a message of hope and calls for commitment. It is an invitation to return to political action that serves and bears witness to charity, which is nourished by great ideals and plans for the future, thinking not of small electoral gains but rather the common good, and especially the future of the coming generations.

The horizon of fraternity paves the way for recovery.

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**Comparative index and
quantitative measurement:
the Global Peace Index 2020**





3. Comparative index and quantitative measurement: the Global Peace Index 2020

3.1. Measurement of the peace index through digital news

Peace is a fundamental dimension of social well-being, and it is no surprise that its measurement via digital data is attracting the attention of researchers and policy makers worldwide. Data generated and transmitted by social media, calls on mobile phones, tracking of our movements when we drive, and records of our online purchases at the supermarket, are all data that describe various aspects of a country, such as freedom of expression and movement, citizens' buying preferences and purchasing power, and also the extent of computerisation. Data science, with the support of artificial intelligence, has the potential to transform digital data into knowledge and value, in the form of predictions, automated decisions and statistical models¹. The United Nations has recognised the importance of harnessing data science² for the achievement of a set of Sustainable Development Goals³, including one that explicitly aims to "promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development". But how can the "peacefulness" of a country be measured via a frequent, accurate, reliable and inexpensive procedure? In this chapter, an example of measuring the level of peace in a country using digital data that describe the number of news items and their impact on social equilibrium is illustrated.

The public GDELT database, supported by Google, contains data on events extracted from news items about the world socio-economic and political situation as seen "through the eyes of the media"⁴. The monitored news items are collected from international sources in English, such as Associated Press and The New York Times.

GDELT contains historical data since 1979⁵ and is updated daily by an automatic system that extracts events from the news and codes them in accordance with an extended version of the dyadic CAMEO format, a taxonomy of conflict and mediation events⁶. GDELT compiles a list of 200 event categories, such as riots, protests, calls for peace, diplomatic exchanges, public statements, consultations, combat and mass violence. Examples of coded events are "Expressing the intention to cooperate" or "Conducting a strike or boycott" (see footnote⁷ for a detailed list of coded events). GDELT offers a wide variety of data for each event, including its date, the relevant country, the internet address of the article the event was extracted from, and the Goldstein value⁸, which records the potential impact of an event type on a country's stability, on a scale from -10 (negative) to +10 (positive).

Our aim is to use GDELT⁹ to increase the frequency of calculation of the Global Peace Index (GPI), which annually measures the level of peace in each country using 23 dimensions extracted from official data.¹⁰ The higher the GPI value, the less "peaceful" a country is in a given year. The wide variety of GDELT event categories covers most of the GPI dimensions, and the high frequency of data updates enables the GPI to be measured on a monthly, weekly, or even daily basis. For each country, and for each event category, we extract two types of variable from the GDELT: the total number of events and the total value of the potential impact of the events on a country's stability. Figure 1 shows an example of the number of political dissent events captured by the GDELT in the United States from mid-December 2020 to mid-January 2021. We may note a significant increase in these events on

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6 January 2021, the day of the storming of the US Capitol, providing a clear example of how GDELT is able to capture the social and conflictual state of a country in real time.

Training of an Artificial Intelligence (AI) on GDELT data and monthly GPI projections (obtained through linear interpolation of the GPI value between consecutive years) enables changes in the GPI to be recorded in

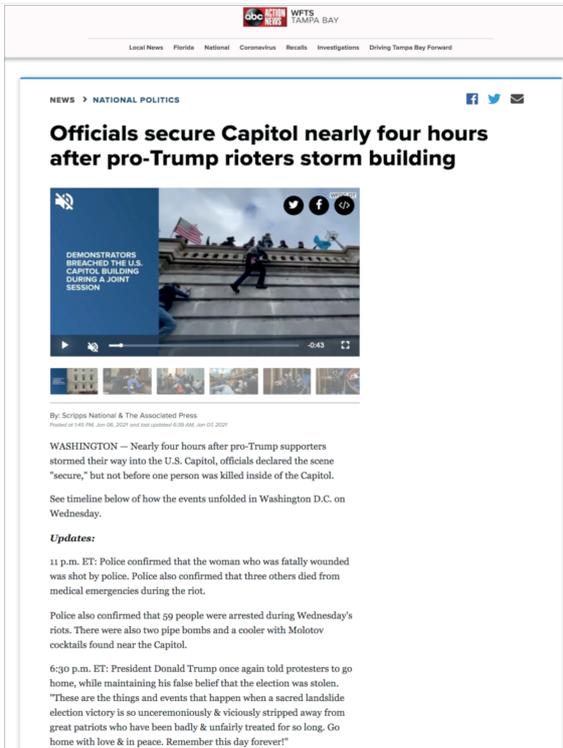
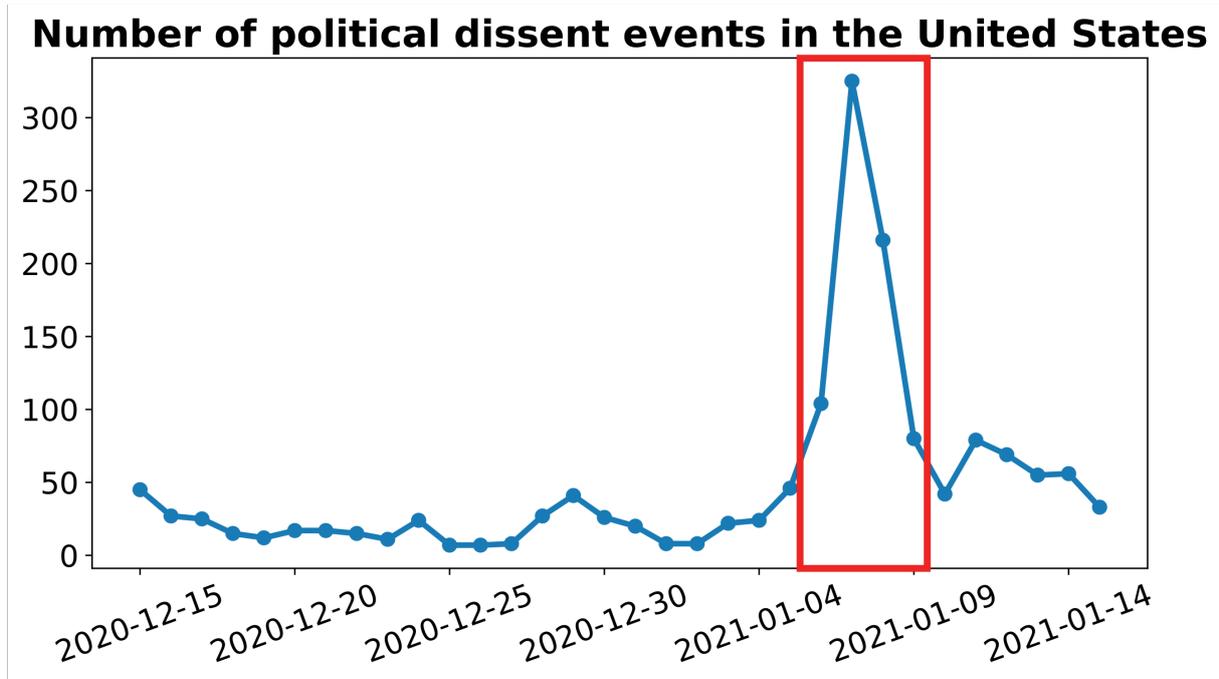


Figure 1: Daily number of political dissent events drawn from GDELT news stories about the United States, from mid-December 2020 to mid-January 2021, and two examples of news articles published on 6 and 7 January 2021. GDELT captures a notable increase in political dissent events on 6 January 2021, the day of the storming of the US Capitol.

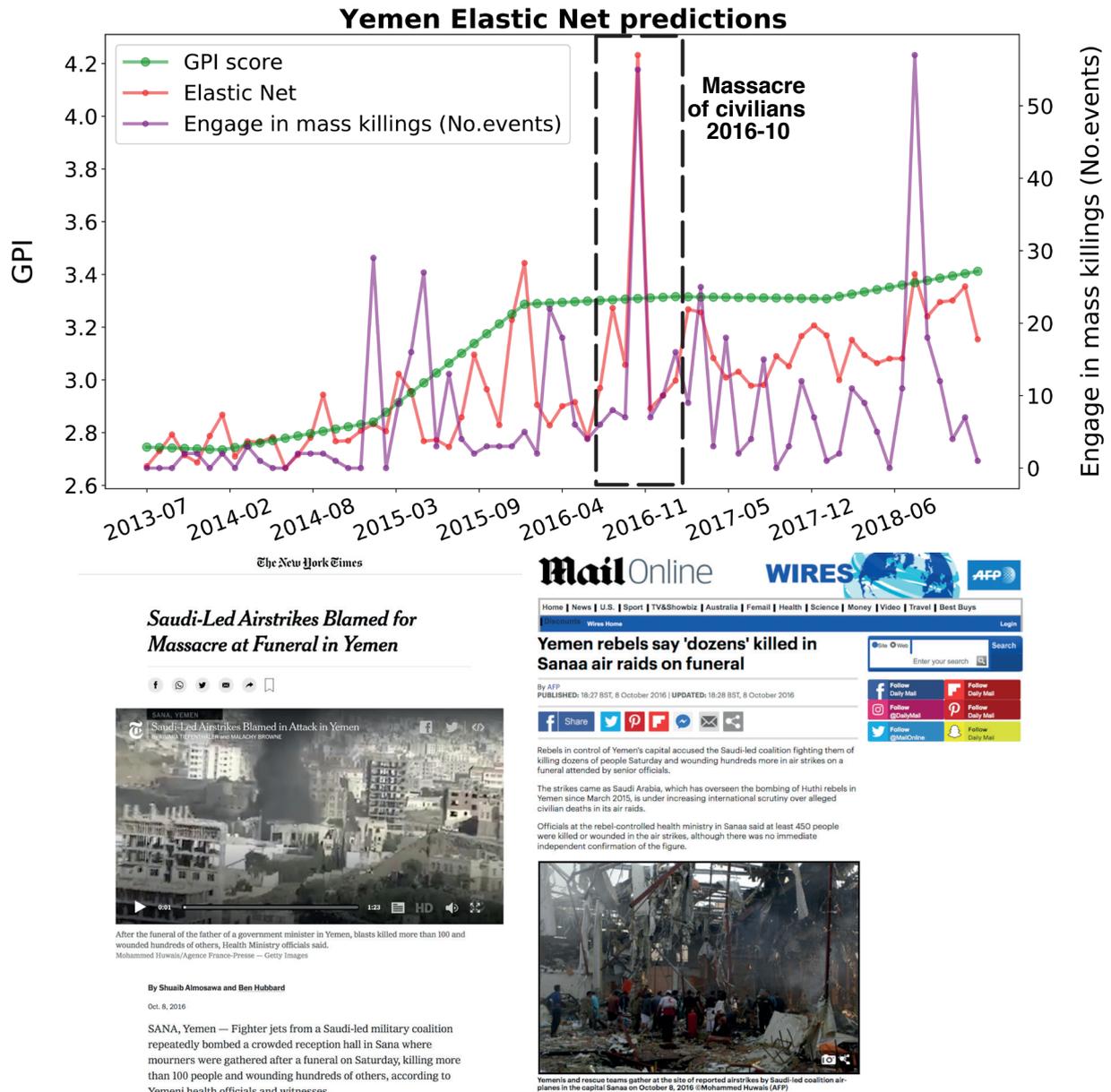


Figure 2: GPI prediction from the Elastic Net AI model, which shows a significant increase in GPI as mass killing events increase. Below, two articles published on 8 October 2016 are shown.

real time. For example, the AI model called Elastic Net¹¹ predicts a significant increase in the GPI for Yemen as a result of an increase in events involving mass killings (“Engage in mass killings (No. events)”) on 8 October 2016. While the GPI, which is calculated annually, is unable to immediately record such a radical change in a country’s state of peace, our AI can update the

GPI very often and at the same time provide useful information on the individual events that caused the change in the GPI measurement. Interpretation of our AI, via interpretative and explanatory techniques,¹² also enables extraction of a set of variables that most determine a country’s state of peace. For example, Figure 3 shows the most impor-

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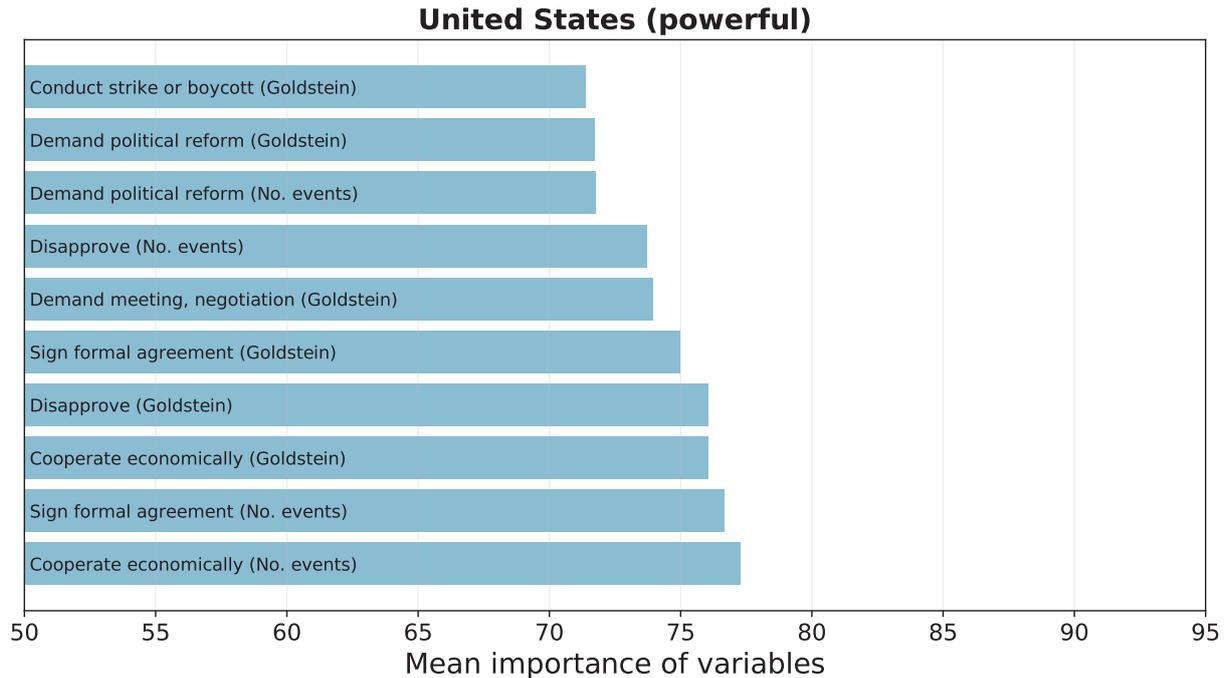


Figure 3: The most important variables for the United States according to the Elastic Net AI model. The type of variable is shown in brackets. The variables are related to economic and material cooperation, formal agreements and meetings, disapprovals, political reforms and strikes or boycotts.

tant variables for the United States, revealing the profile of a country at the forefront of the international scene both economically and politically. The crucial variables all relate to economic and material cooperation, formal agreements and meetings, disapproval, political reform, and strikes and boycotts.

An important aspect of this study should be taken into account. Digital media often give a distorted picture of real crimes, with a bias towards violence.¹³ Therefore, predicting the GPI through digital news could be misdirected and influenced by media bias.

The case study shows how data science can help to assess the implications of certain events and subsequent decisions in advance, thus enabling timely intervention by policy makers. The results are particularly useful for researchers interested in using data science for the common good and the assessment of wellbeing¹⁴, as well as for decision-makers and non-governmental peace protection organisations. The use of AI would enable near real-time monitoring of peace, thereby facilitating timely and efficient policy making and stimulating social progress.

Acknowledgements

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3.2. Defining and measuring peace

Introduction

Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals is dedicated to the promotion of peaceful societies. Indeed, the most important of the UN's Goals is mentioned with specific reference to the need to implement policies aimed at increasing levels of peace within societies. In order to draw up peace policies, we first need to define peace and demarcate its boundaries in order to draw up suitable measures and variables for the implementation of a peace policy. At the same time, as peace is a goal to be pursued and stabilised over time, the measurements to be applied should be assessed at different points in time. It is also desirable to try to devise a prospective measurement in order to develop instruments and policies that can increase levels of peace in the future. Regarding the first measurement, reference can be made to the Global Peace Index, while for the second, a relationship between investment in education and military expenditure can be proposed.

Measuring peace in the present: the Global Peace Index

Measuring peace is the mission of the Institute for Economics and Peace in Sydney, which has published the Global Peace Index (GPI) since 2008. The GPI was presented for the first time in Italy at a conference at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in June 2013. The index refers to a simple but crucial idea: peace is defined as a multidimensional phenomenon. Peace cannot be defined as the mere absence of wars and conflicts between states, but rather as a pervasive condition in the life of societies and communities. It profoundly influences economic and social life. Therefore, the index takes into account 22 indicators of violence and other destructive activities that can be classified within three areas: (i) militarisation; (ii) internal security; and (iii) existence of or participation in external conflicts. The results are on a scale between 1 (more peaceful) and 5 (absence of peace). Obviously, countries torn apart by armed conflict have a very low peace score, whereas countries with higher incomes usually have higher levels of peace. In recent years, the most peaceful countries have been Iceland and New Zealand, and the least peaceful Somalia and South Sudan. The GPI is a measurement tool that gives us an indicator of peace to date, namely it is a current indicator of levels of peace. It can be interpreted and used as a "peace endowment" at a given moment in time. In recent years, the annual releases of the GPI have provided an opportunity to further investigate the multidimensional nature of peace and its ability to change over time.

In particular, the GPI challenges the ruling classes to adopt appropriate tools to understand the set of factors that significantly inform the life of our societies. Moreover, thanks to the GPI, it has become clearer that threats to the peace of our societies do not come exclusively from external enemies, but also increasingly manifest themselves and materialise within our societies. The deterioration of peace within countries undermines the ties that enable the social contract we are accustomed to living with. Put differently, our internal security decreases to the detriment of our wellbeing, and perhaps even of our democratic representativeness and sustainability. In order to prevent our levels of peace from continuing to deteriorate, thus jeopardising the quality of life of future generations, the content of the GPI provides an excellent basis for undertaking an in-depth reflection on the peace needs of our societies, and stimulating the debate on appropriate policies to achieve them.

Measuring peace in the future: the relationship between education and military expenditure

If the GPI is regarded as a measurement of current "peace endowment", we also need a prospective measurement, namely one that estimates future levels of peace. From now on we will consider a definition of peace in more strictly economic terms, since - as two fathers of peace science, Kenneth Boulding and Walter Isard, pointed out - the economics of peace is the foundation of a broader science of peace. This approach is immediately understandable if we bear in mind that most of the issues that the Sustainable Development Goals aim to address are always associated with the use of violence and armed conflict, namely the absence of peace. Indeed, peace is not only a conflict-free scenario, but also, from an economic standpoint, a scenario in which productive activities substantially outweigh unproductive and destructive activities. Peace can thus be defined as the institutional framework that favours consolidation of productive activities in the long term, whilst limiting the burden of unproductive activities, especially destructive ones. In this perspective, peace is a global public good because it produces benefits for everyone, whereas in scenarios informed by violence only private benefits are generated. In line with this interpretation, it is clear that the first investment for building peace should be one that increases productive activities to the detriment of unproductive and destructive activities. The basis of long-term prosperity is productivity that is generated and strengthened



ned mainly through accumulation of human capital. Human capital is traditionally understood as being knowledge embedded in people that translates into productive skills and creativity. In short, increased accumulation of human capital is one of the main drivers of long-term development. Consequently, investment in education is by far the most desirable investment in the long term. Therefore, if education is deemed to be the most important investment for long-term development when drawing up economic policy it would be appropriate to use a measure that takes into account the balance between this development factor and an economic decline factor, especially military expenditure.

As proposed by Caruso (2017a and 2017b)¹⁵, one of the indicators that can be used, despite its simplicity, is the relationship between investment in education and military expenditure.

In simple terms, this indicator highlights the relationship between public investment in future human capital and an unproductive spending policy such as military expenditure, which in fact leads to distortions and decreases in the accumulation of human capital. The many studies available reveal that military expenditure is a harbinger of economic decline for a variety of reasons. Therefore, reducing it is a desirable policy. It is also true that it may not be feasible to merely consider the objective of military expenditure.

Indeed, military expenditure does not only depend on governments' preferences, but is also affected by international obligations. So having the reduction of military expenditure as an economic policy objective - however desirable it may be - might not be feasible, at least in the short term. When considering the relationship between investment in education and military expenditure, it may be said that this indicator highlights the importance given to future wellbeing compared with current strategic requirements. The table presents the levels of this ratio for some of the world's leading countries. The data on government spending on education have been extracted from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database, which unfortunately is incomplete for many countries. It goes without saying that countries with persistent or very frequent conflicts have a low ratio (e.g. Colombia, Israel), as do the major powers that are present in many conflicts around the world.

Table 1 – Ratio between investment in education and military expenditure

	2000	2005	2017
Australia	2,67	2,72	2,56
Brazil	2,28	2,94	4,45
Canada	4,87	4,31	nd
China	0,98*	nd	nd
Colombia	1,16	1,2	1,41
France	2,55**	nd	2,85
Germany	3,16**	3,53***	4,22
India	1,47	1,16	nd
Israel	0,97	0,92	1,1
Italy	2,46	2,64	2,96
Japan	3,78	3,62	3,41
Mexico	8,95	13,61	10,29
Russia	0,89	1,13	1,11
Spain	2,41	2,99	3,42
United Kingdom	1,88	2,26	3,08
USA ¹	1,38	1,09	1,18****

Source: WDI, *1999; **1998; ***2006; ****2015
1. Source: investment in education in the USA, OECD

Given that in the proposed definition levels of future peace are presented as the ability to generate productive activities for creating stable prosperity that “defuse” incentives for the systematic use of violence, it is worth examining whether the relationship between education and military expenditure at a given point in time can predict higher levels of wellbeing and productivity in the future. The scatter plots shown here precisely suggest such a relationship. In both, the x-axis shows the ratio of education to military expenditure in 2000, and the y-axis shows the level of GDP per capita and the level of labour productivity respectively. The suggested correlations are clearly positive, and therefore the ratio between investment in education and military expenditure is associated with higher levels of productivity and GDP per capita.

15. Short bibliography

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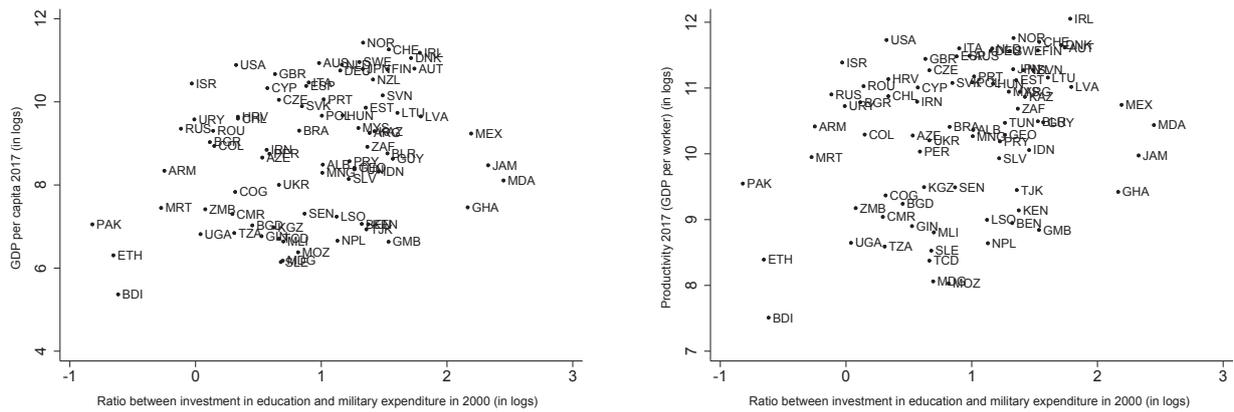


Chart 1 - GDP per capita, productivity and the ratio between education and military expenditure

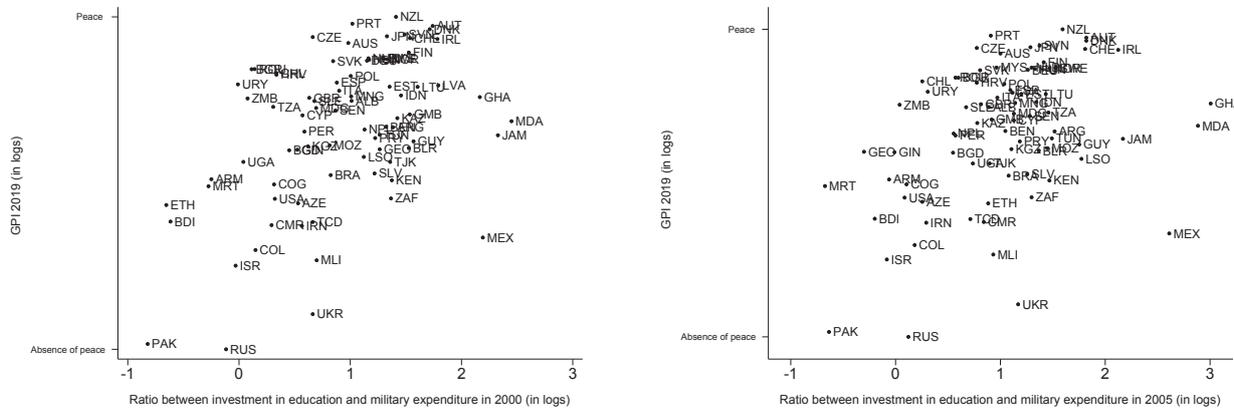


Chart 2 - Peace and the ratio between education and military expenditure

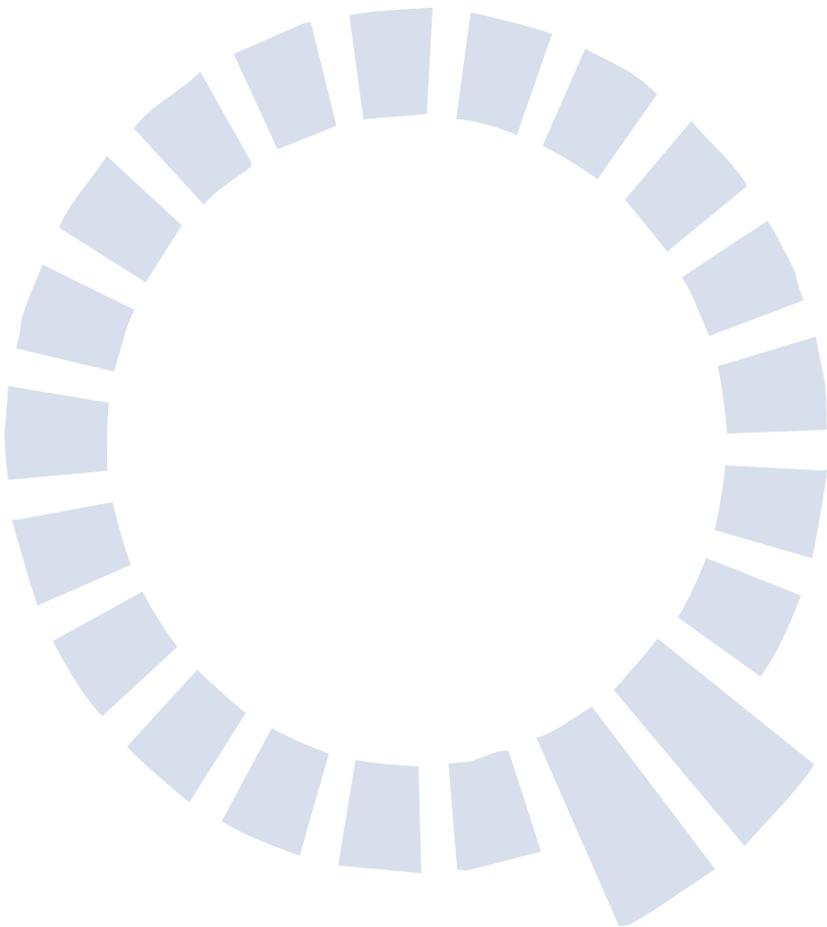
Therefore, in this interpretation, the ratio between investment in education and military expenditure is associated with higher levels of productivity and GDP per capita. Even more challenging is to present the correlation between this ratio and the levels of future peace measured via the GPI. To achieve a better interpretation, without any data loss, the GPI can be reprocessed as $\text{peace} = \log(5 - \text{GPI})$, so that higher measurement values correspond to higher levels of peace. The correlation between the 2019 GPI and the ratio of investment in education to military expenditure in previous years (2000 and 2005) is shown in these scatter plots. Indeed, at a given point in time, the value of the ratio of investment in education to military expenditure is associated with higher levels of peace in subsequent years. From a prospective point of view, this suggests that by using the ratio between investment in education and military expenditure as an objective variable, it is possible to develop a peace policy from economic policy.

Conclusions

In order to draw up peace policies, it is first necessary to define peace and then suitable target variables. As peacebuilding is by definition a long-term goal, the necessary measurements should be assessed at different points in time, and a prospective measurement that predicts future levels of peace also needs to be developed. For the first measurement, reference was made to the Global Peace Index, while for the second, the ratio of investment in education to military expenditure was proposed and found to correlate with future levels of peace.

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Afterword

A new dream of fraternity

Since the beginning of his pontificate, Francis of Assisi has been Pope Francis' great inspiration. The saint inspired the choice of his name, his lifestyle and his closeness to the poor and the marginalised (FT 2), as well as his encyclicals *Laudato si'* and *Fratelli tutti*. He says so himself: *"This saint of fraternal love, simplicity and joy, who inspired me to write the Encyclical Laudato si', prompts me once more to devote this new encyclical to fraternity and social friendship"* (FT 2). And also: *"Francis has inspired these pages"* (FT 4).

For the pope, Francis is a model of *«a way of life marked by the flavour of the Gospel»*; a model of a life *«that transcends the barriers of geography and space»* (FT 1); a model of a fraternity that leads to loving the other *«as much as when he is far from him as when he is with him»* (FT 1); AMM XXV. In this perspective, the pope reads an episode from the life of Francis of Assisi that particularly draws his attention: the meeting, moved by the desire to embrace everyone, of Francis with Sultan Malik-el-Kamil (FT 3). A gesture which, seen in the context of the Crusades, becomes truly prophetic: *"We are impressed that some eight hundred years ago Saint Francis urged that all forms of hostility or conflict be avoided and that a humble and fraternal 'subjection' be shown to those who did not share his faith"* (FT 3).

The *Regola non Bollatta XVI* (Franciscan rules) states: *«The Lord says: «I am sending you out like sheep among wolves. 2 Therefore be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves» (Mt 10:16). 3 Therefore any brother who wishes to go among the Saracens and other infidels should go with the permission of his minister and servant. 4 Let the minister give them permission and not hinder them if he sees that they are fit to be sent. For he will have to account to the Lord (cf. Lk 16:2) if he has proceeded without discretion in these or other matters. 5 Brothers who go among unbelievers can conduct themselves spiritually among them in two ways. 6 One way is that they should not quarrel or dispute, but be subject to every human creature for God's sake (1 Pet 2:13) and confess that they are Christians. 7 The other way is, when they see that it pleases the Lord, let them proclaim the word of God, that they may believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Creator of all things, and in the Son, the Redeemer and Saviour, and be baptised, and become Christians; for unless they are born again of water and the Holy Spirit, they cannot enter the kingdom of God (Jn 3:5)»*.

Francis appears before the Sultan trusting only the words of the Gospel: *"For I will give you words and wisdom that none of your adversaries will be able to resist or contradict"* (Lk 21:15). He presents himself in his poverty and vulnerability, armed only with respect and faith. His vulnerability, gentleness and meekness led the Sultan to respect Francis and create bonds of friendship and respect. In this way Francis became *"a father to all and inspired the vision of a fraternal society"*. Based on the experience of Francis of Assisi, the pope invites us to be brothers and sisters to one another, and to build fraternity and brotherhood, as is evident from the vocabulary used in the text of the encyclical:

- the word brothers occurs 26 times;
- the word fraternity occurs 44 times;
- the word brotherhood occurs 5 times.

What do we mean when we talk about fraternity, this reality that is so strong that it cuts across religious systems? It is significant that the word fraternity never appears in the Scriptures. In the Scriptures there are brothers, who immediately come to terms with the conflicts, competitiveness and jealousies of every human relationship. The book of Genesis provides a very important key to interpreting human relationships: the other is the one I need; the other is the memory of the necessary boundary that enables my desire for wholeness not to devour me, not to fill all my vital space to the point of suffocating and killing me.

The Scriptures seem to tell us that to be brothers and sisters we need to "consent to a defect", to experience the mourning of wholeness, accepting that within us there are "empty" spaces, "missing" parts, that our fullness comes when a "you" outside us finds ways of relating within our lives. From the beginning, the Scriptures seem to tell us that the fullness of life does not come from filling ourselves with God: too much God is not good for us; the human in the garden has everything, but lacks a counterpart. It is only through relationship that the adventure begins, despite all the risks that this entails.

Perhaps better than anyone else Francis of Assisi gave us back the true sense of fraternity, not as an ideology but as a concrete web of relations. The greatest question that Francis lives through his experience is *"Whose brother do I want to be?"*, and he is present even when others do not show up or do not want to be brothers.



There is an account in the Franciscan sources, which is fairly well known even outside Franciscan circles, called "True joy". Those words, far from being an edifying discourse, comprise a page of autobiography about the tiring fraternal experience of Bishop Francis, who wakes up one day and realises, with great bitterness, that the fraternity he has sought, desired and preached all his life comes up against obstacles and walls in the very group of brothers with whom he has shared his journey of conversion. This page is a beautiful dialogue between Brother Francis and Brother Leo, in which the central question is: *Where is true joy? Where is true peace for me?*

If all the princes of the world were to join the Franciscan order, there would be no real peace here. If all the most influential bishops were to become friars, there would be no real peace here. If I were to perform all the miracles described in the Gospel, and everyone followed me, there would be no real joy here. But if I, Brother Francis, were to arrive at Porziuncola - at my home - on a cold and rainy night, and knocked on the door of the place that is entrusted with guarding the true sense of Franciscan brotherhood, and knocked not once, but twice, three times and more, asking to be welcomed for the love of God, and the brothers not only did not open the door, but also said that they no longer needed me; and if in front of that closed door I still carried on being a brother to those who do not want to be brothers, "I tell you," says Brother Francis to Brother Leo, "that is where true joy lies".

The question that arises seems to be not so much what to do in order to be brothers, but how to carry on being so, and what attitudes to adopt in the face of closure and rejection? If I stick to my decision to carry on being a brother, then the path of fraternity can stay open around the world. It is a bit like the logic of the Good Samaritan story: not "Who is my neighbour?", but "Who do I make myself a neighbour to?".

The story of the Good Samaritan is the one that inspired the Encyclical *Fratelli tutti*.

The parable told in Lk 10:25-37 arises from a dialogue and a question. A theologian of the time asks: "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus refers him to the laws of Deuteronomy and Leviticus that the theologian knew well, and says to him: "You have answered correctly; do this and you will live".

To the man of law this seems to go without saying. Someone who says to you, "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind. Love your neighbour as yourself" seems to be stating the obvious. So he tries to set off a debate, typical of rabbinical schools, perhaps in order to clarify the theological concept of "neighbour". He asks: "Who is my neighbour?".

And Jesus tells a parable. And at the end, in concluding the parable, he says: "you are right" that the neighbour was the one who took pity. "Go and do likewise".

What makes the difference between the priest and the Levite on the one hand, and the Samaritan on the other? It is not, according to Jesus, reading religious books or even keeping abreast of reality, because in this case the reality of a wounded, stripped-naked, half-dead man, is in front of the eyes of everyone: priest, Levite and Samaritan.

The parable says: the priest "saw the man and passed by on the other side"; the Levite "saw him and passed by on the other side"; and the Samaritan "saw him and took pity on him".

One of the fundamental truths of Christianity, too often misunderstood, is this: "What saves is the gaze" (Simone Weil).

A gaze that is able to look at the other, and that does not allow itself to be chained by plausible explanations, or by praiseworthy justifications such as those given by the priest and the Levite.

The Gospel story of the Samaritan asks us to emerge from our inner dialogue, which sometimes makes us walk together with others, but only keeping our own company. The Samaritan doesn't embody the religious man. He's the heretic, namely one who is outside the parameters of a faith-based understanding of reality. Yet as he walks, he can not only look but also see. He is the man who embodies the attitude of the God of Israel, that God of the Exodus who hears the cry of the people - comes down, sees and cares - venturing a future of freedom.

But maybe the man doesn't know that. It's a bit like the logic of the Gospel in which Jesus is asked: "When did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or needing clothes or sick or in prison?" "Whenever" is the question asked by those who enter the feast of the Kingdom, and it is also the question asked by those who remain outside the feast hall. Meaning that he who stood by wounded humanity did so as a human being and not as a believer. It should be possible for people to have compassion.

To have compassion is a "visceral" verb that is expressed through different gestures: bending down to the other; coming close; personally taking care; paying for the other.

According to the parable, attending the temple is not a sign of proximity to the kingdom. Who is more of a temple-goer than the priest and the Levite who see and pass by?

On the other hand, one can be unorthodox and irregular - as the Samaritans were considered to be - non-believers who are still close to the kingdom.

True neighbours, according to Martin Luther King, are not those who think: "What will happen to me if I



stop to help this?"; but rather those who think: "What will happen to this man if I don't stop to help him?". Taking this passage as an introduction to the encyclical, the pope asks us two questions that should prevent us from sleeping soundly:

Who is my brother?

And where is my brother? (FT 57).

These are questions that call for a courageous response, especially from those who have become accustomed, including among believers, to looking to one side, to passing by, to ignoring situations of vulnerability, until they themselves are directly affected (FT 64). The answer we give to these two questions will determine whether the dream of a new world will remain an isolated one or will actually come true. Undoubtedly, the Good Samaritan is still a model to be followed, if we want a world where we can live together as brothers and sisters, since he *"summons us to rediscover our vocation as citizens of our respective nations and of the entire world, builders of a new social bond"* (FT 66), builders of a universal brotherhood.

The vocation of fraternity starts from what Cain provocatively said: "Am I my brother's keeper?". A question that would lead him to go on a pilgrimage, out of the garden, and beyond the Earth.

The vocation is then manifested through Joseph's initial and unconscious cockiness ("I'm going to look for my brothers"), which gives rise to another pilgrimage, a journey that will lead Joseph to better understand - perhaps - what it means not so much to look for his brothers, but to be found by his brothers as a brother. Stones are needed to build "a new world", or rather a new way of being brothers and sisters:

1. **Encounter:** allows us to get to know each other, to go beyond ourselves; it is the door to open bonds of respect, esteem and friendship. Encounter creates hospitality. The opposite is to keep a distance in order to maintain integrity: this is worldliness. This means maintaining walls and barriers of all kinds, including ideological ones. Life exists where there is bonding, brotherhood, true relationships and loyalty. There is no life if we claim to belong only to ourselves. This is where death prevails. Beware of sectarian deviations.
2. **Love:** Authentic love does not focus attention on ourselves but rather on the other person. It creates a tendency to gratuitously seek the good of others, and prompts us to seek relief for the life of others: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you".
3. **Overcoming the schism between the individual and the community:** self-realisation necessarily takes place through a life of fraternity and community.

4. **A solid, embodied spirituality:** which makes us children of Heaven and Earth at the same time. A dynamic spirituality. A spirituality of exodus, which sets us on our way. A spirituality of hospitality.

We have armed ourselves with sophisticated analytical tools. We stratify, break down and observe through lenses that we consider infallible, and we forget a basic truth: understanding requires a coming together, a mutual discovery that only reciprocity can weave and clarify. Understanding is a game played in the awareness of being in the presence of the living, which is glimpsed in the unfolding of events, in the interval, in emotional interaction, and in the incalculable deduction of what we all carry hidden within ourselves, without letting ourselves be caught up by expectations, without imposing anything of what we know or claim to know. We understand nothing and no one, except through companionship.

The art of companionship includes three fundamental (and forgotten) dimensions that are important to bear in mind: gratuitousness, acceptance and the ability to share silence. Indeed, companionship may also have secondary motives, depending on the circumstances, but in the end it needs to have no other purpose than itself. "It is the time you have wasted on your rose that makes your rose so important". Which means: we have to accept that we "lose" something if a relationship is to be worthwhile. And losing really does mean losing: not only time, but also previous representations, aspirations, projects, usefulness and life.

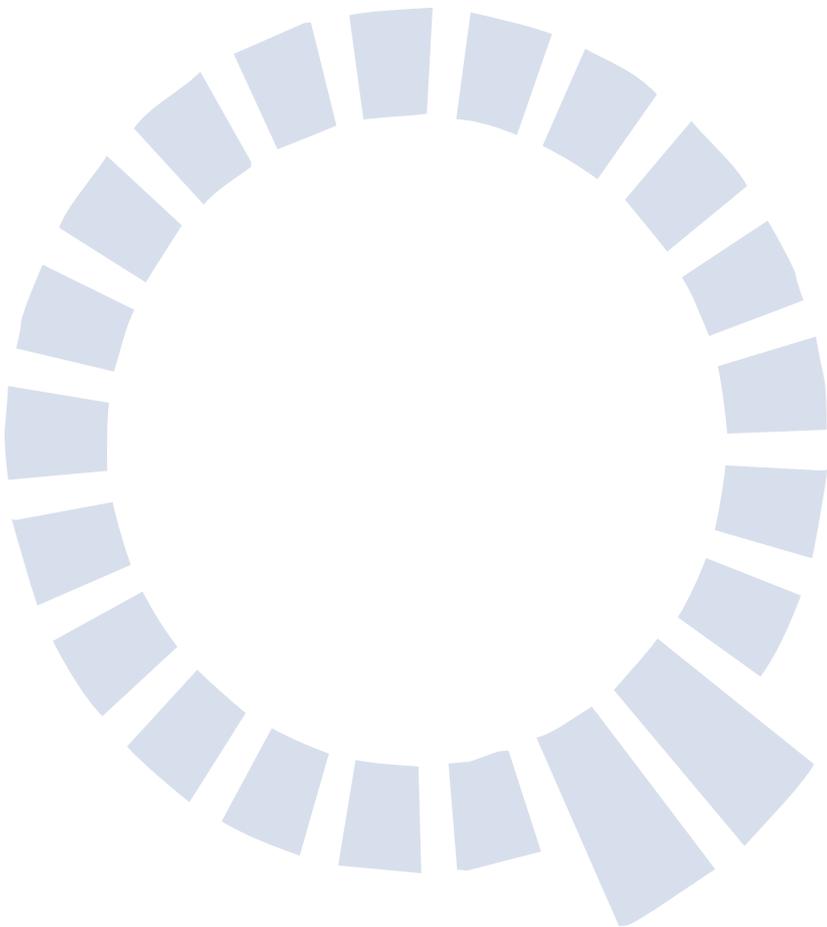
So companionship is built through acceptance. Acceptance is a very difficult exercise. Accepting the night and nothingness, silence and delay, accepting grace and weakness, difference and detachment. Making everything a journey. Accepting seeing the whole only in the part, in an incomplete vision, in an unfinished gesture. The anxious desire to dominate is a misunderstanding. Companionship is something else: it means accepting that everything is a passage, an epiphany, a revelation that cannot be touched.

We need to become sowers of hope: not everything is good, of course, but not everything is bad.

We need to be able to see the fire glowing under the ashes, all the repositories of good that are hidden in people's hearts.

Suor Chiara Francesca Lacchini

President of the Board of the
Capuchin Poor Clares Federation





“Institutions” word cloud: taken from a selection of all the passages in the encyclical containing this word, which was then analysed by frequency.



Goal 16 Targets and encyclical themes

16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere

FT	3	<i>"We are impressed that some eight hundred years ago Saint Francis urged that all forms of hostility or conflict be avoided and that a humble and fraternal 'subjection be shown to those who did not share his faith."</i>
FT	10	<i>"For decades, it seemed that the world had learned a lesson from its many wars and disasters, and was slowly moving towards various forms of integration. For example, there was the dream of a united Europe, capable of acknowledging its shared roots and rejoicing in its rich diversity. We think of 'the firm conviction of the founders of the European Union, who envisioned a future based on the capacity to work together in bridging divisions and in fostering peace and fellowship between all the peoples of this continent."</i>
FT	11	<i>"Our own days, however, seem to be showing signs of a certain regression. Ancient conflicts thought long buried are breaking out anew, while instances of a myopic, extremist, resentful and aggressive nationalism are on the rise. In some countries, a concept of popular and national unity influenced by various ideologies is creating new forms of selfishness and a loss of the social sense under the guise of defending national interests."</i>
FT	23	<i>"Indeed, 'doubly poor are those women who endure situations of exclusion, mistreatment and violence, since they are frequently less able to defend their rights."</i>
FT	25	<i>"War, terrorist attacks, racial or religious persecution, and many other affronts to human dignity are judged differently, depending on how convenient it proves for certain, primarily economic, interests. What is true as long as it is convenient for someone in power stops being true once it becomes inconvenient. These situations of violence, sad to say, 'have become so common as to constitute a real 'third world war' fought piecemeal."</i>
Digital hate		
FT	44	<i>"Even as individuals maintain their comfortable consumerist isolation, they can choose a form of constant and febrile bonding that encourages remarkable hostility, insults, abuse, defamation and verbal violence destructive of others, and this with a lack of restraint that could not exist in physical contact without tearing us all apart. Social aggression has found unparalleled room for expansion through computers and mobile devices."</i>
FT	45	<i>"This has now given free rein to ideologies. Things that until a few years ago could not be said by anyone without risking the loss of universal respect can now be said with impunity, and in the crudest of terms, even by some political figures. Nor should we forget that 'there are huge economic interests operating in the digital world, capable of exercising forms of control as subtle as they are invasive, creating mechanisms for the manipulation of consciences and of the democratic process. The way many platforms work often ends up favouring encounter between persons who think alike, shielding them from debate. These closed circuits facilitate the spread of fake news and false information, fomenting prejudice and hate."</i>
FT	192	<i>"In this regard, Grand Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb and I have called upon 'the architects of international policy and world economy to work strenuously to spread the culture of tolerance and of living together in peace; to intervene at the earliest opportunity to stop the shedding of innocent blood'. When a specific policy sows hatred and fear towards other nations in the name of its own country's welfare, there is need to be concerned, to react in time and immediately to correct the course. [...] When one part of society exploits all that the world has to offer, acting as if the poor did not exist, there will eventually be consequences. Sooner or later, ignoring the existence and rights of others will erupt in some form of violence, often when least expected."</i>
Peace is not the absence of violence as a result of control and repression, but rather construction, integration, dialogue and a cultural process		
FT	217-219	<i>"While rejecting certain visible forms of violence, another more insidious kind of violence can take root: the violence of those who despise people who are different, especially when their demands in any way compromise their own particular interests. A realistic and inclusive social covenant must also be a 'cultural covenant', one that respects and acknowledges the different worldviews, cultures and lifestyles that coexist in society. A cultural covenant eschews a monolithic understanding of the identity of a particular place; it entails respect for diversity by offering opportunities for advancement and social integration to all."</i>
FT	227	<i>"Truth, in fact, is an inseparable companion of justice and mercy. All three together are essential to building peace; each, moreover, prevents the other from being altered [...] Truth should not lead to revenge, but rather to reconciliation and forgiveness. Truth means telling families torn apart by pain what happened to their missing relatives. Truth means confessing what happened to minors recruited by cruel and violent people. Truth means recognizing the pain of women who are victims of violence and abuse [...] Every act of violence committed against a human being is a wound in humanity's flesh; every violent death diminishes us as people [...] Violence leads to more violence, hatred to more hatred, death to more death. We must break this cycle which seems inescapable."</i>
FT	243	<i>"To be sure, 'it is no easy task to overcome the bitter legacy of injustices, hostility and mistrust left by conflict. It can only be done by overcoming evil with good and by cultivating those virtues which foster reconciliation, solidarity and peace."</i>
FT	284	<i>"At times fundamentalist violence is unleashed in some groups, of whatever religion, by the rashness of their leaders. Yet, 'the commandment of peace is inscribed in the depths of the religious traditions that we represent. [...] As religious leaders, we are called to be true 'people of dialogue', to cooperate in building peace not as intermediaries but as authentic mediators. Intermediaries seek to give everyone a discount, ultimately in order to gain something for themselves. The mediator, on the other hand, is one who retains nothing for himself, but rather spends himself generously until he is consumed, knowing that the only gain is peace. Each one of us is called to be an artisan of peace, by uniting and not dividing, by extinguishing hatred and not holding on to it, by opening paths of dialogue and not by constructing new walls."</i>



Final appeal		
FT	285	<i>"In my fraternal meeting, which I gladly recall, with the Grand Imam Ahmad Al-Tayyeb, 'we resolutely [declared] that religions must never incite war, hateful attitudes, hostility and extremism, nor must they incite violence or the shedding of blood. These tragic realities are the consequence of a deviation from religious teachings. They result from a political manipulation of religions and from interpretations made by religious groups who, in the course of history, have taken advantage of the power of religious sentiment in the hearts of men and women [...]".</i>
FT	286	<i>"In these pages of reflection on universal fraternity, I felt inspired particularly by Saint Francis of Assisi, but also by others of our brothers and sisters who are not Catholics: Martin Luther King, Desmond Tutu, Mahatma Gandhi and many more. Yet I would like to conclude by mentioning another person of deep faith who, drawing upon his intense experience of God, made a journey of transformation towards feeling a brother to all. I am speaking of Blessed Charles de Foucauld."</i>

16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children

FT	24	<i>"We should also recognize that 'even though the international community has adopted numerous agreements aimed at ending slavery in all its forms, and has launched various strategies to combat this phenomenon, millions of people today – children, women and men of all ages – are deprived of freedom and forced to live in conditions akin to slavery. [...] Criminal networks' are skilled in using modern means of communication as a way of luring young men and women in various parts of the world."</i>
FT	29	<i>"We can also point to 'major political crises, situations of injustice and the lack of an equitable distribution of natural resources. [...] In the face of such crises that result in the deaths of millions of children – emaciated from poverty and hunger – there is an unacceptable silence on the international level!"</i>
FT	130	<i>"Protecting minors and ensuring their regular access to education; providing for programmes of temporary guardianship or shelter; guaranteeing religious freedom; promoting integration into society; supporting the reuniting of families; and preparing local communities for the process of integration."</i>
FT	188	<i>"Politicians are doers, builders with ambitious goals, possessed of a broad, realistic and pragmatic gaze that looks beyond their own borders. Their biggest concern should not be about a drop in the polls, but about finding effective solutions to 'the phenomenon of social and economic exclusion, with its baneful consequences: human trafficking, the marketing of human organs and tissues, the sexual exploitation of boys and girls, slave labour, including prostitution, the drug and weapons trade, terrorism and international organized crime. Such is the magnitude of these situations, and their toll in innocent lives, that we must avoid every temptation to fall into a declarationist nominalism that would assuage our consciences."</i>
FT	261	<i>"Let us think of the refugees and displaced, those who suffered the effects of atomic radiation or chemical attacks, the mothers who lost their children, and the boys and girls maimed or deprived of their childhood. Let us hear the true stories of these victims of violence, look at reality through their eyes, and listen with an open heart to the stories they tell. In this way, we will be able to grasp the abyss of evil at the heart of war. Nor will it trouble us to be deemed naive for choosing peace."</i>

16.3 Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice

FT	130	<i>"[...] brotherhood [...]. This implies taking certain indispensable steps, especially in response to those who are fleeing grave humanitarian crises. As examples, we may cite: increasing and simplifying the granting of visas; adopting programmes of individual and community sponsorship; opening humanitarian corridors for the most vulnerable refugees; providing suitable and dignified housing; guaranteeing personal security and access to basic services; ensuring adequate consular assistance and the right to retain personal identity documents; equitable access to the justice system; the possibility of opening bank accounts and the guarantee of the minimum needed to survive; freedom of movement and the possibility of employment; protecting minors and ensuring their regular access to education; providing for programmes of temporary guardianship or shelter; guaranteeing religious freedom; promoting integration into society; supporting the reuniting of families; and preparing local communities for the process of integration."</i>
FT	29	<i>"We can also point to 'major political crises, situations of injustice and the lack of an equitable distribution of natural resources. [...] In the face of such crises that result in the deaths of millions of children – emaciated from poverty and hunger – there is an unacceptable silence on the international level!"</i>
FT	130	<i>"Protecting minors and ensuring their regular access to education; providing for programmes of temporary guardianship or shelter; guaranteeing religious freedom; promoting integration into society; supporting the reuniting of families; and preparing local communities for the process of integration."</i>
FT	188	<i>"These considerations help us recognize the urgent need to combat all that threatens or violates fundamental human rights. Politicians are called to 'tend to the needs of individuals and peoples. [...] It will likewise inspire intense efforts to ensure that 'everything be done to protect the status and dignity of the human person."</i>



Political violence, war, the death penalty		
FT	253	<i>“When injustices have occurred on both sides, it is important to take into clear account whether they were equally grave or in any way comparable. Violence perpetrated by the state, using its structures and power, is not on the same level as that perpetrated by particular groups. In any event, one cannot claim that the unjust sufferings of one side alone should be commemorated. The Bishops of Croatia have stated that, ‘we owe equal respect to every innocent victim. There can be no racial, national, confessional or partisan differences.’”</i>
FT	256	<i>“Yet there are those who seek solutions in war, frequently fuelled by a breakdown in relations, hegemonic ambitions, abuses of power, fear of others and a tendency to see diversity as an obstacle. War is not a ghost from the past but a constant threat. Our world is encountering growing difficulties on the slow path to peace upon which it had embarked and which had already begun to bear good fruit.”</i>
FT	257	<i>“Since conditions that favour the outbreak of wars are once again increasing, I can only reiterate that ‘war is the negation of all rights and a dramatic assault on the environment. If we want true integral human development for all, we must work tirelessly to avoid war between nations and peoples. To this end, there is a need to ensure the uncontested rule of law and tireless recourse to negotiation, mediation and arbitration, as proposed by the Charter of the United Nations, which constitutes truly a fundamental juridical norm’. The seventy-five years since the establishment of the United Nations and the experience of the first twenty years of this millennium have shown that the full application of international norms proves truly effective, and that failure to comply with them is detrimental. The Charter of the United Nations, when observed and applied with transparency and sincerity, is an obligatory reference point of justice and a channel of peace. Here there can be no room for disguising false intentions or placing the partisan interests of one country or group above the global common good. If rules are considered simply as means to be used whenever it proves advantageous, and to be ignored when it is not, uncontrollable forces are unleashed that cause grave harm to societies, to the poor and vulnerable, to fraternal relations, to the environment and to cultural treasures, with irretrievable losses for the global community.”</i>
FT	258	<i>“War can easily be chosen by invoking all sorts of allegedly humanitarian, defensive or precautionary excuses, and even resorting to the manipulation of information. In recent decades, every single war has been ostensibly ‘justified’. [...] We can no longer think of war as a solution, because its risks will probably always be greater than its supposed benefits. In view of this, it is very difficult nowadays to invoke the rational criteria elaborated in earlier centuries to speak of the possibility of a ‘just war’. Never again war!”</i>
FT	263	<i>“Today we state clearly that ‘the death penalty is inadmissible’ and the Church is firmly committed to calling for its abolition worldwide.”</i>
FT	264	<i>“This means that legitimate public authority can and must ‘inflict punishments according to the seriousness of the crimes’ and that judicial power be guaranteed a ‘necessary independence in the realm of law.’”</i>
FT	265	<i>“Pope Nicholas I urged that efforts be made ‘to free from the punishment of death not only each of the innocent, but all the guilty as well’. During the trial of the murderers of two priests, Saint Augustine asked the judge not to take the life of the assassins with this argument: ‘We do not object to your depriving these wicked men of the freedom to commit further crimes. Our desire is rather that justice be satisfied without the taking of their lives or the maiming of their bodies in any part. And, at the same time, that by the coercive measures provided by the law, they be turned from their irrational fury to the calmness of men of sound mind, and from their evil deeds to some useful employment. This too is considered a condemnation, but who does not see that, when savage violence is restrained and remedies meant to produce repentance are provided, it should be considered a benefit rather than a mere punitive measure. [...] Do not let the atrocity of their sins feed a desire for vengeance, but desire instead to heal the wounds which those deeds have inflicted on their souls.’”</i>
FT	266	<i>“Fear and resentment can easily lead to viewing punishment in a vindictive and even cruel way, rather than as part of a process of healing and reintegration into society. Nowadays, ‘in some political sectors and certain media, public and private violence and revenge are incited, not only against those responsible for committing crimes, but also against those suspected, whether proven or not, of breaking the law. [...] There is at times a tendency to deliberately fabricate enemies: stereotyped figures who represent all the characteristics that society perceives or interprets as threatening. The mechanisms that form these images are the same that allowed the spread of racist ideas in their time’. This has made all the more dangerous the growing practice in some countries of resorting to preventive custody, imprisonment without trial and especially the death penalty.”</i>
FT	267	<i>“Here I would stress that ‘it is impossible to imagine that states today have no other means than capital punishment to protect the lives of other people from the unjust aggressor’. Particularly serious in this regard are so-called extrajudicial or extralegal executions, which are ‘homicides deliberately committed by certain states and by their agents, often passed off as clashes with criminals or presented as the unintended consequences of the reasonable, necessary and proportionate use of force in applying the law.’”</i>
FT	268	<i>“The arguments against the death penalty are numerous and well-known. The Church has rightly called attention to several of these, such as the possibility of judicial error and the use made of such punishment by totalitarian and dictatorial regimes as a means of suppressing political dissidence or persecuting religious and cultural minorities, all victims whom the legislation of those regimes consider ‘delinquents’. All Christians and people of good will are today called to work not only for the abolition of the death penalty, legal or illegal, in all its forms, but also to work for the improvement of prison conditions, out of respect for the human dignity of persons deprived of their freedom. I would link this to life imprisonment. [...] A life sentence is a secret death penalty.”</i>
FT	273	<i>“The root of modern totalitarianism is to be found in the denial of the transcendent dignity of the human person who, as the visible image of the invisible God, is therefore by his very nature the subject of rights that no one may violate – no individual, group, class, nation or state. Not even the majority of the social body may violate these rights, by going against the minority.”</i>



16.4 By 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime

FT	24	<i>"Criminal networks' are skilled in using modern means of communication as a way of luring young men and women in various parts of the world'. A perversion that exceeds all limits when it subjugates women and then forces them to abort. An abomination that goes to the length of kidnapping persons for the sake of selling their organs. Trafficking in persons and other contemporary forms of enslavement are a worldwide problem that needs to be taken seriously by humanity as a whole: 'since criminal organizations employ global networks to achieve their goals, efforts to eliminate this phenomenon also demand a common and, indeed, a global effort on the part of various sectors of society.'"</i>
FT	28	<i>"The loneliness, fear and insecurity experienced by those who feel abandoned by the system creates a fertile terrain for various 'mafias'. These flourish because they claim to be defenders of the forgotten, often by providing various forms of assistance even as they pursue their criminal interests. There also exists a typically "mafioso" pedagogy that, by appealing to a false communitarian mystique, creates bonds of dependency and fealty from which it is very difficult to break free."</i>
FT	29	<i>"We see outbreaks of tension and a build-up of arms and ammunition in a global context dominated by uncertainty, disillusionment, fear of the future, and controlled by narrow economic interests."</i>
FT	188	<i>"Their biggest concern should not be about a drop in the polls, but about finding effective solutions to "the phenomenon of social and economic exclusion, with its baneful consequences: human trafficking, the marketing of human organs and tissues, the sexual exploitation of boys and girls, slave labour, including prostitution, the drug and weapons trade, terrorism and international organized crime. Such is the magnitude of these situations, and their toll in innocent lives, that we must avoid every temptation to fall into a declarationist nominalism that would assuage our consciences."</i>
Terrorism		
FT	283	<i>"For this reason, 'terrorism is deplorable and threatens the security of people – be they in the East or the West, the North or the South – and disseminates panic, terror and pessimism, but this is not due to religion, even when terrorists instrumentalize it. It is due, rather, to an accumulation of incorrect interpretations of religious texts and to policies linked to hunger, poverty, injustice, oppression and pride. That is why it is so necessary to stop supporting terrorist movements fuelled by financing, the provision of weapons and strategy, and by attempts to justify these movements, even using the media. All these must be regarded as international crimes that threaten security and world peace. Such terrorism must be condemned in all its forms and expressions'. Religious convictions about the sacred meaning of human life permit us "to recognize the fundamental values of our common humanity, values in the name of which we can and must cooperate, build and dialogue, pardon and grow; this will allow different voices to unite in creating a melody of sublime nobility and beauty, instead of fanatical cries of hatred."</i>

16.5 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all its forms

FT	113	<i>"Here, regrettably, I feel bound to reiterate that 'we have had enough of immorality and the mockery of ethics, godness, faith and honesty. It is time to acknowledge that light-hearted superficiality has done us no good. Once the foundations of social life are corroded, what ensues are battles over conflicting interests'. Let us return to promoting the good, for ourselves and for the whole human family, and thus advance together towards an authentic and integral growth. Every society needs to ensure that values are passed on; otherwise, what is handed down are selfishness, violence, corruption in its various forms, indifference and, ultimately, a life closed to transcendence and entrenched in individual interests."</i>
FT	176	<i>"For many people today, politics is a distasteful word, often due to the mistakes, corruption and inefficiency of some politicians."</i>
FT	177	<i>"Here I would once more observe that 'politics must not be subject to the economy, nor should the economy be subject to the dictates of an efficiency-driven paradigm of technocracy'. Although misuse of power, corruption, disregard for law and inefficiency must clearly be rejected, 'economics without politics cannot be justified, since this would make it impossible to favour other ways of handling the various aspects of the present crisis."</i>

16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

FT	75	<i>"There is a sad hypocrisy when the impunity of crime, the use of institutions for personal or corporate gain, and other evils apparently impossible to eradicate, are accompanied by a relentless criticism of everything, a constant sowing of suspicion that results in distrust and confusion. The complaint that 'everything is broken' is answered by the claim that 'it can't be fixed', or 'what can I do?' This feeds into disillusionment and despair, and hardly encourages a spirit of solidarity and generosity. Plunging people into despair closes a perfectly perverse circle: such is the agenda of the invisible dictatorship of hidden interests that have gained mastery over both resources and the possibility of thinking and expressing opinions."</i>
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The best kind of politics		
FT	159	<i>"Popular' leaders, those capable of interpreting the feelings and cultural dynamics of a people, and significant trends in society, do exist. The service they provide by their efforts to unite and lead can become the basis of an enduring vision of transformation and growth that would also include making room for others in the pursuit of the common good. But this can degenerate into an unhealthy "populism" when individuals are able to exploit politically a people's culture, under whatever ideological banner, for their own personal advantage or continuing grip on power. Or when, at other times, they seek popularity by appealing to the basest and most selfish inclinations of certain sectors of the population. This becomes all the more serious when, whether in cruder or more subtle forms, it leads to the usurpation of institutions and laws."</i>
FT	161	<i>"Another sign of the decline of popular leadership is concern for short-term advantage. One meets popular demands for the sake of gaining votes or support, but without advancing in an arduous and constant effort to generate the resources people need to develop and earn a living by their own efforts and creativity. In this regard, I have made it clear that 'I have no intention of proposing an irresponsible populism."</i>
FT	176	<i>"There are also attempts to discredit politics, to replace it with economics or to twist it to one ideology or another. Yet can our world function without politics?"</i>
FT	177	<i>"Here I would once more observe that 'politics must not be subject to the economy, nor should the economy be subject to the dictates of an efficiency-driven paradigm of technocracy'. Although misuse of power, corruption, disregard for law and inefficiency must clearly be rejected, 'economics without politics cannot be justified, since this would make it impossible to favour other ways of handling the various aspects of the present crisis'. Instead, 'what is needed is a politics which is far-sighted and capable of a new, integral and interdisciplinary approach to handling the different aspects of the crisis'. In other words, a 'healthy politics... capable of reforming and coordinating institutions, promoting best practices and overcoming undue pressure and bureaucratic inertia'. We cannot expect economics to do this, nor can we allow economics to take over the real power of the state."</i>
FT	188	<i>"Politicians are doers, builders with ambitious goals, possessed of a broad, realistic and pragmatic gaze that looks beyond their own borders."</i>

16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

FT	14	<i>"Nowadays, what do certain words like democracy, freedom, justice or unity really mean? They have been bent and shaped to serve as tools for domination, as meaningless tags that can be used to justify any action."</i>
FT	15	<i>"Employing a strategy of ridicule, suspicion and relentless criticism, in a variety of ways one denies the right of others to exist or to have an opinion. Their share of the truth and their values are rejected and, as a result, the life of society is impoverished and subjected to the hubris of the powerful. Political life no longer has to do with healthy debates about long-term plans to improve people's lives and to advance the common good, but only with slick marketing techniques primarily aimed at discrediting others. In this craven exchange of charges and counter-charges, debate degenerates into a permanent state of disagreement and confrontation."</i>
FT	69	<i>"The decision to include or exclude those lying wounded along the roadside can serve as a criterion for judging every economic, political, social and religious project. Each day we have to decide whether to be Good Samaritans or indifferent bystanders."</i>
FT	100	<i>"If a certain kind of globalization claims to make everyone uniform, to level everyone out, that globalization destroys the rich gifts and uniqueness of each person and each people. This false universalism ends up depriving the world of its various colours, its beauty and, ultimately, its humanity."</i>
FT	157	<i>"The attempt to see populism as a key for interpreting social reality is problematic in another way: it disregards the legitimate meaning of the word 'people'. Any effort to remove this concept from common parlance could lead to the elimination of the very notion of democracy as 'government by the people'. If we wish to maintain that society is more than a mere aggregate of individuals, the term 'people' proves necessary. There are social phenomena that create majorities, as well as megatrends and communitarian aspirations. Men and women are capable of coming up with shared goals that transcend their differences and can thus engage in a common endeavour. Then too, it is extremely difficult to carry out a long-term project unless it becomes a collective aspiration. All these factors lie behind our use of the words 'people' and 'popular'. Unless they are taken into account – together with a sound critique of demagoguery – a fundamental aspect of social reality would be overlooked."</i>
FT	163	<i>"The concept of a 'people', which naturally entails a positive view of community and cultural bonds, is usually rejected by individualistic liberal approaches, which view society as merely the sum of coexisting interests. One speaks of respect for freedom, but without roots in a shared narrative; in certain contexts, those who defend the rights of the most vulnerable members of society tend to be criticized as populists. The notion of a people is considered an abstract construct, something that does not really exist. But this is to create a needless dichotomy. Neither the notion of 'people' nor that of 'neighbour' can be considered purely abstract or romantic, in such a way that social organization, science and civic institutions can be rejected or treated with contempt."</i>
FT	166	<i>"Everything, then, depends on our ability to see the need for a change of heart, attitudes and lifestyles. Otherwise, political propaganda, the media and the shapers of public opinion will continue to promote an individualistic and uncritical culture subservient to unregulated economic interests and societal institutions at the service of those who already enjoy too much power. My criticism of the technocratic paradigm involves more than simply thinking that if we control its excesses everything will be fine. The bigger risk does not come from specific objects, material realities or institutions, but from the way that they are used."</i>



FT	169	<i>"In some closed and monochrome economic approaches, for example, there seems to be no place for popular movements that unite the unemployed, temporary and informal workers and many others who do not easily find a place in existing structures. Yet those movements manage various forms of popular economy and of community production. What is needed is a model of social, political and economic participation 'that can include popular movements and invigorate local, national and international governing structures with that torrent of moral energy that springs from including the excluded in the building of a common destiny', while also ensuring that 'these experiences of solidarity which grow up from below, from the subsoil of the planet – can come together, be more coordinated, keep on meeting one another'. [...] They may be troublesome, and certain 'theorists' may find it hard to classify them, yet we must find the courage to acknowledge that, without them, 'democracy atrophies, turns into a mere word, a formality; it loses its representative character and becomes disembodied, since it leaves out the people in their daily struggle for dignity, in the building of their future."</i>
FT	215	<i>"This also means finding ways to include those on the peripheries of life. For they have another way of looking at things; they see aspects of reality that are invisible to the centres of power where weighty decisions are made."</i>

16.8 Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance

The rights of peoples		
FT	12	<i>"As a rule, the advance of this kind of globalism strengthens the identity of the more powerful, who can protect themselves, but it tends to diminish the identity of the weaker and poorer regions, making them more vulnerable and dependent. In this way, political life becomes increasingly fragile in the face of transnational economic powers that operate with the principle of 'divide and conquer'."</i>
FT	100	<i>"'If a certain kind of globalization claims to make everyone uniform, to level everyone out, that globalization destroys the rich gifts and uniqueness of each person and each people'. This false universalism ends up depriving the world of its various colours, its beauty and, ultimately, its humanity."</i>
FT	124	<i>"Nowadays, a firm belief in the common destination of the earth's goods requires that this principle also be applied to nations, their territories and their resources. Seen from the standpoint not only of the legitimacy of private property and the rights of its citizens, but also of the first principle of the common destination of goods, we can then say that each country also belongs to the foreigner, inasmuch as a territory's goods must not be denied to a needy person coming from elsewhere. As the Bishops of the United States have taught, there are fundamental rights that 'precede any society because they flow from the dignity granted to each person as created by God'"</i>
FT	125	<i>"This presupposes a different way of understanding relations and exchanges between countries. If every human being possesses an inalienable dignity, if all people are my brothers and sisters, and if the world truly belongs to everyone, then it matters little whether my neighbour was born in my country or elsewhere. My own country also shares responsibility for his or her development, although it can fulfil that responsibility in a variety of ways. It can offer a generous welcome to those in urgent need, or work to improve living conditions in their native lands by refusing to exploit those countries or to drain them of natural resources, backing corrupt systems that hinder the dignified development of their peoples. What applies to nations is true also for different regions within each country, since there too great inequalities often exist. At times, the inability to recognize equal human dignity leads the more developed regions in some countries to think that they can jettison the "dead weight" of poorer regions and so increase their level of consumption."</i>
FT	126	<i>"We are really speaking about a new network of international relations, since there is no way to resolve the serious problems of our world if we continue to think only in terms of mutual assistance between individuals or small groups. Nor should we forget that 'inequity affects not only individuals but entire countries; it compels us to consider an ethics of international relations'. Indeed, justice requires recognizing and respecting not only the rights of individuals, but also social rights and the rights of peoples. This means finding a way to ensure 'the fundamental right of peoples to subsistence and progress', a right which is at times severely restricted by the pressure created by foreign debt. In many instances, debt repayment not only fails to promote development but gravely limits and conditions it. While respecting the principle that all legitimately acquired debt must be repaid, the way in which many poor countries fulfil this obligation should not end up compromising their very existence and growth."</i>
FT	127	<i>"Certainly, all this calls for an alternative way of thinking. Without an attempt to enter into that way of thinking, what I am saying here will sound wildly unrealistic. On the other hand, if we accept the great principle that there are rights born of our inalienable human dignity, we can rise to the challenge of envisaging a new humanity. We can aspire to a world that provides land, housing and work for all. This is the true path of peace, not the senseless and myopic strategy of sowing fear and mistrust in the face of outside threats. For a real and lasting peace will only be possible "on the basis of a global ethic of solidarity and cooperation in the service of a future shaped by interdependence and shared responsibility in the whole human family."</i>
FT	132	<i>"Even when they take such essential steps, states are not able, on their own, to implement adequate solutions, 'since the consequences of the decisions made by each inevitably have repercussions on the entire international community'. As a result, 'our response can only be the fruit of a common effort' to develop a form of global governance with regard to movements of migration. Thus, there is 'a need for mid-term and long-term planning which is not limited to emergency responses. Such planning should include effective assistance for integrating migrants in their receiving countries, while also promoting the development of their countries of origin through policies inspired by solidarity, yet not linking assistance to ideological strategies and practices alien or contrary to the cultures of the peoples being assisted'"</i>



FT	138	<i>"Although this has always been true, never has it been more evident than in our own day, when the world is interconnected by globalization. We need to attain a global juridical, political and economic order 'which can increase and give direction to international cooperation for the development of all peoples in solidarity'. Ultimately, this will benefit the entire world, since 'development aid for poor countries' implies 'creating wealth for all'. From the standpoint of integral development, this presupposes 'giving poorer nations an effective voice in shared decision-making' and the capacity to 'facilitate access to the international market on the part of countries suffering from poverty and underdevelopment.'"</i>
FT	153	<i>"There are powerful countries and large businesses that profit from this isolation and prefer to negotiate with each country separately. On the other hand, small or poor countries can sign agreements with their regional neighbours that will allow them to negotiate as a bloc and thus avoid being cut off, isolated and dependent on the great powers. Today, no state can ensure the common good of its population if it remains isolated."</i>
International power		
FT	172	<i>"The twenty-first century 'is witnessing a weakening of the power of nation states, chiefly because the economic and financial sectors, being transnational, tend to prevail over the political. Given this situation, it is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organized international institutions, with functionaries who are appointed fairly by agreement among national governments, and empowered to impose sanctions'. When we talk about the possibility of some form of world authority regulated by law, we need not necessarily think of a personal authority. Still, such an authority ought at least to promote more effective world organizations, equipped with the power to provide for the global common good, the elimination of hunger and poverty and the sure defence of fundamental human rights."</i>
FT	173	<i>"In this regard, I would also note the need for a reform of 'the United Nations Organization, and likewise of economic institutions and international finance, so that the concept of the family of nations can acquire real teeth'. Needless to say, this calls for clear legal limits to avoid power being co-opted only by a few countries and to prevent cultural impositions or a restriction of the basic freedoms of weaker nations on the basis of ideological differences. For 'the international community is a juridical community founded on the sovereignty of each member state, without bonds of subordination that deny or limit its independence'. At the same time, 'the work of the United Nations, according to the principles set forth in the Preamble and the first Articles of its founding Charter, can be seen as the development and promotion of the rule of law, based on the realization that justice is an essential condition for achieving the ideal of universal fraternity... There is a need to ensure the uncontested rule of law and tireless recourse to negotiation, mediation and arbitration, as proposed by the Charter of the United Nations, which constitutes truly a fundamental juridical norm'. There is need to prevent this Organization from being delegitimized, since its problems and shortcomings are capable of being jointly addressed and resolved."</i>
FT	174	<i>"Among these normative instruments, preference should be given to multilateral agreements between states, because, more than bilateral agreements, they guarantee the promotion of a truly universal common good and the protection of weaker states."</i>

16.9 By 2030 provide legal identity for all including free birth registrations

FT	121	<i>"No one, then, can remain excluded because of his or her place of birth, much less because of privileges enjoyed by others who were born in lands of greater opportunity. The limits and borders of individual states cannot stand in the way of this. As it is unacceptable that some have fewer rights by virtue of being women, it is likewise unacceptable that the mere place of one's birth or residence should result in his or her possessing fewer opportunities for a developed and dignified life."</i>
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16.10 Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements

FT	15	<i>"Political life no longer has to do with healthy debates about long-term plans to improve people's lives and to advance the common good, but only with slick marketing techniques primarily aimed at discrediting others. In this craven exchange of charges and counter-charges, debate degenerates into a permanent state of disagreement and confrontation."</i>
FT	110	<i>"Indeed, 'to claim economic freedom while real conditions bar many people from actual access to it, and while possibilities for employment continue to shrink, is to practise doublespeak'. Words like freedom, democracy or fraternity prove meaningless, for the fact is that 'only when our economic and social system no longer produces even a single victim, a single person cast aside, will we be able to celebrate the feast of universal fraternity'. A truly human and fraternal society will be capable of ensuring in an efficient and stable way that each of its members is accompanied at every stage of life. Not only by providing for their basic needs, but by enabling them to give the best of themselves, even though their performance may be less than optimum, their pace slow or their efficiency limited."</i>



16.a Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacities at all levels, in particular in developing countries, for preventing violence and combating terrorism and crime

FT	38	<i>"Unscrupulous traffickers, frequently linked to drug cartels or arms cartels, exploit the weakness of migrants, who too often experience violence, trafficking, psychological and physical abuse and untold sufferings on their journey."</i>
FT	111	<i>"Unless the rights of each individual are harmoniously ordered to the greater good, those rights will end up being considered limitless and consequently will become a source of conflicts and violence."</i>
FT	122	<i>"Development must not aim at the amassing of wealth by a few, but must ensure 'human rights – personal and social, economic and political, including the rights of nations and of peoples. The right of some to free enterprise or market freedom cannot supersede the rights of peoples and the dignity of the poor, or, for that matter, respect for the natural environment, for 'if we make something our own, it is only to administer it for the good of all!'"</i>
FT	188	<i>"[Politicians] biggest concern should not be about a drop in the polls, but about finding effective solutions to "the phenomenon of social and economic exclusion, with its baneful consequences: human trafficking, the marketing of human organs and tissues, the sexual exploitation of boys and girls, slave labour, including prostitution, the drug and weapons trade, terrorism and international organized crime."</i>
FT	2	<i>"There is an 'architecture' of peace, to which different institutions of society contribute, each according to its own area of expertise, but there is also an 'art' of peace that involves us all. From the various peace processes that have taken place in different parts of the world, 'we have learned that these ways of making peace, of placing reason above revenge, of the delicate harmony between politics and law, cannot ignore the involvement of ordinary people. Peace is not achieved by normative frameworks and institutional arrangements between well-meaning political or economic groups."</i>

16.b Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

FT	20	<i>"In addition, a readiness to discard others finds expression in vicious attitudes that we thought long past, such as racism, which retreats underground only to keep reemerging. Instances of racism continue to shame us, for they show that our supposed social progress is not as real or definitive as we think."</i>
Human rights are not universal enough		
FT	22	<i>"It frequently becomes clear that, in practice, human rights are not equal for all. Respect for those rights 'is the preliminary condition for a country's social and economic development. When the dignity of the human person is respected, and his or her rights recognized and guaranteed, creativity and interdependence thrive, and the creativity of the human personality is released through actions that further the common good'. Yet, 'by closely observing our contemporary societies, we see numerous contradictions that lead us to wonder whether the equal dignity of all human beings, solemnly proclaimed seventy years ago, is truly recognized, respected, protected and promoted in every situation. In today's world, many forms of injustice persist, fed by reductive anthropological visions and by a profit-based economic model that does not hesitate to exploit, discard and even kill human beings. While one part of humanity lives in opulence, another part sees its own dignity denied, scorned or trampled upon, and its fundamental rights discarded or violated! What does this tell us about the equality of rights grounded in innate human dignity?"</i>
FT	39	<i>"This can lead to a xenophobic mentality, as people close in on themselves, and it needs to be addressed decisively'. Migrants are not seen as entitled like others to participate in the life of society, and it is forgotten that they possess the same intrinsic dignity as any person."</i>
FT	41	<i>"Yet it is also true that an individual and a people are only fruitful and productive if they are able to develop a creative openness to others. I ask everyone to move beyond those primal reactions because 'there is a problem when doubts and fears condition our way of thinking and acting to the point of making us intolerant, closed and perhaps even – without realizing it – racist. In this way, fear deprives us of the desire and the ability to encounter the other!"</i>
FT	71	<i>"The story of the Good Samaritan is constantly being repeated. We can see this clearly as social and political inertia is turning many parts of our world into a desolate byway, even as domestic and international disputes and the robbing of opportunities are leaving great numbers of the marginalized stranded on the roadside."</i>
FT	79	<i>"Let us care for the needs of every man and woman, young and old, with the same fraternal spirit of care and closeness that marked the Good Samaritan."</i>
FT	86	<i>"Still, there are those who appear to feel encouraged or at least permitted by their faith to support varieties of narrow and violent nationalism, xenophobia and contempt, and even the mistreatment of those who are different. Faith, and the humanism it inspires, must maintain a critical sense in the face of these tendencies, and prompt an immediate response whenever they rear their head."</i>



Open societies that integrate everyone		
FT	97	<i>"Some peripheries are close to us, in city centres or within our families. Hence there is an aspect of universal openness in love that is existential rather than geographical. It has to do with our daily efforts to expand our circle of friends, to reach those who, even though they are close to me, I do not naturally consider a part of my circle of interests. Every brother or sister in need, when abandoned or ignored by the society in which I live, becomes an existential foreigner, even though born in the same country. They may be citizens with full rights, yet they are treated like foreigners in their own country. Racism is a virus that quickly mutates and, instead of disappearing, goes into hiding, and lurks in waiting."</i>
FT	98	<i>"I would like to mention some of those 'hidden exiles' who are treated as foreign bodies in society. Many persons with disabilities 'feel that they exist without belonging and without participating'. Much still prevents them from being fully enfranchised. Our concern should be not only to care for them but to ensure their 'active participation in the civil and ecclesial community. That is a demanding and even tiring process, yet one that will gradually contribute to the formation of consciences capable of acknowledging each individual as a unique and unrepeatable person'. I think, too, of 'the elderly who, also due to their disability, are sometimes considered a burden'. Yet each of them is able to offer 'a unique contribution to the common good through their remarkable life stories'. Let me repeat: we need to have 'the courage to give a voice to those who are discriminated against due to their disability, because sadly, in some countries even today, people find it hard to acknowledge them as persons of equal dignity."</i>
FT	107	<i>"Every human being has the right to live with dignity and to develop integrally; this fundamental right cannot be denied by any country. People have this right even if they are unproductive, or were born with or developed limitations. This does not detract from their great dignity as human persons, a dignity based not on circumstances but on the intrinsic worth of their being. Unless this basic principle is upheld, there will be no future either for fraternity or for the survival of humanity."</i>
FT	131	<i>"For those who are not recent arrivals and already participate in the fabric of society, it is important to apply the concept of 'citizenship', which 'is based on the equality of rights and duties, under which all enjoy justice. It is therefore crucial to establish in our societies the concept of full citizenship and to reject the discriminatory use of the term minorities, which engenders feelings of isolation and inferiority. Its misuse paves the way for hostility and discord; it undoes any successes and takes away the religious and civil rights of some citizens who are thus discriminated against."</i>
FT	135	<i>"Intense immigration always ends up influencing and transforming the culture of a place. [...] Immigrants, if they are helped to integrate, are a blessing, a source of enrichment and new gift that encourages a society to grow."</i>
FT	141	<i>"Only a social and political culture that readily and 'gratuitously' welcomes others will have a future.'s"</i>
A better kind of politics		
FT	188	<i>"These considerations help us recognize the urgent need to combat all that threatens or violates fundamental human rights. Politicians are called to 'tend to the needs of individuals and peoples. To tend those in need takes strength and tenderness, effort and generosity in the midst of a functionalistic and privatized mindset that inexorably leads to a 'throwaway culture' [...] It involves taking responsibility for the present with its situations of utter marginalization and anguish, and being capable of bestowing dignity upon it.' It will likewise inspire intense efforts to ensure that 'everything be done to protect the status and dignity of the human person."</i>
FT	235	<i>"Quanti pretendono di portare la pace in una società non devono dimenticare che l'inequità e la mancanza di sviluppo umano integrale non permettono che si generi pace. In effetti, «senza uguaglianza di opportunità, le diverse forme di aggressione e di guerra troveranno un terreno fertile che prima o poi provocherà l'esplosione. Quando la società - locale, nazionale o mondiale - abbandona nella periferia una parte di sé, non vi saranno programmi politici, né forze dell'ordine o di intelligence che possano assicurare illimitatamente la tranquillità». Se si tratta di ricominciare, sarà sempre a partire dagli ultimi."</i>



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