

Uhm, Kiho

1. General Description

Besides global financial crisis, the main topic in Asia Pacific region is 'Democracy'. From last year, many countries in Asia Pacific have experienced the crisis of the democracy. In Thailand, there was unprecedented closure of the main airport in Bangkok due to Anti-Takshin demonstration and big chaos was around almost 1 month. In South Korea, after conservative party took the power, hundred thousands of people took the street and demonstrated against the government plan to de-regulate all trade barriers against US beef. In Taiwan, former-president has been arrested and prosecuted due to corruption scandal. In Hongkong, tens thousand people took the street and asked universal suffrage.

There was small progress in Asia as well. In India, people went to poll against BJP which is hindu fundamentalist party, and in Indonesia, there was presidential election without any major trouble. And especially, in Malaysia, there is a big hope for democracy since opposition parties won in the general election. But there are a lot of challenges as well including all dirty political plays such as bribery, manipulating scandals etc. All these things will affect to people and make them skeptical on 'democracy'. In some countries, people start being exhausted on 'democracy'. Famous Kungfu Star Jackie-Chan already said 'democracy and freedom is not fit with Chinese'. All these events are reflecting the situation of democracy in Asia.

In this sense, one of the most urgent task before Pax Romana is to provide formation and training program for young catholic professionals to promote democracy in the era of financial crisis and neo-liberal globalization. For last 10 year, catholic movements have lost their initiative in civil society for the democracy. And also, there is a tendency that many young catholic professionals who are involved in various sectors such as civil society, church and academy, they don't want to join so called structuralized movements. In order to response on this call, Pax Romana ICMICA organized East Asia Academy which is designated to provide intellectual and academic reflection and analysis to young catholic professionals. This training program is also aimed to build young catholic professional's network beyond national movements.

Regarding the Church dimension, FABC is going to organize its general assembly in

Philippines next month. This event is postponed from last January to next month with unclear reasons. The topic of FABC is 'Eucharist'. Pax Romana ICMICA Asia Pacific was actively involved in raising lay people's voice and Asian Reality for FABC general assembly. Pax Romana organized Theologian's Forum on Eucharist under the theme of 'Eucharis beyond all barriers'. This theme is reflected Asian reality of Eucharist regarding barriers which the marginalized experience in their daily life and church life.

2. Program Review 1: Eucharist beyond all barriers

Venue: Seoul, Korea

Date: 17th of May to 21st of May 2009

Participants: 15 from Asia Pacific region and more than 30 from Korea

Overview

This program was proposed to have in Bangalore, India as a parallel program of FABC general assembly. But all of sudden, GA was postponed without any notice. Thus I circulated letter to member movements to get consultant as well as visited Malaysia to have 1st Asia Team meeting. Since only WTI accepted to host this forum, it was decided to have it in Seoul, Korea. The meeting was quite fruitful and all contributions from the participants will be published in book by the end of July 2009 and distribute to bishops, theologians and member of Pax Romana. Below is brief summary of the meeting.

In the meeting, we had one keynote speech and three major speeches on the Eucharist in Asian context. Since the theme is indeed that of the FABC plenary 2009 which will take place in Manila in August, we better deal basically with it in light of poverty, cultural diversity, and religious pluralism in Asia. To these three features several others were added to lend specificity to the current Asian context.

In the keynote speech, Fr. Michael Amaladoss SJ, delivered his talk as the keynote speech on the meaning of the Eucharist from the perspective of cultural and religious diversity with the threefold dialogue in mind: Dialogue with the Asian poor, cultures and Asian religious traditions. Such dialogue is recognized as a new way of being Church in

Asia by FABC since early 1990s. Through the dialogue, we can make our theology and the Church deeply rooted in Asian soil, not flying away from our reality of life.

As to major speeches, we dealt with the theme Eucharist on the basis of the Bible, sociology of religion and interreligious dialogue which may overlap the keynote speech. It is because in Asia interreligious dialogue in the religiously pluralistic society are closely interconnected with the task of inculturation which many Asian theologians have often stressed.

A bishop of Bandung, Indonesia who started a movement called "Fish & Bread" movement gave a talk on the Eucharist from the sociological view in relation to the reality of the negative effect of globalization on people on grass-roots level. With regard to case studies from different sectors, regions and countries, the theme Eucharist could be examined in the issues of gender equality (Sr. Theresa Tosu, Gender justice as case study from Taiwan), ethnic conflicts (Mr. Ruki Fernando, former IMCS leader from Sri Lanka and the current coordinator of Law and Society Trust), class inequality in and out of the Church (Fr. Michael Amaladoss), ecological crisis especially in Asia (Fr. Baskara T. Wardaya SJ), communication (Ms. Anne Lam, editor of UCA News Hong Kong national office), migrant workers (Fr. Desmond de Sousa, former secretary general of FABC-OHD and director for Migrant workers in India), and ecumenical movement (Bishop Sabu, Anglican church in India).

Program

Date	Time Table	Note
May 17 Sun.	6:00 pm Welcome Dinner/Orientation	Restaur ant outside
May 18 Mon.	8:00 am Breakfast	
	9:00 Morning devotional/Opening Act	Ms
	9:30 Keynote Speech: the Eucharist: Anthropological, Theological,	Annie

	<p>Intercultural and Interreligious Perspective by Fr. Michael Amaladoss (India)</p> <p>10:30 Response/Answer</p> <p>11:00 Coffee Break</p> <p>11:20 Main Speech 1: The Eucharist from the Biblical View by</p> <p>12:00 Response/Answer</p> <p>12:30 LUNCH</p> <p>2:00 pm Plenary Discussion (What is the most important aspect of the Eucharist in Asia today based on the two given lectures?)</p> <p>3:00 Case Study 1: The Eucharist Amid Ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka by Mr. Ruki Fernando (Sri Lanka)</p> <p>3:30 Response/Answer</p> <p>3:50 Coffee Break</p> <p>4:10 Case Study 2: the Eucharist in light of the Equality (Dalit in particular) (India)</p> <p>4:40 Response/Answer</p> <p>5:00 Group Discussion</p> <p>6:00 Dinner</p> <p>(Steering committee meeting and Drafting committee meeting)</p>	<p>Moderators:</p> <p>Comment on the lectures by</p> <p>outside</p>
	<p>7:30 am Breakfast</p> <p>8:30 Morning Devotional</p> <p>9:00 Main Speech 2: The Eucharist from the interreligious perspective by Fr. William LaRousse (Philippines)</p> <p>9:40 Response/Answer</p>	<p>Indian group</p> <p>Moderator</p>

<p>May 19 Tue.</p>	<p>10:10 Main Speech 3: The Eucharist and Poverty by Bishop Johannes Pujasumarta of Bandung diocese (Indonesia)</p> <p>10:50 Response/Answer</p> <p>11:20 Coffee Break</p> <p>11:40 Plenary Discussion (based on the two lectures)</p> <p>12:40 LUNCH</p> <p>2:00 pm Case Study 3: The Eucharist as Communication by Ms. Anne Lam (Hong Kong)</p> <p>2:30 Response/Answer</p> <p>2:50 Case Study 4: Bishop D. K. Sahu, The Eucharist and Ecumenical movement in Asia. (India)</p> <p>3:20 Response/Answer</p> <p>3:40 Case Study 5: Sr. Theresa Tosu, The Eucharist from the Perspective of Gender Justice (Taiwan)</p>	<p>tors:</p> <p>Comme nt on the lectures by</p>
<p>May 19 Tue.</p>	<p>4:10 Response/Answer</p> <p>4:30 Coffee Break</p> <p>4:40 Case Study 6: The Eucharist in light of priesthood of all people of God/lay empowerment by Fr. Francis Gonsalves (India)</p> <p>5:10 Response/Answer</p> <p>5:30 Case Study 7: : Fr. John Zhang, Eucharist as communion- Toward the Unity of Catholic Churches in China (China)</p> <p>6:00 Response/Answer</p> <p>6:20 Group Discussion (on the case studies)</p> <p>7:20 Dinner</p>	<p>outside</p>

	(Steering committee meeting and Drafting committee meeting)	
May 20 Wed.	<p>7:30 am Breakfast</p> <p>8:30 Morning Devotional</p> <p>9:00 Main Speech 4: The Eucharist and Evangelization in the Asian context by Fr. James Kroeger SJ. (Philippines)</p> <p>9:40 Response/Answer</p> <p>10:00 Main Speech 5: Fr. Vimal Tirimanna, secretary of FABC-OTC(Office of Theological Concerns): "The Eucharist and neo-liberalism led by market economy".</p> <p>10:40 Response/Answer</p> <p>11:00 Coffee Break</p> <p>11:20 Case Study 8: The Eucharist from the Perspective of Migrant workers by Fr. Desmond de Sousa, India.</p> <p>11:50 Response/Answer</p> <p>12:10 Case Study 9: The Eucharist in Ecological Crisis in Asia by Fr. Prisco Cajes (Philippines)</p> <p>12:40 Response/Answer</p> <p>1:00 pm LUNCH</p> <p>2:00 Group Discussion (on the morning and afternoon sessions)</p> <p>3:00 Reports from Discussion Groups</p> <p>4:00 Offering of Statement and Correction Session</p> <p>6:00 Closing Devotional</p>	<p>Philippine group</p> <p>Chair:</p> <p>All moderators</p> <p>Bishops of Pujasumarta and Sahu</p>

	6:30 Dinner	outside
May 21 Thur.	DEPARTURE	

3. Program Review 2: East Asia Academy

Venue: Jakarta, Indonesia

Date: 9th of July 2009 to 16th of July 2009

Participants: 3 from Pakistan, 1 from India and 9 from Indonesia

Overview

This meeting was supposed to have in Bangkok just before FABC GA as a training and exposure program for young catholic professionals in order to encourage them to get involved in the church as well as give some fresh understanding on the neo-liberalized world. But all of sudden, the Bangkok airport was shut down as well as postpone of FABC GA and there was no way to organize this even in Bangkok. And also there was no possibility to host it as a parallel program with May Forum in Seoul since living standard in Seoul is too high to organize 2 event at one. There was big chaos on how to realize this event. As an alternative, Asia Team consulted with IT and decided to have it in Jakarta just before IC. The main reason is to promote ICMICA to the participants of the Academy.

At the beginning, we could get quite good registrations from China, India, Pakistan and IMCS AP. But unfortunately, some of them couldn't get visa or dropped out at the last moment thus we had 3 from Pakistan and 1 from India and 9 from Indonesia. Thought the participation was not diverse, the program was quite well organized. The methodology of the program was more academic and intellectual compared with other ICMICA programs. Participants should read and summarize books everyday and presented it to the plenary. They dealt with 5 books to understand neo-liberalism which are Brief History on Neo-Liberalism (by David Harvey), Liquid Fear and Liquid Time(Zygmund Bauman), Planet of Slums(), and Neo-liberalism Reader(). In the afternoon, they had theological reflection with Fr. Antoine Sodag, the former Chaplain of ICMICA IT. In order to make theological reflection more

contextualized, Fr. Antoine Sondag analyses with the participants. In the evening there were various meeting with local NGOs and documentary film makers. Especially when they watched 1965 massacre done by Suharto and had meeting with the maker, it was really good time for us to understand importance of finding truth and educating it to young people.

Program

Date	Program	
9 th of July	Arrival	
10 th of July	09:00 – 10:00 : introduction 10:00 – 12:00 : understanding young people’s situation under neo-liberal globalization 12:00 – 2:00 : Lunch 2:00 – 4:00 : 1 st Theological Reflection 4:00 – 6:30 : Watching Documentary Film ‘Ordinary Family’	
11 th of July	09:00 – 12:30: Brief History on Neo-Liberalism 12:30 – 2:30: Lunch 2:30 – 4:30 : 2 nd Theological Reflection 4:30 – 6:30 : Meeting with local NGOs regarding democratization after democracy	
12 th of July	09:00 – 12:30: Liquid Fear 12:30 – 2:30: Lunch 2:30 – 4:30 : 3 rd Theological Reflection 8:00 – 10:30 : Watching Documentary Film on 1965 massacre and meeting with the maker	
13 th of July	09:00 – 12:30: Liquid Time and UN Habitat report 12:30 – 2:30: Lunch 2:30 – 4:30 : 4 th Theological Reflection 4:30 – 6:30 : Privatization on Education	
14 th of July	09:00 – 12:30: selections from Neo-liberalism Reader 12:30 – 2:30: Lunch 2:30 – 4:30 : 5 th Theological Reflection	

	4:30 – 6:30 : Presentation on Pakistan situation	
15th of July	09:00 – 12:30: selections from Neo-liberalism Reader and presentation on joblessness of young people in Indonesia 12:30 – 2:30: Lunch 2:30 – 4:30 : 5 th Theological Reflection 4:30 – 6:30 : Presentation on Women’s situation in India	
16th of July	Exposure Program to Slums and their youth project in Jakarta	

Financial Report

speaking, there is no money in ICMICA Asia Pacific. Formally, we do have project in the name of Pax Romana ICMICA Asia Pacific, but this project is generated and handled by International Team. Thus regarding programs in Asia Pacific, Asia Team suggests and coordinates program together with IT. It was decided in Nairobi to have a preparatory or parallel program of FABC GA. Thus IT was in charge of Seoul May Forum in terms of budget and accounting. I estimated to spend 20,000 Euros for the meeting without taking into account expenditure for IT. I am waiting IT's Financial Report.

WTI generously donates 10,000 Euros for Young Catholic Professional's Training Program. We already spent this money in Jakarta just before IC.

EUCHARIST AND COMMUNITY: BEYOND ALL BORDERS

(1) A special theological forum in preparation for FABC 2009, which focused on the relationship between the Eucharist and Community, was held at the St. Benedict Retreat Center in Seoul, Korea, from May 18-20, 2009. This international gathering of 80 participants from 11 countries was organized by Pax Romana, ICMICA (International Catholic Movements for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs) and WTI (Woori Theological Institute).

(2) The design of the program included five major presentations along with eleven case studies. Michael Amaladoss presented the Keynote Address: “The Eucharist: Anthropological, Theological, Intercultural and Interreligious Perspectives.” Other major presentations focused on the Last Supper and Eucharist (Tae-Sik Park), Interreligious Perspectives on the Eucharist (William LaRousse), Eucharist and Poverty (Johannes Pujasumarta), and Eucharist and Evangelization (James Kroeger). Case studies were drawn from Sri Lanka, India, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Vietnam, Philippines and Indonesia.

(3) Asia’s great and beautiful diversity set the context for the enriching exchanges between the participants. The social, cultural, religious, artistic, political and economic panorama of Asia, while a rich potential, is often not recognized for the marvelous gift it is. Ideally it should be an enriching force, unfolding and molding peoples, their lives and futures. Tensions remain and vigilance is needed so this immense cultural diversity serves Asia’s peoples—rather than causes division and degenerates into factionalism.

(4) Love for the Eucharist and a thankful appreciation of this gift to the Church prompted participants to the search deeply on how Eucharist and daily life could be better integrated. Often it was observed that the ritual sacramental celebration does not connect well with the lived realities of daily life. There are also contradictions between those who celebrate the Eucharist and the lived example of their daily life. What, if anything, does Eucharist have to say to issues of ethnic violence, Dalits, the laity,

poverty, communication, ecumenism, gender justice, divided Church communities, minorities, migrants, ecological issues, communications, and suffering Churches? The panorama of challenging issues to be addressed by Eucharistically renewed Christians is vast indeed. If one employs the three-fold framework used by Benedict XVI to appreciate the Eucharist (*Sacramentum Caritatis*), this assembly focused less on the Eucharist as a mystery to be believed and to be celebrated, and more on it as a mystery to be lived. The participants sought to explore the relevance of Eucharist from the side of people's daily lives; how does Jesus' "dangerous memory" challenge contemporary realities?

(5) Frequently, participants drew upon the Church's rich theological, pastoral, and scriptural sources for appreciating and renewing Eucharistic faith and practice. Twice within the Pauline narrative (I Cor 11:23-27) Jesus repeats: "Do this in remembrance of me." He also says: "I am the bread of life" (John 6:35). "Anyone who eats this bread will live forever" (John 6:58). Jesus shows compassionate solidarity with the least and last (Mt 25:31-46). He washes the feet of his disciples during the Last Supper, the Passover meal with his friends (John 13:2-15). Eucharistic appreciation is enriched by setting it within Jesus' frequent "table-fellowship" with friends, Pharisees, sinners, tax-collectors, and outcasts—often a social "barrier-breaking" symbolic action. Eucharist always contains a prophetic dimension.

(6) One particular biblical-theological theme that emerged frequently was that of the paschal mystery and the paschal reality of life. Christians appreciate how the Eucharist celebrates Christ's suffering, dying and rising; the mystery of redemption is renewed "when we eat this bread and drink this cup ... until he comes again in glory." The paschal mystery is at the heart of the Eucharist and the Reign of God.

(7) With the Second Vatican Council, the Church asserts, as Christians, "we must hold that the Holy Spirit offers to all the possibility of being made partners, in a way known to God, in the Paschal mystery" (GS 22). This profound statement challenges us and opens pathways for engaging in Kingdom-centered dialogue, for meeting suffering humanity, and discovering "paschal" insights in Asia's cultures and religions. Depth perception of the paschal heart of the Eucharist can become an Asian dialogical pathway; it can foster deeper solidarity both within and beyond the Church.

(8) On several occasions throughout the plenary sessions and small group discussions, participants humbly admitted the slowness and hesitancy of the part of the

Church to bring its Eucharistic faith to bear on concrete realities and the life situations of common folks. One speaker noted that a complete Eucharist needs “three tables,” the Word (Scripture), the Eucharist (Sacrament), and the World (all secular and cosmic reality). We need to become one bread, one body, one world. There is a hesitancy to engage contemporary questions, because it seems that orthodoxy (correct dogmatic teaching) often trumps orthopraxis (correct action); dogmatic, notional faith seems to take priority over performative faith.

(9) The vast variety of religious and cultural realities and expressions present throughout Asia challenges the Church to search for Eucharistic expressions (symbols, art, drama, dance, stories, music, pastoral programs and activities, etc.) that will more adequately express the nature and meaning of the Eucharist. Admittedly, some symbols in current use seem distant or even foreign to various groups of Asian peoples. Focus on core symbols such as sharing meals, family solidarity, or acts of generous fraternal service can readily speak across cultures.

(10) A recurring question throughout the forum asked: “Is there an Asian way”? To respond, one must understand key elements in the context of contemporary Asia. There is the inherent religiosity and contemplative attitude of the people. Across Asia there remains massive “forced” poverty with other areas of affluence. A revival and upsurge of Asian religions is apparent—often with fundamentalist overtones. A population increase continues almost unabatedly. Living a Christian and Eucharistic life remains a clear challenge for Asia’s minority Christian population (less than 3% of Asia’s nearly four billion people).

(11) The promotion of the culture of life and the culture of communion remains an ongoing task of the Church. Eucharistic communion [*cum-unio* and *cum-munus*] (unity; sharing of offices and duties) remains an only partially realized dream (e.g. the empowerment of the laity and women, a genuine option for the poor, etc). Renewed by the Spirit and strengthened by the bread of life, the pilgrim Church will continue to walk in hope during her earthly sojourn to become living bread for the world.

(12) Energized by the three days of engaging discussion and reflection, the participants see some “new horizons” and resolve to promote through concrete steps a revitalized theology and the practice of Eucharistic spirituality. Thus, the participants are committed to:

- develop a more comprehensive catechesis on the Eucharist, showing its relevance for daily life.
- use the power of the Eucharist for a more effective appreciation of FABC's triple dialogue with Asia's peoples, their cultures and religions.
- continue to seek a broader communion by fostering hospitality for a wide variety of groups (e.g. the marginalized and poor, followers of other faiths, fellow Christian churches, etc.)
- foster research-based reflection and decision-making so that Church programs will address the true needs of people.
- develop a variety of "sharing plans and projects" on the local community level (e.g. "the five loaves and two fish" initiative).
- promote the Eucharist as a source of hope, unity and reconciliation.
- link the Eucharist and the Holy Spirit with initiatives to preserve the integrity of all creation.

(13) The theological forum with the theme "Eucharist and Community: Beyond All Borders" unfolded as the Church was approaching the feast of Pentecost—and springtime was arriving in Korea. Participants experienced the gentle action of the Spirit, prompting them to renew their appreciation of Christ's gift of the Eucharist, particularly as it impacts the life of the world of Asia. All were deeply moved and challenged by the words of John Paul II (*Mane Nobiscum Domine* 28); the pope examined suffering and evil in the world and challenged Christians to address these realities. Why? The pope noted that it is how Christians respond to these world-wide situations that will be "the criterion by which the authenticity of our Eucharistic celebrations is judged." *Veni, Sancte Spiritus!*

Appendix 2 : Introduction of the Book by Paul Hwang

Looking back on the theological forum jointly organized by International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (ICMICA) and Woori Theology Institute

(WTI) in Seoul last May, I would say it was "Kairos" when all participants witnessed themselves living Eucharist in concrete places of daily lives predominant by poverty, religious and ethnic conflicts and inequality in Asia.

About 80 theologians, missionaries and lay activists from 11 Asian countries discussed the Eucharist under the theme of "Eucharist and Community - Beyond All Barriers: A Theological Forum in Preparation for FABC 2009" in relation to issues such as ethnic violence, dalit (former "untouchables" under the Indian caste system), the laity, poverty, communication, ecumenism, gender justice, Church communities, minorities, migrants, ecological issues and communications.

After the conference, Bishop Pujasumarta of Bandung, Indonesia, one of main speakers, told me that since he could learn the reality and the Eucharist in various countries, it seemed to him as a "living catechism" on the Eucharist. I don't think the bishop exaggerated his feeling and comments on it. It seems to convey its results and atmosphere well. Along with Bishop Pujasumarta, nearly all speakers and audiences alike expressed themselves how much they appreciated the conference, which I believe shed light on the future cooperation among the participants.

During the six-month preparation for the forum, I as general coordinator worked with definite purposes: the conference was an effort for laity to communicate with the Church leaders in Asia. Another aim was to build and strengthen networks among theologians and Church activists, and finally it was to provide a "learning space" based on concrete experiences of living Eucharist with the meeting participants. As the participants' gratitude for the forum is believed to be another way of expression for the last two purposes' positive result, I want to say more on the first goal a bit longer.

It was not first time for ICMICA and WTI jointly held such kind conference dealing with the same theme of FABC plenary a few months before the plenary itself took place. We held it first time in June 2004, two month ahead of the 8th plenary assembly and discussed on its working paper on the role of Family in Asia. After the plenary was over, I was invited to contribute an article on the result of the plenary to the local bishops' conference-run monthly *Samok* (pastoral review) knowing that I was there at that time. In the essay in December 2004, I pointed out that 32 paragraphs of total 124 ones in its final statement were revised or rewritten in light of the Reign of God taken as

hermeneutical principle or framework which was not considered as such in the working paper. That reflected efforts of all 180 participants including 60 laypeople and 40 priests and Religious to make their discussions deeply rooted in realities facing families in Asia, as well as influences of ICMICA and WTI through the final document of the forum dealing with family issues in the light of the Reign of God and some 10 forum participants' direct participation in the plenary. The latter may sound self-admiration but we really believed so.

We also believe that our second forum too was promising and experienced as the People of God where bishops including a Protestant bishop and former and current FABC officials, theologians and Church NGO activists worked closely together. Unlike the 8th plenary, I heard that some 120 delegates and participants are expected to join it, among them not more than 10 maybe laypeople and Religious. Nonetheless, I pray our experiences and achievement of the May forum will be conveyed well to the plenary through this document, expecting another "Kairos" to be realized in the plenary.

Appendix 3: summary of Liquid Fear

ZYGMUNT BAUMAN, LIQUID FEAR

CHAPTER 6: SETTING FEARS AFLOAT

- Developed countries have some of the most secure societies ever (statistically proven).
- Addiction to fear is worst in the most secure places (Europe) – “security obsession,” the frustration that you could be completely safe but aren’t.
- Of the three major pre-modern fears (fear of natural disaster, fear of health issues, and fear of other evil human beings), #1 and #2 have seen spectacular advances – we have a “technological shield” from many dangers.
- Substitute targets for existential fear: high blood pressure, depression, cancer, second hand smoke, pandemics, economic crisis, terrorism, etc.
- Shift from close-knit community to focus on individual duty of self-interest, self-love and self-care.
- Fear cycle (spiral): fear → defensive action (build wall, hire guard, carry gun learn karate) → “existential tremors” (small earthquakes that shake our security → more fear. The cycle builds up its own momentum and is self-reinforcing.
- States are no longer the all-powerful masters of their territory – but they are still supposed to be in charge so they are still held responsible for security failures.
- Even though it is now a weaker entity, the state now has a bigger job: policing the state order, but also picking up the bill of market failure, paying for externalities (ex. pollution) not recognized by the market, and acting as a safety net for the inevitable losers of market forces.
- “Cradle to grave” care by the state is oppressively boring, no surprise, challenge or change. (Margaret Thatcher’s “nanny state.”)
- On the contrary, total free choice is like “being abandoned in a foreign country” and having to figure it all out on your own.
- “Safety” is a word referring to an individual’s body, home and streets.
- “Progress” before was the extreme manifestation of radical optimism and a promise of lasting happiness universally shared. Today, it’s the idea of “relentless and inescapable change,” and a symbol of uncertainty, with the possibility of exclusion.
- There are few normative regulations (working rules) because there is no superior authority. Example of fashion (clothes, house)
- “Why must I do it?” Old structures of social control were based on power hierarchies (“because I say so”), gender (“because you are a boy”) or seniority (“because you are the oldest”). Today, these stable, rigid and unquestionable structures have become abstract principles and very uncertain. Even general

“principles and values” are very abstract. Life today is more about testing the limits to see if you can go beyond. Enforcement of limits seems like illegitimate coercion.

- Advertisers exploit fears for consumerism. (example of SUV cars)
- TV programs focus on wolves–criminals, sheep–citizens, and sheepdog–police.
- Focus on undesirables” beggars, refugees, immigrants, prostitutes, social rejects – a “titillating bureaucratic media spectacle”
- 3 types of citizens beyond control of nation state: 1) global super-rich overclass who make all economic decisions (aka the neoliberals, who are radical individualists and don’t have to pay taxes), 2) intellectuals who attend conferences and critique the superrich, and 3) cosmopolitan criminals (terrorists, drug traffickers, etc.).
- The “phantom enemy” is all the politicians have to maintain power, in an age where grand ideas have lost their credibility. Example: War on Terror
- People can be distracted by these “pseudo–events” and phantom “scary issues” from other truly scary issues. Example: small weapons are the real “weapons of mass destruction” because they kill 500,000 people per year.
- Totalitarian and democratic systems: at what moment is the government the savior from terror vs. the source of terror? Roles switch.
- Before: “embourgeoisement of the proletariat” (nostalgic left)
- Now: “proletarianization of the bourgeoisie (men and women both have to work all year to have only a threatened and humiliating hand to mouth existence, no long term stability).
- Negative globalization will be a great source of exploitable fears because it doesn’t appear to have an end in sight.