

and Social Conflict," in chapter 12, is a reformulation of the section "Christian Fellowship and Class Struggle" found at the same point in the first edition.

6. I sought to highlight this connection by dedicating *A Theology of Liberation* to two dear friends: José María Arguedas, a Peruvian writer on Indian culture, and Henrique Pereira Neto, a black priest in Brazil. That same intention was in my mind when I wrote the opening lines of the original introduction: "This book is an attempt at reflection, based on the gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation, in the oppressed and exploited land of Latin America."

7. Some aspects of this world have been discussed at length in my *We Drink From Our Own Wells* (Orbis, 1984).

8. At the beginning of a year dedicated to calling attention to the plight of the black population, the Brazilian bishops wrote as follows: "The Campaign of Fellowship 1988 is one more summons to the preferential option for the poor for which the gospel calls. The black community is suffering the consequences of its past enslavement. But awareness of this also makes us aware of other social sectors in Brazil that are not given sufficient attention by the liberating fellowship of Christians and by Brazilians generally in their solidarity with one another" (*Ouvi o clamor deste povo. Texto base*, 1987).

9. On this subject, see the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 20-22.

10. On the subject of Marxist analysis, *Octogesima Adveniens* of Paul VI (1971) and the letter of Father Arrupe (December 1980) provide important distinctions and guidelines for this work of discernment.

11. I have dealt at length with these themes in "Teología y ciencias sociales," *Páginas*, 63-64 (September 1984), and in *La verdad los hará libres*, pp. 77-112.

12. For example, in the encyclical *Redemptoris Mater* (March 1987), 37, and in his address at Ars, France (May 1987).

13. Final Report II, in *Origins*, 15 (1985-86) 450.

14. See, e.g., *On Job; La verdad los hará libres*, pp. 222-34; and *El Dios de la Vida*.

15. "Carta al Consejo de Indias" (1531), in *Obras escogidas* (Madrid: BAE, 1958), p. 44.

16. See *We Drink From Our Own Wells*, pp. 124-26.

17. "Towards an Asian Theology of Liberation: Some Religio-Cultural Guidelines," in *Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity*, V. Fabella, ed. (Orbis, 1980), pp. 75-95.

18. See the Final Statement of the Fifth EATWOT Conference (New Delhi, August 1981) in *Irruption of the Third World*, V. Fabella and S. Torres, eds. (Orbis, 1983), p. 201: "It is well known that liberation (*mukti*) has been a perennial quest of the world religions. Although the emphasis has been on internal and spiritual liberation, their search also includes dimensions with social relevance: the stress on freedom from greed as well as from overattachment to material or mental possessions and to one's private self. Voluntary poverty, so central to Asiatic religious ideals, and the simplicity of lifestyle it implies, are powerful antidotes to capitalist consumerism and to the worship of mammon."

19. J. Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues. An Interpretation* (New York: Seabury, 1972).

20. All this is clear for Latin America, but it is also valid for other perspectives adopted in the area of liberation theology, as South African theologian Allan Boesak wisely says in his *Farewell to Innocence* (Orbis, 1977), p. 7: "While we acknowledge that all expressions of liberation theology are not identical, we must protest very strongly against the total division (and contrast) some make between Black Theology in South Africa and Black Theology in the United States; between Black Theology and African

theology; between Black Theology and the Latin American theology of liberation. As a matter of principle, we have therefore treated all these different expressions within the framework where they belong: the framework of the theology of liberation."

21. As the Peruvian bishops said in dealing with this subject, "for Christians the supreme norms of truth in ethical and religious matters are to be found in revelation as interpreted by those who have legitimate authority to do so. Every theology must be based on revelation as contained in the deposit of faith. With that as its starting point it can reflect on anything and everything, including praxis, which is always subordinate to revelation" (*Documento sobre teología de la liberación* [October 1984], 44).

22. See *La verdad los hará libres*, pp. 140-47.

23. See *We Drink From Our Own Wells*, pp. 45-51.

24. These are questions I have asked in my book *On Job*. (Ayacucho, a city in Peru that has been buffeted by poverty and violence, is a Quechuan name meaning "the corner of the dead.")

25. On undertakings in this area in Latin America, see *El rostro femenino de la teología* (San José, Costa Rica: DEI, 1986), which is a collection of the position papers read by various women theologians at the "Reunión Latinoamericana de Teología de la Liberación desde la perspectiva de la mujer" (Buenos Aires, 1985).

26. Translated in J. Gremillion, ed., *The Gospel of Peace and Justice. Catholic Social Teaching Since Pope John* (Orbis, 1976), p. 393.

27. On this point, see my *La verdad los hará libres*, pp. 180-202.

28. *The Pope Speaks*, 21 (1976) 19.

29. Still echoing Medellín, Puebla would say at a later point: "We opt for . . . a church that is a sacrament of communion . . . a servant church . . . a missionary church . . . that commits itself to the liberation of the whole human being and all human beings" (1301-4).

30. Address of December 7, 1965: "It might be said that all this and everything else we might say about the human values of the Council have diverted the attention of the Church in Council to the trend of modern culture, centered on humanity. We would say rather not diverted but *directed*. . . . If we remember, venerable brothers, and all of you, our children, gathered here, how in everyone we can and must recognize the countenance of Christ (Matt. 25:40), the Son of Man, especially when tears and sorrows make it plain to see, and if we can and must recognize in Christ's countenance the countenance of our heavenly Father—'He who sees me,' Our Lord said 'sees also the Father' (John 14:9)—then our humanism becomes Christianity, our Christianity becomes centered on God. To put it differently, a knowledge of the human person is, of necessity, a prerequisite for a knowledge of God" (in *Catholic Mind* 64, no. 1202 [April 1966] 62-63).

31. Words dictated to Cardinal Coggan on May 24, 1963, shortly before the pope's death. The passage is cited in Peter Hebblethwaite, *Pope John XXIII: Shepherd of the Modern World* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 498-99 (emphasis added).

1. THEOLOGY: A CRITICAL REFLECTION

1. What Antonio Gramsci said of philosophy is also true of theology: "It is necessary to destroy the widely-held prejudice that philosophy is something extremely difficult because it is the intellectual activity proper to a certain category of scientific specialists or professional and systematic philosophers. It is necessary, therefore, to demonstrate first that all persons are 'philosophers,' establishing the parameters and characteristics

of this 'spontaneous philosophy' proper to 'everyman' ("Avviamento allo studio della filosofia e del materialismo storico, Saggio introduttivo" in *La formazione dell'uomo* [Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1969], p. 217).

2. "Théologie et mission de l'Église" in *Lumière et Vie* 14, no. 71 (January-February 1965), p. 55. See the well-known article of Congar, "Théologie" in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (written in 1939, published in 1943); in English see Congar's *A History of Theology*, trans. and ed. Hunter Guthrie (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), based on the *DTC* article. See also Congar's *La foi et la théologie* (Tournai: Desclée, 1962) and the thought-provoking study by José Comblin, *História da teologia católica* (São Paulo: Editora Herder, 1969).

3. *Situation et tâches présentes de la théologie* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), p. 11; see also Gustave Thils, *Orientations de la théologie* (Louvain: Éditions Ceuterick, 1958); Adolf Kolping, *Katholische Theologie gestern und heute; Thematik und Entfaltung deutscher katholischer Theologie vom 1. Vatikanum bis zur Gegenwart* (Bremen: Carl Schuenemann, 1964); Walter Kasper, *The Methods of Dogmatic Theology*, trans. John Drury (New York: Paulist Press, Deus Books, 1969); P. Touilleux, *Introduction à une théologie critique* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1967).

4. The terms *learned* and *saintly* were interchangeable to a certain point. See Congar, "Théologie," *Foi et théologie*, *Situation et tâches*, and Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers* (New York: Desclée Company, 1960).

5. Hence the term *sacra pagina* or *sacra eruditio*. See Joseph de Ghellinck, "Pagina et Sacra Pagina, Histoire d'un mot et transformation de l'objet primitivement désigné" in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Éditions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1947), pp. 23-59.

6. See Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959-64).

7. See the works of R. Bultot on "contempt for the world"; a good overall view of the controversy they stirred is found in L.J. Bataillon and J.P. Jossua, "Le mépris du monde," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 51, no. 1 (January 1967): 23-28.

8. See *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. "Platonisme des Pères."

9. The works of Guardini, Congar, Voillume, Evely, Paoli, Régamey, and many others are examples of this effort.

10. Hans Urs von Balthasar pointed this out years ago: "Théologie et sainteté," *Dieu Vivant*, no. 12, pp. 15-31; see also by the same author, "Spirituality," in *Word and Redemption: Essays in Theology II* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), pp. 87-108.

11. See Congar, *Foi et théologie*, p. 238.

12. *Summa Theologica*, I, q. 1; see also Congar, "Théologie," *Foi et théologie*, and *Situations et tâches*; Comblin, *Teologia católica*; and M.D. Chenu, O.P., *Is Theology a Science?*, trans. A.H.N. Green Armytage (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1959).

13. See in this regard the strong commentary on *Summa Theologica*, I, q. 1, of Michel Corbin, "La fonction et les principes de la théologie selon la Somme Théologique de saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 55, no. 3 (July-September 1967): 321-66.

14. A point well developed by C. Dumont, S.J., in "La réflexion sur la méthode théologique," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 83, no. 10 (December 1961): 1034-50, and 84, no. 1 (January 1962): 17-35.

15. See also *ibid.*

16. "According to classic scholastic theology, the scientific character of theology

consists in its systematization. . . . The role of reason is confined to clarity of exposition" (Comblin, *Teologia católica*, p. 71).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 10. Because of this the theological centers close to the magisterium, especially the Roman universities, were invested with greater authority.

18. See also among others Gérard Gilman, *The Primacy of Charity in Moral Theology*, trans. William F. Ryan and André Vachen (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1959); Jean Mouroux, *I Believe, The Personal Structure of Faith*, trans. Michael Turner (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959); Bernard Häring, C.Ss.R., *The Law of Christ*, trans. Edwin G. Kaiser, C.P.S., 3 vols. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1966); Pierre-André Liégé, O.P., *Consider Christian Maturity*, trans. and intr. Thomas C. Donlan, O.P. (Chicago: The Priory Press, 1965); Joseph Ratzinger, *The Open Circle, The Meaning of Brotherhood*, trans. W. A. Glen-Doeple (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966); C. Spicq, O.P., *Théologie morale du nouveau testament*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Éditeurs, 1965).

19. See also Johannes Alfaro, S.I., "Fides in terminologia biblica," *Gregorianum* 42, no. 3 (1961): 463-505.

20. See *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q. 188.

21. It is common knowledge that the phrase is Nadal's, but it expresses well the intuition of Ignatius of Loyola. See Maurice Giuliani, S.J., "Trouver Dieu en toutes choses," *Christus*, no. 6 (April 1955): 172-94, and G. Fessard, *La Dialectique des "Exercices Spirituels" de s. Ignace de Loyola* (Paris: Aubier, 1958).

22. See Yves M.J. Congar, O.P., *Lay People in the Church*, trans. Donald Attwater (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1965), especially Chapter 9, "In the World and Not of the World"; Olivier A. Rabut, *Valeur spirituelle du profane* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1963); P. Roqueplo, *Expérience du monde: expérience de Dieu?* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968).

23. Karl Rahner writes, "Dogmatic theology today has to be theological anthropology, and . . . such an anthropocentric orientation of theology is both necessary and fruitful" ("Theology and Anthropology," in *The Word in History*, ed. T. Patrick Burke [New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966, p. 1]). See also J.B. Metz, *Christliche Anthropozentrik: Ueber die Denkform des Thomas von Aquin* (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1962); C. Dumont, S.J., "Pour une conversion 'anthropocentrique' dans la formation des clercs," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 87, no. 5 (May 1965): 449-65; L. Malevez, S.J., "Présence de la théologie à Dieu et à l'homme," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 90, no. 8 (October 1968): 785-800.

24. *Christengemeinde und Bürgergemeinde* (Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1946), p. 36; English version: *Against the Stream: Shorter Post-War Writings, 1946-52* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954).

25. *Situation et tâches*, p. 27.

26. See the debate between Congar (*ibid.*, pp. 62-67) and the periodical *Frères du Monde*, nos. 46-47 and 49-50 (1967); for an overall view of this subject see Jean-Pierre Jossua, "Christianisme horizontal ou vertical?" *Parole et Mission* 11, no. 41 (April 1968): 245-55.

27. See below Chapter 10.

28. M.D. Chenu, O.P., "La théologie au Saulchoir" (1937 text), *La Parole de Dieu*, vol. 1, *La foi dans l'intelligence* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1964), p. 259. René Laurentin has rightly recalled this character of *locus theologicus* proper to the Church in *Liberation, Development and Salvation*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1972), pp. 7-8.

29. Despite its great interest, the notion of the signs of the times is far from being a clear and well-defined area. *Gaudium et spes* does not attempt to define it; it only provides a description and some consequences for the life of faith. See M.D. Chenu, "Les signes des temps: Réflexion théologique," *L'Église dans le monde de ce temps*, ed. Y.M.J. Congar, O.P., and M. Peuchmaud, O.P., 3 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 2:205-25; see also the documentation of the "Signs of the Times" in *Understanding the Signs of the Times*, ed. Franz Böckle, *Concilium* 25 (New York: Paulist Press, 1967), pp. 143-52; from a more Latin American viewpoint see Marcos McGrath, "The Signs of the Times in Latin America Today" and Eduardo F. Pironio, "Christian Interpretation of the Signs of the Times in Latin America Today," *The Church in the Present-day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council*, vol. 1, Position Papers of the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops, Medellín, Colombia, 1968 (Bogotá: General Secretariat of CELAM, 1970), pp. 79-106 and 107-28.

30. See Maurice Blondel, *L'Action* (Paris: Alcan, 1893); for a good treatment of Blondelian methodology, see Henry Duméry, *Critique et religion* (Paris: SEDES, 1957) and by the same author, *Raison et religion dans la philosophie de l'action* (Paris: Les Éditions du Seuil, 1963); in English see James M. Somerville, ed., *Total Commitment: Blondel's L'Action* (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1968).

31. The Marxian text is well known: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" ("Theses on Feuerbach," no. 11, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Religion* [New York: Schocken Books, 1964], p. 72). The exact role of the idea of praxis in Marxian thought is a controversial subject; for a quick review of the different positions see Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, *Filosofía de la praxis* (Mexico, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1967), pp. 43-45.

32. "Marxisme et philosophie de l'existence," a letter quoted in Roger Garaudy, *Perspectives de l'homme*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), p. 112.

33. See the collective work *Christentum und Marxismus-heute*, ed. Erich Kellner (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1966); *Marxism and Christianity*, trans. Kevin Traynor (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968); Georges M.-M. Cottier, *Chrétiens et marxistes* (Tours: Mame, 1967); Roger Garaudy, *From Anathema to Dialogue*, trans. Luke O'Neill (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966). A high-level theoretical and practical confrontation is needed, however, to get away from the well-trodden paths of "dialogue" and explore the possibilities for creative innovation. To this end, grassroots experiences in social praxis are fundamental. Experiments up to this point have not been of sufficient duration or number. For this purpose what is happening in all of Latin America—and not only in Cuba and Chile—can be regarded as laboratory experiments.

34. Nowadays the same need of maintaining a balance requires that we criticize no less sharply the tendency to a quasi-exclusive emphasis on orthopraxis. This was not the case in 1968. This much is certain: orthodoxy and orthopraxis are related each to the other; each feeds the other. If we limit ourselves to one, we reject both. It is also clear that we are doing theology when we reflect "in the light of faith," to use the traditional formula so often repeated in the theology of liberation. It would be meaningless, on the other hand, to say that we analyze praxis "in the light of praxis." The ultimate criteria for judgment come from revelation, not from praxis itself. See *Libertatis Nuntius* (= "Instruction of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'") VIII, 4-5; X, 3-5; XI, 13; and the *Documento de los Obispos Peruanos* (October 1984), no. 44. On the whole subject, see my *La verdad los hará libres* (Lima: CEP, 1986), pp. 135-47.

35. "La teología," in *Los católicos holandeses* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 1970). See also the interesting article of Michel de Certeau, "La rupture instauratrice ou le christianisme dans la culture," *Esprit* 39, no. 6 (June 1971): 1177-1214.

36. *Lettre aux anglais* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), p. 245; English version: *Plea for Liberty: Letters to the English, the Americans, the Europeans* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1944). Regarding the—in a certain sense—traditional character of the importance of praxis, see the observations of C. Dumont, "De trois dimensions retrouvées en théologie," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 92, no. 6 (June-July 1970): 570-80.

37. What José Carlos Mariátegui wrote in another context is definitely valid for a theology so conceived: "The ability to think history and the ability to make it or create it become one" (*Peruanicemos al Perú* [Lima: Empresa Editora Amauta, 1970], p. 119). This approach of theology as critical reflection is found in our work, *La pastoral de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Montevideo: Ediciones del Centro de Documentación MIEC-JECI, 1968), p. 15.

38. See the relevant remarks of Rudolf Schnackenburg on expressions such as "building up the Kingdom of God" or "spreading the Kingdom of God on earth" (*God's Rule and Kingdom* [New York: Herder and Herder, 1963], p. 354). Criticism on this subject has been gathered by Hans Küng, *The Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967), pp. 90-92.

39. "All bodies together, and all minds together, and all their products, are not equal to the least feeling of charity . . . From all bodies and minds, we cannot produce a feeling of true charity" (Blaise Pascal, "Pensées," no. 793, in *Pascal*, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 33 [Chicago: William Benton, Publishers; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1952], p. 327).

40. Theological reflection takes place within the ecclesial community and is at the service of its task of evangelization. In theology primacy belongs to the revealed word, and the work of theology is always guided by the faith of the church, which possesses the charisms of governing, prophecy, and teaching. The church is "a privileged locus theologicus for understanding the faith"; in other words, it is in the church that we find the "deposit of faith." For these several reasons, theological methodology and spirituality are, in my view, closely connected: the path of theological activity lies within the path by which we become Christians. I have attempted to develop these points in *We Drink From Our Own Wells* and *On Job*. See above, the Introduction to the Revised Edition.

41. "Theology," wrote Karl Barth in another context, "follows the language of the Church, so far as, in its question as to the correctness of the Church's procedure therein, it measures it, not by a standard foreign to her, but by her very own source and object" (*Church Dogmatics*, vol. I, part 1, *The Doctrine of the Word of God* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936], p. 2).

42. *Situation et tâches*, p. 72.

43. Henri Bouillard, *Conversion et grace chez S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: Aubier, 1944), p. 219.

44. Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, rev. ed., trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A.M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p. 14.

45. See "La formazione degli intellettuali," *Scritti politici* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1967), pp. 830-40.

46. *Católicos holandeses*, p. 29. Just previously the author acknowledges that the hermeneutics of the Kingdom of God also presupposes a reinterpretation of the Bible.

47. See Jürgen Moltmann's interesting article entitled "Towards a Political Hermeneutics of the Gospel," in *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 23, no. 4 (Summer 1968): 303-23, and in a slightly different form in Moltmann's *Religion, Revolution, and the Future*, trans. M. Douglas Meeks (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), pp. 83-107.

48. This effort at concretization is being made in the several Third World theologies that adopt the perspective of the minorities in various countries or the feminist perspective. The work being produced is extensive and diversified. Readers may consult the volumes containing the papers of the meetings organized by the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians: S. Torres and V. Fabella, eds., *The Emergent Gospel* (Orbis, 1979); K. Appiah-Kubi and S. Torres, eds., *African Theology en Route* (Orbis, 1979); V. Fabella, ed., *Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity* (Orbis, 1980); S. Torres and J. Eagleson, eds., *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities* (Orbis, 1981); V. Fabella and S. Torres, eds., *Irruption of the Third World* (Orbis, 1983); V. Fabella and S. Torres, eds., *Doing Theology in a Divided World* (Orbis, 1985). There is a good description of these various theologies in Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (New York: Pantheon, 1987); Deane Fenn, *Third World Liberation Theologies* (Orbis, 1986); Roger Haight, *An Alternative Vision* (New York: Paulist, 1985). For the course taken by black theology and a comparison of this type of theology with other similar theologies, see G. Wilmore and J. Cone, *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979* (Orbis, 1979). The bibliography on feminist theology is vast; see R. Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); and B. Harrison, *Making Connections: Essays in Feminist Social Ethics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

49. *On Not Leaving It to the Snake* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 12.

50. *Theology of Hope* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 36.

2. LIBERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. See Thomas Suavet, "Développement," in *Dictionnaire économique et social*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Économie et Humanisme, Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1962). For L.J. Lebreton, "the idea of development originates in 1945" (*Dynamique concrète du développement* [Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1967], p. 38), but he does not indicate the source of this information. See also the systematic study of Jacques Freyssinet, *Le concept du sous-développement* (Paris: Mouton, 1966).

2. See *Theorie der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1912); English edition: *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*, trans. Redvers Opie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

3. *Théorie de l'évolution économique* [French translation] (Paris: Dalloz, 1935).

4. *Teoría del desenvolvimiento económico* [Spanish translation] (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944).

5. *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1940).

6. See in this regard Odette Guitard, *Bandoeng et le réveil des anciens peuples colonisés* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961).

7. "The word *development* has not been in use long enough for its meaning to have become absolutely determined" (Suavet, "Développement").

8. Among them is a work which due to special circumstances and carefully planned methods of distribution became widely known in the underdeveloped countries: Walt W.

Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

9. "Development is a total social process, and only for methodological convenience or in a partial sense can one speak of economic, political, cultural, and social development" (Helio Jaguaribe, *Economic & Political Development: A Theoretical Approach & a Brazilian Case Study* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968], p. 4). See also Giorgio Ceriani Sebergondi, *Sullo sviluppo della società italiana* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1965); Raymond Barre, *Le développement économique: Analyse et politique* (Paris: Cahiers de l'Institut de Science Économique Appliquée, 1958).

10. See below Chapter 6.

11. "La notion de développement," in *L'économie de XXe siècle*, 2nd ed., enl., (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp. 155 and 171. Perroux had already addressed himself to this perspective in "From the Avarice of Nations to an Economy for Mankind," *Cross Currents* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1953): 193-207. "Development for us," writes Lebreton, "is the object itself of human economics. . . . This is the discipline of the transition . . . from a less human to a more human condition as fast and as cheaply as possible, bearing in mind the solidarity among subpopulations and populations . . ." (*Dynamique concrète*, p. 28). The same idea is expressed in another definition of development by the same author: "To have more in order to be more." As is well known, both of these expressions were used in the encyclical *Populorum progressio*. See also Luis Velasco, *Concepción integral del desarrollo*, pamphlet (Lima: Universidad Católica, 1967).

12. See the themes of the "new man" and the "whole man" of communist society. In it, according to an early text of Karl Marx, man will be defined not by what he has but by what he is: ". . . The positive transcendence of private property . . . should not be conceived merely in the sense of *immediate, one-sided gratification*—merely in the sense of *possession, of having*. Man appropriates his total essence in a total manner, that is to say, as a whole man" (*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan [New York: International Publishers, 1964], p. 138; the final italics are ours). See also Garaudy, *Perspectives*, pp. 347-51; Henri Lefebvre, *Dialectical Materialism*, trans. John Sturrock (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), pp. 148-66; Karel Kosik, *Dialéctica de lo concreto* (Mexico, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1963, translated from the Czech), especially pp. 235-69.

13. An example of this inevitable progression to a wider context is the following paragraph of Vincent Cosmao: "We are therefore led beyond the integration of social development with economic development, or in other words of the noneconomic factors with economic development, to a vision of history in which mankind collectively takes hold of its collective destiny, humanizing it for the benefit of the whole man and of all men" ("Les exigences du développement au service de l'homme," *Parole et Mission* 10, no. 39 [October 15, 1967]: 581).

14. See the anthology *Del desarrollo al desarrollismo* (Buenos Aires: Galerna, 1969), especially the article by Juan Pablo Franco, "Reflexiones críticas en torno al desarrollismo."

15. See Chapter 6 below.

16. As regards Latin America, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Alliance for Progress, and on another level the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), especially in its first period.

17. Related aspects of this problem as they apply specifically to Latin America will be dealt with in Chapter 6 below.

18. The term "development" points to a specific technical aspect that still retains its

Thomas F. O'Meara and Donald M. Weisser (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 41-49.

35. "Introduction" in the anthology (Stokely Carmichael, John Gerassi, Paul Sweezy, Herbert Marcuse, Lucien Goldmann et al.) *To Free a Generation: The Dialectics of Liberation*, ed. David Cooper (London: Collier Books, 1968), pp. 9-10.

36. The life and work of Frantz Fanon were generously and creatively dedicated to this problem; see *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963) and *Studies in a Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1965). For a study of Fanon, see Renate Zahar, *Colonialismo y enajenación: Contribución a la teoría política de Frantz Fanon* (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1970).

37. In the political and ideological sphere, the difficult subject of democracy and participation within the framework of socialist societies is very much on the agenda today, as can be seen in the discussion of "real socialism" or in the events taking place in the Soviet Union. Freedom and democratic participation are inalienable rights of the human person; these matters are therefore of primordial importance for those in Latin America who are thinking of the construction of a new society.

38. See Freud's letter of July 28, 1929, included in Ernst Jones, M.D., *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 3 vols. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957), 3: 448.

39. *Eros and Civilization* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

40. *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

41. *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. ix-x.

42. See the inspiring studies of Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1959); in English see his *Man on his Own* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), and *On Karl Marx*, trans. John Maxwell (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971). See also Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, referred to below in Chapter 11.

43. See Chapter 9.

44. The work of Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J., and Jacques Perrin, S.J., *The Church and Social Justice: The Social Teaching of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII (1878-1958)* (Chicago: Regnery Company, 1961), contains no reference to this idea.

45. See René Laurentin, *Liberation, Development, and Salvation*, pp. 102-03.

46. There is an entire chapter devoted to it in the sequel to the work cited in note 42—first published four years later and dedicated to John XXIII: Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J., *The Social Thought of John XXIII: Mater et Magistra*, trans. George J. M. McKenzie, S.M. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1964).

47. In the texts quoted here the italics are ours.

48. In a less important statement of two years before, there is an interesting text of Paul VI regarding the consequences of technological progress on work styles: "No one foresaw that new work styles would awaken in the worker the awareness of his *alienation*, that is to say, the will no longer to work for others, with instruments belonging to others, not alone but with others. Did no one think that the desire for an economic and social liberation would arise, hindering his appreciation of the moral and spiritual redemption offered through faith in Christ?" (Allocution of May 1, 1965, in *L'Osservatore Romano*, May 3, 1965; the italics are ours).

49. See the analyses of René Dumont in "Populorum Progressio: Un pas en avant, trop timide," *Esprit* 35, no. 361 (June 1967): 1092-96; Raymundo Ozanam de Andrade, "Populorum Progressio: Neocapitalismo ou revolução," *Paz e Terra* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 4 (August 1967), pp. 209-21; François Perroux, "Populorum Progressio: L'encyclique de la Résurrection," *L'Église dans le monde de ce temps*, 3:201-12; Herné

Chaigne, "Force et faiblesse de l'encyclique," *Frères du Monde*, nos. 46-47 (1967), pp. 58-74, which proposes "to radicalize the encyclical."

50. It is not our intention to negate the values of *Populorum progressio*, highlighted for example by Ricardo Cetrulo, S.J., "Populorum progressio: De la 'animación' de la sociedad al análisis de situación," *Víspera* (Montevideo), no. 3 (October 1967), pp. 5-10. The author comments perceptively on the change of style and perspective in relation to preceding encyclicals. Regarding the encyclical's step forward in the doctrine of the ownership of means of production, see *Comentarios para el diálogo a la Populorum progressio* (Madrid: Ed. Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1967), especially the observations of Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez (pp. 16-20) and Eduardo Ciereo (pp. 31-49). See also the thought-provoking and warm commentary of the Italian Marxist Lucio Lombardo Radice, *Socialismo e libertà* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1968), pp. 136-48. Pope Paul VI has taken up these subjects in his recent and in many ways innovative letter to Cardinal Roy, *Octogesima adveniens*. There he says that "today men yearn to free themselves from need and dependence" (no. 45; our italics).

51. Reprinted, among others, in *Between Honesty and Hope: Documents from and about the Church in Latin America. Issued at Lima by the Peruvian Bishops' Commission for Social Action*, trans. John Drury (Maryknoll, New York: Maryknoll Publications, 1970), pp. 3-12.

52. We will study these texts in greater detail in Chapter 7.

53. *Creation and Fall, Temptation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 37. Paul VI suggestively points out that freedom "will develop in its deepest human reality: to involve itself and to spend itself in building up active and lived solidarity." And he adds, "It is by losing himself in God who sets him free that man finds true freedom, renewed in the death and resurrection of the Lord" (*Octogesima adveniens*, no. 47).

54. See Laurentin, *Liberation, Development, and Salvation*, p. 63 and also p. 39.

55. Liberation in Christ reaches to the very root of all enslavement—namely, sin—and thus gives unity to the entire process. The concern is for a total liberation that receives its unity, in the final analysis, from communion with God and with other human beings. At the same time, however, it is necessary to distinguish and not confuse three dimensions or levels within this total liberation. We must distinguish in order to unite, for unity is not simply a sum of parts but implies a normative focus and directing center that gives meaning to the whole; this center is the saving love of God that is revealed in Jesus. There is no question, therefore, of giving an immanentist interpretation of the focal center. From the viewpoint of faith, history is the place where human beings freely and definitively decide the meaning of their lives by answering with a yes or no to the call of God's unmerited love.

56. An old comparison unexpectedly presented by St. Augustine of Hippo in his own inimitable style is related to the intimate relationship of the different levels of meaning of the term *liberation*: the soul under the control of sin, he says, resembles a country subdued by the enemy. See his commentary on Psalm 9, no. 8, quoted by Congar in "Christianisme et libération de l'homme," *Masses Ouvrières* (Paris), no. 258, (December, 1969), p. 3.

3. THE PROBLEM

1. See Gustave Thils, *Théologie des réalités terrestres*, vol. 1, *Préludes* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1947). For Congar this remains an open question: "There are some chapters of theology which still need to be worked out: together with the one on the relationship

between creation and redemption, there is the problem of the so-called theology of temporal realities" (*Situation et tâches*, p. 79).

2. For a statement of this question and some bibliographical comments, see Joseph Comblin, *Vers une théologie de l'action*, Études Religieuses, no. 767 (Brussels: La Pensée Catholique, 1964), pp. 87-108.

3. For a presentation of the scope of this effort see Vincent Cosmao, "Towards a Theology of Development," *IDOC International, North American Edition*, no. 5 (June 13, 1970), pp. 86-96. See also the abundant bibliography on this and related subjects prepared by Gerhard Bauer and published by the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX), *Towards a Theology of Development: An Annotated Bibliography* (Geneva, 1970).

4. The position of J. B. Metz will be studied in Chapter 11.

5. Writing on this subject is increasing, but quality varies. See Hugo Assmann, "Caracterização de uma Teologia de Revolução," *Ponto Homem*, no. 4 (September-October 1968), pp. 6-45; Richard Shaull, "Hacia una perspectiva cristiana de la revolución social," *Cristianismo y Sociedad* 3, no. 7, pp. 6-16; in English, see Shaull's "Revolutionary Change in Theological Perspective," *Christian Social Ethics in a Changing World*, ed. J. C. Bennett (New York: Association Press, 1966), pp. 23-43. See also Richard A. McCormick, S.J., "The Theology of Revolution," *Theological Studies* 29, no. 4 (December 1968): 685-97; Joseph Smolik and Concilium General Secretariat, "Revolution and Desacralization," *Sacralization and Secularization*, ed. Roger Aubert, *Concilium* 47 (New York: Paulist Press, 1969), pp. 163-79; on the impasses implicit in a theology of revolution, see the interesting articles of Paul Blanchard, "Foi chrétienne et révolution," *A la recherche d'une théologie de la violence* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968), pp. 138-55; see also the anthology *Christianisme et révolution*, a colloquium organized by "Lettre" and IDOC International (Paris: Éditions La Lettre, 1968); *When All Else Fails: Christian Arguments on Violent Revolution*, ed. IDOC (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), includes several of these articles; see also Ernst Feil and Rudolf Weth, *Diskussion zur Theologie der Revolution* (Munich-Mainz: Kaiser-Grünwald, 1969). A related topic is theological reflection on violence; see *Recherche* mentioned above and another anthology, *La violenza dei cristiani* (Assisi: Cittadella, 1969), especially Giulio Girardi's article, "Amore cristiano e violenza rivoluzionaria."

6. Johannes B. Metz, *Theology of the World*, trans. William Glen-Doepel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 93. Christian Duquoc, O.P., wrote in the same vein some years ago: "The question of the Church and the world is irritatingly complex" (*L'Église et le Monde*, *Lumière et Vie* 14, no. 73 [May-July 1955]: 49).

7. *La risposta dei teologi* (Brescia: Queriniana, 1969), p. 61.

8. See for example nos. 39 and 43.

9. Moreover, this approach will be truer to the spirit of the Council: "Conciliar renewal," said Paul VI, "is not measured so much by changes in exterior practices, regulations, and customs as by changes in habitual behavior and by the rejection of a kind of inertia, a kind of heartfelt resistance to a truly Christian spirit. We must think in a new way; this is the beginning of reform and *aggiornamento*" (Allocution at a general audience in January 1966; italics are ours).

10. See below Chapter 8.

11. The political sphere, however, remains ambiguous. Although universal in its significance, its empirical reality cannot be entirely separated from particular instances.

12. "The *Socius* and the Neighbor," *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 98-109. We should clarify

that to affirm that all human reality has a political dimension in no way means, as the term itself indicates, to reduce everything to this dimension.

13. "Les masses pauvres," in G. Cottier et al., *Église et pauvreté* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1965), p. 174. See also the interesting observations concerning the political sphere in Pierre Eyt, "Pour une réflexion en matière politique," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 93, no. 10 [December 1971]: 1055-75.

14. Many Christians have sought answers to these questions in relatively novel ways. This search has produced many experiences, sometimes confused. See in this connection René Laurentin's *Enjeu du IIe Synode et contestation dans l'Église* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969); see also *A la recherche d'une Église*, special issue of *Parole et Mission* 12, no. 46 (July 15, 1969); *Le due chiese* (Rome: IDOC, 1969); and the collection edited by Malcolm Boyd, *The Underground Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968).

15. In this context the starting point would be what P.-A. Liégé called some time ago "the human credibility of Christianity" (*Bulletin d'Apologétique*, *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 33 [1949]: 67).

4. DIFFERENT RESPONSES

1. We express here some ideas we have had an opportunity to develop more fully in Gustavo Gutiérrez, *La pastoral en la Iglesia en América Latina* (Montevideo: Ediciones del Centro de Documentación MIEC-JECI, 1968), re-edited as *Líneas pastorales de la Iglesia en América Latina, Análisis Teológico* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, and Santiago de Chile: Instituto Catequístico Latinoamericano, 1970). This work is a series of talks to university students and is an attempt to present a typology of pastoral thinking in the Latin American Church, subject of course to further study and more precise delineations.

2. See the historical study of H.-X. Arquillère, *L'Augustinisme politique*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl. (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955); see also, regarding this work, the critical observations and clarifications proposed by Henri de Lubac, S.J., in *Augustinianism and Modern Theology*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969).

3. "The Church did not face an autonomous world, since society was ordered towards serving the ends of eternal salvation according to rules determined by the Church" (Yves Congar, "Église et Monde," *Le Concile au jour le jour, troisième session* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965), p. 143).

4. This point of view was evident in a classic work of another period by Luigi Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*, trans. C.C. Martindale, S.J. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1943); see especially Chapters 6 and 8.

5. It was only with Vatican II that the Church began to abandon in any real sense the mentality of Christendom, a historical period which had already ended—four centuries before.

6. See for example the case of the most widely discussed schema of the Council: Religious Freedom. In this regard see our study "Libertad religiosa y diálogo salvador" in *Salvación y construcción del mundo* (Barcelona: Nova Terra, 1968), pp. 11-43.

7. This idea is explained fully in his well-known work *True Humanism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938).

8. Maritain's thought was very influential in certain Christian sectors of Latin America. Argentina was one of the most significant examples. See Fernando Martínez Paz, *Maritain, política e ideología: Revolución cristiana en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: