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An International Division of Theological Labor

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IN THIS EXPOSITION I AM FULL y CONSCIOUS of the impropriety of speaking at a theological colloquium in the name of so many brothers who are of the grass-roots of our people, many of whom having been persecuted, tortured, or imprisoned like my Methodist friend, Pastor Mauricio Lopez. Others have died like my student Susana Bermejillo, or have disappeared, or who suffer hunger and injustice; in sum, the people who are oppressed by the sin of domination.

My reflections shall be limited to an exposition of how Latin America is dependent on United States capitalism. This will be an exposition from the viewpoint of the Catholic tradition, and in the face of the significant Third Conference of the Latin American Episcopate, 1978.

Finally, I profoundly believe that the universality of the theology of liberation will be better understood when the theologians of the different continents discover within their diverse situations what is their specific theoretical labor within a global strategy; that is to say, within an "international division of theological labor", if you will allow the expression. European praxis and theology cannot be the same as those in U.S. or Latin America; and those procedures in Latin America cannot be identical with those in Africa or Asia. Nevertheless, all must pose the same problems, although historically and concretely the themes, the emphases, and the discourses will differ. Sharing a single world strategic task (the liberation of oppressed peoples, oppressed classes, and the poor), we shall be able to seal an alliance within tactical diversity.

EVANGELIZATION OF THE POOR

The fundamental aim which can unite European, North American, Cuban, and Latin American theologians ought to be the same as that of Jesus. Christ came to evangelize the world but, more genuinely and concretely, he came to evangelize the poor. The two ideas, "evangelize," and "the poor," are central to the present opportunity of the Latin American Church.

Between 1959 and 1961, I spent two years in Nazareth as a carpenter in partnership with Paul Gauthier. Every morning, before leaving for the heavy manual

This paper was prepared for and delivered at an 'Encounter of Theologies..' held at the Theological Community of Mexico in October. 1977. Other theologians present to whom Dr. Dussel refers were Sergio Arce of Cuba, Jiirgen Moltmann of Germany, and James Cone of the U.S.

labor of the day, we read the Holy Scripture in Hebrew-the language of our daily lives. Frequently, on Saturdays, I would leave the gully of the Arab Shikum where we lived and, crossing the Suk of Nazareth, I would sit in the shade of what, according to tradition, was the synagogue of the time of Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth. There, I would open the Book of Isaiah and read:

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,
 because the Lord has anointed me
 to evangelize the poor. (61:1)
 Is not this the fast that I choose:
 to loose the unjust prisons, :?
 to undo the thongs of the yoke,
 to let the oppressed go free,
 and to break every yoke?
 Is it not to share your bread with the hungry ,
 and bring the homeless poor into your house;
 when you see the naked, to cover him,
 and not to hide yourself from your own flesh? (58:6- 70)

These texts are inevitably central in any Christian theology or experience of evangelization.¹ In essence, they are christological, ecclesiological, and historical. Thus, the Gospel of Luke reminds us:

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee. ...And he taught in their synagogues. ...And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the sabbath day. And he stood up to read; and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it is written,
 The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
 because he has anointed me
 to preach good news to the poor.
 He has sent me
 to proclaim release to the captives,
 and recovering of sight to the blind,
 to set at liberty
 those who are oppressed,
 to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.
 And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. And he began to say to them, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (Luke 4:14-21).

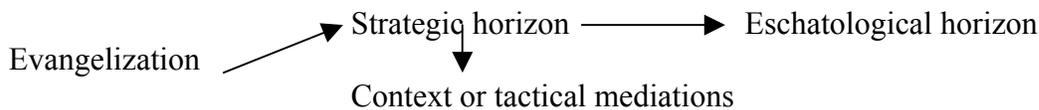
The text of Isaiah 61, chosen by Christ for that occasion, marks the beginning of his prophetic labor, of his foundational ministry. Surely, with that emphasis, he desired to point to the *total* meaning of his calling, which he reaffirmed when the messengers of John the Baptist asked if he was the one who was to come. To this, Jesus responded: "Go and tell John what you hear and see. ..the poor are evangelized" (Matthew II :4, 5). But he added, as though he had a vision of what

this would mean in his time and in all times, especially in Latin America today: "And blessed is he who takes no offense at me" (Matthew 11:6). Then, immediately, he rebuked those cities where he carried out his signs.

In these texts which are basic for all future evangelization, the expression "poor" has a very precise, unavoidable, meaning. "Poor" are-in Isaiah 61:1 and Luke 4: 14-21-"captives," "blind," "oppressed" (broken); which, if we place them in the context of the gospel, are still those who hunger, thirst, are homeless, naked, sick, in prison, or even those who suffer, who are subdued.

Jesus came, then, to evangelize the poor of all the nations, (to "proclaim justice to the Gentiles" [Matthew 12:18], referring to Isaiah 42:1).

To evangelize means to proclaim, to announce good news, to give a message. What is this message? Precisely to indicate that the prisoners will be freed, the blind receive sight, the hungry fed. Strategically, Jesus has as the horizon of his action the poor of all the nations. Actually, historically or tactically, he addressed only the people of his time in Palestine, in particular, the Jews. It becomes hence necessary to make this distinction:



In our time, someone might concern himself tactically with the rich, the dominators, those who do not hunger or thirst, who are clothed, and have houses, who are not strangers, and who hold power. The *Opus Dei* of the "Legion of Christ," and many others, is to be concerned with these human groups. Jesus himself addressed the rich when he said "Repent, and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:15). These were, in fact, the first words of his preaching. But very soon he warned: "But woe to you that are rich, for you have received your consolation. Woe to you that are full now. ...Woe to you that laugh now" (Luke 6:24-25).

Recently Monsignor Pironio felt it necessary to send an internal circular letter to the Latin American religious communities of some countries to warn them that an exclusive option for the poor may limit the universality of the gospel. It is necessary to distinguish several levels if the matter is not to fall into an emptying of the meaning of the "poor". While it is true that "poor" -in the biblical sense- cannot simply be identified with the proletarian class,² it would be a worse confusion should the "poor", be identified with those who have power and who form socially a part of the dominating class. Such a one could have a "rightness of intention," "good will," in sum, be "poor in spirit" *with no need of conversion*, and no need of returning what he acquired in a system of structural injustice. The "poor according to the Spirit" (the correct translation of Matthew 5:3) cannot be Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas or any other dominator in Israel. Jesus came for them, for all persons, but he came to save them *from the vantage point* of his strategic, real, concrete, economic, political, psychological, commitment to the real poor.

Monsignor Helder Camara says correctly that 'in the poor, which we find everywhere, Christ continues praising the Father, , , and adds:

It is not a question of abandoning or condemning anybody before God's judgment. ...[It is a question of making] the poor our priority option. ..the poor can convert us. Dear brothers [he tells the participants of the Roman synod of 1974] let us pass over to the Pagans, let us pass over to the Barbarians! Do we not see that they call us as the Macedonian did to saint Paul?³

Hence, our strategic, real, priority option must be for the poor. From this position it is possible to labor for the salvation, the evangelization of the rich, the powerful, the dominators, the sinners. Let us bear in mind that the salvation of the rich depends upon their doing justice to the poor; that there be no more poor; that they cease being rich! This is what those who devote themselves to missions to the rich refuse to recognize. What they wrongly wish is to give a "good conscience" to the rich in their accumulation of wealth; to allow them to be "good and rich" at one and the same time. It is a contradiction in terms. It is for that reason that Jesus announces that he has come to evangelize the poor and, anticipating misunderstandings, he adds: "Blessed is he who takes no offense at me."

The chosen theme of "*Evangelization*" , for the Third Conference must be linked with the *Poor*. The strategic option for the poor not only is not opposed to the universality of evangelization but is *the only guarantee of its realization*. The rich one, the dominator, is the one who possesses power in the present, current, "particular" system. If it were the end of the Church to evangelize the rich, it would stop with *the particularity* of a historical system. The rich person defends the present system as he would his life for, thanks to the system, he is rich. He would not be so in the future system, and for that reason the new system is his moral enemy. Quite to the contrary the poor person, the oppressed, the one who has nothing in the present system is hopeful for the success of the future system and the Kingdom which Jesus will share in his Parousia. To be with the poor is to be open to the universality of Christ, to the future, to the Kingdom. Only he who opts for the poor can save the rich; that is, to convert him and not only give him a good conscience. To many of those who opt for the apostolate to the rich happens what happened to the Pharisees who, like the blind man, fall with their proselyte into the same well. It is imperative, then, that the Church first give its attention to the poor.

Only a Church that is poor, really and economically like the one who had no place to lay his head, which opts strategically and eschatologically for the evangelization of the poor can tactically and concretely carry out an apostolate to the rich. Such a Church can do this while proclaiming in deeds the historical and eschatological possibility of the liberation *of the poor* and with reference to them. To evangelize the rich is to convert them so that they liberate the poor from the historical prison of sin which these same rich persons have built. Paul Cauthier,

in his already quoted little book, copies a verse that comes well in this context:

The Senor don Juan de Porres,
in charity unequalled,
out of love for the poor ,
made a hospital.
Of course, first. ..
he had to make the poor.⁴

It is not a question of giving charity and having for it a "good conscience." It is a question of having a "bad conscience" (as when Jesus says, "Repent!") in order to destroy, to change the system that produces poor persons today, in a Latin American capitalism that is dependent and peripheral.

INTERPRETATION AND DISCOURSE OF THE POOR

Nobody can deny that Jesus opted practically, strategically, and eschatologically for the poor. His option was eschatological because he promised them the Kingdom. However, the difficulty comes in knowing juncturally who are the poor. This discernment is an interpretation of reality. On this interpretation hinges all of the later theological reflection and discourse.

I. It is necessary to make an adequate diagnosis. A diagnosis is a judgment or an interpretation of the most relevant element of reality. In any diagnosis we can distinguish at least four levels:

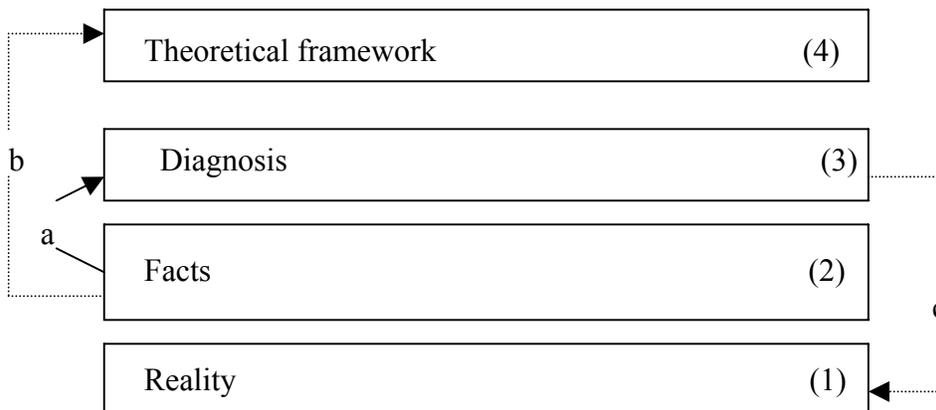


DIAGRAMA 1

It is known that reality manifests itself in facts. A "fact" is what is demonstrated of that part of reality which presents itself as a phenomenon (what appears). That is to say, a phenomenon is verified as springing from reality. For example, it is a fact that in Latin America part of the rural population moves or migrates to the cities; it is a fact that in Latin America the number of industries is growing. Both

are facts, and are irrefutable. But from the fact (level 2) to the diagnosis (level 3) about reality (level 1), there is always a passage through a certain theoretical framework (level 4), either implicit or explicit. In the event that it is implicit one passes "apparently," following the trajectory of arrow a. This frequently appears to be the case with certain studies undertaken to diagnose the Latin American reality in preparation for the Third Conference. We read for example:

"Latin America is making an abrupt jump. It is passing from a rural life-style to an urban one. The great cities show the jump of industrialization."⁵ The generalized and global passage from a rural-urban society to an industrial-urban society, with the appearance of concentrations in the great cities, is accompanied by the appearance of all the collateral phenomena of marginalization. ...In the economic level, industrialization presupposes a period of accumulation of capital (under whatever political flag it may take place) and of sacrifice of consumption. This implies a very high social cost.⁶

This kind of diagnosis, which is a mere statement of a situation, may be compared with this other one:

"The case of Peronism, surely, which is neither the one [capitalist] nor the other [socialist]; the Christian Democratic movements which have had an experience of government in Venezuela and Chile. ...do not declare themselves either capitalist or Marxist; even the Peruvian government declares itself a third way."⁷

Since it is not possible to take either the capitalist or the socialist way "are all the doors closed?"-asks the one interviewed. I would say the following: To formulate a third way in advance would only be possible in a purely utopian fashion. ...In this sense I justify a third way. ...But in practice I do not see how to realize a concrete action [sic], except on the basis of the possibilities within the concrete systems in which one lives and seeing *what can be improved*.⁸

In the first of these texts there is, rightly speaking, no diagnosis, only a statement of facts; in the second case there is a diagnosis (Peronism is not a capitalism), but without a statement of facts. In both cases there is an implicit theoretical framework of a similar sort. Through the context one discovers that both seek a "third way" that is, neither capitalist nor socialist, which, in fact, requires that they take matters "as they are" (the Latin American dependent Capitalist System) and *improve* them as much as possible. In other words: One is strategically capitalist scientific, and tactically reformist. The theoretical framework⁹ continues to be the "scientific sociology" (in reality "scientific") with its traditional and modern society, and having modernization as its horizon.

On the contrary, it is well known to contemporary Latin American political science¹⁰ that Peronism has a "project" that is clearly capitalist, national, and *independent*. In this last point lies its impossibility. Insofar as the migration from country to city is concerned it is evident that it takes place because of the modernization of agricultural exploitation. The "traditional" mode of production-a concept too complex to discuss here-gives way to a capitalist mode of production

for agricultural exploitation, driving the productive forces from the country to other regions. But since the system in its totality in dependent Latin America is capitalist, the surplus productive force cannot be absorbed completely by industry, because it plays a very precise role in the international division of labor. The front-line industries, such as electronics, remain in the "center"; traditional and secondary industries and the more "dirty" ones pass to the "periphery," not primarily to satisfy the internal market of the dependent countries but structurally for export (Volkswagen exports automobiles from Brazil or Mexico to Germany itself). These industries operate at a lower cost, due to the cheapness of labor.

Therefore we must find and describe the *causes* of the facts; for this purpose we need to have a structured theoretical framework and not just categories or intuitions that do not become formalized. Hence, to say that we are in "the passage from an agro-urban situation to the accelerated development of our own industrial revolution" II is to state facts but not yet to make any diagnosis.

It is necessary to clarify theoretical frameworks in order to reach more convincing interpretations. From these frameworks we could say that Peronism had a project of a national independent capitalism, even though in its two periods of government it became dependent; the Christian democracies, it is painful to confess, never passed beyond a developmentalist capitalist project (depending on the capital and technology of the "center") and sometimes with the character of an independent nationalism (a project which it never achieved; because today an *independent* peripheral capitalism is impossible!).

In truth, the majority of diagnoses are reformist, developmentalist, progressivist, , "third-way-ist."

It would seem that at Medellín the theoretical framework was clearer, since there it was mentioned that there were "excessive inequalities between social classes, especially, although not exclusively, in those countries which are characterized by a marked bi-classism." Though the situation has become worse because in the present we are exploited through our exports, even then they spoke of a , , growing distortion of international commerce because of the relative depreciation of the terms of exchange"; they still referred to the "international monopolies and the international imperialism of money. ...inspired in a boundless profit-drive, which take us to an economic dictatorship and an imperialism of money." It is even said that "we here denounce imperialism..."¹²

We must then advance in order to reach a deeper, more scientific diagnosis, at the height of the difficult and complex juncture of 1977 -1978. On the other hand, one ought never to forget that the facts are transformed into a diagnosis, thanks to a theoretical framework (arrow "b" of diagram 1) and only in that case can they be an interpretation of reality (arrow "c").

Sometimes we fall into the sociologist empiricism of the facts without interpretation; at other times we fall into ideologies that advance a priori judgments with insufficient factual verification or without theoretical structure. We find it

advisable to count on scientists in the *critical* Latin American social sciences, as in political science and economics.

2. *Looking toward an international division of the theological labor of liberation.*

This matter requires of us the clarification of two themes. First, we must distinguish between a theological discourse of domination and another of liberation and, second, we should know how to place ourselves as theologians within the diachronic process of revolution or change of systems and in the relation center- periphery. These double coordinates (diachronics and center-periphery) will enable us to discover diverse geopolitical theological responsibilities with relation to the poor who are our common strategic option.

First we must schematize briefly the two possible theological discourses, although the topic is difficult and should require much more space. For one, there is a theological discourse which explains, justifies, and founds ideologically the dominant system, which can be schematized as in Diagram 2.

This theology, frequently academic, which only comments upon classical texts and European theological themes, is a *theology of domination*, sometimes appearing to be progressive. It may use instrumental categories that are phenomenological, existential, of the philosophy of science, or progressive. It is dominating because

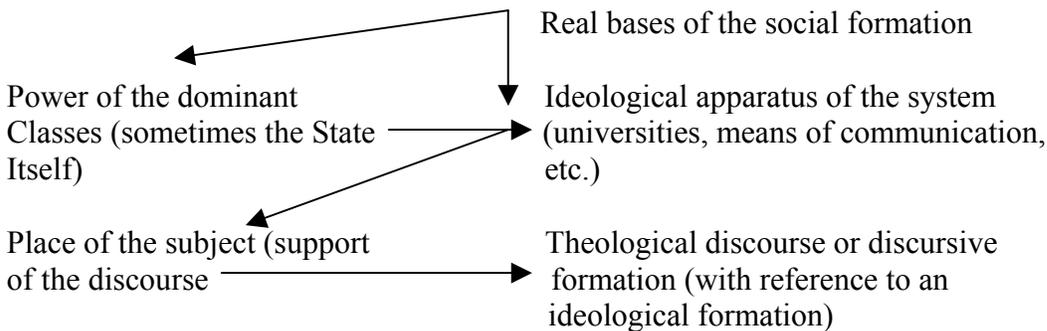


DIAGRAMA 2

of its fundamental practical option: it is a matter of unrealizing, unmaterializing, unhistorifying the poor in his situation of hunger at the economic level, unprotected at the political level, blinded at the ideological level, in order to reach by a fantastic "inversion" the conclusion that the poor is "spiritually proud and rich," because he desires wealth, while the rich who is free because of his wealth is "spiritually poor". This theology is dominating because of its practical option that it wants to evangelize the rich from the rich, the system from the system.

The second of these theologies is the *theology of liberation*. It is articulated with the poor in a different way. As an introduction to this discourse let us look at Diagram: 3.

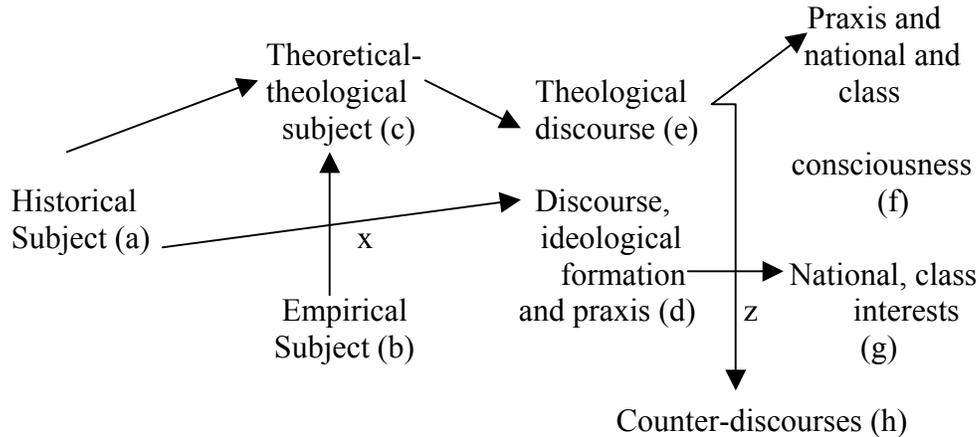


DIAGRAMA 3

The ultimate subject of theological thought is the people, the oppressed classes, the poor (a). The theologian (c)—such as a person, a group of persons, or a grassroots community in its revision of life—ceases to be a mere empirical subject (b) and becomes converted to the responsibility of clarifying between faith and praxis (arrow x). The theologian-subject articulates with the historical subject organically by his praxis of solidarity, by his practical option for the people, the oppressed classes, the poor. The description of the organic articulation of theology (c) with its ultimate subject (a) is a topic that ought to be studied with the greatest of care.

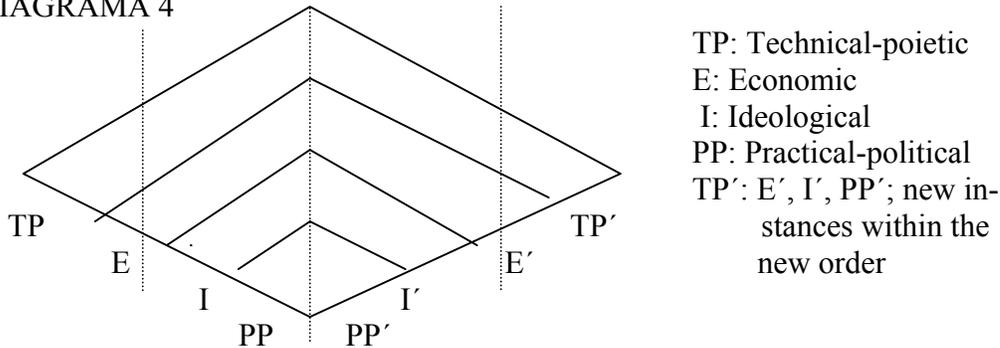
The theologian is the one who pronounces a theological discourse (e) which responds to the discourse of faith and praxis of the "people of God" or, more simply, of the poor (even the poor who is not Christian). Theological discourse, which explains the ideological discourse and the praxis (d) of the oppressed classes, responds to the need to increase the class consciousness of the oppressed and clarify their praxis (f). Sometimes it must address itself directly to the intellectual media, the middle classes, the leaders, and only indirectly reach the praxis and conscience, which is its real addressee and interlocutor. The discourse of the theology of liberation responds, then, to the interests of the poor, the oppressed classes, the peripheral nations (g). Only if these conditions are met is it a *theology of liberation*.

This theology of liberation in a situation of universality, has various fundamental applications, especially if we take into account the foregoing double coordinates.

If the people find themselves *before* the revolutionary break, the task is quite different for the organic theologian than it would be if they find themselves *after* the break. In Latin America this difference may be seen in those who are dependent on capitalism as opposed to the Cubans. As an example, the French Revolution (or bourgeois revolution in France) shows us in its historical development certain diachronics in its successive events. We could thus say that certain technological developments, such as communications or bridges, brought about the restructuring

of the feudal economic system, which then served the ideological formulation of the Enlightenment, and permitted, at the moment of the break in 1789, the taking of political power. -

DIAGRAMA 4



From positions of power the apparatus of the State (PP') was reorganized and the economic and ideological system responded now to the bourgeoisie (E'-I'), all of which conditioned the take-off of the industrial revolution in France (TP').

Thus, *before* the revolutionary process proper (as in dependent Latin America), it is not the same to be in place *a*, as it is to be in Cuba at place *b*. This conditions not only the theologian, but equally the themes, emphases, and methods, in the international division of theological labor .

Passing to the consideration of the second coordinate, it is not the same to be placed in the "center," as the United States or Germany, as at the "periphery" where the themes are quite different. The theologian would be obliged to criticize the imperialist situation of those in the center .

Finally, for the purpose of a dialogue among the different regional junctures of the theology of liberation, one must not fail to take into account that the counterdiscourses (*h* in Diagram 3) are different in each country or region. They are determined by diverse "political spaces." **In** some places this "space" is nonexistent, as in the Neo-Fascism of the Southern Cone; in others it is broader , as in Venezuela or Costa Rica.

All of these factors must be taken into account to allow for the differences in a global discourse of the theology of liberation.

JUNCTURAL SITUATIONS

The issue is to know *where* we are to find the poor, today, in the world .

The global juncture toward the end of the twentieth century will be a growing

dispute among the rich countries for a competitive development of their production, and among the poor countries for an increase in the productivity of their labor forces so as to be able to give their growing Populations the necessary consumer goods, and in order to catch up in a near future with the highly developed countries. Already capitalism is showing itself as placing a limitation on the growth of the productive forces. Hence, it must on the one hand restrict at times its production or leave, on the other hand, part of the population unemployed, a double contradiction which does not happen in socialist countries. The Holy Father himself in his speech of August 28, 1977, at Castelgandolfo, referred to the problem of unemployment in *all the capitalist world*; "Work is the collective program of humankind and it must be promoted."¹³ It is clear that the promotion of work or the productive forces means at present to confront not only the technological structures, but equally the political, economic and ideological structures. This matter, though seemingly clear, is not dealt with. However, let us examine the matter regionally in order to look at Latin America in its context.

For some time, with a certain insistence by certain Church groups,¹⁴ there has been talk about 'the jump of industrialization.' Since the middle of the eighteenth century, when, initially in England, mercantile capitalism took steps to mechanicism and then to industrial capitalism, industry as the means of production *par excellence* became the heart not only of the technological revolution but also, and especially, the necessary means to increased productivity; that is, profit. However, the situation has changed radically in the last years. A new revolution, in the interior of the industrial revolution, has come to reenergize an innovative process; it is the so-called scientific-technological revolution.

1. *The scientific-technological revolution in the central countries of capitalism.* Table 1 will help us to understand the importance and centrality of the scientific-technological revolution.

Table 1.-Modification in the participation of man, animal, and technology in the production of energy in the U.S.

	1850	1900	1930	1950	estimate 2000
Man	15	10	4	3	0.5
Animals	79	52	12	1	0.0
Technology	6	38	84	96	99.5

Source: Ogburn-Nimkoff, Osipov, Baade, in r. Richta

Hegemony in the central capitalist countries is held by the United States, next with real but relative dependence by Germany and Japan, then the remainder of the European countries. Therein, the industrial advance grows in the more pro-

gressive sectors, such as electronics, chemicals, and energy. These are, of course, the most highly technified, thanks to a growing intervention of science which functions as a principle of creativity immediately injected into the technological process of capitalist production. This “technological-scientific revolution”, immediately increases productivity, as can be seen in Table 2. **In** this manner capitalism suddenly in its present phase of monopolies rather than free competition, not only at the national but the international level, is faced with a double contradiction: on one hand, it faces the fact of overproduction, the source of the current economic war. On the other hand capitalism faces structural unemployment due to a double cause: first, because it exports traditional industry to the periphery and, second, because it cannot reabsorb within capitalist rationality the unemployment produced by the automation of agriculture and industry.

Table 2. The growth of productivity per hour of work in the u.s. in percentage of the Gross National Product.

	National economy	Industry of elaboration	Agriculture	
1889-1899	2.3	1.5	1.3	Industrial revolution
1930-1939	2.0	2.6	1.8	
1940-1949	3.0	1.7	3.3	
1950-1959	3.2	2.8	6.1	Scientific-technological revolution
1960-1964	3.2	3.0	5.6	

Source: Historical Statistics of the U.S., in R. Richta

It must be underlined that the indicated "scientific-technological revolution" is a new organic link that continues the (1) political revolution of the bourgeois state begun by Cromwell in England in the seventeenth century, and carried on by France and the United States, (2) the economic revolution of industrial capitalism from the mid-eighteenth century, (3) and the ideological revolution of the English empiricists, the French Enlightenment, and the German *Aufklärung*. On the periphery, and especially in Latin America, this sequence does not obtain.

2. *The Latin American situation is dependent within capitalism.* In the document quoted in note 14 it is said that “in the economic plane, industrialization presupposes a period of accumulation of capital (whatever be the political flag under which it takes place) and *of sacrifice of consumption.*”¹⁵ This formulation shows that the diagnosis at its base is extremely deficient. On one hand, we shall

prove that there are politico-economic "flags"¹⁶ (for example, peripheral and dependent capitalism) under which an authentic self-propelled accumulation-to use a phrase of Samir Amin¹⁷-is impossible. On the other hand, to justify the sacrifice of consumption of the extreme necessities which the masses suffer in the regimes of "national security" because of a Supposed accumulation which is not possible, is to justify neo-fascism in Latin America.

The crisis of central capitalism, which began in its latest cycle in 1972 but will surely increase in the eighties, may be overcome through the following alternatives: "First, by the progressive integration of the countries of Eastern Europe into the world market and their modernization. Second, by the scientific-technological revolution which with automation, the conquest of the atom and of outer space can open important possibilities for deepening the market. Finally, in third place, by a new wave of extension of capitalism toward the Third World based on a new type of international specialization. Within this framework the central countries will specialize in ultramodern activities, while certain classic industries which until recently they reserved for themselves, will be given to the periphery."¹⁸ For this reason, the industrialization of the periphery has to be considered with great care, for Latin American "developmentalism", has not wished to confront the dependent capitalist project of an economy dominated by the transnationals, in the name of the need for foreign capital and technological assistance. This brand of economy has made itself deeply present in concealed fashion in high circles of the Latin American Church.

The dependence and impossibility of an authentic and healthy national accumulation of capital as self-sustained development takes place today in Latin America on three levels: (1) *commercial* dependence, since its exports of basic products and imports of front line industry are not only defined by, but benefit central capitalism; (2) *financial* dependence on banks such as the International Monetary Fund, which transforms Latin American countries from "young borrowers" (the time when the loans are the cause of some useful investments) into "old borrowers" (when interests and obligations begin to be so burdensome that the country is transformed into Structural deficit existence), while central capitalism gets abundant exported benefits; and (3) *technological* or *industrial* dependence, which carries with it the production of goods not necessary for the real development of the majority classes, acting through a policy of the creation of needs, by means of advertising in the exploited countries.

This system of politico-economic dependence, which produces for the great majority of the people an inhuman sacrifice of basic consumer items, is impossible to sustain without an openly repressive political regime, as in the case of the militarisms imposed by the capitalist system, hegemonized by the United States and seconded by such others as Germany, and Japan, or hiddenly repressive (as in the case of the social democracies, populisms, or post-populisms of the remaining Latin American countries

Clearly, in all of these cases the process of industrialization is fictitious; it is organized by a system whose strategy is the total domination of national economies through transnationals, and where the distribution of benefits is impossible. This has been demonstrated by the "Brazilian miracle".

3. *The situation of peripheral socialism.*

Even though the island of Cuba represents, in terms of its population, a minute percentage of the Latin American reality, nevertheless, because of its value as a sign it has a central importance for the future of our continent. For this reason, it is false to think that the accumulation which the process of industrialization requires at its origins can be realized "be what may the flag under which it takes place."¹⁹

In Cuba there began in 1959 a revolution which was primarily political, but which led slowly to a transformation of the dependent bourgeois state into a socialist state increasingly self-centered, under the leadership of Fidel Castro. Little by little an economic revolution began with a reformist or "redistributive" phase,²⁰ but which later became radical with an "agrarian reform" in 1963.

Once the double structural revolution, political and economic, was completed, a central issue presented itself: "How can the country have a productive system capable of providing a growing flow of goods and services so that the Cuban population may have access to the fruits of the technological revolution that is taking place on a world scale?"²¹ This question, which Celso Furtado posed about ten years ago, shows that already at that time it could be foreseen that the country could incorporate itself slowly into the scientific-technological revolution with real possibilities, on the basis of an accumulation obtained from agricultural exports, thus permitting the beginning of an advanced automatized technology of the tasks of the countryside and therewith liberating labor for the industrial process in Cuba which is now taking on significant importance. In distinction from the "apparent" industrialization of the dependent capitalist area of Latin America, dependent on the transnationals, the Cuban process of industrialization is self-centered, with the full use of an installed industrial plant, an advantage which sometimes reaches only fifty percent in certain industries of the capitalist Latin American area and without unemployment; quite to the contrary, there is a lack of manpower for the tasks which increase continually.

It is interesting to note, then, that the matter of unemployment (which rarely reaches ten percent in the countries of the center, but which in Zaire reaches fifty-four percent and in Mexico surpasses fifty percent, since underemployment is often a disguised unemployment) is posed in the countries of the capitalist area—a matter which the Holy Father seems not to have noticed in the speech at Castelgandolfo (see page 341).

The possibility then of an authentic accumulation presupposes a revolution of political and economic dependence. Fascism of the center (Hitler and Mussolini) and populism of the periphery (Vargas, Cárdenas, Perón) attempted a route of national *independent* capitalism and failed completely: They were able to develop

only under dependence-a favorable central dependence in the case of Germany; only Peripheral dependence for Brazil, Mexico, or Argentina.

It would seem then that in the long run, strategically, the only possible route for an independent national development is the route taken by Cuba, China, Angola, and some other peripheral countries.

The strategic option is clear; the chiaroscuro and the labyrinths which history requires tactically may be social democracies and populisms, but we must maintain consciousness; they are mere palliatives which sooner or later surely lead to a dead end.

CHRISTIAN JUNCTURAL PRAXIS AND THEOLOGY

As can easily be imagined, Christian praxis in the three situations so rapidly outlined-the central capitalism of the United States or Germany, the peripheral capitalism of Latin America and Cuban socialism-each has its own meaning, different horizons, commitments, strategies, and tactics. Its option for the poor is different. It is important, in this moment of world history, that Christians of different geopolitical areas know how to accept the diverse options of Christians in their concrete countries, even as these options emanate from one faith and can be called Christian praxis. Of course, on the other hand, "fraternal correction" may be exercised in an eminent manner among these diverse praxes, for each may warn the others of their deviations, false commitments, and pretensions to universalize their particular situations. It is a question then of a new universality of Christian faith and of the necessary diversity of its praxis. It becomes necessary to discover and define an "international division of theological labor."

I. In the United States, Germany, and other European countries. As a general rule, Christian praxis in the countries of central capitalism tends to confirm the legality of the system. At bottom, it plays the role of an ideology of justification, almost of sanctification. Where the poor are is ignored. The contributions of Robert Bellah on "civil religion" confirm this hypothesis.²² But even in the cases of those who adopt a critical position they are not able, so it seems, to be really critical of the system *as such* but only of certain of its aspects. If we look into the theological discourses, which somehow reflect the praxis or concrete commitments of Christians, we see that they never make a systematic critique at the economic level, which is where such decisions are made as: "I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me" (Matthew 25:35). Works such as Peter Berger's *Pyramids of Sacrifice*²³ destroy themselves by a "third-way-ism" as they criticize the left and the right and finally leave firm what was already established. Such abstract thought never descends to the level of imperialism or a socialism that goes beyond social democracy, which is a political mode of central capitalism in dependent reunions like the European. There is a whole stream of theology such as that found in Metz or Moltmann, that

still has as its interlocutor philosophy itself-and not concrete praxis-including "Process Theology" based on Whitehead. These openly affirm capitalist society while they make a superficial critique of the socialist route.²⁴ None of these theologies begin with the poor .

It is obvious that in the theology of the minorities one finds a more critical praxis. For this reason black theology²⁵ and the theology of the hispanic groups in the United States²⁶ comes closer to the problem. The criticism of the capitalist system has begun in these groups or minorities.

At this point it should be noted that a criticism from a class analysis,²⁷ at a socio-political level, is not enough. Even critical European thought has not accustomed us to use categories such as *mode of production*. without which the basic politico-economic analysis is impossible.

CHRISTIAN PRAXIS IN LA TIN AMERICA

In Latin America, Christian praxis divides clearly according to its national situation. Since we cannot consider each country separately, we ought to distinguish between the countries that clearly suffer a militarist repression of the neo-fascist sort within dependent capitalism and those that do not. The Church faces different challenges according to its situation, and for this reason we shall make this division in our considerations.

I. Countries with neofascist militarism. There are other recent studies dealing with this matter,²⁸ so here we shall treat it briefly. From the start we must indicate, as the essential junctural element of Church praxis a certain division: one sector decidedly supports the governments of 'national security, ' , from Monsignor Tortolo in Argentina, to Monsignor Sigud in Brazil, and Cardinal Muñoz Duque of Bogota. The other sector commits itself decidedly to the new emergent subject of repressed Latin American history; it considers the popular classes, especially the growing working class which includes skilled labor in the decadent national industry and the hegemonic technology of the transnationals.

In Brazil, for example, where the new National Security State installed itself in 1964, the Church has responded with increasing clarity. More than fifteen thousand grass-roots communities have been organized and, slowly, the people learn to live a new Christianity as from the catacombs. Passive resistance is expressed in the theology of a Rubem Alves. The praxis of a more active resistance, always within an eschatological hope but within the framework of a liberating process, is formulated in the theology of Leonardo Boff. Meanwhile in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Bolivia, where repression has been and continues to be unusually violent, the Church has reacted on a whole spectrum, from support for the militaristic governments to a gradual distancing and even a veiled criticism, as in the case of the Cardinal of Santiago, Monsignor Silva Henríquez.

The populist theology born under Peronism, or the more radical theology

growing out of the experience of the Popular Unity of Chile, is being deepened in the present and is surpassing the limitations of a national experience to take on Latin American horizons. The same can be said for Uruguayan theological reflection. Also in Paraguay, the long-standing domain of the government of Stroessner, the Church has become more critical and it is elaborating a "National Pastoral Plan" which is a model of its genre.

As in Central America, where the prophetic voice of Ernesto Cardenal vibrates with poetic clarity, the popular masses continue their daily struggle, and the Church, at least numerous sectors of it, stands together with them.

It is a question, then, of a *struggle for liberation*: a historical liberation that looks forward to a political and economic revolution, which Cuba has already experienced, as a sign of the eschatological liberation of the Kingdom. The theology of liberation is an expression of this Latin American political situation.

Countries, like Peru and Panama with nationalist militarisms and which waver between populism and a center-right government, have equally their own popular ecclesial practice and theological expression, as in the case of Gustavo Gutiérrez.

2. *Countries with relative political freedom.* In these countries (Venezuela, Mexico, and Costa Rica; and, to a degree, Colombia) dependent capitalism of the developmentalist type has managed until the present to avoid military regimes. There is a greater freedom, and the Church, for that very reason, has not found itself in need of changing its traditional attitude; that is to say, of nonconflictive coexistence with the state and the dominant regime. This has avoided some polarizations, although there are some, especially in Colombia. Whether it be the Venezuelan "petrodollar" the capable policies of the political bureaucracy, the traditional Costa Rican antimilitarist democracy or the Colombian "National Pact" the truth is that in these countries a Christian praxis of increasing consciousness is maturing. In all of them there is an emerging experience of Christian grass roots which is taking its first critical steps and which, at the same time but never to the degree suffered in El Salvador, knows what is repression, torture, and murder.

The emergent class, the urban proletariat, together with popular movements, is the ultimate nucleus of a new theological reflection in these countries.

3. *Socialist Latin America.* The case in Cuba is different because the political and economic revolution is a fact of the past. In its moment, Christians took very little part. The present moment requires another sort of commitment. It is well known that the Church was ill-prepared to accept the socialist revolution, and from 1959 until approximately 1967 gave practically no signs of reconciliation with the new system. Beginning on that date, however, the episcopate itself criticized the economic blockade, thus allowing the beginnings of dialogue and of common tasks between Christians and socialists. The Catholic and Protestant churches the world over are witnessing here a new experience. As a matter of fact, in socialist Europe, which is economically developed, the Catholic Church has not managed to cooperate with any government in a truly frank and open manner. But in Cuba

this is beginning to become a reality. Two factors militate to bring about this situation.

First, Fidel Castro,²⁹ adopting a position quite different from that of Lenin, never denied Christianity its place in the revolution and always considered it a strategic ally of socialism in Latin America. The discovery by Castro of the group of The Eighty in Chile did not fail to have consequences for the relations of Christianity and the revolution in Cuba. This has meaning for all of Latin America in the future. Second, the Apostolic Delegate and the Roman nunciature in Cuba, maintained a flexible, sincere, and sympathetic position.

In any case, it is necessary to understand that Cuban Christian praxis, and hence theological reflection, is moving toward more solidarity on the level of work, in the increase of productivity, and in the realization of the scientific-technological revolution adapted to the reality of a peripheral country. The challenge is not so much political or economic, as it is in the rest of Latin America that is dependent on North American capitalism, but it is poetic-technological. At this level, paradoxically, the Cuban is sometimes more interested in a discovery made in scientific-technological agriculture by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States than in the clarity of a strategic or tactical political position formulated by a brother Latin American. This is perfectly understandable by the diverse diachronic movements occurring in a Latin America that is dependent on capitalism and a socialist Latin America which is in the midst of the scientific-technological revolution. Under these philosophies these countries strive to achieve greater productivity so that their people may receive as soon as possible the consumption goods which they deserve.

At the level of theology or reflection on Christian praxis in Latin America there is produced then a certain specification of theological discourses and praxis in the two indicated situations. For the Christians of Latin America dependent on capitalism the *theology of liberation* thinks critically, in a prerevolutionary situation, mainly of the *political* or ideological issues.

For Cuban Christians, on the other hand, within this same *theology of liberation* it is more urgent to think through problems such as the more active participation of Christians themselves in the revolution in their country and, in particular, the need to fashion an *ethos* or stronger character in the virtue of work, of production, and of providing bread for the hungry. They must develop a *theology of work*, which is an essential chapter in the theology of liberation. The eucharistic bread is the fruit of man's work, but the Cuban is more interested in the sacramental attitude of production than in the prophetic political attitude of the criticism of capitalism. While much of Latin America is still in the night, Cuba is at the dawn.

Dialogue is more necessary and is now more possible than ever. In truth, the three revolutions—the political, the economic, and the theological—are parts of one constructive process of the new society, of the new man. The process of liberation, furthermore, is not realized even in the three revolutions, but must continue in the daily life which constructs the new society. Thus, an authentic

“theology of liberation” must be elaborated in *all* of Latin America; not only that of which a few theologians write but that which the people itself is building in its coming to a Christian consciousness of the process of liberation. An authentic “theology of liberation” is today necessary in *all* Latin America, whether dependent on capitalism or socialism. Where there is dependence on capitalism, liberation takes on thus a more *political* and economic sense as a *future* revolution. Under the socialist regimes the historical liberation takes on a more *productive* and technological sense in consonance with a revolution *already realized* to give food to the hungry. If it is true that some will find the theological themes of the Latin America that is dependent on capitalism too “third-way-ist,” it will be well to point it out to them so that they may correct themselves; if it is true that others find that the theological thinking has not yet been able to express itself in the dialectical categories proper to a socialist society (as in the Cuban case), it will be equally necessary to undertake fraternal correction, so that there may emerge a Latin American theology of liberation that is critical of capitalism, constructive of socialism, and an eschatological sign of the Kingdom before our brothers of the center and the periphery. This necessary dialogue has now begun and it is to be hoped that it will yield fruit shortly, within a respect for the different tasks to be fulfilled in the “international division of theological labor”.

THE NONCAPITALIST ROUTE AND CHRISTIANITY

It is widely held that for the Christian conscience a Latin American socialist politico-economic route is impossible, because it would oppose the essence of Christianity on two concrete points: its atheism and its materialism. I would like to open a road and to permit a clearer vision of the strategic plane, which is itself a development from the eschatological level. It is important because all of the “third-way-isms” reformisms and developmentalisms among Christians come from posing the matter wrongly.

It is well known that in the nineteenth century many Christians fought for bourgeois-liberal democracy and in doing so had to face the intransigent Catholic monarchical conscience. In the same manner we must have the humility and patience to show the possibility of a noncapitalist line for Latin America, even though a majority in the Church has already admitted that bourgeois capitalism is inevitable. While it is true that in many concrete situations we shall for decades have to navigate in the waters of dependent capitalism, and accustom ourselves to the adaption of pastoral strategy to existing reality, we ought not to define an option required by the juncture, a *tactical* one, as *strategic*. Some, because it is currently impossible to overcome capitalism, opt strategically for believing it to be invincible, and they fall into reformism. On the contrary, it is necessary *tactically* to know how to adapt to dependent capitalism while struggling *strategically* for a more just noncapitalist system, a sign of *eschatological* evangelization.

1. *The atheism of fetishism.* Almost the entire Church has declared that Christianity is incompatible with certain noncapitalist proposals, because politically the latter have declared themselves as atheistic. In the cases of Lenin and Stalin this claim was true but it is not so with Fidel Castro, who has always held a very positive attitude toward Christianity.³⁰

Let us clarify atheism by pointing out that not everybody who denies the divine or religion is contrary to Christianity. Immediately we must ask what divinity and what religion he denies. If, for example, he denies all the Roman gods and the Roman religion, he is an *atheist* of the Roman gods. For this reason, for being "atheists of the Roman gods" Christians were condemned to die for Christ in the circuses of the Empire. The issue is not the word atheist. Jesus was an atheist of Caesar when he said: "Give to Caesar that which is Caesar's and to God that which is God's".

Therefore, if a political or economic doctrine rises that is opposed to the fetishism of money, which is the keynote of the capitalist system, it is not necessarily essentially opposed to Christianity. Quite to the contrary, the atheist of the fetish may, by his service to the poor within such a system, open himself to the reality of the infinite Other. The tragedy is that many members of the Churches (in Russia with the Czars, and in the west with kings and ancient feudal traditions or recent bourgeois ones) had identified themselves with the dominant classes. It is not then a wonder that those who wanted new and more just systems for the poor should see among their enemies many members of the churches, and that, by extension, they should take the church members' God as their enemy. Was not this the position of Lenin? If anyone is to be judged on the terrible Day of Judgment I believe that it will be those church people who permitted such a mistake rather than those who were mistaken. The truth is that what is denied is not the God-Other of the whole system, the God who demands justice for the poor, who goes forth as a guarantee for the oppressed, the God of Israel and of Christianity. The revolutionaries had but little chance of seeing this God because of the real poverty of the churches. What they saw instead was the fetish of our time: Money, profit, earnings. The atheist of such a fetish is well on the way of Jesus, much more so than those who, thinking they have faith in Christ, oppress the poor, exploit the worker in his wages, and dominate the poor in an unjust system.

Atheism is not, then, the problem. *The problem is fetishism.* The prophets did not oppose atheism. Atheism does not exist, since no one is an atheist of all divinities; finally he must affirm some one: money, matter, or a system.

On this point, which we do not have space to elaborate upon, a strategic noncapitalist project is not opposed to Christianity. But because of the charge of atheism the noncapitalist project for future society is discarded in all the documents of the Latin American Church. It is important that this matter be developed.

2. *The sacramental matter of service.* Prophetic Christianity always begins its fundamental critique at the material level of an existing unjust society. Matter,

the object of labor and its fruit (the product), is extracted from the worker in the capitalist system, the feudal system, or the *encomienda* system. In its totality it is the slave system.

"Bread," the material fruit of labor, as reality and as symbol, may be "the bread of death" ("who eat up my people as they eat bread" Psalm 14:4), or "the bread of life" ("I was hungry and you gave me food" Matthew 25:35).

Negative materialism, which is opposed to Christianity, is the sacrifice of man to money, as was referred to by the first bishop of La Plata in Bolivia:

Some four years ago, for the completion of the perdition of this land, a mouth of hell was discovered into which each year a great number of people enter, which the greed of the Spaniards' sacrifices to their god, and it is the silver mine called Potosí.³¹

Anti-Christian materialism is that which defines everything from the economic level as in the capitalist mode of production, and which measures everything by the possession of wealth.

On the contrary, if some doctrine or praxis indicates that human labor is more worthy than material that it is labor that produces use value and hence the exchange value of goods, and that what is important is to serve the oppressed with material goods, in this case we would be close to what Jesus indicates:

I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me. ... (Matthew 25:35-36)

Food, clothing, and shelter are the first three *material* necessities of man, and Jesus makes them the *supreme criteria* of the Last Judgment. Is this not a Christian sacramental materialism? That is to say, sacraments are sensible, material signs: bread, wine, water, salt. ...To the poor, who is Christ himself, one cannot give good intentions to eat; he must have food. But to give him food it is necessary to change the historical systems that keep him from receiving food. In Hebrew thought man is "flesh"; to nourish the flesh is to save the man. But to have food there must be labor. Labor is the act of the Servant of Yahweh; the toil of the land or the service of the brother; the work of the Temple or the service of God. It is one same act by which one has something (bread) to offer to God in giving it materially to the poor. Nor does materialism scandalize the Christian, as it did not scandalize Bartolomé de las Casas in 1514 on the Island of Cuba (the Cuba which today so scandalizes capitalism!) to discover the material injustice of the *encomendero* system with relation to the sacramentality of Eucharistic worship, when he related the bread of the sacrifice to the bread, product of the labor of the Indian.

The clerk Bartolomé de las Casas--he writes of himself in his *History of the Indies*--was very busy and concerned with his farm enterprises, like the others, sending Indians from his portion to the mines to bring out gold, and in making plantings, taking advantage of them in all he could. ..[But on day of] Pentecost. ..he began to

consider. ...from Ecclesiasticus chapter 34: 'He who offers in sacrifice what was ill gotten makes his offering guilty. ...To offer a sacrifice of what belongs to the poor is the same as killing the son in the presence of his father. ...He began, I say, to consider his misery.'³²

May God illumine our Church to discover *the sacramental meaning of the materiality of the product of the labor of the poor* and to understand that to rob the labor of the poor is sacrilege. It is to acquire a bread that cannot be offered to God in the Eucharist and which, if offered, is like murdering the worker before God himself, his Father, on the very altar of the liturgy. This sacramental relation of economics with worship is the authentic materialism which Jesus teaches in his gospel, following in the tradition of the prophets of Israel. Blessed is he who does not take offense at the atheism, nor the materialism of service to the poor, because he shall receive the Spirit!

1. See Paul Gauthier, *Les pauvres, Jesus et l'Eglise* (Paris: Ed. Universitaires, 1963) 113. Gauthier worked in those years to gain acceptance for the theme of *the poor* and the 'Church of the poor', in the First Session of the Council. We used to correspond at that time with Moos. Manuel Larraín, of fond memory. Mons. Helder Camara, in communication with Gauthier, brought out the theme. Mons. Pironio, in his speech to the Roman Synod of 1974 ("Relation about the evangelization of the world in this time in Latin America," in *Evangelización, Desafío a la Iglesia* [Bogotá: CEIAM, 1967] 113), quotes at the opening the Isaiah text from Luke 4:18-19.
2. A. López Trujillo, *Liberación o revolución* (Bogotá: Ed. Paulinas, 1970) 22-23.
3. "Commitment to the poor, only pastoral option," in *Evangelización, desafío a la Iglesia*, 392.
4. *Op.cil.* 20.
5. See note 15, *infra*.
6. Text quoted in note 14.
7. Interview with our friend Renato Poblete, in the *Boletín CELAM*, 112, {1977} 13b.
8. *Ibid.*, 19-20. Our friend Alfonso Gregory expressed an objection to himself: "Someone might tell me: Then, your option is a reformist line," but, I think, his own text confirms the suspicion.
9. Cf. Methol Ferré, "El pueblo en América latina, in *"Pueblos e Iglesia en América Latina* (Bogotá: Ed. Paulinas, 1973) 16.
10. Cf. Ghita Ionescu Ernest Gellner, *Populismo, Sus significados y características nacionales* (Buenos Aires Amorrortu, 190); Francisco Weffort, *Populismo, marginación y dependencia* (San José, 1973); (Robert Dix, *The Developmental Significance of the Rise of Populism* (Huston, 1975); A Niekerk, *Populism and Political Development in Latin America* (Rotterdam, 1974), and especially Octavio Ianni, *La formación del estado populista en América Latina* (México: ERA, 1975) See my article, "Hipótesis para elaborar un marco teórico de la historia del pensamiento latinoamericano. El estatuto ideológico del discurso populista," in *Christus* (México) 497 (1977) 12-26;
11. Guzman Carriquiry, in *Boletín CELAM*, 95 (1974) 4.
12. "Presencia de la Iglesia en la actual transformación de América Latina," II, Paz, n. 3-10 (in *Iglesia y liberación humana* [Barcelona: Nova Terra, 1969] 68-72.
13. *Bl Excelsior* (Mexico, August 29, 1977) 2, col. I.
14. See, for example, one of the conclusions, still in rough draft ill August, 1977, of the "Second General Encounter of Movements of the Lay Apostolate," held in Buenos Aires, concerning the III General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate, in typescript, pp. 2ff.: "The red thread that ought to polarize reflexion is the process of industrialization in Latin America. ..." Among the authors is our friend Methol Ferré.
15. Mons. Alfonso López Trujillo, "De cara al futuro," in the *Boletín CELAM*. 116 (1977) 3, col. b.
16. Document cited, p. 4.
17. Cf *FI desarrollo desigual. Ensayo sobre las formaciones sociales del capitalismo periférico* (Barcelona: Fontanella, 1974) 311-89.

18. *Ibid.*, 301. Anticipating a topic we shall discuss later, it is worth pointing out that this unorganic industrialization is what produces unemployment at the periphery. In 1970 this was the situation in the area (which by 1977 had practically doubled, reaching, as we shall say later, more than 50% of unemployment and underemployment in Mexico, for example):

Country	<i>Unemployment and Underemployment in Latin America (1970)</i>				
	Total economically Active population (thousands)	Open unemployment		Total underutilization unemployment plus underemployment	
		thousands	%	thousands	%
Argentina	8,812	168	1.9	1,201	13.6
Brazil	28,044	1,935	6.9	9,628	34.3
Colombia	6,395	473	7.4	1,894	29.6
Chile	2,721	130	5.0	619	22.8
México	12,473	474	3.8	3,643	29.2
Venezuela	3,015	187	6.2	795	24.2
TOTAL	61,471	3,367	5.5		

SOURCE: "El problema del empleo en América Latina y el Caribe: situación, perspectivas y políticas" (O.I.T., 1975).

A commentator adds: "The index of the magnitude of poverty, compiled by the same O.I.T. (International Labor Organization), which combines the levels of unemployment shows that around 110 million people (about 43% of the total population) lived in 1972 in Latin America within the category labelled acute poverty (with incomes below 180 dollars per year) " (Alicia Girón, "El desempleo en América Latina," in *Eel Excelsior*, August 31, 1977, p. 22). It should be held in mind that the United States, the country in the whole world with the greatest military expense, uses for said military expenses *per capita* annually 425 dollars (*ibid.*, August 30, 1977, section A. p. 3, col. 4). On weapons the United States spends more than twice what half of the Latin American population has for its total expenses. Does this not cry to heaven?

19. From the document quoted in note 14, *supra*.

20. Cf. Celso Furtado, *La economía latinoamericana desde la conquista liberica hasta la revolución cubana* (Santiago de Chile: Ed. Universitaria, 1969) 282.

21. *Ibid.*, 9. This is exactly the situation in which China finds itself under Hua Kwo Feng, leaving behind the "Cultural Revolution of Mao," it decides completely for technological development in order to increase productivity and allow for a consumption more diversified, qalified and abundant for the long-suffering Chinese population (Cf. Servicio de Le Point, "La in *El Excelsior*, August 30, 1977, A, p. 3, col. 4). As can be seen, we have tried to use material from the daily press in the moment in which these lines are being written. The junctural situation can only be "read" in the dailies, as Hegel used to say, who was during four years the director of a daily.

22. Cf. *Civil Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). On North American theology consult: *Toward an American Theology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), by Herbert Richardson; Martin F. Marty, "American Protestant Theology Today," in *Thought* (Summer, 1966), and Fritz Burl, *Gott in America* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 2 vols, 1970-72).

23. New York: Basic Books, 1974.

24. Cf. Hans Kung, *Christ sein* (Munchen: Piper, 1974). It is interesting to note how his ideological analysis does not surpass that of the "Club of Rome," in order directly from there to move to Transcendence with no mediation and "descend" afterward upon historical reality. God is reached directly through argumentation (be it as modern as one could wish). On the contrary, the God of Israel is only reached through historical praxis, through service to the really poor, through real mediations. The work of Kung is a good example of a European ideological discourse.

25. Cf. James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Seabury, 1969), and *God of/the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury, 1975). .

26. Cf. Torres/Eagleson, *Theology in the Americas* (New York: Orbis, 1976), and especially the works of Virgilio Blizondo, the president of MACC (San Antonio).

27. For example, Jules Girardi, *Christianisme, liberation humaine, lutte des classes* (Paris: Cerf, 1972), and we say that it is not enough because it is necessary to undertake not only a junctural

social analysis (for which social class is essential), but also an economic one. On this there is still much territory to advance. Along this line a beginning was made at the meeting in Detroit, *Theology in the Americas* (quoted above), but see also: Richard Shaull, "Christian Faith as Scandal in a Technocratic World," in *New Theology*, 6, ed. M. Marty/D. Peerman (London: Macmillan, 1969) 123-34.

28. Cf. "Church-State Relations in the Peripheral Latin American Social Formations," in *The Ecumenical Review* (Geneva) 29, I (1977) 28-38.

29. See my book, *Religión: Como supra e infraestructura* (México: Edicol, 1977).

30. Aww rhw