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## Theologies of the 'Periphery' and the 'Centre': Encounter or Confrontation?

THE 'ECUMENICAL Association of Third World Theologians' (EATWOT)"has just come to the end of its first stage (1974-1983). This is a good point at which to begin a discussion of its significance.

### I. ANTECEDENTS

In October 1974 I talked to Francois Houtart about the possibility of organising a dialogue between theologians of the peripheral countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.<sup>1</sup> On 6th January 1975 he wrote to me: 'I have made contact with an African theologian, and one from -Asia, to discuss the project'.<sup>2</sup> Together with Stan Lourdusami (India) and K. Bimwenyi we drafted the first Circular, which was sent out in April of that year to ten theologians on each continent. In this circular it was said for Africa:

'The bishops of Africa and Madagascar consider that a certain kind of theology of adaptation is completely out of date. They prefer a theology of incarnation. ..The young churches of Africa must encourage by all means research into an African theology!<sup>3</sup>

From Asia we published the declaration from Cardinal J. Paracattil of India:

'It is imperative that a new orientation is given to evangelical work. ..Theology should reformulate its theses in intelligible native idioms and indigenous philosophical terms.'<sup>4</sup>

From Latin America we quoted from a text of the II General Conference:

'It is impossible to try to impose fixed universal moulds... We must treat with particular importance the study and investigation of our Latin American reality in its religious. social. anthropological and sociological aspect.'<sup>5</sup>

The response of the theologians we contacted was enthusiastic and unanimous. 'The time has come for a meeting of the theologians spread over the periphery...'<sup>6</sup> We needed to

create a discourse, a dialogue, an 'alliance' -in its spiritual and political sense- between the militant theologians of the periphery *-directly*. between them *-without being divided* by the presence, problems, interests-from the folkloric to the anthropological or out of 'good will'-of the theologians of the 'centre' (called the First World). It was practically an impossible project, because how would it be possible to bring about such a meeting without financial help from the 'centre' and still maintain total freedom with regard to possible conditions attached? It had to be a *direct dialogue without going through the centre* .

After the renewal begun by the II Vatican Council (1962) and the Assembly of the WCC in Delhi (1961) things changed a great deal in the early years of the Seventies.<sup>7</sup> A new start was made in Asia. beginning in 1949 in Bangkok, when the Protestant churches began to reflect on the social revolution<sup>8</sup> and continuing with the Tokyo Ecumenical Conference of Asia (July 1969), the First Pan-Asian Conference of Bishops in November 1970, the VI Assembly of the CCA and the All-Asia Theological Consultation in 1977 in Manila.<sup>9</sup> In their consultation in New Delhi in February 1970, the bishops had declared. 'above all we have proposed to establish the Church of the poor more authentically'.<sup>10</sup> In the Synod Cardinal Paracattil exclaimed: 'The Catholic church is neither Latin nor Greek nor Slave, but universal. Unless the Church can show herself Indian in India and Chinese in China, and Japanese in Japan, she will never reveal her authentically Catholic character.'<sup>11</sup>

In *Africa* renewal began in far-off 1956 with the publication of *Des Prêtres noirs s'interrogent*<sup>12</sup> Then there was the All Africa Conference of Churches in 1969 in Ibadan, under the leadership of Burgess Carr.<sup>13</sup> The Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa from 28th to 31st July 1969 declared that 'the present urgent problem is the struggle for the development of countries, and peace. The Church cannot ignore poverty, hunger, sickness. ignorance, attacks on freedom, without betraying its mission.' In the Thrid AACC Assembly from 12th-24th May 1974, there was still discussion of John Gatu's *Moratorium*<sup>14</sup>, and the position of the bishops in the Roman Synod of 1974 was its expression.<sup>15</sup>

In *Latin America* after Sucre (XIV Assembly of CELAM in 1972) there began the persecution of liberation theology<sup>16</sup> and of Christians who try to make a more scientific analysis of reality. A long time has passed now since the works of J .Comblin (*Fracaso de la Accion Catolica*. 1957), Juan Luis Segundo (*Situacion de la Iglesia en el Rio de la Plata*, 1959), the meetings at Rio or Montevideo at which Gustavo was present in 1964 or the Paris meeting 'Latin America and Christian conscience'.<sup>17</sup> Liberation theology, which appeared explicitly in 1968, looked like being suffocated under the weight of militarism (coups in Brazil in 1964 but which took effect in 1968; in Bolivia in 1971, Chile 1973 etc. ). This meant it was necessary to form a 'front' and join forces. In 1975 together with Enrique Ruiz Maldonado, we organised the Mexico Meeting, to evaluate the theological work of the continent.<sup>18</sup> 'Dark night' covered Latin America and it was necessary for us to make contact with our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia,

After the Nairobi World Council of Churches Conference in 1975, Sergio Torres, who had been organising theology in the Americas, became the director of what was later called EATWOT.

## 2. THE FIVE MEETINGS OF THEOLOGIANS FROM PERIPHERAL COUNTRIES

The First Meeting took place from the 5th to 12th August 1976 in Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania),<sup>19</sup> we were twenty-two theologians from Asia, Africa, Latin America and minorities from central countries. The intercontinental dialogue was begun. The Second Meeting took place in Accra (Ghana) from the 17th to 23rd December 1977.<sup>20</sup> This

meeting was particularly dedicated to Africa. One hundred and two of us attended, as some theologians from other continents had also been invited. We studied trends in African theologies, from the class-based and antiracist theology in South Africa, to the most culturalist, in its affirmation of national identity, in other regions. At the Third Meeting (Sri Lanka), which took place from the 7th to 20th January 1979,<sup>21</sup> dedicated to Asia, attended by over eighty, the Asian theologians showed a balanced openness to the economico-political and religio-cultural problems of a minority Christianity amid gigantic poverty. The Fourth Meeting in Sao Paulo (Brazil) from the 20th February to 2nd March 1980<sup>22</sup> dealt with the theme of Base Communities; 104 members from 42 countries attended. Lastly, from 17th to 29th August 1981 we met in New Delhi,<sup>23</sup> there were 50 of us from 27 countries and we stated that 'after five years of theological investigation, we are meeting to evaluate our work, to list criteria and resources and so find a new direction for our future work'.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT: INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURAL SIN : 'VERTICAL' DOMINATION

The most unanimous agreement between the theologians from the periphery of world capitalism, dependent and dominated by productive and fiscal capital in its stage of transnationalisation was:

'The analysis of the situation of Third World countries. ...revealed a general agreement that *poverty* and *oppression* are the most obvious characteristics of the Third World. Massive poverty is increasing. ...But this poverty is not an accidental fact. It is the result of *structures of exploitation and domination*; it derives from centuries of *colonial domination* and it is reinforced by the present international economic system.<sup>25</sup>

This means that there exists an international 'structural sin', a domination by the centre countries through very advanced science and technology as an essential part of the organic composition of capital.<sup>26</sup> This analysis is a *determining factor* in all the theological reflection of the peripheral countries. Sin has a name (capitalist exploitation: 'world capital').<sup>27</sup> This theology is clear. It is not reformist, social democratic, simply liberal-in its North American or European sense.

This 'vertical' domination is reflected in the peripheral country by another kind of 'vertical' domination:

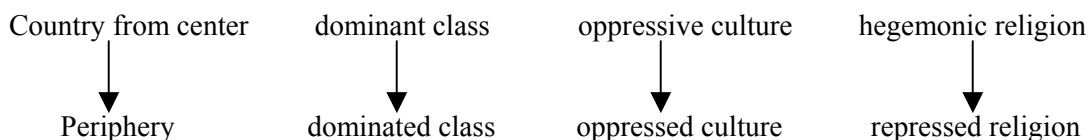
'The people are also dominated by a local elite in the Third World, so that the masses are doubly exploited: at national, and at international level'.<sup>28</sup>

This avoids the populist ambiguity of declaring that foreign powers are guilty of all evil and the national oligarchies or bourgeoisie innocent. The same thing happens with culture, a 'vertical' domination of one culture by another:

'*Culture*' is the basis of a people's creativity and way of life. It expresses their vision of the world, ideas about the meaning and destiny of human life, ideas about God.<sup>29</sup>

'Western domination has also damaged native *religious* cultures. The change in the means of production has had a negative effect on the social models and *religious* values which have sustained our communities for centuries'.<sup>30</sup> 'Vertical' domination of culture over culture (from the centre or on the part of a dominant class) or of one religion over another, and hence the 'missionary' spirit as an offensive crusade against other religions needing to be vanquished.<sup>31</sup>

### TYPES OF 'VERTICAL' DOMINATION



#### 4. OTHER KINDS OF DOMINATION OR SIN ('HORIZONTAL')

As well as these kinds of economic, political and ideological domination, there is the domination of one sex over another, one ethnic group over another, one race over another etc,

*'Women all over the world and at all levels suffer enormously from the models of masculine domination in social and cultural organisation'.<sup>32</sup> Racialism is an evil present in many societies in the world, expressing itself in various kinds of dehumanisation and segregation'.*"

*'In India the caste system is a powerful and oppressive institution'.<sup>4</sup> 'We recognise the existence of ethnic minorities in every country...'<sup>35</sup>*

Thus the forms of sin are many and deep, always structural. historical, unnoticed. These 'horizontal' forms of domination are determined by the 'vertical' but also determine them in their turn. Thus the problem of women or the Black race is different at the centre and at the periphery, in dominant or working class. But sexist patriarchy and racialism also determine the relationship between the periphery and the centre and the domination of one class over another. The one determines the other, although not in the same way.

TYPES OF 'HORIZONTAL' DOMINATION:

masculine sex	→	feminine sex
white race	→	black race
caste 1	→	caste 2
ethnic group 1	→	ethnic group 2

#### 5. MOBILISATION OF THE OPPRESSED OR LIBERATION

All the theologians noted an increasing pressure for liberation by the dominated-at all levels:

*'The growing awareness of the tragic reality of the Third World has caused an irruption by the exploited classes and humiliated races. ..The Third World is beginning to speak with its own voice, demanding justice and equality'.<sup>36</sup> This irruption expresses itself in revolutionary struggles, political uprisings and liberation movements. It is the rising of religious and ethnic groups seeking to affirm their own identity, of women demanding recognition, of the young protesting against the system of dominant values'.<sup>37</sup>*

The negative situation of oppression is confronted by positive action. which seeks 'alternatives' or the 'discernment of utopias':

*'In the face of this dark picture of the capitalist world, socialism seems to offer the only alternative. However the socialist countries, both in the Second and the Third World have problems to solve. ..The struggle for political and civil rights, the demand for greater participation'.<sup>8</sup>*

A theology of work (in which possession of the product would be for the satisfaction }of needs and not an instrument of power), a clarification of the contradictions of 'rear forms of socialism were topics frequently discussed.<sup>39</sup> There was agreement on the general strategy: 'We reject capitalism which has been responsible for most of the internal and external evils of our societies'.<sup>40</sup> But the overcoming of capitalism in the periphery must ensure 'economic development together with *respect for religions, cultures and human freedom*'.<sup>41</sup>

#### 6. mE mEOLOGY OF mE CENTRE HAS NO RELEVANCE FOR THE PERIPHERY

The theologies of the periphery have a new paradigm, a new articulation of theological *theory* with the *action* of the oppressed. The hegemonic theologies in Europe and the US still minimise the irruption of these theologies (and place them in the end chapters of their 'systematic theologies': social ethnics, theology of culture. ..i.e. folklore, fashion, superficialities).

Nevertheless the judgment upon them is clear:

'Traditional (existing) theology (of the centre) ...has not found reasons for opposing the evils of racialism, sexism, capitalism, colonialism and neocolonialism. ..The instruments and categories of traditional theology ( of the centre) are inadequate for contextual theology. It is also closely connected to Western culture and to the captialist system. ..It has remained highly academic, speculative and individualist and ignores the social and structural aspects of sin'.<sup>42</sup>

It is frequently a *theology of domination* because it has identified itself through its model of *Christendom* (which is not Christianity, as Kierkegaard reminded us) with the dominant countries, classes, races, sexes.<sup>43</sup> This is the crisis for the dream of a theology claiming *universality* , which was only the *particularity* of the centre which was and still is able to impose itself on others through the power of its economy, technology -even at the level of libraries, publications, theological administrative structures. On the other hand some theologians from the centre 'are responding to the questions raised by their situation as centre of world capitalism and as the place where various oppressed minorities live'.<sup>44</sup> It is therefore necessary to work out an 'international theological division of labour' in which theologians humbly assume their partial, continental, local tasks. They must at the same time be aware of f~ctors determining their situation.

#### 7. NEW PARADIGM. mEOLOGY ARTICULATED OUT OF MILITANCY AND ACIIION

There was general agreement on the type of articulation of theory and practice in theology:

'Theology is not a mere academicexercise'.<sup>45</sup> Interpretations of life based on the faith of people at the base, expressed in their cultural modes as liturgy , devotions, stories, drama, song, poetry, constitute genuine theology. In its formal sense, as a science, theology is a discipline requiring academic and technical competence. But the *two forms* of theology are relevant only if they derive from involvement with the oppressed and a liberating awareness'.<sup>46</sup>

Theory or theology is a second act that emerges from practice, from involvement, militancy, organic connection with the oppressed as persons, sex, race, ethnic group,

class, nation. It is a theology of the oppressed or theology of liberation of the poor countries:

'The starting point for Third World theologies is the struggle of the poor and oppressed against all forms of injustice and domination. The sharing by Christians in these struggles offers a new *theological locus* for reflection'.<sup>47</sup>

Both standpoint and audience in mind are new. That is to say, the subject of a theological discourse articulates himself in relation to the pre-eminent subject of theology: the oppressed:

'In order to be truly liberating this theology ...is articulated and expressed to the oppressed community, using the technical skills of biblical scholars, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and others ...All theology is conditioned by the situation and class awareness of the theologian'.<sup>48</sup>

All theology, including that of the periphery, has an 'ideological' status: It arises, takes shape and serves particular *doings*. It is a relative 'knowing' (not absolute) of a 'doing': 'Father, forgive them because they *know* not what they *do*' (Luke 23:34). It is a true 'epistemological break',<sup>49</sup> since theology is not 'ours'. '0 Either it explicitly serves the oppressed or it is, at least implicitly, a theology of domination. This requires a new systematisation of theology, a new universal history of the Church and its dogmas, a new biblical theology (and their respective dictionaries), new exegesis, new pastoral theology, new ethics. ...It transforms fundamental theology but also the theology of creation and the Trinity, Christology and ecclesiology ...the whole of theology.

Furthermore, it is a post-ecumenical theology. Now we are *already united*, because the causes of divisions existed and exist only in the centre:

'The different Christian communities, Catholic and Protestant share the same historical and eschatological project. ...If it is true that the poor preach the Gospel to us, it is also true that they open the way towards our unity'.<sup>1</sup>

In our theology of the peripheral countries there is no division between work from originally different communities. Our problems exclude the questions which divide the Christians of the centre.

## 8. MEETINGS BETWEEN THEOLOGIES FROM THE PERIPHERY AND THE CENTRE

We have already indicated a necessary distinction between theology of liberation (of the oppressed, who may be from the centre as in 'Black theology') and the theology of the peripheral countries (which may not be a theology of liberation, as with the excellent ethnotheology of John Mbiti).<sup>2</sup> There have been many meetings between theologians from the centre and those from the periphery. Let us recall *a few*.

There were three kinds of 'meetings' between theologians from the centre and the periphery, before the Sixth Geneva Meeting in 1983. The first kind were meetings which I shall call '*partial*'; secondly 'global mainly from the *capitalist* world'; thirdly 'global mainly from the *socialist* world'. As one of the first kind (Accra 1973) the Black Theology of the US held meetings with African theologians,<sup>3</sup> and progressive Spanish theologians set up a dialogue with Latin American liberation theologians (Escorial 1972).<sup>4</sup>

In 1973, in Accra the aim was to build bridges, but the difficulty arose from the fact that in this case the theology from the centre was a liberation theology (the 'Black Theology' of the US). In El Escorial in 1972 the reception given by the more than 400

European participants was enthusiastic, because the theological 'new winds' helped them in the anti-Franco struggle in which they were engaged. The meetings under the title 'Theology in the Americas (Detroit 1975 and 1981)' were more in the nature of an agreement on the part of theologians of the American continent (central and peripheral). The first *global* meeting, but mainly from the capitalist world, between the most eminent centre theologians from Europe (liberals, progressive and conservative) and theologians from the periphery (Edward Bodipo-Malumba from Africa, Paulo Freire and Hugo Assmann from Latin America) and liberation theologian from a minority of the centre (James Cone) took place in May 1973 in Geneva.<sup>6</sup> The meeting was 'three days of challenge, confrontation, anger, frustration and resignation', said Mernie Mellblom.<sup>7</sup> In 1977 we organised with Jorge Pixley, in Mexico from 8th to 10th October, a meeting between theologians from the US and Europe and Latin American liberation theologians and Sergio Arce, a Cuban.<sup>8</sup> This meeting served as a preparation for the Matanzas Meeting (Cuba) from 25th February to 2nd March 1979, on 'Gospel and Politics', at which there were 70 theologians from the developed socialist countries (USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia), underdeveloped (Angola, etc.), capitalist countries from the centre (Europe and US) and Latin American countries dependent upon capitalism. It was a meeting which completely changed the perspective and we were able to glimpse the possibility of a global North-South, East-West dialogue in theology. In the *Final Document* we see clearly the 'vertical' domination (economic, political ideological) of imperialism over the dependent countries ('Today the Gospel is preached from the periphery')<sup>9</sup> and 'horizontal' domination (sexist, racist, etc.) ('Gospel, racialism, sexism').<sup>60</sup> This meeting was the most comprehensive and complete to date, but the African and Asian presence was limited.

At the Sixth EA TWOT Meeting in Geneva, from 5th to 13th January 1983, attended by 81 participants, the new element was the important presence of feminist theologies, which were both militant and expressed in academic language. These theologies took their place side by side with theologies of racial, cultural, religious and class oppression. The almost complete exclusion of professional European theologians—decided by the European groups who summoned the theologians from the centre—gave the dialogue a particular configuration: what might have been a more technical theological encounter became a dialogue of militant theologies, which lacked experience of dialogue in terms of the centre and had almost no experience at all of dialogue with the periphery. This was why it was difficult to define clearly the difference caused by the fact that a particular feminist, anti-racist, or class theology arose from the centre or the periphery. Sometimes, for example, the feminist theologies, expressed their thesis homogeneously, without distinguishing what type of dialogue was taking place between feminist theology of the centre and the periphery. It was a militant meeting of theologies of liberation, with many ambiguities. The centre-periphery division (with the sole exception of Julio Santana's talk on the world economic crisis) did not function as a means of dialogue between the centre and the periphery. It was a beginning and as such extremely useful. It showed the patience needed in this kind of process which takes many years.

#### 9. ACHIEVEMENTS. MEETING OR CONFRONTATION?

The theologians of the periphery do not reject the theologies of the centre but they are beginning to set a distance from them:

'The theologies of Europe and North America are dominant in our churches. They represent a form of cultural domination. They must be seen as responses to *particular* situations in these countries. Therefore they must not be adopted *uncritically* or without our asking if they are relevant in the context of our countries'.<sup>6</sup>

It is not a question of rejection, but of taking and using these theologies from a *different* theological situation. This implies a certain *negation* to begin with (our theology is *not* the theology of the centre). After that it requires a slow, hesitant, creative beginning which still has not produced mature results, starting with the first realisation that takes the form of confrontation (Geneva 1973?). Then a slow journey to build a *new analogical theology*. The elaborate theologies of Europe or North America can ignore this new theology or declare that it is unscientific. But just as history gave us the 'modernist crisis' and since then nobody can help thinking historically, so liberation theology presents us with objective conditions and in future nobody will be able to avoid thinking in terms of conditioning by class, country, sex, race, etc. This will not just be one chapter in the history of theology, but it will require a *complete and total re-reading of the whole of theology*.

In the dialogues between the peripheral countries, differences arose between Africa, Asia and Latin America, and also the differences between the centre and the periphery. We also saw possible solutions to enable us in the first place to understand the other's position and then to draw up methods and categories (a paradigm) appropriate to a future *world theology*, a new analogical totality, which will be constructed in the Twenty First century after particularities have been noted and spelt out (including the *particularities* of Europe and the US).

*Translated by Dinah Livingstone*

#### Notes

1. See EATWOT *The Emergent Gospel* (Orbis Books, New York 1976) pp. 1-2; O. K. Bimwenyi 'A l'origine de l' Association oecumenique de theologiens du Tiers Monde' *Bulletin de theologie africaine* II, 3 (1980) pp. 41-53.
2. Correspondence from the Association's archives.
3. See *Documentation catholique* 1664, 17th November (1974) p. 995. Declaration by bishops in the Roman Synod of 1974.
4. Separated by 4 pages, on p. 3 entitled 'Indigenisation and Evangelisation', Roman Synod, Sermon of 30th September 1974, extracted from *Ernakulam Missam* Nov. (1974).
5. *Final Document*, Medellin 1968.
6. See some replies published by Birnwenyi, in the article cited in note 1 pp. 42-6.
7. See the development of this decade in my works *A History of the Church in Latin America. Colonialism to Liberation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan 1981) pp. 125ff; *De Medellin a Puebla* (Sao Paulo 1982-3) vol. I-III; and Aylward Shorter *African Christian Theology* (Orbis, New York 1977); Gerald Andersen *Asian Voices in Christian Theology* (Orbis, New York 1976) pp. 6ff. The economic crisis of 1973 -4 produced a general crisis in the periphery, increased the foreign debt I 1974 to 45 thousand millions (30% more than in 1973). On 5th May 1976 Henry Kissinger declared in the IV UNCTAD in Nairobi: 'The United States is more able than any other country to survive a period of economic war. We are in a position to ignore unrealistic proposals, - from the peripheral countries (*Excelsior* (Mexico) 8th May (1976) p. 10). See Samuel Silva Gotay *El pensamiento cristiano revolucionario en America latina* (Sigueme, Salamanca 1982) pp. 29- 72.
8. See EA TWOT *Asia's struggle for full humanity* (Orbis, New York 1980) (III Wennappuwa Meeting, Sri Lanka) pp. 4ff. We should also think of the Prapat meetings of 1957, the East Asian Christian Conference of 1958; the East Asian Christian Conference meeting of 1965, and in particular Emerito Nacpil's proposal on the 'critical Asian principle' (see 'The Critical Asian Principle' in Douglas J. Elwood *What Asian Christians are thinking* (Quezon City, New Day P 1976) pp. 3-6.
9. See Preman Niles 'Toward a framework of doing theology in Asia' in *Asian Theological Reflections on Suffering and Hope* (Singapore, CCA 1977).



10. 'Eglise et developpement' in *Nos evêques parlent*, no.6, Justice and Peace Committee (Rome 1971) p. 9.
- II. Bede Griffiths *The Christian Ashram*, p 54.
12. *Presence africaine* (Paris 1956). See T. Tshibangu 'The Task of African Theologian' in EA1WOT *African theology en route* (Orbis, New York 1979) pp. 73-9; and *ibid.*, pp. 23-35. A meeting took place in Rome in connection with the Second Vatican Council (see *Personnalité africaine et catholicisme* (Paris 1963) and the Kinshasa Faculty of Theology organised meetings on African theology in 1959 up till 1967. These are published by CERA (*Cahiers de Religions Africaines*).
13. See *Pour une theologie africaine* (Cle, Yaunde 1969).
14. See *Bulletin of the All-African Conferences of Churches* 7 (1974) nos. 1-3.
15. See. P. A. Kalilombe 'Self Reliance of the African Church' in *II* pp. 46ff.
16. See the works quoted in note 7 above.
17. See *Esprit* (July 1965) which published the 'Latin American Week' which we organised at that time: 'Chrétientés latino-américaines' (pp. 2-20).
18. See *Liberacion y cautiverio*, Meeting Issue (Mexico, 1976). The Second Latin American Meeting became a dialogue between social scientists and theologians in August 1978 in San Jose (Costa Rica). The Third Meeting was organised for July 1983. There have been many other informal meetings in New York, for Puebla, in Petropolis, etc. Many Latin American liberation theologians took part and they had a continental character.
19. EA 1WOT *The Emergent Gospel* (EG) quoted in note 1.
20. *Idem*, *African Theology en route* (A 7) quoted in note 12.
21. *Idem*, *Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity* (AS) quoted in note 8.
22. *Idem*, *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities* (BC) (Orbis, New York 1981).
23. The English edition is due from Orbis Books, New York in 1983 (ND).
24. *Documento Final N. 5. (Teologia desde el Tercer Mundo. Documentos finales, DEI, San Jose 1982,p.77.)*
25. ND. N. 9-10 (p. 78). See my article 'Analysis of the Final Document of Puebla: The Relationship between Economics and Christian Ethics' in *Concilium* 140 (1980) pp. 101ff. See other final declarations: EG, N. 6-8 (pp. 260-3); *A T*, N. 9 (p. 190); *AS*, N. 5 (pp. 152-3); *BC*, N. 6 12-13 (pp. 232-4).
26. 'Technology is an essential element in our development and it is controlled by the rich countries, increasing our dependence' (ND, N. 12 p. 78).
27. *Ibid.*, N.11, p.78.
28. *Ibid.*, see EG, N. 12 (p. 264); *A T*. N. 14 (p. 191); *AS*. N. 13-14 (p. 154); *BC* N. 12ff (pp. 232 ff).
29. EG, N. 53 (p. 91).
30. *Ibid.*, N. 20 (p. 80); EG, N. 8.h (pp. 262-3); *AT*, N. 21 (p. 192); *ASN*. 832 (pp. 153 and 157); *BC*, N. 7, 14 (pp. 232-3).
31. 'We note that the old missionary strategies have lost their validity ...The missionary Church. ..used education as a means of domestication' (*A T*, N. 17, 18 (p. 191). See EG, N. 19-21 (pp. 265-6); *AS*, N. 25 (p. 156); *BC*, N.45 (pp. 238-9).
32. ND, N. 17 (p. 79). Cf EG, N. 8, 9 and 36 (p. 262; *AS*, N. 21 (p. 155), *BC*, N. 16, p. 234; see N. 45 and 87, and pp. 239 and 245.
33. ND, N. 16 (p. 79); EG, N. 8, G and 36 (pp. 262 and 271); very especially *AT*, N. 10-12 (pp. 190-1); *BC*, N. 7 and 16 (pp. 232 and 234). Cornel West links (as in the New Delhi Declaration: 'Class oppression is closely related to discrimination based on race, colour, sex and cast': N. 14, p. 79) the question of racialism with class when he writes: 'Racial status contributes greatly to Black oppression. But middle class Black people are essentially well-paid white or blue collar workers (in US) who have little control over their lives primarily because of their class position, not their racial status. ...Therefore class position contributes more than racial status to the basic form of powerlessness in America' (*Prophesy deliverance* (Westminster, Philadelphia 1982) p. 115).

34. *ND*, N. 15 (p. 79).
35. *AS*, N. 22 (p. 155); *BC*, N. 10 (p. 233). The 'ethnic group' is neither caste nor race. It is more like a 'nation' or historical community, a social formation.
36. *ND*, N.26-7 (pp.82-3).
37. *Ibid.* , 'Struggles for liberation throughout history are not isolated or accidental events. They are part of a dialectical process. They are a reaction to overwhelming oppression' (*Ibid.*, N. 28). See *BC*, N. 7-11 and 19-26 (pp. 232-5).
38. *ND*, N. 24 (p. 81).
39. See *EO*, N. 9-11 (p. 263): 'Socialism also has problems to solve especially in the safeguarding of human freedom and the real cost in lives of the revolutionary process' (*ibid.* ). This does not mean either opting for reformism or for the 'third way'. 'We believe that the basic insight of socialism is closer to the Gospel teaching than the postulates of capitalism. Nevertheless we maintain a critical attitude towards the mistakes made by certain historical experiments in socialism. ...Socialism must face these weaknesses and this requires serious analysis and evaluation' (*ND*, N. 30, p. 84).
40. *ND*, N.31, p.84. 41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, N. 32-33 (p. 85).
43. See *EO*, N. 15-25 (pp. 264-7). What in New Delhi was called 'traditional' theology must be understood, in Dar-es-Salaam, as both 'conservative' and 'liberal' theology. There is no reference to the 'neoconservatism' of the centre, which is the theology most opposed to that of the peripheral } countries.
44. *ND*, N. 37, p. 86. 'Some European theologians are talking about "European theology" in order to distinguish it from the old theological idea of "universal theology" , (*ibid.* ). Theology is becoming 'analogical' (see my article 'Historical and philosophical presuppositions for Latin American Theology' in *Frontiers of Theology in Latin America* (Orbis, New York 1979) pp. 185-212).
45. *ND*, N. 40, p. 87. 'We reject, as of little significance, an academic type of theology, separated from action' (*EO*, N. 31, p. 269). See *A T*, N. 21-3, pp. 192-4; *AS*, N. 26-35, pp. 156-8.
46. *ND*, N.41, p.87.
47. *Ibid.*, N. 45, p. 88.
48. *AS*, N. 29-30, pp. 156-7. 49. *EO*, N. 31, p.269.
50. *Ibid.*, N. 35, p. 270. Different types of articulation with the non-theological (which are the pre-supposition and theme of theology) produce theological deviations such as the 'theology of becoming perfect in Christ' in India which 'did not take into account the universal poverty in India' (*ND*, N. 58, p. 93); the 'Ashram' movement which was incapable of passing beyond the level of } personal ethics to the macroeconomic and structural level' (*ibid.* ) ; or a theology of 'inculturation, which 'does not realise that they (these theologies) themselves identify with the culture of a particular class' (*ibid.*).
51. *BC*, N.77, p.244.
52. No one has done so much work on a theology of liberation with respect to the theologies of the periphery as James Cone. In his monumental *Black Theology; A Documentary History*, in collaboration with Gayraud Wilmore (Orbis, New York 1979), he dedicates the whole of part IV (pp. 445ff) to dialogues of theologies from peripheral countries: with theology in Africa, pp. 463ff; with Latin American liberation theology , pp. 510ff; with Marxist thought (pp. 543ff). The difference between the 'Black theology' of a central country and an 'African theology' which is not a theology of liberation can be observed in J. Mbiti 'An African views American Black Theology' (*ibid.* pp. 477 -482). James Cone's contributions to our meetings were outstanding. See, by the same author, *My Soul Looks Back* (Abingdon, Nashville, 1982) pp. 93ff. (James' personal criticisms of my position I believe now to be in the past, cleared up since the appearance of Cornel West's works. See *National Cath. Reporter* XIX, 2 February (1983) p. 43, 001. 1).

53. Since the start made in 1969, the Black Church of the US and the All Africa Conference Churches, in the central-peripheral relationship of a US minority with Africa, succeeded in holding their first meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, from 22nd to 28th August 1971 on 'Black Faith and Black Solidarity' (ed. P. Massie Friendship Press, New York 1973); see *Black Theology: a Documentary History*. Doc. 42, pp. 463ff. Thereafter another meeting was held in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, from 7th to 9th June 1973, at which differences appeared between the Black Theology of liberation of the centre and some African non-liberation theologies. This confrontation was more clearly apparent at the Accra Meeting (Ghana) from 29th to 31st December 1974. However some contradictions were also on the way towards being resolved. The results were published in *The Journal of Religious Thought*, XXXII, N. 2 (1975). We should also recall the meeting organised by EATWOT-Latin America in Kingston (Jamaica) in December 1979 in preparation for the Sao Paulo meeting (see my article which appeared, in part, in *Concilium* 151 (1982) pp. 54ff. 'A report on the situation in Latin America.. See *Black Theology: A Documentary History*, pp. 447-450 and pp. 477ff.

54. See *Fe cristiana y cambio social en America latina* (Sigueme, Salamanca 1973). (There are editions in English, French and Italian). In August 1972 the Escorial Meeting took place.

55. See *Theology in the Americas* (Orbis New York 1976). 'Theology in the Americas It' is available through a photocopying service (Orbis, New York 1982). These meetings, organised by Sergio Torres, had the merit of launching various levels of liberation theology in the US.

56. See P. Freire, H. Assmann, E. Bodipo-Malumba, J. Cone *Teologia negra teologia de la liberacion* (Sigueme, Salamanca 1974). (The only complete publication of the meeting.) See also *Risk* IX, 2 (1973).

57. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

58. See *Praxis cristiana y produccion teologica* (Sigueme, Salamanca 1979). (Partial text in English in *Foundations* (Arlington), XXIII, 4 (1980). At this highly useful meeting, there were present, among others, J. Moltrmann, H. Cox, J. Cone, D. Griffin, R. Vidales, H. Assmann, E. Dussel, O. Costas, etc. Various theologies confronted one another including the theology of hope, 'process theology', Black theology, liberation theology, etc.

59. See the 'Final Document' of the meeting in *Black Theology: A Documentary History* pp.543-51.

60. *Ibid.*, p.547.

61. *EG*, N. 31 (p. 269).