

## NOTES

### NOTES FOR TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

1. *Opresión-liberación* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1971), p.31.
2. The title of his recent book (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1978).

### NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. See the final part of Appendix I for a fuller discussion of the methodological question.
2. This has been translated from the Spanish. Cf. Chilperic Edwards, *The Hammurabi Code: and the Sinaitic Legislation* (London: Watts & Co., 1921), p.46: "...by my wisdom are they sheltered. That the strong may not oppress the weak; that the orphan and the widow may be counselled. ..." –Tr.
3. *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1966), p.36. For a synthesis of the historical perspective, cf. my *Ethics and the Theology of Liberation*, trans. Bernard F. McWilliams (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1978); and for a philosophical perspective cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973-1974).
4. From the works of Alvaro Jara, Pierre Chaunu, and Oswald Sunkel.
5. *Nueva política comercial para el desarrollo* (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 1966), p. 30. If there is added to these amounts "the deterioration of the relation of prices" (*ibid.*, pp. 21ff.) between the raw materials and the manufactured products, then the so-called underdeveloped countries simply have been despoiled, expropriated, and robbed. From the report by CEPAL (UNESCO) there has emerged the socioeconomics of dependency elaborated in the works of Celso Furtado, Helio Jaguaribe, Fernando Enrique Cardoso, Enzo Faletto, Theotonio dos Santos, André Gunder Frank, and F. J. Hinkelammert in Latin America, of Samir Amin in Africa, and of Europeans such as Arghiri Emmanuel and Charles Bettelheim. Cf. the bibliography prepared by CEDIAI in *Desarrollo y revolución, Iglesia y liberación (Bibliografía)* (Bogotá, 1971-1973), Parts 1 and 2.
6. In the presidential elections in Argentina on September 23, 1973, Buenos Aires, the Federal Capital, gave the candidate of the workers, farmers, and marginalized people only 42% of the votes while the poorer provinces of the Northeast (Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and la Rioja) more than 75%. The great capitals in Latin America—Mexico City, Guatemala City, Bogotá, Lima, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Caracas, as well as São Paulo—all manifest the phenomenon of internal dependence.
7. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1962). *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* 3:4; *Sigmund Freud Studienausgabe* 5 (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1972): 123. Freud's error consisted in confusing the "reality of masculine domination" in society with the "reality of sexuality."
8. *Encomenderos* (from *encomendar*, to entrust), for which there is no adequate English equivalent, were Spanish conquerors and colonists who by gaining favor with the king were awarded tracts of land in the New World along with being entrusted (*encomendados*) with the

Indians who lived on those lands. The *encomendero* was responsible for the physical and spiritual well-being of his charges and had the right to exact certain work from them. It was a system vulnerable to the exploitation of the Indians. Cf. Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 186. –Tr.

9. *Archivo General de Indias* (Sevilla), Audiencia de Guatemala 156.

10. Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación* (1973), 1:137ff.

11. Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Facundo* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1967), p.51. *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of Tyrants: Or Civilization and Barbarism*, trans. Mrs. Horace Mann (New York: Hafner Books, 1966), p.42.

12. Such is the meaning of *Realität* for Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (London: SCM Press, 1962 ), pp. 244-56.

13. An expression used by F. W. J. Schelling in *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie*, 24; *Werke*, ed. Schröter (München: Becksche, 1959) 5:748: *transmunden*, although not in the same sense. *Beyond* being and the world one encounters “the Lord of being” (*der Herr des Seins*), *ibid.*

14. Xavier Zubiri, *Sobre la esencia* (Madrid: Sociedad de ediciones, 1963), p. 395: “Reality is like something which belongs to you. It is something actualized in intelligence; it comes to us intellectually, as belonging to us *before (prius)* being present with us.” In the same sense *Autruí* (the Other) for Emmanuel Levinas is the real beyond the Totality of being. Cf. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, trans. Alfonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne Press, 1969). Cf. my *La dialéctica hegeliana* (Mendoza: Ser y tiempo, 1972), pp. 141ff.

15. *Civ. Dei* XV, 1. In the *City of God* Augustine posits two fundamental biblical categories: totalization, which is based on auto-erotic love (*libido*), and detotalization, which opens the future as an alternative love for the Other (*caritas*). Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (1973) 2:13-52, 66-89.

16. In Hegel it is the negation of the Difference and the entity, which as far as he is concerned is the negation of *Sein an sich* or of the Totality as original and divine Identity. Our example, in contrast, attempts to negate the alienation of the Other (reducing being to entity), that is, affirming (saying Yes to) the Other as Dis-tinct. Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación* (1973), 1:118ff; 2:42- 52, 89-127. It is, therefore, the negation of what is affirmed by Hegel from an Exteriority unknown by him.

17. Las Casas, *Brevisima relación* (1966), p. 33.

18. Cf. my report, “El ateísmo de los profetas y de Marx,” presented during the II *Semana de teólogos argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1973), and “Historia de la fe cristiana y cambio social en América latina,” in *América latina, dependencia y liberación* (Buenos Aires: G. Cambeiro, 1973), pp. 193ff. Here I set forth that the prophets always began their critique of the system of sin with a “criticism of the religion of idols and fetishes” of the system. Is Marx’s criticism then of the fetish of money not profoundly Catholic and Christian? (*Capital*, ed. Friedrich Engels [New York: The Modern Library, 1906], pp. 634- 644 [I, 24, 1]: “Das Geheimnis der ursprünglichen Akkumulation.”) And is not the negation of theology (Hegelian) in order to affirm an anthropology of the Thou an example of orthodoxy (L. Feuerbach, *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*, trans. Manfred H. Vogel [Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966]), if one remembers that Christ is the Other person and the mediator between humanity and God the Father Creator? We could say, therefore, that the Latin American “theology of liberation” is atheistic in regard to the conquering European Christendom. (Do not, however, confuse Christendom with Christianity.) Cf. my article, “From Secularization to Secularism: Science from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment,” trans. Paul Burns, *Sacralization and Secularization*, ed. Roger Aubert, *Concilium* 47 (New York: Paulist Press, 1969):93-107.

19. Permit me this translation of *hoi ptokhoi tô pneúmati* (Matt. 5:3) in order to distinguish between the “poor” as exteriority (the meaning given in section 5) and the “poor in Spirit” as a prophet actively and consciously participating in liberation. Cf. my *El humanismo semita*

(Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1969), especially the Appendix, “Universalismo y misión en los poemas del Siervo de Yahveh,” pp. 127ff.

20. “He has pulled down princes from their thrones and exalted the lowly. The hungry he has filled with good things, the rich sent empty away” (Luke 1:52-53). *Sub-vertere* in Latin means to put “bellow” what is “above” and vice versa.

21. Lev. 25:8-12. The Hebrew noun *yobel* refers in the Old Testament (Exod.19:13, 16; Lev. 25:9ff; Josh. 6:4-6, 8, 13) to a piercing horn-blast, the instrument with which that sound is made, and by association, to such special occasions as the Jubilee-year announced by its sound.

22. “What is born of the *flesh* [Totality or system] is flesh; what is born of the *Spirit* [the Other, Otherness or Exteriority] is Spirit” (John 3:6).

23. *Je pense, donc je suis*, était si ferme et si assurée que toutes les plus extravagantes suppositions des sceptiques n’étaient pas capables de l’ébranler,” *Discours de la Méthode*, ed. La Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1953),4:147-48.

24. “Ich bin Ich. Das Ich ist schlechthin gesetzt” (*Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* [1794], ed. Medicus (Berlin:Meiner, 1956), 1:96. Cf. Johannes G. Fichte, *The Science of Knowledge*, trans A. E. Kroeger (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1868), 1 :96. One can still assert that “the essence of critical philosophy consists in the absolute position of an absolute and unconditioned I determined by nothing higher” (ibid., 1: 119).

25. Cf. my works *La dialéctica hegeliana*, pp. 31-121, and *Para una destrucción de la historia de la ética* (Mendoza: Ser y tiempo, 1972), pp. 75-162.

26. Cf. my article “Crisis de la Iglesia latinoamericana y la situación del pensador cristiano en Argentina,” *Stromata* (Buenos Aires, 1970), 1:3: “La comprensión existencial sobrenatural.”

27. Cf. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, pp. 114-23, 182- 95.

28. Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación* (1973), 2: 156-74.

29. Exod. 3:1-7. Cf. *Council of Trent*, Session VI, the Decree on Justification, chapter 6, where Saint Paul’s words from 1 Romans 10:17 are cited: “...fidem *ex auditu*” (Denzinger, 1963, m. 798; ed. Alberigo, p.648).

30. This is discussed fully in my *Para una ética de la liberación* (1973), 1 :42- 64, 118-56.

31. For the relation between comprehension and praxis, see ibid., 1:65-95,128-43. In my *Para una destrucción de la historia de la ética* (1973), I have discussed the same question in regard to Aristotle, Aquinas, Kant, and Scheler.

32. The theology of Karl Rahner is recognized as being part of a Heideggerian philosophy (with influences from Maréchal). Cf. Rahner, *Spirit in the World*, trans. William Dych (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), or his *Hearers of the Word*, trans. Michael Richards (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969). It is on this basis that Eberhard Simons in his *Philosophie der Offenbarung Auseinandersetzung mit “Hörer des Wortes” von Karl Rahner* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), demonstrates how the *Mit-Sein* has not been clearly indicated in Rahner’s thought even though he has said something about it (for example, we read in “Ueber die Einheit von Nächsten-und Gottesliebe,” in *Theological Investigations*, trans. Cornelius Ernst (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961) 6:277ff., of “Nächstenliebe als sittliches Grundtun des Menschen”), as did Heidegger in *Being and Time*, pp. 153-63. The point is not to speak casually of *the Other*, but to make the Other the very basis of theological discourse, and not only the divine but the human Other as well.

33. For a philosophical perspective, see the works of Levinas (above, n. 14), and of Michael Theunissen, *Der Andere* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1965), and chapter 3 of my work *Para una ética de la liberación* (1973), 1:97ff. ,

34. Yves Congar clearly indicates that the *locus theologicus* is everyday experience (“... the history of the Church, in a certain sense, covers everything,” “Church History as a Branch of Theology,” trans. Jonathan Cavenagh, *Church History in Future Perspective*, ed. Roger Aubert; *Concilium* 57 [New York: Herder and Herder, 1970]:85), that is, revelation comes by means of historical exteriority: God is revealed *in* history. In the same sense Edward Schillebeeckx in his *Revelation and Theology* proposes “the word of God as a medium

of revelation,” trans. N. D. Smith, 2 vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968), 1:33ff. In neither case, however, as in Schelling and Kierkegaard, is anthropological exteriority seen as a functional medium of divine revelation. I am not only stating that revelation through this medium is “possibly effected in the form of a human word” (“...auf die möglicherweise im menschlichen Wort”) as K. Rahner states in his *Hearers of the Word* (1969), p. 155, but that it is the *poor* as the metaphysically Other who is the medium elected by God for his revelation. Moses, historically (and not mythically as in Exodus 3), heard the word of the Lord through the medium of the poor (Exod. 2: 11-15).

35. These categories are, for example, “flesh” (Totality), the “poor” (anthropological Otherness), God as “Creator-Redeemer,” the “Word,” the “Spirit” (alterable or different means from that of divine “face to face”), “service” (*Hadobah or diakonia*), etc. Cf. my *Ethics and the Theology of Liberation* (1978), 2:149-77. The “category” is what is revealed in Christ as “constituent revelation.” “What is interpreted” by these categories is the Christian *meaning* of the event, that is, the fruit of faith.

36. In *Liturgical Experience of Faith*, ed. Herman Schmidt and David Power, *Concilium 82* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1973), in a discussion on faith, the Scriptures and poetry are treated, but nothing is said of the privileged place of faith in the Other: the *poor*; and apart from the poor, faith is nothing more than ideology and doctrine concealed anew.

37. Cf. my *Ethics and the Theology of Liberation* (1978), pp. 28- 46, and *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (1973), 2:107-27, 156-74.

38. Cf. my *El humanismo semita* (1969), pp. 75-106.

39. Cf. my article, “Crisis de la Iglesia latinoamericana...” (above, n.26, 1:2): “Historicidad cristiana auténtica e inauténtica.”

40. For the Latin American perspective see Hugo Assmann, *Theology for a Nomad Church*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1975), pp. 69-71. A bibliography is available (also for the discussions in section 5 and 6) in *Desarrollo y revolución 2* (CEDIAL):73-95. This and the following theological line of thought are inspired in part by Latin American Christian praxis.

41. Cf. the bibliographical material, *Desarrollo y revolución 2* (CEDIAL): 31- 47.

42. The work of Johannes Baptist Metz is of particular significance. From his “Friede und Gerechtigkeit. Ueberlegungen zu einer ‘politischen Theologie’” in *Civitas 6* (1967): 13ff., *Theology of the World*, trans. William Glen-Doepel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), and “El problema de una teología política” in *Concilium 36* (1968):385ff., to his rather dull “Erlösung und Emanzipation” in *Stimmen der Zeit 3* (1973):171ff., where he avoids the word “Befreiung” (revolution) for an equivocal meaning of *cross*. Is not the cross of the assassinated prophet the same as that of the *pain* of the oppressed “poor”?

43. The function of the Church as a liberating critic (“die kritisch-befreiende Funktion der Kirche,” *Theology of the World* (1969), p.117, is quite different if one is thinking of an international political critic (who demonstrates the unjust *accumulation* of the “center”) and *social* critic (who demonstrates the domination exercised by the “oppressing classes”). What is lacking is the implementation that makes such a critic a *real* critic. Theology is essentially, primarily, and indivisibly ethical. Essentially it is a “political ethic.”

44. Cf. Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, trans. James W. Leitch (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); his *Hope and Planning*, trans. Margaret Clarkson (London: SCM Press, 1971); and *Diskussion über die ‘Theologie Hoffnung’* (München: Kaiser, 1967).

45. “...geschichtliche Veränderung des Lebens” (“...the historic transformation of life”), *Theology of Hope* (1967), p. 330. Moltmann suggests something such as a reactivated “professional ethic,” but not as a subversive movement that criticizes the *totality* of the *system* and knows that a *historical* project of liberation should be implemented as a *sign* of the Kingdom.

46. Cf. Jules Girardi, *Christianisme, libération humaine et lutte des classes* (Paris: Ed. Cerf, 1972).

47. Cf. the general conclusions in my *De la dialéctica a la analéctica* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1974).

48. Remember that Latin America is the only cultural continent that has been a colonial Christendom. Europe was a Christendom but not colonial, and the other colonial areas have not been Christendoms. This means that Latin America occupies a *unique* place in world history as well as in the history of the Church. From our *unique experience* it is imperative, therefore, that we develop a *distinct* theology if it is to be an authentic theology.

49. In Africa authors such as V. Mulago, A. Vanneste, Horst Burkle; the "Black theology" of James H. Cone, Archie Hargraves, Thomas W. Ogletree, Charles Wesley, and Eric Lincoln indicates the direction. Cf. Jan Peters, "Black Theology as a Sign of Hope," trans. Hubert Hoskins, *Dimensions of Spirituality*, ed. Christian Duquoc, *Concilium* 59 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970): 112-24; G. D. Fischer, "Theologie in Lateinamerika als 'Theologie der Befreiung'," in *Theologie und Glaube* (1971), pp. 161-78; R. Strunk, "Theologie und Revolution," in *Theologische Quartalschrift* I (Tübingen, 1973):44-53; and CEDIAL 2:58-72. Some European analyses, e.g., R. Vancourt, "Theologie de la liberation," in *Esprit et Vie* 28 (1972):433-40, 657-62, which assumes that liberation theology is inspired exclusively by a "Marxist method," are very one-sided.

50. Gustavo Gutiérrez asks in his brief *Hacia una teología de la liberación* (Montevideo: Servicio de Documentación, JECI, 1969) if, beyond a theology of development, a strict theology of liberation should not be formulated. A year earlier Rubém Alves in *his Religión: ¿opio o instrumento de liberación?* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1968) (ET: *A Theology of Human Hope* [Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969]) had already begun to move in this direction. Methol Ferré in his article "Iglesia y sociedad opulenta. Una crítica a Suenens desde América latina," in *Vispera* 12 (1969): 1-24 stated that "there is already a struggle between two theologies" in that "all theology implies in one way or another a political perspective"; and, besides, in the Catholic Church itself "there is the domination of the poor local churches by the rich ones." Thus emerged a *new theological discourse*.

51. Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (1973), 2:156-74. I would therefore define theology as "a *pedagogy* (because the theologian is a teacher and not a politician, nor is he occupying an erotic position), *analectical* (because the method is not merely epistemological nor dialectical) of the *historico-eschatological liberation*." In regard to this definition see my *Ethics and the Theology of Liberation* (1978), pp. 149-77.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. Paul Ricoeur, *Freud and Philosophy*, trans. Denis Savage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 162.

2. Ibid.

3. Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p.271.

4. Cf. "Chrétientés latino-américains," in *Esprit* (July 1965):3ff. (the inaugural of the *Semana Latinoamericana I*, Paris, 1964); *Hipótesis para una Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Barcelona: Estela, 1967), chapters I, II, 1-2, and my course published for students, *Latinoamérica en la Historia Universal* (Universidad del Nordeste), §§ 2-5.

5. I am opposed to the view of Spengler (civilization as the decadence of culture) and of Toynbee (civilization as the "intelligible field of historical comprehension") in favor of the position of Arnold Gehlen, *Der Mensch* (Berlin: Athenäum, 1940) and Ricoeur in works cited above.

6. Cf. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, p.99, the *Wozu* (the "towards which") or the means that is within our grasp.

7. It is the whole world of the “material vehicles” of Pitrim Sorokin in *his Las filosofías sociales de nuestra época de crisis* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), pp.239ff.

8. Erich Rothacker, *Problemas de antropología cultural* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), p.16.

9. Maurice Merleau-Ponty indicates this when he says that “the utilization of objects causes new cycles of behavior to emerge.” *La estructura del comportamiento* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957), p.228.

10. “To enter into true intimacy with the evils of civilization will be very difficult. Diseases of the lungs do not always produce obvious lesions. ...Civilization is this kind of sickness, and thus it is necessary that we [Hindus] be extremely prudent,” *La civilización occidental* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1959), p. 54. I do not agree with Gandhi’s pessimism regarding civilization, but I believe that we can learn a great deal from his critical approach to technology.

11. In societies or groups the constituent elements of the *ethos* are exteriorized by social functions or institutions whose exercises are established in the community. Cf. Arnold Gehlen, *Urmensch und Spatkultur* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1964).

12. I do not agree with the distinction made by Max Scheler in his essay, “*Ética*,” *Revista de Occidente* 1 (Buenos Aires, 1948): 61ff., for the ends, the authentic ends of the will or individual propensity, are values.

13. Ricoeur uses the phrase, “le noyau ethico-mythique,” “the ethico-mythical nucleus,” *History and Truth*, p. 280. The Germans use the word “Kern.”

14. Eduard Spranger, *Ensayos sobre la cultura* (Buenos Aires: Argos, 1947), p.57.

15. Rothacker, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

16. Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, p.284. He continues by saying that “the values of which we are speaking reside in the concrete attitudes toward life, insofar as they form a system and are not radically called into question by influential and responsible people. ...It seems to me that if one wishes to attain the cultural nucleus, one has to cut through to that layer of images and symbols which make up the basic ideals of a nation” (pp.279, 280).

17. In regard to life-styles, note the comments of Freyer, Spranger, and Rothacker, op. cit., as well as of Nicolai Hartmann, *Das Problem des geistigen Seins* (Berlin: Gruyter, 1933).

18. Attitudes can be referred to as the “deposited causes” of a culture, the values and symbols as the kingdom of “ends,” the *life-style* as the “formal” constituent of the culture, and the cultural works as the material cause or the “medium” by which the culture is expressed and communicated. At the same time the cultural works represent the “effect” of the transitive operation.

19. Rothacker, op. cit., p.29.

20. Cf. Miguel León-Portilla, “El pensamiento prehispánico,” *Estudios de historia de la filosofía en México* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963), p. 44.

21. Max Scheler, *El saber y la cultura* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1960), p.48.

22. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1959, pp. 21-22. One does not have to speak of the “preontological,” as did Heidegger, but rather of the “prescientific” or “pre-philosophical,” as does Husserl— a point well made by Alphonse de Waelhens, *La Philosophie de Martin Heidegger* (Paris: B. Nauwelaerts, 1969). The cultured person is reflectively aware of the structures of daily life, life-styles, and values, as well as of works of art. All of these things are learned from one’s origin and by one’s own nature (from birth). It is not an elaborated system as such, either scientific or philosophical, but rather the accumulation of previous attitudes, those of the *Lebenswelt* of Husserl.

23. Spranger, op. cit., p.69. Life-styles are transformed into social functions or institutions. Education then transmits and even procreates and reinforces them.

24. Cf. my article, “Iberoamérica en la Historia Universal,” *Revista de Occidente* 25 (Madrid, 1965):85-95. “The new Latin American countries during the early stages of their independence were already aware that they were on the periphery of progress, on the periphery of the world which vigorously shunted them aside and which continually threatened

them with its inevitable expansion. This preoccupation is expressed in the writings of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, and of other thinkers anxious about the structure of the recently emancipated nations —thinkers such as Sarmiento and Alberdi of Argentina, Bilbao and Lasterria of Chile, José María Luis Mora of Mexico along with many others. Face to face with the modern world the Latin American nations had to recognize the entities which would or would not permit them to become a part of the modern world as nations equally modern.” *América Latina y el mundo* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1965), p. 7. “This preoccupation has recently become the primary concern of our time in Latin America” (p. 9).

25. Cf. Mircea Eliade, *Traité d’Histoire des religions* (Paris: Payot, 1957), pp. 332ff.

26. In my course, *Historia de la Cultura*, I, op. cit., I deal in detail with this question, beginning in § 13 and following.

27. Consider, for example, the collection *Historia de las ideas en América* published by the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia and the Fondo de Cultura Económica (Tierra Firme). See especially the *Notes* and *Comentarios*. Every cultured person in Latin America should have this collection in his library. Included are the works of Arturo Ardao, *La Filosofía en el Uruguay en el siglo XX* (México: FCE, 1956); G. Francovich, *El pensamiento boliviano en el siglo XX* (México: FCE, 1956); Cruz Costa, *Esbozo de una historia de las ideas en el Brasil* (México: FCE, 1957); R. H. Valle, *Historia de las ideas contemporáneas en Centro-América* (México: FCE, 1960); V. Alba, *Las ideas sociales contemporáneas en México* (México: FCE, 1960); etc. All of these works were published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica in Mexico beginning in 1956. One could add to these the work of A. Salazar Bondy, *La filosofía en el Perú* (Washington: Unión Panamericana, 1960), and works such as that by Alfredo Poviña, *Nueva historia de la sociología latino-americana* (Universidad de Córdoba, 1959) —a book that also opens unknown panoramas on the level of the history of ideas —and Ricardo Donoso’s *Las ideas políticas en Chile* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), to cite only two works which should be utilized in any serious study of the evolving intentional structures, and even more so in the study of Latin American sociology, philosophy, political science and literature in general as it was developed by many versatile personalities during our continent’s history. Were not Echeverría, Sarmiento, or Lucas Alemán —all of these —sociologists, philosophers, political scientists, and historians —without being truly specialists in any of the fields we have mentioned?

28. One should examine the works in the history of religion such as Walter Krickeberg, *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961), and for methodology the works of Friedrich Schmidt, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Mircea Eliade, Rudolf Otto, Wilhelm Dilthey, but within the phenomenological method proposed by Husserl and by Max Scheler.

29. “La symbolique du mal” (Paris: Aubier, 1960). This is the third section of Ricoeur’s *La philosophie de la volonté*.

30. Cf. my work, *El humanismo semita* (1969).

31. There are general interpretative works that begin to indicate for us some hypotheses as to how we should proceed. For the most part, however, they lack a developed methodology of the philosophy of culture, and their investigation stops short of the desired goal. We should leave aside those works that deal primarily with the problems of Spain —from which have arisen too many Latin American reflections. I am referring not only to the writings of Ortega y Gasset and Julian Marías, but also those of Pedro Laín Entralgo, *España como problema* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), vols. I, II; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1956), vols. I, II, written in response to the work of Antonio de Castro, *La realidad histórica de España* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), and Ramiro de Maeztu, *Defensa de la Hispanidad* (Madrid: Fax, 1952). I would recommend instead books such as those of Leopoldo Zea, *La historia intelectual en Hispanoamérica*, in the series “Memorias de I Congreso de Historiadores de México” (México: TGSA, 1950), pp. 312-19, his *América en la historia* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), and *Dos etapas del pensamiento hispanoamericano* (México: El Colegio de México, 1949); Alberto Wagner de Reyna, *Destino y vocación de Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Cultura Hispanica, 1954); Pedro Enríquez

Ureña, *Historia de la cultura en la América Hispánica* (México: FCE, 1959) and his *Las corrientes literarias en la América Hispánica* (México: FCE, 1954). There are also the important works of E. Anderson-Imbert, *Historia de la literatura hispano-americana* (México: FCE, 1957); Herman Keyserling, *Meditaciones sudamericanas* (Santiago de Chile: L. Ballesteros, 1931); Alceu Amoroso Lima, *A Realidade Americana* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1954) and his "L'Amérique en fase de la culture universelle," *Panorama 2* (August 1953):11-33; Víctor Haya de la Torre, *Espacio-Tiempo histórico* (Lima, 1948); Alberto Caturelli, *América bifronte* (Buenos Aires: Troquel, 1961), and his "La historia de la conciencia americana," *Diánoia* (México, 1957):56-77; Nimio de Anquín, "El ser visto desde América," *Humanitas 3* (August 1955):13-27; Ernesto Mayz Vallenilla, *El problema de América* (Universidad de Caracas, 1959); Edmundo O'Gorman, *La invención de América* (México: FCE, 1958); José Ortega y Gasset, "La pampa..." *Obras completas de José Ortega y Gasset* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1957-1958), vol. 2; Antonio Gómez Robledo, *Idea y experiencia de América* (México: FCE, 1958); Abelardo Villegas, *Panorama de la filosofía iberoamericana actual* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1963); Mariano Picón-Salas, *De la conquista a la independencia* (México: FCE, 1944); etc. See also the article by Ferrater Mora, "Filosofía americana," *Diccionario de Filosofía* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1958), pp. 518-23.

32. There are important works on the *ethos* of the time of the Spanish Conquest. See, for example, Lewis Hanke, *Colonisation et conscience chrétienne au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1957), ET: *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), and Joseph Hoffner, *Christentum und Menschenwürde* (Trier: Paulinus, 1947). There is, however, a scarcity of works on the *ethos* of the colonial era as well as on the period following political independence.

33. José Ortega y Gasset, *Una interpretación de la Historia Universal* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1966), pp. 358, 359. An English translation by Mildred Adams is available, *An Interpretation of Universal History* (New York: Norton, 1973), but unfortunately it does not include this provocative appendix on "El hombre español" (pp. 335-59 of the Spanish edition) from which Dussel takes this quotation. –Tr.

34. *El problema de América* (1959), p.41.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 63. "In effect, does living expectantly [mean that] we cease to exist? Or does it mean on the contrary that we already exist ...and our most intimate being consists of an essential and reiterated not-yet-always-being?" (*ibid.*) "To be temperate regarding the future, expectation maintains us in tense anticipation counting on that which is near and on nothing more. In view of the inexorability of the future's arrival, we know that we should be ready for anything, and in the same spirit, our being ready is pure expectation and nothing more" (p.77).

36. A. Caturelli, *América bifronte*, (1961), pp. 41-42.

37. Ortega y Gasset, *Obras completas 2*:633, in the article on "La Pampa...promesas."

38. H. A. Murena, "Ser y no ser de la cultura latinoamericana," *Expresión del pensamiento contemporáneo* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1965), p.244. Murena has also written *El pecado original de América* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1954), in which he says harshly that Latin America lacks its own culture, and that this lacking produces a state of cultural anxiety, which results in the collecting of an abnormal abundance of information regarding alien cultures (*ibid.*, p. 252). He then describes "the great reaction during the years of 1910 and following (years of Rubén Darío, César Vallejo, Pablo Neruda, and Manuel Bandeira) which produced an abundance of counterpoint from which emerged the sound of what is truly American," especially in the works of Alfonso Reyes and Jorge Luis Borges.

39. Together with the works already cited one should be thoroughly familiar with the writing of José Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica* (Buenos Aires: Calpe, 1948); Félix Schwartzmann, *El sentimiento de lo humano en América* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Filosofía, 1950-1953), vols. 1,2; Víctor Massuh, *América como inteligencia y pasión* (México: Tezontle, 1955); Manuel Gonzalo Casas, "Bergson y el sentido de su influencia en América," *Humanitas*



7 (Dec. 1959):95-108; Risieri Frondizi, "Is There an Ibero-American Philosophy?" *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 9 (Buffalo, March 1949); etc.

40. "The physical objects of culture" are not the same as "culture."

41. Europe and the West are not the same. When Zea speaks of "Europe on the margin of the West" (*América en la historia* [1957], pp. 155ff.), he is proposing an interesting distinction between "modernity," which Europe created (the European culture) from the time of the Renaissance and what was to be the "West," and previous and later Europe, which continues being the producer of contemporary culture (pp. 167ff.). Nevertheless, Zea fails to distinguish between civilization (i.e., the West, and this being the case, he should not speak of "western culture," pp. 158ff.) and culture. Western civilization is universal, while Europe continues to be the cradle of its own *culture*.

## NOTES FOR PART 2

### INTRODUCTION

1. R. Carbia, *La superchería en la historia del descubrimiento* (Buenos Aires: [no publisher given] 1929), *La historia del descubrimiento* (Buenos Aires, 1936), etc.

2. "...Romanos Pontifices praedecessores nostros concessorum versus dictas partes, cum quibusvis Sarracenis, et infidelibus de quibusque rebus, et bonis, ac victualibus emptiones, et venditiones, prout congruent facere; necnon quoscumque contractus inire, transigere, pasciari, mercari, et negotiari, et merces quascumque ad ipsorum Sarracenorum, et infidelium loca, dummodo ferramenta, lignamina, funes, naves, seu armaturarum genera non essent, deferre, et ea dictis Sarracenis, et infidelibus vendere, omnia quoque alia, et singula in praemissis, etcirca ea opportuna vel necessaria facere, gerere, vel exercere" (*Aetemi Regis*, 8, 1. 1455) (B. P. Port., 1:49). It is obvious that all of these privileges were given as a reward for the struggle against the "infidels," i.e., because of the Portuguese "Crusade" against Islam.

3. "Reservatus Regibus Portugalliae omnes Ecclesiae et beneficia ecclesiastica in terris a capitibus de Bojador et Nam usque ad Indos ..." (*Dum fidei constantiam*, June 7, 1514, issued by Leo X, B. P. Port., 1:98- 99; "...jus patronatus et praesentandi personas idoneas ad quaecumque ecclesiae et beneficia ecclesiastica... ut praefertur..." (ibid., p. 99).

4. "...ac pluriorum animarum salutem, orthodoxae quoque fidei propagationem et divini cultus augmentum" (*Romanus Pontifex*, ibid., p. 31).

5. "...ad Militiam et Ordines...loca acquisita et acquirenda bujusmodi, nullius Diocesis existere" (*Inter caetera*, ibid., pp. 36-37).

### NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Cf. S. Cook W Borah, *The Indian Population of Central Mexico, 1531-1610* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 48.

2. La *mita* was the institutionalization of the indigenous people by which the Spanish colonists were supposed to be regulated in their working of the Indians. –Tr.

3. Alexander von Humboldt, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent* 1 (Paris, 1804):594 ET: *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, trans. Tomasina Ross (New York: B. Blom, 1971), 3 vols. Humboldt once said to Simón Bolívar, "I believe that your country [Venezuela] is already mature, but I don't know any man who can take advantage of this fact." The explorer was speaking of the struggle for independence. Cf. Pedro Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica* 2 (Caracas: Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, 1959):48.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. Mariano Cuevas, *Historia antigua de México* 1 (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1945):158- 78; A. López, "Los doce primeros apóstoles de México," *Semana de Misiología* 2 (Barcelona: Bib. Hispana Misiología, 1930):201-26.
2. R. Ricard, *La conquête spirituelle*, p.35.
3. Cf. my *Les évêques latinoaméricains, défenseurs et evangelisateurs de l'indien (1504 -1620)* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), pp. 124-8. The Spanish edition is *El episcopado hispanoamericano* 3 (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1969):74-105.
4. Cf. the Spanish edition of the preceding work, *El episcopado hispanoamericano* 4 (1969):145-316. This material is not included in the French edition published by Steiner.
5. *Archivo Vaticano, Ac. Canc.* 5, folio 178.
6. *Testamento del obispo de Chiapas*, given in Madrid (Atocha) in 1566. *Colección Doc. Inéd. para la hist. de México*, II, 511. The French, German, and English should not overlook the fact that the so-called Black Legend stemmed from the prophetic allegations of Bartolomé de Las Casas, who was himself a Spaniard. The Conquest of the Americas involved many great injustices, but it also produced some great saints. Sixteenth-century Spain deserves credit for both, just as England during the same period produced the Pilgrims and the Pirates such as Francis Drake, who was knighted for his thievery and pillaging of the Latin American cities of the Caribbean.
7. Letter written from León, Nicaragua, June 1, 1544. *Archivo general de Indias* (Sevilla), Audiencia de Guatemala 162.
8. Letter of July 20, 1544. *Ibid.*
9. Letter of September 20, 1545. *Ibid.*
10. Letter written by Licenciado Cerrato, January 26, 1550. *Ibid.*
11. Letter of Valdivieso, July 20, 1544. *Ibid.*
12. Letter of May 9, 1545. *Ibid.*
13. Letter of 1547. *Ibid.* Valdivieso wrote in a letter of November 11, 1545: "The Bishop of Chiapas came to this province virtually fleeing from his parishioners to seek help in order to exercise his jurisdiction which he had not been permitted to do. Moreover, scandalous and disrespectful actions have occurred in his diocese all because of his efforts to liberate the Indians according to the law of God which they too deserve."
14. Letter from Valdivieso, 1547, *Ibid.*
15. Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales* 1 (Madrid: Diego Diazdela Carrera, 1655):235-36.
16. *Archivo general de Indias* (Sevilla), Audiencia de Guatemala 164, letter of May 1, 1547, folio 1.
17. *Ibid.*,folios 3-13.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Letter of January 8, 1551. *Archivo general de Indias*, Audiencia de Quito 78.
20. Thus wrote the Secretary after visiting the entire diocese. "Informe," October 23, 1555. *Archivo general de Indias*, Audiencia de Quito 78. The Secretary also stated that "our bishop is more in danger from the Spaniards than from the Indians."
21. In regard to the synods, cf. my *Les évêques latinoaméricains ...*(1970), pp.201ff.
22. Juan Friede, *Don Juan del Valle* (Segovia: Instituto Diego de Colmenares, 1952), p. 20. Valle had to enter France by way of the frontier of Laredo.
23. Letter of April 22, 1567, written from Popayán. *Archivo general de Indias*, Audiencia de Quito 78.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Juan del Valle*, Letter of January 8, 1551. *Ibid.*
26. Francisco J. Hernández, *Colección de bulas, breves, y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas* 2 (Brussels: Imprinta de A. Vromant, 1879):149.
27. Fernando Ocaranza, *Capítulos de la historia franciscana* 1 (México; 1933):23. Regarding the councils and synods, cf. my *Les évêques latinoaméricains ...* (1970), pp. 162ff.

28. Hernáez, Colección 1:54-56; Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Butrón, *Concilios provinciales primero, y segundo...* 1 (México: En la imprenta de el superior gobierno, de el dr. J. A. de Hogel, 1769):1-10; Cuevas, *Historia* 1:171ff.; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a San Francisco institutorum* 16 (Romae: Rochi Bernabo, 1731-1886):212; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* 1 (México, D. F.: Nicholas Rodrigo Franco, 1723):c. 16.

29. Lorenzana, *Concilios* 1:4. It is interesting to note how the 1769 edition of Lorenzana insisted that the teaching be in Spanish, a language that the missionaries never imposed on the Indians (cf. pp. 7-8). Rome took certain measures, however, to impede baptism until all normal requirements were fulfilled. Cf. the papal bull *Altitudo Divine Consilii* of Paul III in response to a letter sent to him by Bishop Julián Garcés of Tlaxcala. Cf. Hernáez, *Colección* 1:56-62.

30. Zumárraga presided over the Council.

31. Johann Specker, *Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch-Amerika* (Schoneck-Beckenried, Schweiz: Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1953), p.3. Cf. Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, *Fray Juan de Zumárraga* (México: Publicists B. de Silva, 1948), pp. 153ff., 331ff.

32. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Frey Juan de Zumárraga* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentinian, 1947), pp. 116ff., and Appendix 21, pp. 87ff. Cf. Lorenzana, op. cit., Appendices.

33. In the work published in 1947 on Zumárraga written by J. García Icazbalceta, the author states: "In baptizing the adults the ancient decrees were fulfilled and renewed as they were fulfilled and renewed by the conversion of Germany and England during the time of Pope Gregory and of the Emperors Charlemagne and Pepin, in view of the fact that we face the same type of situation as existed when those decrees were promulgated, and those who assented to these rites and ceremonies ...as during the pontificates of Siritio, Leo, Damaso, Gelasio, Ambrose, Augustine, and Hieronymus ...as now we offer them to many gentile adults who live wholesome and peacefullives and who have believed and been converted and been baptized ...As the Manual instructs, there are two periods in the year for baptism, Pentecost and Holy Week, during which times the adults are to be baptized ...provided the bishop or minister certifies that the candidates have been perfectly instructed" (p. 119). "We are aware that in regard to the Holy Sacrament of Communion, there has been and is among the ministers of the Church some question as to whether after Confession the indigenous Christians should receive Communion, and that in these cases the priest or confessor must be the judge; but these ministers are uncertain as to whether they can or should deny the: Sacrament to those simply because they are Indians and newly converted." (ibid., p. 131).

34. Ibid., p. 192. Cf. Specker, *Die Missionsmethode*, p.35.

35. Lorenzana, *Concilios* 1:35-144.

36. It was truly a change in the customs of the colonial society that they possessed something that existed for more than twenty years. It should be noted that Chapter 69 stipulated that when instructing the Indians, one should do so in their language. Consequently, it was necessary to have competent translators edit and correct the materials prepared in the indigenous languages. Chapter 73 refers to the Indian villages and to the necessity that they be legally organized: for the Indians to "be truly Christian and law abiding, rational people, it is necessary that they be assembled and confined (*reducidos*) to villages ...," ibid., pp. 147- 48.

37. Ibid., pp. 185- 208. Although the Church at times adopted some primitive rites, these were often modified considerably. "We command that the Indians not be permitted to have processions ...unless their Vicar or Minister is present" (cap. 11, p. 194). "For the conversion of the indigenous peoples, it is obligatory that we know their languages ...and all priests should be diligent in learning the dialects of their parishes" (cap. 19, p. 199). Attending the Council other than the Archbishop were the bishops of Chiapas, Tlaxcala, Yucatán, Nueva Galicia (Guadalajara), and Antequera (Oaxaca).

38. According to the Council, priests "in regionibus Indorum beneficia cum onere obti-

nentes in materna earumdem regionum lingua examinent, et quos repererint linguae huiusmodi ignaros, sex mensium spatio praefinito, ad discendas linguas compellant, admonentes eos quatenus elapso termino, si linguam huiusmodi non didicerint ...ipso facto vacabit, et alteri de eo fiet provisio” (*De Doctrina Cura*, §V, I, pp.139-40). Regarding the seminaries—and in response to those who contended that the Latin American Church was anti-Tridentine—the Council declared: “...in singulis Diocesibus Collegium erigeretur, ubi pueri religiose educarentur, et omnibus Ecclesiasticis disciplinis imbuerentur, ita ut Collegium hoc Ministrorum Dei perpetuum esset Seminarium” (ibid., §II, p. 137). And restricting the privileges of the religious, the text declares: “... nisi ex urgenti causa, facultatem Episcopi non concedant” (ibid., §VI, p. 140); and “Parochos omnes, tam Seculares, quam Regulares haec Synodus ...” (ibid., tit. II, *De officio Parochi*, I, p. 152). And regarding the dispensing of the Eucharist to the Indians, the Council commanded: “...eis (...) nullatenus Eucharistiam denegari patiantur ...” (ibid., *De administratione*, III, p. 155 ). Texts of the Council, *Concilium Mexicanum Provinciale* III, II, 1- 328; Mansi, XXXIV (1902), 1015-1228, and XXXVI bis, 317- 18 in the *Archiv. Vatic., Sectio Congr. Concilio, Conc./Prov./Mex./ A.D. 1585* (238 folios ).

39. Cf. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Concilios Limenses* (1551-1772) (Lima; 1951-1954):3-93.

40. Priests were ordered to baptize those adults among the Indians who requested baptism provided they had been catechized in their own language and could respond correctly to the questions therein (Const. 6 pp. 10-11). Furthermore, Constitution 7 commanded that “no person should be baptized against his will” (p. 11). The Eucharist was to be administered only with the permission of the Prelate or Vicar. During this period the standards were more demanding in Peru than in Mexico, but in the second Council “...cum nullum absque causa possimus tam salutari cibo privare, monemus prefatos parochos, ut talibus sic despositis hoc sacramentum suo tempore ministrare non denegent” (Const. 58, p. 186).

41. The decisions of the Council of Trent were promulgated in Lima on October 28, 1565, and it is obvious that with the presence of several new bishops the program of evangelization was continuing from Panama (*Tierra Firme or Continentis*) to the River Plate area (Charcas) and Chile (*Sancti Iacobi et Imperialis*).

42. On the other hand , “...doceant indos doctrinam quae eis a suo proprio episcopo tradetur” (*Const.* 2, p. 160); “...sacerdotes indorum curam agentes, eorum linguam addiscant ...indorum linguam diligenter addiscant” (*Const.* 3, p. 161). The name given to the missionaries was “*sacerdotes indorum*,” a beautiful and meaningful title. Regarding instruction to be given prior to baptism, (*Const.* 29), the 74th Constitution stated: “Sentit sancta Synodus, et ita servandum statuit, hoc noviter ad fidem conversos, *hoc tempore* non debere alicui ordine initiari, neque in sollemnibus missarum celebratione ...; et quam potuerint sollicitudine, tam pueros quam alios, hispane loqui edocere procurant” (pp. 192- 93). One notes herein the difference in the spirit of the prelates in Mexico and that of Toribio de Mogrovejo, in that there was a lamentable confusion in the Hispanic culture and civilization and the goals of the Church in her work of evangelization. What was at first a principle was slowly transformed into a means of social protection of the white minority from the Indian majority. And the Church unconsciously served to enforce the will of the Spanish colonial society.

43. Mansi, XXXIV bis (1913) col.193-258 and col. 807-808, *Concilia Limana*, pp. 1-125. The catechism of the Council can be examined in the *Biblioth. Nationale* in Paris, nat. res. D. 11171.

44. *Actio Prima*, Cf. Vargas Ugarte, *Concilios* 1:261.

45. “Nemo vero Indorum aut Aetiopum ad communionem recipiatur; nisi proprii parochi aut confessoris licentiam scripto sibi datam ostenderit” (ibid., cap. XXX, p. 274).

46. “In ordinibus minoribus conferendis ...longe certe melius Dei Ecclesiam et salutem Neophitorum consuliter paucitate electorum sacerdotum, quam multitudine imperitorum” (ibid., XXXIII, p.278). The door was opened but the requirements were many and the possibilities were few for Indians to be accepted into the priesthood. In fact, the religious orders had internal standards and regulations that specifically prohibited the consecration to

the priesthood of either Indians or Negros. Cf., for example, the case of San Martín de Porres. Regarding the seminaries, Cap. XLIV, p.282.

47. Actio III, cap. III, *De protectione et cura indorum*: "Nihil tes in harum Indicarum provincilis, quod Ecclesiae praesides ...curamque pro spirituali, et temporali eorum necessitate, prout ministros Christi decet, impendant. Et certe harum gentium mansuetudo et perpetuus serviendi labor et naturalis obedientia ...sed hodie quoque a pluribus designari, orat in Christo atque admonet omnes magistratus, et principes ut iis se benignos praebeant ...insolentiam frenent et catholicae majestatis fidei commissos et subditos liberos certe non servos agnoscant. Porro parochis ...non percussores et tanquam filios, christianae charitatis sinu, Indos faveant et protent" (pp. 284- 85).

48. IV *Conc. Provincial Limense* (1591), Vargas Ugarte, I, 377- 88; V *Concilio* (1601), op. cit., I, 389-97. King Charles III convened the final Council in Lima in 1772 for the purpose of dealing with the question of the expulsion of the Jesuits from his realm. But the Council did not discuss this matter; rather, it occupied itself with pastoral concerns. In the Conciliar texts matters related to the Indians were dealt with in the final chapter, *De privilegiis indorum*, occupying exactly six pages (of a total 137 pp.) even though at the time the Indians alone—not including the mestizos—comprised considerably more than half of the total population of Peru. It is evident that by the sixteenth century the missionary Church had become an institution of Hispanic-Creole, urbanized "Christianity" with virtually no regard for the Indian nor for the rural areas. The attitude should not, however, be exaggerated. In every chapter of the Council there was at least one reference to the Indians, but they were relegated to the lowest level of the social structure.

49. Archbishop Toribio organized diocesan councils in 1582 (29 decrees), 1584 (11 decrees), 1585 (93 decrees), 1586 (30 decrees), 1588 (30 decrees), 1590 (14 decrees), 1592 (30 decrees), and 1594 (48 decrees). The texts of these councils are found in *Lima limata* of 1673 or *Concilia Limana*, 1684. Cf. C. J. Sáenz Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hisp. et Novi Orbis* (Rome, 1694).

50. Fernando de Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú* (Sevilla: G.E.H.A. 1953), pp. 344ff.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.

52. *Ibid.*, p.351.

53. Vicente de Sierra, *El sentido misional de la conquista de América* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de Orientación Española, 1942), p. 171.

54. Felix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La misionjesuitica* (1566-1572) (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1956 ), pp. 202ff. Jesuit missionaries had already been requested for Michoacán by Vasco de Quiroga, and for Peru by Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, as well as for many other areas. Fathers Rogel and Villarreal began working in Calus and Tequesta as early as 1566, and the whole continent became a Jesuit mission field by 1568.

55. *Monumenta Peruana* 1 (1565- 1575), edited by Antonio de Egaña (Rome: Apud "monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu," 1954).

56. Francisco J. Alegre, *Historia de la Proyincia de la Compañia de Jesús de Nueva España* (Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1956 ); Vol. I deals with the period of 1566-1596.

57. Roberto Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú* 11 (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921- 1926):193- 97.

58. A. G. G. Pérez, *El patronato Español en el virreynato del Perú*, (Tournai, 1937), p.98.

59. S. Delacroix, "Le déclin des missions modernes," *Hist. Gen. des Missiones*, II, 363-90.

The foundation of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* in 1701 was not an indication of Protestant influence in Latin America during this period. Significant penetration of Latin America by Protestants has taken place during this present century although agents of the Bible societies (and later missionaries) began working in the River Plate area as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century.

60. R. Ricard, *La conquête spirituelle du Mexique*: "il est d'ailleurs assez frappant d'observer que ces populations restées à peu près purement païennes sont celles qui, par suite des obstacles géographiques, des dangers du climat ou de la difficulté de la langue, ont été à

peine touchées par l'évangélisation primitive ...Nous constatons une fois de plus que l'activité des religieux du XVIe. siècle a fortement pesé sur les destinées du Mexique" (pp. 330-31). "Le XVIe. siècle a été la période capitale, la période où le Mexique s'est fait et dont le reste de son histoire n'a été que le développement presque inévitable" (p. 344). The same can be said of the other countries, although in some of them the above conditions prevailed more during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

61. Delacroix, "Le déclin des missions modernes," pp.371ff.

62. Chapter 6 of the VI *Concilio de Lima* (1772) stated that "bishops and others who have the obligation of educating the Indians so that they would be qualified for Sacred Orders ...should give particular attention to see that they are prepared in such a way that they acquire the qualities required by the Canons ...," Vargas Ugarte, op cit., p. 32. The success of the evangelistic efforts in the Philippines was due largely to the work of indigenous clergy. If Latin America had developed an indigenous clergy, it is possible that the evangelization of the Continent would now be complete.

63. Cf. the recent work of Gabriel Guarda, *Los laicos en la cristianización de América* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Nueva Universidad, 1973), from which we have utilized the notes and to which we will repeatedly refer in dealing with this important theme.

64. Ibid., pp. 84ff. Guarda supports his affirmation with numerous estimates. It is interesting to note that the Psalms were the most frequently translated portion of the Old Testament while in the New Testament, in addition to the Gospels, the Apocalypse was favored. Commentaries were written in Latin and Spanish on the Song of Songs, the Prophets, Ecclesiastes, on the Pentateuch as a whole and on the individual books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, etc. It is a mistake to assume, therefore, that Bible reading was not practiced during the period of colonial Christianity.

65. Ibid., pp.92ff.

66. Ibid. Besides these works there were the viceregal liturgies and exercises, spiritual retreats, and fiestas honoring patron saints, together with other religious activities.

67. Ibid., p. 229. Cf. Bartolomé Valasco, "El alma cristiana del conquistador de América," *Misionalia Hispánica*, 22:282.

68. Raul Porras, "El Testamento de Pizarro," *Cuadernos de historia del Perú* 1 (1936):58.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. "Relación de las cosas que sucedieron al P. Fr. Alonso Ponce," *CODOIN* 43 (1872):39-43. Cf. my work *Para una historia del catolicismo popular en Argentina*, (Buenos Aires: Bonum, 1970), pp. 19ff.

2. Cf. the interesting discussion by Pedro Borges, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Departamento de Misiología Española, 1960), pp. 58-90.

3. Cristóbal de Molina, *Ritos y fábulas de los Inca* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Futuro, 1947). This work was first written c. 1572.

4. Juan de Tovar, *Historia de los indios mexicanos*, ed. T. Phillips (Middle Hill, England: Press of Sir Thomas Phillips, 1852).

5. José de Acosta, *De natura Novi orbis libri duo, et de promulgatione evangelii apud barbaros ...* (Salamanticae: Apud Guillelmum Foquel, 1589).

6. Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 3 vols. (México: Editorial Alfa, 1955).

7. Ricard, *La conquête spirituelle*, pp.55ff.

8. Ibid., p. 330.

9. Julio Iménez Rueda, *Herejías y supersticiones en la Nueva España* (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), pp.2, 19.

10. José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad Peruana* (Lima: Biblioteca "Amauta," 1928), p. 127. Luis Eduardo Valcárcel maintains the same idea in his *Ruta cultural del Perú* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1945), p. 184.

11. George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward, 2 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945):596-97.

12. José Vasconcelos, "El cisma permanente," *El Colegio Nacional Alfonso Reyes* (México: 1956), p. 210, proposes an idealist solution, viz., that the Indians would have voluntarily had a radical change of soul. This position, however, is socioculturally impossible—as are the others—as I have attempted to demonstrate.

13. Borges, *Métodos misionales en la cristianización de América*, pp.52ff.

14. William S. Robertson, *La vida de Miranda*, tr. Julio E. Payro (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Anaconda, 1947), p. 57. The original English work was *The Life of Miranda*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929).

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER VII

1. Pedro Calmón, *História da civilização brasileira* (São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1940), p. 189.

2. R. H. Valle, *Historia de las ideas contemporáneas en Centro-América*, p.265.

3. V. Alba, *Las ideas contemporáneas de México* (1960), p.20.

4. Cf. my *Para una historia del catolicismo popular en Argentina*,. (1970), chapter I: "Folk Catholicism in the Mediterranean Church"; chapter II: "The Amerindian Folk Religiosity"; chapter 3: "Hispanic and Latin American Folk Catholicism."

5. O. Di Lullo, *Cancionero popular de Santiago del Estero* (Buenos Aires: UNT, Baiocco, 1940), p. 92.

6. J. A. Carrizo, *Cancionero popular de Salta* (Buenos Aires: UNT, Baiocco, 1933), pp. 698-99.

7. J. A. Carrizo, *Cancionero popular de Jujuy* (Tucumán: UNT, Violetto, 1934), p. cv.

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER VIII

1. Cited by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *El episcopado en los tiempos de la emancipación sudamericana* (1809-1830) (Buenos Aires: Impr. de Amorrortu, 1932), p.84.

2. Leandro Tormo, *La historia de la Iglesia en América Latina* 3 (Friburgo, Suiza: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones sociales de FERES, 1962):36.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

5. Cf. Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa sede e Hispanoamérica*, Vol.2, a primary source replete with profound insights and suggestive of new directions for research.

6. The official Spanish text is cited by Leturia, *ibid.*, 2: 110-113. This English translation is from J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 64. —Tr.

7. Leturia, *ibid.*, 2:235.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.241ff.

9. *Ibid.*, p.266

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 265- 71.

11. *Ibid.*, p.291.

12. The prolonged opposition of Rome had with time inclined the Spanish Americans

toward schism as is evident in “La Constitución civil del clero” (“The Civil Constitution of the Clergy”) proposed by Miranda, the ideas and the writings of Dominique de Pradt, which advocated the naming for each country Patriarchs who would have the power to constitute the episcopacies independently of Rome, together with the machinations of the independentist cleric José Matías Delgado in El Salvador. Cf. Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 311, and the *ASV* (Secret Vatican Archives, *Secr. di Stato*, 281,1825-1850, 3: “Scisma accaduto nella diocesi di Guatemala”). Only the position of Bolívar spared the Latin American Church the possible eventualities of this transcendental moment in her history. The Bishop of Charcas was named at this time, and he proceeded to reorganize the Church in Bolivia.

13. Leturia, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

15. G. F. Dominique de Pradt, *Concordat de l'Amérique avec Rome* (Paris: Bechet Aine, 1827), p.265, citing Tormo, 3:145.

16. For a minimum bibliography on the *Chicanos* or Mexican Americans (or simply the “hispanic groups,” for many are descendants of the Spanish in New Mexico and do not accept these designations) see Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren (eds.), *A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans* (New York: Praeger, 1971), Matthew Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), and Rodolfo Acuna, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972 ).

17. Tormo, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

18. The name “mazorca,” i.e., an ear of corn, was a symbol of unity for the henchmen of Rosas whose opponents insisted that it should have been spelled *más horca*, that is, “more gallows” or hangings. Cf. Herring, *A History of Latin America*, p. 707. –Tr.

19. Vargas Ugarte, *El episcopado en el tiempo de la emancipación* (1832), p.340.

20. Cf. Delacroix, *Le déclin des missions modernes*, 3:27ff.

21. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, ed. Lysander Kemp (New York: Grove Press, 1962), pp.125-26. (Translation is from original.–Tr.)

22. Regarding Puerto Rico, cf. E Ribes Tovar, *Handbook of the Puerto Rican Community* (New York: Plus Ultra, 1970); Lawrence R. Chenault, *Puerto Rican Migrants in New York City* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970); Oscar Lewis, *A Study in Slum Culture* (New York: Random House, 1968); M. Maldonado, *A Socio-historic interpretation* (New York: Random House, 1972); and Juan Silen, *We, the Puerto Rican People*, trans. Cedrick Belfrage (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

23. These groups appeared more akin to those of the Italian left (as in the case of Fanfani), and not to the German CDU or the French MPR. Cf. René L. Echáiz, *Evolución histórica de los partidos chilenos* (Santiago: Prensas de la Editorial Ercilla, 1939); Alberto Edwards, *Bosquejo histórico de los partidos políticos chilenos* (Santiago: Ediciones Ercilla, 1936); Carlos R. Melo, *Los partidos políticos argentinos* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1964); and Juliot Fabregat, *Los partidos políticos en la legislación Uruguay* (Montevideo: Organizacion Taquigráfica Medina, 1949).

24. Federico Debuyst, *La Población en América Latina* (Friburgo, Suiza: Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de FERES, 1961 ), pp. 68, 157.

25. Cf. *Acta et decreta Concilii plenarii Americae latinae*, (Rome: ex Typ. Vaticana, 1900)j and Pablo Correa León, *El Concilio plenario Latinoamericano de 1899* (Bogotá: Imprenta San Pío X, n.d.), pp. 1-24. There is no serious study available on the historical work of this council nor on its theological significance. Pablo C. León says: “One should note, nevertheless, the great abundance of Latin American sources and the presence of others as important as the already mentioned Lima Councils of the 16th century; it was the result perhaps of the absence of Latin American canonists in the group of conciliar consultants” (p. 10). But the truth is that such “Latin American canonists” did not exist in that era nor do they exist today, because the Latin American Church as well as the whole culture and civilization of this continent has turned toward Europe and rejected itself without even being aware of it.



(This was understandable in the nineteenth century, but much less so in the twentieth. Nonetheless, this is what is happening.) For any change to come it would be necessary for European educational institutions to provide scholarships to Latin Americans on the condition that they study problems that are distinctly related to their own culture.

26. Fr. Houtart, "Présent et avenir de la collégialité épiscopale," *Eglise Vivante* 14 (Jan. 1962):27-37; Karl Rahner, "Ueber Bischofskonferenzen," *Stimmen der Zeit* (July 1963):267-83 (cf. the small bibliography); and F. Franssen, "Die Bischofskonferenzen," *Orientierung* 27 (October 1963):119-23.

27. This generation of precursors existed in every country in Latin America, and they were dedicated to preserving the intellectual development of the population and emerging in the historical moment as the evolution allowed. Unfortunately, however, there does not exist today a single work that deals with this renaissance of Latin American Catholic thought in its entirety, even though this stage acts as a stimulator and promoter of the more important developments of the immediate future. Consider, for example, Antonio Castro (1867-1925) in Uruguay.

28. "Les Universités Catholiques en Amérique Latine," *Rythmes du Monde* 9 (April 1961):211.

29. A history of Latin American Catholic Action does not exist even though it has been an integral element in the history of the contemporary Church and one of the most important factors in the evolution of the civilization of the continent.

30. Cited in *Visión cristiana de la Revolución en América Latina* (Santiago: Centro Bellarmino, 1963, as a special edition of the periodical *Mensaje*, 115, 1963), an outstanding publication that has greatly assisted the social renovation, at least on the level of social theory.

31. J. Goldsack, President of the Confederation (CLASC), "Le syndicalisme chrétien," *Rythmes du Monde* 9 (April 1961):133-34.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 137. The President of the *Confédération internationale des syndicats chrétiens* (CISC), with whom I spoke personally in The Hague in 1964, stated: "I am completely optimistic regarding the future of Latin American Christian syndicalism. The leaders are truly heroes." The directors of Christian institutions in Latin America commonly work during the day and give their evenings and weekends to labors of faith. This fact is totally unknown in Europe and in most of Latin America.

33. In this sense we are in complete accord with the author of the article.

34. The lack of Indian clergy is a well-known fact. But one should distinguish between autochthonous or native clergy (not only the Indians but also the Creoles, i.e., Hispanics born in America) and Indian clergy. There was an abundance of native (Creole) but not Indian clergy—which was very unfortunate considering the role of comparable clergy in the evangelization of the Philippines.

35. Don Maur Matthei, OSB, Las Condes (Chile), "Monastères et vie contemplative en Amérique Latine," *Rythmes du Monde* as cited in *Visión cristiana de la Revolución en América Latina* (1963), p. 149.

36. Víctor Sánchez Aguilera, *El pasado de Osorno* (Osorno, Chile: Impr. Cervantes, 1948), p.28.

37. Cf. *Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, Conclusiones, pro manuscrito* (Rome: Poliglotta Vaticana, 1956); *Conclusiones de la primera reunión celebrada en Bogotá*, 5-15 de noviembre de 1956 (Suplemento del Boletín) (Bogotá, 1957); "II Consiglio Episcopale Latinoamericano," (CELAM) *La Civiltà Cattolica* 2 (1957):160-175; *Conclusiones de la segunda reunión celebrada en Fômeque* (Colombia), 10-17 de noviembre de 1957 (Bogotá, 1957); *Discours de SS. Jean XXIII au CELAM*, in *L'Osservatore Romano* (ed. franc.), Nov. 28, 1958, no.467, p. 1; *EL CELAM es erigido en persona moral Colegial plena*, in *Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis*, Prot. N. 447-56, Marcellus Car. Mimmi, June 10, 1958.

38. *Conferencia General ...* (1956), pp. 89-111.

39. *Ad. Ecclesiam Christi* (Letra apostólica), *AAS* 47 (June 29, 1955):539-44.

40. There were meetings in 1960, 1963, 1966, and 1968. Cf. *Directorio católico latinoamericano* (Bogotá: CELAM, 1968), p. 46.

41. These organizations are no longer Catholic nor confessional, and they are given here for information purposes. There has been organized also a political type of institution that has no connection whatsoever with the Church, namely, *La Oficina Latinoamericana de Partidos Demócratas cristianos* (which met in Strasbourg in 1963, with 147 delegates present).

42. For additional information and location of these institutions, cf. *Bilan du Monde*, 1:385ff.

43. *Ibid.*, p.391.

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER IX

1. I have discussed this theme in my "Universalismo y Misión en los poemas del Siervo de Yahweh," *Ciencia y Fe* (Buenos Aires, 1965).

2. F. Debuyst, *La Población en América Latina*, p. 182.

3. Berta Corredor and Sergio Torres, *Transformación en el Mundo rural latinoamericano* (Bogotá: Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de FERES, 1961); and F. Houtart, "La pastorale rurale," *Rythmes du Monde* 2-3 (1961):105ff.

4. P. V. Frías, "La solution actuelle du catholicisme en Argentine," *ibid.*, p.223.

5. The number of members in Catholic Action in 1959 was only 58,893, and can be explained by the fact that many who were members had become involved in syndicalism or political and public life in the country —despite the fact that in Argentina the adult generation was generally very conservative in their Catholicism and consequently unsure as to how to respond to new situations.

6. Juan L. Segundo, "L'Avenir du Christianisme en Amérique Latine," *Lettre* 54 (Paris, 1963):7-12. In 1971 the issue was presented in a more contemporary and less divisive manner.

7. W. Promper, "Statistiques du clergé en Amérique Latine," *Aux Amis de l'Amérique Latine* (Louvain, May 1961), pp. 140-41.

8. The statistic of 41,088 Protestant pastors in 1961 possibly should be questioned in view of the supposed increase of 13, 596 pastors in Brazil in only four years. The data seem to suggest either careless research or an error in reporting.

9. In Venezuela, for example, there were 630 priests in 1944 and 1,218 in 1960, which signifies a notable increase in the number of clergy. (On a scale of 100 for 1950, the 85 priests in 1944 increased to 165, while the population of 85.9 increased to 131.9. But the 33.1 statistic representing the increase in priests was actually insufficient to make up for the overall deficiency.) Isidoro Alonso-Orid, *La Iglesia en Venezuela y Ecuador* (Friburgo, Suiza: Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de FERES, 1962).

10. Cf. the article by A. Souques, "Le signe de l'humanité de Dieu aujourd'hui," *Lettre* 65 (1964):25ff.

11. "Die Religion ist der Seufzer der bedrangten Kreatur ...Sie ist das *Opium* des Volks," from Marx's "Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie," *Die Frühschriften* (Stuttgart: A. Kroner, 1953), p.208.

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER X

1. Celso Furtado, *La economía latinoamericana desde la conquista ibérica hasta la revolución cubana* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), p.58.

2. Ibid., p. III.
3. Ibid., p. 165.
4. Tulio Halperin Oonghi, *Historia contemporánea de América latina* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969), p. 448.
5. Cf. J. William Fulbright, "Dimensions of Security," Epilogue of American Militarism 1970, ed. E. Knoll (New York: Viking Press, 1969), pp. 132-42; John J. Johnson, *The Military and Society in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); and Rogelio García Lupo, *Contra la ocupación extranjera* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudestada, 1968).
6. Cf. the text in *Mensaje* 185 (Santiago, Chile, December 1969):396.
7. Cf. Alain Gheerbrant, *The Rebel Church in Latin America*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 207.
8. Archivo general de Indias (Sevilla), Audiencia de Quito 78.
9. Cf. my work "América latina y conciencia cristiana," *Cuadernos* 8 (Quito: IPLA, 1970):27. Also my "Iberoamérica en la historia universal," *Revista de Occidente* 25 (1965):85-95.
10. Cf. the discussion in *Mensaje* (Santiago) 139 (1965):13-16, which deals with the question of Latin American integration.
11. Cited by Abelardo Ramos, *Historia de la Nación latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Pena Lillo, 1968), p. 344.
12. Furtado, op. cit., p. 232.
13. The concentric circles are: the human genus, the European, the American, and the Latin American. The last two are taken as negative aspects "in the course of life."
14. Villegas, *Panorama de la filosofía iberoamericana actual*, p. 75- 76.
15. Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, p.271.
16. México: Siglo veintiuno, 1968, p. 121.
17. Ibid., p. 125.
18. Ibid., p. 132. Cf. Leopoldo Zea, *La filosofía americana como filosofía sin más* (México: Siglo venintiuno, 1969).
19. A. Methol Ferré, "Ciencia y filosofía en América latina," *Vispera* 15 (1970):3- 16.

#### NOTES FOR CHAPTER XI

1. Cf. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Rome: Ed. Alberigo), pp.610ff.
2. Cf. Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, 1:90.
3. Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la Historia de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1975), p. 80.
4. Cf. *Alt-Katholisches Jahrbuch* (1966), p. 48. Cited by H. Bojorge, "A los cien años del Vaticano I," *Vispera* 12 (1970):8.
5. Monseñor Augusto Salinas Fuenzalida published a pastoral letter in Chile on Vatican II. Cf. *La revista católica* [Santiago] 993 (1962):3503- 3509.
6. Published in *Política y Espiritu* [Santiago] (Aug.- Sept. 1966), pp. 42-51.
7. The Argentine episcopacy met in Pilar in 1964, for example, to prepare for the third session of the Council. Some of the more significant contributions by Latin American prelates were those of Méndez Arceo of Cuernavaca on the question of Church and state, Kremerer of Posadas on the diaconate, and Henríquez of Venezuela. Also noteworthy was the participation of the Argentine Methodist leader José Míguez Bonino who was an official observer.
8. Yves Congar, *Informations catholiques internationales* (Paris) 194 (1963):3. Hereafter cited as *ICI* with the Latin American counterpart being designated as *ICI* (México).
9. "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World" (*Gaudium et Spes*) no.5, *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott (New York: Guild Press, 1966), p.204.

10. "La Acción Pastoral en América Latina," *Concilio Vaticano II* (Bogotá: Editorial Paulinas, 1966), p.638.

11. The declaration has been widely circulated. It was signed by nine bishops from Brazil and one from Colombia. "A Letter to the Peoples of the Third World," August 15, 1967. The document is reproduced by the Peruvian Bishops' Commission for Social Action, *Between Honesty and Hope*, trans. John Drury (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Publications, 1970), pp.3-12.—Tr.

12. "Conclusiones de la primera reunión celebrada en Bogotá," CELAM, Nov. 5- 15, 1956 (Bogotá, 1957). The ideal of a "new Christendom" can be seen in the emphasis given to the "defense of the faith," the necessity to establish Catholic universities, etc.

13. "Conclusiones de la segunda reunión celebrada en Fômeque, del 10 al 17 de noviembre de 1957" (Bogotá, 1957).

14. "Tercera reunión del CELAM. Conclusiones" (Vaticano: Tipográfica Vaticana, 1959).

15. "CELAM. Cuarta reunión. Conclusiones" (Bogotá, 1959).

16. "CELAM. Quinta reunión. Conclusiones" (Bogotá, 1961).

17. "CELAM. Sexta reunión. Conclusiones" (Bogotá, 1962 ).

18. Note the paper of the Secretary of the Brazilian Episcopacy presented and published in the *Boletín informativo* of CELAM (no.49, 1962) on "La presencia de la Iglesia ante los problemas económico-sociales de la familia en América latina."

19. Declarations were published in *Criterio* (Buenos Aires, May 13, 1965):335.

20. "Presencia activa de la Iglesia en el desarrollo y en la integración de América latina," *Criterio* (March 23, 1967):190-91.

21. Cf. the eulogy given by Marcos McGarth on the occasion of Larrain's death in *Criterio* (June 14, 1966):494.

22. Cf., for example, "Desarrollo: éxito o fracaso en América latina"; and in *Vispera 1* (May 1967):30- 37, the article by Monseñor Marcos McGrath, "Los fundamentos teológicos de la presencia activa de la Iglesia en el desarrollo socio-económico de América latina"; and the commentary on the meeting in Mar del Plata in *Criterio* (June 22, 1967):432ff.

23. In regard to the Medellín Conference, other than news releases and articles in the well-known religious periodicals such as *Criterio*, *Vispera*, *Mensaje*, and *Sic*, and the bulletins from publication offices such as Noticias Aliadas, CIDOC, and LADOC, see also: Gheerbrant, *The Rebel Church in Latin America*, René Laurentin, *L'Amérique latine a l'heure de l'enfance* (Paris: Seuil, 1968); Henry Fesquet, *Une Eglise en état de péché mortel* (Paris: Grasset, 1968); and the collection of documents published under the title *Iglesia latinoamericana ¿Protesta or profecía?* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Búsqueda, 1969), hereafter cited as *IL ¿PP?* The final documents of the Medellín Conference were published in English under the auspices of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) and entitled *The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council* (Bogotá: General Secretariat of CELAM, 1970), vol. 2, hereafter cited as *Medellín Conclusions*. (All quotations are from this official English text. —Tr.)

24. José Comblin, "Las Notas," *Marcha 17* (1968):47-57. Available in English in Gheerbrant, op. cit., pp. 222-5.

25. Padim's text, "The Doctrine of National Security in the Light of the Gospel," is included in the collection published by Gheerbrant, *ibid.*, pp. 201-20, and clearly evidences the prevailing militarist ideology of the Brazilian government.

26. Héctor Borrat in the "Introducción" of *Marcha 17* (1968):5, an issue which deals with the theme of Medellín and the New Church. In this same issue are numerous letters from various entities sent to the Pope and the bishops who were to meet in Medellín.

27. *Medellín Conclusions*, p.252.

28. *Ibid.*, p.259.

29. *Ibid.*, p.265.

30. *Ibid.*, p.23.

31. *Ibid.*,p.32.

32. Ibid., p. 33.
33. Hélder Câmara, *Spiral of Violence*, trans. Della Couling (Denville, NJ, 1971), pp. 29-30. Dom Hélder writes: "If there is some corner of the world which has remained peaceful, but with a peace based on injustices —the peace of a swamp with rotten matter fermenting in its depths—we may be sure that that peace is false" (p.33).
34. *Medellín Conclusions*, p. 58.
35. Ibid., p. 59.
36. Ibid., pp. 72- 75, 78.
37. Ibid., p.90.
38. Ibid., pp.99, 100.
39. Ibid., p. 168. This section deals with the "basic Christian communities."
40. There are also conclusions regarding the "Religious," the "Poverty of the Church," and "Joint Pastoral Planning" in which reference is made to the "basic Christian communities" (No.10). Finally, there are some conclusions regarding the "Mass Media," without which, it is said, "the progress of the Latin American people and the necessary transformation of the continent will not be realized" (p.242).
41. In this twelfth meeting it was agreed to increase the number of members of CELAM from 22 to 57 by including the presidents of the national conferences and the presiding bishops and secretaries of the various departments. Thereafter CELAM began to speak with much greater authority.
42. Monseñor Plaza, Bishop of La Plata, issued a pastoral on October 7, 1968, entitled "The Latin American Social Reality and the Medellín Conclusions," a copy of which appeared in *Criterio* (November 14, 1968):834-38.
43. The *Synod of Santiago* had its first session September 8-18, 1968, and a second session in September of 1969. Of the 400 persons participating at least 43% were laypersons.
44. Medellín is cited in Point IV. Cf. *Criterio* (November 28, 1968):880.
45. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Paulinas, 1969.
46. Some sixty-nine priests, religious, and laypersons met with the episcopacy August 19-20, 1969. The nature of the discussion was not merely episcopal, but also represented an ecclesial reflection. Cf. *Criterio* (1969):792.
47. Cf. the declarations of Monseñor Proaño during the meeting of the Ecuadorian episcopacy, June 16-22, 1969, at which time the sacerdotal crisis was discussed. See also the statment by Bishop Pironio, "Medellín a Year Later," published in *El Tiempo* (Bogotá), August 18, 1969.
48. "Herodianism," a term initially used by Toynbee, is usually employed by Latin American Christians to designate the national suboppressive oligarquies who, though they lack popular support, enjoy the backing of the "intemational imperialism of money." Cf. *Mensaje* 123 (1963):493, and *Vispera* 6 (July 1968):86.
49. Freire' s principal works are *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Seabury Press, 1970), and *Education for Critical Consciousness*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Seabury Press, 1973).
50. Cf. *Anuario Iberoamericano* (Río de Janeiro, April30, 1963), pp. 161- 64.
51. Cf. *Revista Da Conferencia dos religiosos do Brasil* (CRB), March 1964, pp. 129-136; and Jean Toulat, *Espérance en Amérique du Sud* (Paris: Perrin, 1965), pp. 229ff.
52. Cf. José de Broucker, *Dom Hélder Câmara*, trans. Herma Briffault (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1970), p. 154.
53. In *Marcha* 9 (January 1968):6.
54. Published in the *Revista Da Conferencia dos religiosos do Brasil* (July 1964):403-405.
55. Cf. *Ecclesia* (Madrid, August 1, 1964):13-14.
56. Cf. *ILiPP?*, p.174.
57. Cf. *Mensaje* (March- April1965):135- 38.
58. Cf. "Evolución de las relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en Brasil," in *Noticias da Igreja Universal* (São Paulo, February 15, 1968):46- 47.

59. Cf. *ICI* (México, September 7, 1966):30.
60. The student delegates entered the convent for Mass on July 30 and 31 and were not distinguished from other worshippers. They left the convent the same way.
61. Cf. *ICI* (1967):302.
62. Cf. *Marcha* 17 (1968):13- 20.
63. Cf. *Mensaje* (Madrid, October 1968):14-15.
64. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 178- 92.
65. En *Mensaje* 184 (Santiago, November 1969):568.
66. Cf. *Mensaje* 189 (June 1970):237ff.
67. Cf. Norberto Habegger, "Apuntes para una historia," *Los católicos posconciliares en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Galerna, 1970), pp. 91-202. The book is dedicated to Father Pereira Neto and Juan C. Loureiro.
68. Cf. *Criterio* (July 26, 1962):543-46.
69. "Editorial," *ibid.* (May 28, 1964 ).
70. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 97-103. Regarding the events that we have described prior to 1969, see the collection of documents published under the title *Los católicos posconciliares en la Argentina* (1970), especially documents 1-60.
71. Cf. "La pastoral sobre Tierra Nueva" of December 8, 1966, *ibid.*, pp. 287-91.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-79.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 186. Priests, syndicalists, and laypersons demonstrated in the streets but were repressed by the police.
74. Subsequently I will describe the more significant priestly conflicts.
75. *Los católicos posconciliares en la Argentina* (1970), pp. 394-96.
76. Cf. *Criterio*, extraordinary edition (November 1969):890- 94. Bishop Nevares' reflection was published in Neuquén on November 11, 1969.
77. *Criterio* (April 9, 1970):222-23.
78. Regarding this issue cf. *Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo* (Buenos Aires: Movimiento de los Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo, 1970), pp. 116ff. Cf. the declaration of the Argentine episcopacy and the reply of the Movement in *Polémica en la Iglesia* (Buenos Aires: Búesqueda, 1970). These declarations were made public August 12, 1970. See also "Declaration of the Argentine Bishops' Permanent Committee," *LADOC* 10 (December 1970) I, 42 b.
79. Gera-Rodríguez Melgarejo, "Apuntes para una interpretación de la Iglesia Argentina," *Víspera* 15 (February 1970):86ff.
80. Cf. *ICI* 323 (1968).
81. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 288- 99, and *Marcha* 17 (1968):21- 25.
82. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, p.324.
83. Cf. *ICI* 192 (1963):8. Cf. "Declaration of the Paraguayan Bishops," *LADOC* 13 (February 1971), I, 52 b.
84. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, p. 283. Cf. "It is Calumny," *LADOC* 9 (November 1970), 1,39 b.
85. Cf. *Cuadernos para el diálogo* (Madrid, November 1969):39-40.
86. "Paraguay: un grito en la noche," *Mensaje* 189 (December 1969):620.
87. Cf. *ICI* 183 ( 1962 ): 12. Cf. "Haiti: A Church in Crisis," *LADOC* 13 (February 1971), I, 51.
88. Cf. *Le nouveau monde* (Port au Prince:, August 18, 1969).
89. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 359-66. See also William L. Wipfler, *The Churches of the Dominican Republic in the Light of History*. Sondeos No.11 (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, CIDOC, 1966), pp. 101-13.
90. *ICI* 370 (1970):14-15.
91. *IL¿PP?*, p.347.
92. *Marcha* 17 (September 1968):21.
93. Aldo Büntig, "La Iglesia en Cuba. Hacia una nueva frontera," *Revista del CIAS* 193 (Buenos Aires, 1970):21. I have relied heavily on this article for the discussion of the Church

in Cuba. Cf. "The Church in Cuba: Toward a New Frontier," *LADOC* 13 (February 1971), I, 54 a.

94. *Criterio* (March 26, 1959):235-36.
95. *La voz de Cuba* (Havana, 1961), p. 97.
96. Büntig, op. cit., p. 18.
97. Gheerbrant, op. cit., p.269.
98. *ICI* 309 (1968):17. Monseñor Aacchi contended that Castro is ethically but not ideologically a Christian. Cf. Büntig regarding "the new man" in Castro, op. cit., pp. 25-28.
99. Büntig, *ibid.*, pp. 50-53.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
101. *Ibid.*, p.55.
102. *Ibid.*, p.58.
103. Cf. *Ecclesia* (December 31, 1960):15-16.
104. *ICI* 178 (1962):26.
105. *Ecclesia* (first semester 1962):395.
106. *Anuario IB* (Madrid, 1962):153-61.
107. *ICI* (December 15, 1967):39-40.
108. *Ibid.*, 307 (1968):14.
109. Cf. *Ecclesia* (June 7, 1969):23-24.
110. *Mensaje* 181 (August 1969):385.
111. Alba, *Le mouvement ouvrier ...* (1953), pp. 117ff.
112. *Vispera* 5 (April 1968):44-45.
113. Cf. *Mensaje* (November 1962):577-87.
114. Cf. *La Voz* (Santiago, August 10, 1962):10.
115. Cf. *Sic* (Caracas, June 1966):257 and (July- August 1966):314- 49.
116. *ICI* 360 (1970):12.
117. Cf. the work of Conrado Eggers Lan, Professor in the National University in Buenos Aires, *Violencia y estructuras* (Buenos Aires: Búsqueda, 1970), pp. 22-108, for a discussion of the types of violence; also the work of Hélder Câmara previously cited, *Spiral of Violence*.
118. Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1962.
119. Cf. *Anuario IB* 1 (Madrid, 1962):162.
120. Camilo Torres, *Sondeos* (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1966), pp. 113- 78, and Germán Guzmán Campos, *Camilo Torres*, trans. John D. Ring (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969).
121. *Camilo Torres*, CIDOC (1966), p. 174.
122. *El Vespertino* (Bogotá, January 7, 1966).
123. This document may be found in the collection by CIDOC cited above, *Camilo Torres* (1966).
124. *Ibid.*, p.65.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. This quotation is from "Un sacerdote en la universidad" ("A Priest in the University") and originally appeared in *El Catolicismo* (Bogotá, June 28, 1962). Because of the continual student conflicts and street demonstrations, the students proposed Father Camilo Torres for the position of Rector of the National University. Cardinal Concha, who allied himself with the government of Alberto Lleras, ordered Torres to resign his professorship. Camilo later wrote that the Cardinal explicitly warned him that he, the Cardinal, did not want the Church nor Camilo to be involved in the problem. Camilo obeyed Concha who, nevertheless, showed no awareness of the fact that to fail to be involved was in effect a tacit support for the antipopular government. No one can wash his hands as did Pilate, because such attempts are always culpable acts in themselves. "My prelate," wrote Camilo, "who had the whole responsibility, felt that I should withdraw" (*ibid.*, p.87). History, however, always points to those responsible for the turn of events, and it is entirely possible that if Camilo Torres had become Rector of the University, he would not have later become a guerrilla.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87, citing a letter written on June 24, 1965, to Cardinal Concha. In

the letter Camilo asked to be “reduced to lay status.” It should be noted that after he had been obliged to give up his professorship, he was prohibited from lecturing, speaking, or even writing—restrictions which he said led him to conclude that “the current structures of the Church” made it impossible for him “to continue serving as a priest” (ibid., p. 285).

127. Ibid., p. 286.
128. Ibid., p. 224.
129. Ibid., p.249.
130. Ibid., p. 186.
131. Ibid., pp. 330-31.
132. Cited by Norberto Habegger, “La Iglesia en la historia de Colombia,” *Marcha* 2 (January 1968):116.
133. Cited by Walter J. Broderick, *Camilo Torres* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p.248.
134. Habegger, “La Iglesia en la historia de Colombia,” p. 118.
135. Gregorio Selsler, “Conflicto de la Iglesia de Colombia,” *Política internacional* 81 (Buenos Aires, November 1966).
136. *Camilo Torres*, CIDOC (1966), pp. 224-45.
137. The Spanish priest Domingo Laín was expelled from Colombia in 1969, but he later returned and joined the rural guerrilla movement. Cf. *ICI* 356 (1970):11-12. “Priestly consecration demands absolute self sacrifice in order that all people may live. Violence is neither atheistic nor Christian” (ibid).
138. *Archivo general de Indias* (Sevilla), Audiencia de Charcas, 313.
139. Cf. “Bolivia, revolución o contrarrevolución,” *Vispera* 19-20 (October- December 1970):10-22. For the declarations from Bolivia see *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 145-50.
140. Ernesto “Ché” Guevarra, *The Diary of “Ché” Guevarra*, ed. Rovert Scheer (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p.25.
141. *Criterio* (September 28, 1967):699.
142. *ICI* 249 (1965):33.
143. Ibid., 301 (1967):16.
144. On January 12, 1971, after the attempted rightist coup failed, General Torres declared: “Fellow workers, this government will not vacillate. I do not know if it will be through socialism, and I do not know if it will be through revolutionary nationalism, but we will move toward achieving prosperity for the Bolivian people.” Reported by the United Press International.
145. Cf. Methol Ferré, “La revolución verde oliva, Debray y la OLAS,” *Vispera* (October 1967):17- 39. See also Rubén Vázquez Díaz, *Bolivia a la hora del Ché* (México: Siglo XXI, 1969).
- 146; G. Fournial-R. Labarre, *De Monroe a Johnson* (Paris: Ed. Sociales, 1966), p. 117.
147. Cf. *Vispera* 5 (1968):56-57.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., p. 52. Note the response regarding the “Theology of Violence” in which the exceptions stipulated by Paul VI are applied in nearly all the Latin American countries.
150. Gheerbrant, op. cit., p. 279 n. See also Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *Whose Heaven, Whose Earth?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), p.280.
151. *ICI* 356 (1970):16 Cf. “Organized Torture in Brazil,” IDOC-International, North American Edition, 5 (June 13, 1970):2-19.
152. A discussion of what constitutes coercive violence can be found in *ICI* (March 1, 1970):16-17. Sister Borges de Silveira wrote to the Ministry of Justice on December 17, 1969, accusing the police of the treatment herein described.
153. Cf. *IDOC-Intemational* 28 (July 15- August 1, 1970):65ff.
154. *Osservatore Romano*, December 17, 1961, p.2.
155. *ICI* 160 (1962):15.
156. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 166-67.
157. Besides the declarations cited in the text, see those of the Ecuadorian episcopacy



regarding “reform without Castroism” (Ecclesia, second semester 1961): 1155; the “Pastoral Letter of the Peruvian Episcopacy Regarding Current Social and Political Activity” (CELAM, June-July 1963):245-55; Bishop Enrique Bolaños of Costa Rica on “Charity Should Support Development,” *Eco Católico* (June 2, 1968); and Monseñor Román Arrieta, also of Costa Rica, on “La violencia, solución para Latinoamérica?” *Trípode* (Caracas, March 1969):20; and the XII Meeting of CELAM in São Paulo, which issued the declaration through Monseñor Pironio: “...we condemn the utilization of national and foreign resources for the purchase of arms.” *Noticias Aliadas y Criterio* (1969), p.924.

158. Cf. *Informativo CIDOC* 70-211; and “Una revolución del mundo por el camino de no-violencia,” *Iglesia viva* 15-18 (Spain):257. In the twelfth Assembly of the CNBB, May 27, 1970, the Brazilian bishops issued a strong statement regarding violence and torture. See “Documento pastoral de Brasilia,” NADOC (Perú), pp. 154-70.

159. Cf. my work *El humanismo semita* (1969), pp. 35,46.

160. Other texts are in Luke 16:16 and Acts 2:2; 5:26; 21:35; and 27:41.

161. Eggers Lan, op. cit., proposes the idea but does not suggest all of the possible conclusions, pp. 32ff.

162. *Medellín Conclusions*, pp. 79-80.

163. *Vispera* 5 (1968):55.

164. Title of the book by Paulo Freire (1970).

165. Roger Bastide, *Las Américas negras* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969), p. 13. See especially his bibliography, pp.207ff.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

167. Rodolfo González, *I am Joaquín/Yo soy Joaquín* (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), pp. 6-7. The work of Armando B. Rendon, *Chicano Manifesto: The History and Aspirations of the Second largest Minority in America* (New York: Collier Books, 1971) indicates a new awareness on the part of Mexican and Spanish Americans.

168. Cf. *ICI* (1962):10- 15.

169. Cf. *Ecclesia* (May 15, 1962):16- 18.

170. Cf. Fabio Da Silveira, *Frei, el Kerensky chileno* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Cruzada, 1968), Plinio Correa de Oliveira, *Transfondo ideológico inadvertido y diálogo* (Buenos Aires: Ad. Cruzada, 1966); and by the same author, *Revolución y contrarevolución* (Buenos Aires: Ed. TFP, 1970).

171. Cf. C. Beccar Varela (hijo), et. al., *El nacionalismo, una incógnita en constante evolución* (Buenos Aires: Ed. TFP, 1970), especially pp. 239-40.

172. Number 187 (March 1970):100.

173. “Communis omnium possessio.” Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I-II, q. 94, a. 5, ad.3.

174. “Distinctio possessionum.” *Ibid.*

175. Cf. Santiago Ramírez, *El derecho de gentes* (Madrid: Studium, 1955), especially p. 192. The moral school of Rome, whose vocabulary no longer is evident in papal encyclicals, has forgotten the Thomist doctrine of *ius gentium*, which is seen in modern doctrinal statements. Cf. Ramírez, pp. 189-90, n. 575.

176. For example, Saint Basil of Cesarea, *In Hexam. Hom. VII (Patr. Migne, Graeca, XXIX, col. 147).*

177. “Per modum determinationis.” Thomas Aquinas, *In X Ethic. ATist. ad Nicom. expositio*, L. V, lect. 12, n. 1023.

178. “In extreme necessitate omnia sunt communia.” (Cf. the thesis defended in the Gregoriana by Gilles Couvreur, *Les pauvres ont-ils des droits?*, Univ. Grego. Roma, 1961.) In Aquinas, see II-II, q. 66, a. 3, c.; *ibid.*, a. 7, c. Huguccio in his *Summa ad. pre. Decr.* (APP. 2, pp. 190-91) where he says: “Iure naturali omnia sunt communia, id est tempore necessitatis indigentibus communicanda.”

179. Cf. *Mensaje* (Madrid, June 1959):3.

180. *Rythmes du Monde* 4 (Paris, 1961):212-22.

181. Cf. *Criterio* (November 8, 1962):824-27; (and November 22, 1962):866-870.
182. *Ibid.* (November 1962):870. Regarding agrarian reform, cf. Jaques Chonchol, "La reforma agraria," *Mensaje* 123 (Santiago):563-71, agent of the agrarian reform in the Church, the Christian Democrats, and in the Allende government.
183. Cf. Guillermo Leuta, "Aspectos de la Iglesia chilena," *Marcha* 9 (1968):80- 85.
184. By 1965 Cardinal Silva Henríquez had already declared: "A just agrarian reform is indispensable." *Criterio* (January 27, 1966):71.
185. Cf. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 333-38.
186. *ICI* 356 (1970):12.
187. *Anuario IB* (April 23, 1963):147-152.
188. *Noticias Católicas* (Buenos Aires, December 4, 1963).
189. *Anuario IB* (March 1970):10.
190. Cf. my *Les évêques hispano-américains* (1970), pp.1-30 (El episcopado hispanoamericano, 1:27-82.)
191. Cf. *ICI* 366 (1970):18.
192. *Concilio Vaticano II* (Bogotá: Ediciones Paulinas, 1966), p. 622.
193. *Ibid.*, p.624.
194. *The Documents of Vatican 11*, p.405.
195. *Ibid.*, p.408.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 585.
197. *Ibid.*, p. 590.
198. *Ibid.*, p.612.
199. *Ibid.*, p.624.
200. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
201. *Medellín Conclusions*, pp. 80-81.
202. *Mensaje* 194 (Santiago, November 1970):536.
203. Broucker, *Dom Hélder Câmara*, p. 136.
204. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
205. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.
206. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
207. *Ibid.*
208. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
209. *Ibid.*, p.80.
210. *Ibid.*, p.56.
211. *Ibid.*, p.75.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 84. Dom Hélder included remarks about the mini-imperialism of Brazil in regard to Paraguay and Bolivia.
213. *Ibid.*, p. 45. From an address given at the Instituto de Investigaciones de la realidad brasileña, June 21, 1967.
214. *Ibid.*, pp.50, 51.
215. *Ibid.*, p.82.
216. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Ibid.* Dom Hélder should have said "dialectical" rather than "Marxist," but he is a pastor, not a philosopher.
219. *Ibid.*, p. 88. From an address given in Río, June 19, 1967.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 90. From an address given at the inauguration of the Instituto de Teología de Recife, March 7, 1968.
221. *Ibid.*, p. 91. From an address on "Science and Faith in the Twentieth Century" given at the Escuela Politécnica of Campina Grande, Brazil, December 17, 1966.
222. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46. From an address given at the Instituto de Investigaciones de la realidad brasileña, June 21, 1967.
223. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

224. From an address given in Paris, April 25, 1968. Cf. *ICI* (May 15, 1968), and *Between Honesty and Hope*, pp. 54ff. Cf. also José Cayuela, *Hélder Câmara, Brasil ¿un Vietnam católico?* (Barcelona: Ed. Pomaire, 1969).

225. *ICI* 315 (1968). Father Pedro Arrupe, the Jesuit General, met at this time, May 6-14, 1968, with members of the Order, and the decision was reached that the Jesuits in Brazil would leave aside educational work and become agents of integration and social action.

226. *Consudec* (March 20, 1964).

227. Cf. the declarations of May 1, 1965, regarding the Labor Day fiesta in *AC* (Buenos Aires, June 1965):187-94.

228. Cf. *Criterio* (February 26, 1970):111.

229. "The faithfulness of the bishop to the Christian message is not rooted solely in his own personal faith." From a declaration published in *Crónica* (Buenos Aires, January 6, 1971):5.

230. *ICI* 269 (1966):11.

231. *IL ¿PP?*, p.346.

232. *ICI* 171(1962):10.

233. *Ibid.* 358 (1970).

234. Cf. "Iglesia de pueblo o secta de escogidos?" *Ecclesia* (February 14, 1970):15-17.

235. Dom Hélder Câmara at the time when he "took possession" of the archdiocese of Recife, April 12, 1964.

236. *Medellín Conclusions*, Priests, no.2, p. 173.

237. In the Vatican Council II "Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests" (*Presbyterorum ordinis*), note the frequency of the word "difficult": the "ever-increasing difficulty" of tasks assigned to priests (no.1), "priestly preaching is often very difficult in the circumstances of the modern world" (no.4), "the difficulties which priests experience in the circumstances of contemporary life" (no.22) in relation to the concrete particularities of "our present age" (no.7), and the difficulties in today's world" (no.14). *The Documents of Vatican II* (1966).

238. From the Preface of the "Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests," p. 532.

239. *Ibid.*, no.6, pp. 544-45.

240. *Medellín Conclusions*, Priests, no.9 b, p. 1.

241. *Ibid.*, nos.17, 18, p.179. (Dussel reverses the order.—Tr.)

242. *Ibid.*, no.19, pp.179-80. Italics are mine.

243. *Ibid.*, no.2, p. 173.

244. *ICI* 336 (1969). Cf. Ivan Illich, "Metamorphose du clerc," *Esprit* 10 (1967).

245. The publication on the *Polémica en la Iglesia* (1970) carries the heading of the text from Saint Paul: "I hear that when you all come together as a community, there are separate factions among you ..." (1 Cor. 11:18).

246. "Principales coincidencias de la reunión de Quilmes," June 28, 1965, *IL ¿PP?*, p. 98.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-103. This document was severely censured by Cardinal Antonio Caggiano.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 99. In Medellín, an "indirect" relation was discussed.

249. *Ibid.*, p.99.

250. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

251. *Ibid.*, p. 101. It would be very difficult to discuss in a few words the sacerdotal issue in Latin America.

252. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

253. Habegger, "Apuntes...", *Los católicos posconciliares* (1970), p. 159.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

255. *Ibid.*

256. *ICI* 259 ( 1966): 12.

257. Cf. "La Iglesia en la calle," in the journal *Juan* (May 24, 1967).

258. *Los católicos posconciliares*, pp. 274-79.

259. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
261. *ICI* 359 (1970):17-19. Cf. "Sacerdotes de Neuquén" in a work already cited, *Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo* (1970), pp. 108-12.
262. Cf. Domingo A. Bresci, "Argentina: Priests for the Third World," *IDOC-International* (North American edition) 15 (December 12, 1970):58-96, and *Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo*. The letter sent by this group had some one thousand signatures of Latin American priests. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 74-78.
263. Cf. Gheerbrant, "Letter to the Latin American Bishops Assembled at Medellín," written from Buenos Aires. June 20, 1968, *The Rebel Church*, pp.163-167.
264. "A Letter to the People of the Third World," *Between Honesty and Hope*, p.5.
265. Cf. *Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo* for the declarations of priests in Reconquista, Corrientes, the Capital, Tucumán, San Juan, Nordeste, Santa Fe, 9 de Julio, Rosario, Mendoza, La Rioja, Neuquén, etc., regarding internal questions, strikes, the political situation, the kidnapping of General Aramburu, and the detention of Father Carbone.
266. Cf. the document signed in Córdoba, October 3- 4, 1970, *Polémica en la Iglesia*, pp. 41-123. Also the commentary of Manuel Ossa in *Mensaje* 193 (October 1970):494-95; "Recent Events and What to Do Now," *LADOC* 10 (December 1970), I, 426; and "Notes for an Interpretation of the Argentine Church," *LADOC* 10 (December 1970), I. 42 c.
267. *ICI* 205 ( 1963 ):34.
268. *Ibid.* 264 (1965):29-31.
269. Broucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
270. *ICI* 282 (1967):9.
271. *IL ¿PP?*, p. 178.
272. *Ibid.*, p. 190. Cf. the discussion on celibacy, p. 192.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
274. Cf. Monseñor Brandao Vilela, "Los sacerdotes extranjeros en América latina," *Mensaje* (Madrid, April 1968):9.
275. *ICI* 344 (1969):8.
276. Cf. *Mensaje* 186 (Santiago, 1970):26, and Dom Hélder Câmara, "El asesinato del Padre Henrique Pereira Neto," *CELAM* (Bogotá, June 1969):10.
277. Buenaventura Pelegrí, "Meditación ante el cadáver del Padre Antonio Henrique," *Víspera* 12 (September 1969):3.
278. Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, pp. 328- 354, for the testimony of Fathers Alipio de Freitas and Lage Pessoa, two heroes among many. See also the declaration of the priests in Fortaleza regarding the arrest of the Capuchin priest, Geraldo Bonfim. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 193-95.
279. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 225-235. For the first "Golconda Declaration," see *LADOC* 2 (June 1970):9.
280. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
281. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-31.
282. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-34.
283. *ICI* 339 (1969):33.
284. *Ibid.* 356 (1970):16.
285. Cf. *IDOC-International* 22 (April 15, 1970), and *Between Honesty and Hope*.
286. *ICI* 224 (1964):38.
287. *IL ¿PP?*, p.295.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
289. *Ibid.*
290. *Ibid.*, p.314.
291. The declaration of twenty-one priests in Arequipa, March 1969, regarding the marriage of Bishop Mario Cornejo and the attitude of the priests of Trujillo indicates the maturity of the Peruvian clergy (*ibid.*, pp. 327-31). The priests in Trujillo, incidentally, openly challenged their bishop, Carlos Jurgens Byrne.
292. *ICI* 277 (1966):9. In contrast, 220 missionaries in Chile were "dealt with" when the

meaning of their presence in the country was questioned (*IL ¿PP?*, pp. 198-209). “This incident is indicative of the fact that rather than being on a dead end street the Church in Latin America has the historic opportunity to ordain married men, and could thereby clarify the mission of celibate priests who, because of their preparation, would be more disposed to itinerant service” (p. 106).

293. *Criterio* (November 28, 1969):678.

294. More detailed information was not available. Cf. *ICI* 353 (1970):14.

295. *Ibid.* 292 (1967):13.

296. Cf. my article, “From Secularization to Secularism” (1969), pp. 93-119.

297. Cf. René Laurentin, *Flashes sur l’Amérique Latine* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1968), pp. 23-28, 110-39, along with the letter from Méndez Arceo and the commentary by Segundo Gaililea.

298. *IL ¿PP?*, p. 272. The priest Manuel Alzate, who was suspended *a divinis* for having criticized the episcopacy, gave some consideration to beginning a new priestly movement. Meanwhile in Cuernavaca, twelve priests did a study of the accomplishments of Mexico’s Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) during its forty years of governing the country. Cf. *IDOC-International* 3 (August 1, 1969).

299. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ed. Isla, 1968.

300. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19. Explicit criticism always relates specifically to the Church. Monseñor Parrilla has said many things that only a few have had the courage to say.

301. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

302. *Ibid.*, p. 123. The bishops should read what is said about them (pp. 165- 216). “Today, the clergy, so marginalized in Canon Law, as they were marginalized in *Vatican Council II* [?], and in the hearts of many bishops —so much so that they declare the opposite to be the case —ask the same question to their pastors: “My hierarchical Church, sleepest thou?” (p. 265), reminding one of the question of Jesus in Gethsemane to his disciples.

304. *Ibid.*, pp. 273- 74 (May 1968).

305. *Ibid.*, pp. 238- 39.

306. Cf. Francisco Bravo, *The Parish of San Miguelito* (Cuernavaca: Ciboc, 1966).

307. Cf. *Boletín-CELAM* (Bogotá, April 1970):3, for the television address of Monseñor Marcos McGrath criticizing Medrano’s expulsion.

308. *ICI* 364 (1970):16.

309. *Informe, CIDOC*. pp. 67- 170.

310. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 245- 49.

311. These statements were very courageous regarding the problems with COMIBOL (October 6, 1965). Other statements on the Church in the process of transformation were issued in February 1968, and still others regarding the proposed reforms in May 1968 (*ibid.*, pp. 145-64).

312. *Criterio*, November 13, 1969, contained a vigorous denunciation.

313. *IL ¿PP?*, p.284.

314. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

315. Lage, “The Church and the Revolutionary Movement in Brazil,” Gheerbrant, *op. cit.*, pp. 335- 54.

316. “Boletín” of DEVOC (Department of Vocations of CELAM, 1970).

317. *ICI* 231 (1964):15.

318. Cf. *IDOC-International* 4 (June 15, 1969).

319. *ICI* 357 (1978):17.

320. “Estudio sociográfico de los religiosos y las religiosas en América latina,” *Perspectivas* (Bogotá: CLAR, 1971), p. 26.

321. *Ibid.*, p.26.

322. *Ibid.*, p.27.

323. *Boletín de la CLAR III*, 1 (1965):1. For a minimum bibliography on this subject, consult the CLAR bulletin number I, 1 of January 1963, and also the *Colección CLAR: I. La Renovación y adaptación de la vida religiosa en América latina* (5a ed., 1971), which at the time included more than twelve volumes; and 2. *Perspectivas* which began with *La pobreza evangélica hoy* (1971), plus two other volumes in the series published the same year. See also the Vatican Council II “Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life” (*Perfectae caritatis*) approved during the fourth period of the Council (October 28, 1965), *The Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 187-96; and Section 12 on the “Religious,” *Medellín Conclusions*, pp. 187-96, together with *Misión del religioso en América latina*, *Colección CLAR 5* (Bogotá, 1971): 19ff.

324. Vatican Council II “Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life” (*Perfectae caritatis*) no.2, *The Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 468-469.

325. *Boletín de CLAR VI*, 8 (1968):8.

326. *Ibid.* VI, 9-10 (1968). The document “Misión del religioso en América latina” appears in this issue and was later published as a booklet in the *Colección CLAR*, No.5.

327. Section 12, no.3, on the “Religious,” *Medellín Conclusions*, p. 188.

328. *Ibid.*, nos. 10-11, pp. 190, 191.

329. *Ibid.*, no.12, p. 191.

330. “La vida religiosa en América latina,” *Colección CLAR*, no.8 (Bogotá: CLAR, 1970), p.23.

331. *Ibid.*, p.30.

332. *Ibid.*, p. 11. Cf. in this book from the *Colección CLAR* No.8, the conclusion of the III Conferencia latinoamericana de provinciales de los hermanos de las escuelas cristianas, the conclusions of the 1st Latin American Meeting of Salesian Inspectors, and the “Carta de los superiores provinciales de la Compañía de Jesús que trabajan en América latina.” In this last source note the comment that “the Company of Jesus which labors in Latin America desires to dedicate more members to these works, and continually attempt to promote responsibility on the part of the people themselves for assuming a leading role in their own liberation” (*ibid.*, p. 72).

333. *Boletín de CLAR VII*, 9 (1969): 1-2. See also my address on “La liberación de la mujer en la Iglesia,” *CIDAL* (Cuernavaca) III, 3 (1972):36-44, where I state: “The erotic man-woman relationship and the relation of actual physical maternity are consecrated in order to achieve the pedagogical and political level of maximum freedom according to the prophetic demand of the faith” (p. 43). From June 27 to July 3, 1971, there was a meeting in Bogotá on the “Problems of feminine religious life in Latin America.” Cf. *Boletín de CLAR IX*, 7 (1971):1.

334. *Ibid.* VII (March 1970):4-5.

335. Cf. the Vatican Council II “Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity” (*Apostolicam actuositatem*), *The Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 489-521; and Section 10, “Lay Movements,” of the *Medellín Conclusions*, pp. 163-70, which were approved after much difficulty and debate. CELAM has a Department of the Lay Apostolate, which met in the VI Semana interamericana de AC in Buenos Aires, October 7-9, 1966, under the presidency of Monseñor Dammert Bellido. The conclusions of these meetings were “severe” regarding the hierarchy of the Church.

336. Cf. *ICI* 285 (1967):7, declarations that were made during the period of January 27-31, 1967.

337. *Los católicos posconciliares* (1970), pp.269-270.

338. *Ibid.*, p. 159. Cf. *ICI* 263 (1966):8.

339. *ICI* 306 (1968).

340. *Ibid.* 329 (1970):11.

341. *Ibid.* 353-54 (1970).

342. *Ibid.* 359 (1970):19.

343. *Ibid.* 241 (1965):23.

344. *Directorio*, CELAM, 1968, p. 43.

345. *ICI* 285-86 (1967).
346. Gheerbrant, op. cit., p.73.
347. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.
348. "A Lay Critique of the Medellín Draft," *Between Honestly and Hope*, pp. 193-200. The clarity of the above statement is not as evident in the conversations of Cerro Alegre (Cañete, Perú), March 6-9, 1962, in the "Meeting for Reflection," although it did open new areas for consideration, e.g., the statement "the Marxists precipitate revolution from outside (of Latin America), while Christians promote it from within" (p. 33).
349. Cf. *Mensaje* (August 1967):362-63.
350. Cf. *Christus* (México, October 1967):946-49, and (January-June 1969):8-11.
351. *El Catolicismo* (Bogotá, March 19, 1967).
352. *Ibid.* (November 10, 1968):21.
353. See for example the "Carta pastoral sobre la misión general" of Monseñor Emilio Tagle Covarrubias, Archbishop of Valparaiso in *La revista católica* (Santiago, May-August 1963):3843-47.
354. "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church" (*Lumen Gentium*), nos. 8-14, *The Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 22-23.
355. "Joint Pastoral Planning," no.10, *Medellín Conclusions*, p.226.
356. Cf. Laurentin, *L'Amérique latine a l'heure de l'enfancement* (1968), p. 112. Cf. pp. 52ff., 61ff., 69ff., 101ff., 169ff.; and José Marins, *La comunidad eclesial de base* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Bonum, 1971) ; and Antonio Alonso, *Comunidades eclesiales de base* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1970).
357. Cf. the excellent interpretation of A. Methol Ferré, et al., "La DC ante su crisis," *Vispera* 3 (November 1969):39-80.
358. From an immense bibliography on the subject one may consult the following: *Juventud y cristianismo en América latina*, the final document of the seminary sponsored by the "Departamento de Educación del CELAM" (Bogotá, May 18- 24, 1969); the *Documento de Buga*, the final document of the seminar of educational experts sponsored by the "Departamento de Educación del CELAM" (Buga, Colombia, February 12-18, 1967), *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 41-59. In regard to the Buga meeting see *Vispera* 5 (1968):69-77; "Introducción a la metodología de los movimientos apostólicos universitarios," MIEC-JECI, Servicio de documentación series 1, documents 17-18 (October 1969); *Iglesia-Universidad*, Centro "Conflicto y replanteamiento en la universidad católica del Peru," *Vispera* 6 (1968):39.
359. Cf. *Vispera* 4 (January 1968):69-88.
360. *Ibid.*, p.70.
361. *Iglesia-Universidad* (1968), p.74, and as recently expressed by C. Aguilar, pp. 26-28. Cf. Rudolph Atcon, "La universidad latinoamericana," *Revista Eco* (Bogotá, May 1963):37-39.
362. Freire declares: "It is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors. The latter, as an oppressive class, can free neither others nor themselves." *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 42.
363. *Verbum* (Río, May-June 1964):61- 66.
364. *ICI* 288 (1967):19.
365. In the "Declaration on Christian Education" (*Gravissimum Educationis*), no.10, *Documents of Vatican II*, pp. 648-49.
366. "Education," *Medellín Conclusions*, pp. 97-106.
367. *IL ¿PP?*, p. 54. Cf. "Catholic Universities in Latin America." *LADOC* 13 (February 1971), 1,53.
368. *IL ¿PP?*, p.55. This document was approved by the CELAM and the Roman Congregation of Universities and Seminaries. Cf. *Vispera* 1 (Paris, 1967), and *Los cristianos en la universidad* (Bogotá: Departamento de Educación del CELAM, 1967).
369. *IL ¿PP?*, pp. 47-58.
370. Cf. *Esprit* 7-8 (1965):138-39, for the declaration.

371. Cf. *México; Iglesia y movimiento estudiantil*, series 3, document 11 (Montevideo: Servicio de documentación de MIEC-JECI, 1969), and in CIDOC 69-122.
372. *ACM* (México, October 15, 1968):4-7.
373. Habegger, "Apuntes...", *Los católicos posconciliares en Argentina*, p. 194. Cf. H. Aguila, "Los cambios no bastan," *Confirmado* (Buenos Aires: June 12, 1969).
374. *ICI* 349 (1969):17.
375. Cf. the address of Dom Hélder, "La universidad en América latina," April 19, 1969. CIDOC 69-147, pp. 1-7.
376. *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, p.30.
377. *Excelsior* (7 Oct. 1977), p.2.
378. *Ibid.*
379. *Excelsior* (8 Oct. 1977), p.3.
380. *ICI* 388 (1971):17.
381. *ICI* 428 (1973):12.
382. *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 15 Nov. 1972, p.9.
383. *Marcha* 1620 (1972):20.
384. *Uno más uno*, Spanish text (Mexico City, 26 Dec. 1977), p.3.
385. *Liberación de la liberación* (Bogotá: Paulinos, 1976), p. 38.
386. R. Roncagliolo and F. Reyes Matta, *Iglesia, prensa y militares* (Mexico City: ILET, 1978), p.91.
387. *Brasil ¿milagro-engaño?* (Lima: CEP, 1973), p. 110.
388. Cf. F. Hinkelammert, *Ideología del sometimiento* (San José, Costa Rica: EDUCA, 1977), pp.41ff.
389. Cf. Gilberto Giménez, "El golpe militar y la condenación de cristianos por el socialismo," *Contacto* 1-2 (1975):12-115.
390. *Praxis de los padres*, p. 170.
391. *Ibid.*, p.847.
392. *Ibid.*, p. 858.
393. *Excelsior* (20 March 1979), p.9.
394. *Praxis de los padres*, p. 967.
395. "Christian Identity in Action for Justice," 21 Nov. 1976, No.17.
396. *Documentos colectivos del episcopado mexicano* (Mexico City: Paulinas, 1977), pp. 313-69.
397. *Noticias Aliadas* (20 Nov. 1975), p.9, n.43.
398. *Boletín CELAM* 113 (1977):14-15.
399. R. Cooper, K. Kaiser, and M. Kosaka, "Towards a Renovated International System," draft report presented in Tokyo (9-11 Jan. 1977), *Estados Unidos* (Mexico City: CIDE, 1978), p.94.
400. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
401. *Noticias Aliadas* 26 (1973):2ff.
402. *Proceso* 86 (Mexico City, 26 June 1978): 13.
403. For details see my forthcoming work, *De Medellín a Puebla* (1968 -1979), 490 pages.
404. See my article "Crónica de Puebla," *Christus*, March- April 1979.
405. The paragraph numbers herein cited are from the first edition of the Final Document published following the conclusion of the III Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, *Puebla: La Evangelización en el Presente y en el futuro de América Latina* (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano -CELAM, 1979). The text has apparently gone through several revisions, for the paragraph numbers in the copy of the Spanish text I have utilized are not those which Prof. Dussel cites in his comments. Furthermore, I understand that the forthcoming English edition of the Final Document will also be distinct from the Spanish. -Tr.
406. Text in off-set, p. VIII.
407. See paragraphs 47, 50 of *Puebla*; the key text is found in paragraphs 542-546. Reference is made to the question of Marxism in an ambiguous manner, and "the risk" is



seen (Par. 545) in ideologization. In reality there is no concrete condemnation, but it is rather very abstract and general. But this should be relative in the light of formulations such as: "The fear of Marxism prohibits many from facing the oppressive reality of liberal capitalism" (Par.92).

408. Italics mine.

409. Italics mine.

410. Text of 3d Edition, Commission 6, Par. 16, p.4.

411. *Uno más uno*, 22 February 1979, p. 11.

412. *CENCOS* (July 1979) p.10.

413. *Ibid.*

414. Italics mine.

415. Manuscript letter, pp. 1-2, with signatures.

## NOTES FOR CHAPTER XII

1. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p.28.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Levinas, op. cit., in the French edition, *Totalité et infini* (Den Haag: Nijoff, 1961), pp. 269-70: "Dieu sortant de son éternité pour créer. ...Mais dès lors, autrui, par sa signification, antérieure à mon initiative ressemble a Dieu. ...Un principe perce tout ce vertige et tout ce tremblement, quand le visage se présente et reclame justice."

4. Various works have tended toward this position, such as the original and important writings of Juan Luis Segundo, *Función de la Iglesia en la realidad rioplatense* (Montevideo: Barreiro y Ramos, 1962), *La cristiandad, ¿una utopia?*, (Montevideo: CCC, 1964), 2 vols., in which Segundo states: "Christianity is therefore a profound call to the minority impulse, free and personal, of all human beings" (2:92); and *Teología abierta para el laico adulto* (Buenos Aires: Lohle, 1968), especially his discussion "De la sociedad a la teología."

5. Cf., for example, José Comblin, *Christianismo y desarrollo* (Quito: IPLA, 1970). This outstanding Belgian theologian who has lived for many years in Latin America had not yet participated in the dialogue on the theology of liberation.

6. A certain liberal progressivism gives equal preponderance to the elite: the model of post-Christendom is that of a person aware, free, and convinced of the rightness of a democratic, liberal, secular pluralism. The "model" is the North Atlantic society. The *Criterio* group, made up primarily of theologians from various theological faculties, began to be critical of this model.

7. Hugo Assmann, *Teología de la liberación* (Montevideo: JECI, 1970), pp. 44-45.

8. In 1959- 1961, while in Israel, I discussed this question with Paul Gauthier, which he later presented in written form in his *Les pauvres, Jésus et l'Eglise* (Paris: Ed. Universitaires, 1962 ). Cf. Benoît Dumas, "Los dos rostros de la Iglesia," *Vispera* 17, and in *Parole et Mission* 51 (Paris, 1970):293-304.

9. The developmental stage (other than in the work already cited) is presented in E Houtart and O. Vetrano, *Hacia una teología del desarrollo* (Buenos Aires: Libros latinoamericanos, 1969), or V. Cosmão, *Signification et théologie du développement* (Paris: IRFED, 1967). The next stage is discussed by Hugo Assmann, "Die Situation der unterentwickelt gehaltenen Länder als Ort einer Theologie der Revolution," *Diskussion zur "Theologie der Revolution"* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1969), pp. 218-48.

10. Cf. Paul Asveld, *La pensée religieuse du jeune Hegel. Liberté et aliénation*, (Louvain: Univ. Louvain, 1953); Adrien Peperzak, *Le jeune Hegel et la vision moral du monde* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960); Georg Lukács, *Der junge Hegel und die Probleme der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1954).

11. Cf., for example, Marcuse, "Liberation from the Affluent Society," *To Free a Gen-*

eration, ed. David Cooper (New York: Collier Books, 1968), pp. 175-192; and his *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969). Paul Sartre deals with the question in the "Preface" of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1966).

12. Virtually the same paper appeared in mimeographed form in Lima in 1970, and was subsequently published and distributed as "Apuntes para una teología de la liberación" (66 pp.), and as "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," *Theological Studies* 31 (June 1970):243-61.

13. Papers of the conferences were published as *Liberación. Opción de la Iglesia en la década del 70: and Aportes para la liberación* (Bogotá: Editorial Presencia, 1970), 2 vols. Cf. L. Gera, *La Iglesia debe comprometerse en lo político* (Montevideo: Servicio de Documentación del JECL 1970).

14. The Brazilian Protestant theologian Rubem Alves has written several essays on the subject including: "El pueblo de Dios y la liberación del hombre," *Fichas de ISAL* III, 26 (1970):7-12, and his book *Religión: ¿opio o instrumento de liberación?* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1968).

15. In *Criterion* 1607-1608 (November 1970):783-90.

16. J. B. Metz in *Diskussion zur "politischen Theologie"* (München Mantz: Kaiser-Grünewal, 1969), pp.267ff. and the bibliography of w. Darschin, *ibid.*, pp. 302-17.

17. Cf. my *Para una ética de la liberación*, §§ 4- 6, regarding historical comprehension and the dialectic of being. See also my *La dialéctica hegeliana* (1972), chapter 4.

18. Levinas, *op. cit.*

19. "Church" and "world" are used and misused without logical and ontological knowledge of the "contradiction" (*Widerspruch* in German). Hegel prefers to use "opposition," following the tradition of Fichte and Schelling. But "opposition" or the "Church vs. world" terminology has no relation to the "contradiction" in Aristotelian logic. For this reason, in Spanish and English, to maintain the correct meaning, it is better to use the idea of "correlation."

20. Cf. Juan Scannone, "La situación actual de la Iglesia argentina y la imagen de Dios Trino y Uno," *Estudios* (Buenos Aires, October 1970):20-23.

21. "Circumincision" is the theological doctrine emphasizing the reciprocal existence (i.e., in each other) of the three Persons of the Trinity. -Tr.

22. *Conciencialismo* signifies the giving of an inordinate importance to individual or personal awareness, in contrast to indiscriminate or uncritical popular experience.

#### NOTES FOR THE CONCLUSION

1. I have dealt with the question of overcoming the difficulties of modernity in an address later published and entitled, "Crisis de la Iglesia latinoamericana y situación del pensador cristiano en Argentina," *Stromata* (1970), pp. 277-336. I have not dealt with the metaphysical issue in the article (as it was already clearly present in the Spanish conquistador and philosophically expressed by Descartes in his *ego cogito*); but the metaphysical is the fundamental factor in the dialectic of the dominator-dominated. The overcoming of the difficulties of modernity on the ontological level is equally the condition of and conditioned by the overcoming of the dialectic of oppression on the international political level. This issue I have discussed in other works, e.g., *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (1973), 3 vols.