Political Theology: Between Liberation And Hope

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POLITICAL THEOLOGY: BETWEEN LIBERATION AND HOPE,

by

Bryce L. Bertolino

A thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for academic honors with an Area of Concentration in Political Theology.

Carroll College
Helena, Montana
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Per i piccoli Siciliani
di Syracusa, e una Vita Nuova.

... Bella Firenze
e la mia amante Victoria
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments .................................................................................. i

Chapter

**I. INTRODUCTION** ........................................................................... 1
The Problem of Christian Existence .................................................. 1
Revelation and Humanity's Experience of God ............................. 3
Three Concepts of Revelation ............................................................... 4
The Changing World View of Western Man ....................................... 7

**II. CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT** ................. 18
The Established Model: Economic Growth ....................................... 18
"Liberation" ..................................................................................... 27
Cuba and "People Questions" .............................................................. 30
Tanzania and "People Questions" ....................................................... 37
China and "People Questions" ............................................................... 45

**III. DEVELOPMENT ETHICS** ....................................................... 57
L. J. Lebret ....................................................................................... 58
Paulo Freire .................................................................................... 61

**IV. CHRISTIANITY AND LIBERATION** ........................................... 72
The Prophets of Liberation ............................................................... 73
Danilo Dolci .................................................................................... 75
Paulo Freire - The Christian ............................................................. 76
Camillo Torres ................................................................................ 76
Dom Helder Camara ........................................................................ 77
Julius K. Nyerere: The Christian Politician ...................................... 79
The Christian - Marxist Dialogue ...................................................... 81

Conclusion ........................................................................................ 95

Bibliography ...................................................................................... 100
CHAPTER I

Introduction

Who is there among us that can deny that a significant change has taken place in humankind's understanding of itself and its world? And who can deny that our world, influenced by the process of secularization, has been directed on a new course in history? Human culture with its temporal society and its institutions is achieving a new autonomy with respect to religion and attaining a new distinctive value — in and for itself. In the wake of the Western European Enlightenment, humans no longer have religious certainty in their world. While this shift has been negatively evaluated by many, some see it as a new and positive challenge to religion, a challenge for humans to rethink the locus of their experience of God. More and more the realization is being made that this cannot occur until humans define themselves in such a way as to be able to produce a concept of God which will aid them in understanding the world and their vital participation in it. This is in fact the organizing principle or "elan vital" behind the emerging discipline of Political Theology.1

The Problem of Christian Existence

Today one of the most difficult problems of Christian existence is to relate faith, or one's understanding of his/her experience of God, to political action.2 So much of theology is equated with humankind's past history and its tyranny that it has been placed outside most peoples' political actions for the future. Witnessing this as a challenge theologians such as Jürgen
Moltmann have accepted the call to give religion authentic meaning in the world today. Realizing that, despite the fact that our modern understanding of history has disclosed the tyranny of the past and liberated us from its enslaving false consciousness, Christians only have a select group of traditional texts with which to relate to the future. Moltmann has developed a political hermeneutic of the Gospel, i.e., a search to find the principles or values in the texts of the Gospel which call humans to participate in their own liberation, in history. It is to him and others who have preached the necessity of historical criticism that we owe a debt of gratitude. It is urgent that man enter into a new historical consciousness, a new awareness of human possibilities, and a new position for considering the experience of God.

In order to understand the human reality of faith and the human experience of God, the historical causes for our present crisis of consciousness which have placed a gulf between our Christian past and our present existence, must be sought. These can only be described by the inspection of the way humans have experienced God in the past and how it has influenced their subsequent social relationships. Refusing to become prisoners of false historical consciousness, certain concepts have been placed in historical perspectives as "successive" changing world views, which give one a certain historical consciousness of Christianity, not limited by the prejudices of its tradition or subordinated to an ideology of history. However, before engaging in an analysis of the "changing world view" we shall examine the various ways huma
experience God in order to describe Christian history from a human perspective.

Revelation and Humanity's Experience of God

In that particular experience of God by humans which is known as Christianity, there is a doctrine central to that faith, the basis of all Christian theology, and a historical process known as Revelation. This doctrine maintains that a loving God has been revealing him/herself to humanity in order to enter into a relationship that will lead us to "salvation". This relationship embraces the whole of humankind and all of history, for it represents a process of God and humanity entering into a partnership to transform the existing reality, to create a new world. In this relationship both God and humanity are "subjects" in the sense that they are unique and share certain potentialities, "to be" or exist, not in the context of some human abstraction, (i.e. equality) but in the creation of a world that will give dignity to humanity and glory to God. This occurs when God and humanity interact in such a way so that humanity will allow "God to be God" and humanity, in time, will embrace the task of becoming more human.

This last statement could draw harsh accusations of being frocked in secularism, which, by virtue of its "ism" denotes an ideology, an inhuman mandate demanding fanatical commitment. Secularism is a certain interpretation of history, as a process whereby the secular order strives to become independent and autonomous from God. However, as we shall see, the real problem lies in our interpretation of Revelation. This is a question that lies...
at the heart of political theology; for, God's response to humankind has elicited certain responses from humanity which have distorted our understanding of the experience of God and consequently perverted our relationships as humans with ourselves.

Three Concepts of Revelation

Revelation has been interpreted as being one of three human experiences of God. The first two interpretations have dominated human existence, while the third has been present only when humans have liberated themselves from oppressive traditions. Traditions which in many cases are maintained by authority of the other two experiences.

Revelation has, in many cases, spawned atheism as a human experience. For in witnessing to human creative genius, persons have come to consider the human being as the central actor in history. God becomes a minor consideration, needed only by those who are powerless in creating their world. Human activities and their inherent values demand attention and become absolute. God has no place in history. God's Revelation of the role of humanity in history is witnessed to by the faith in its ability to actualize its full potential. At present, we are called to the attention of this situation by the dominant and unquestioned status of science, and, subsequently, technology have in determining daily life. In fact their values have come to reign supreme in man's search for salvation. Indeed, with all of it's social, political, and economic imperatives, it has been elevated to the status of a deity.
Revelation has, by virtue of an all too human confusion of ends, fallen victim to polar reasoning. For, another interpretation has produced an antithesis down through history. Here, some very anxious humans have misinterpreted their inadequacy to transform reality and have made God the central actor in history. Humanity, thus, gives up all power and authority to a God which fills the gaps of their fear and ignorance. In this case, God becomes so dominant in history that humanity along with its values, considerations, and hopes, is thought to be tangential and has become victimized by our pre-concieved idea of God's will. Thus, humanity has no power to act or to create the world. Thus its humanness becomes degraded for individuality, values, and creative energies, which are human, are deemed invalid and impotent. This is perhaps one of the most destructive and self-defeating of human experiences, because a humankind that is given so little value, in and for itself, acquiesces into becoming objects of domination and manipulation, choosing to conform to some lifeless ideal. An ideal dictated by the mandates of a "God made in the image and likeness of man." Humanity, that is, projects the values it has internalized and aculturated, on their vision of the Godhead, making God the purveyor of that type of authority which dominates, manipulates, and forces humanity into a status quo. An example of this can be found in some of our experiences with formal religions, which because of certain institutional and cultural passions have come to claim the power described above. Often, a humiliating submission to that power is thought to be the only guarantee for salvation.
The last approach to humanity's revelational experience of God was born out of the Judeo-Christian tradition with its unique concept of man and history. Here, at the center of history, stands neither God nor human alone, but a unique friendly relationship between a loving God and a humanity, who has been made in the former's image and likeness. In this most authentic relationship, God and humanity enter into dialogue, one that calls on humankind to enter into an intimate communication with God to determine its role in transforming the world and bringing about salvation. According to this tradition, God proved himself to be humankind's partner by taking on humanity and giving credence to the goodness of its material existence. This is thought to be qualified proof that humanity must engage in those types of relationships with itself and its world, that were illustrated by the model of Jesus. Since this God is not an idea, but a relationship, and by virtue of the fact humans can only have relationships with other humans and the world, this God is a personal reality coexistent with the whole of human history. It follows that God only becomes present to us as we treat each other as "subjects" in transformation and give dignity to human values and considerations. For, true dialogue and love as an existential reality between humans is symbolic of that relationship with God and to many the only verification of the existence of God. Thus, for humans to participate in the creation of a world bound for salvation, they must engage in as authentic human relationships as possible, given all that they know about themselves at the time. For, personal actualization motivated by the transcendence of
authentic relationships could supply the power to create and transform the world. However, we will come to see that dialogue is a process, like salvation unfolding before us in history, activated by those actualization and transcendence.

The Changing World View of Western Man

The authenticity of this concept of the relationship between God and humanity cannot be proven valid until we place it in the historical context of the "changing world view". This context operates on the assumption that, in certain stages of history, humanity has had a certain self concept, which determined its experience of God and, therefore, human actions. These historical stages follow a cycle of creation, maintenance, and decay corresponding to human knowledge and the world, that knowledge has produced. In order that we realize the loci from which humanity has come to understand God, in the spirit of historical criticism, we must witness the past traditions in the "changing world views" of humanity that have supplied us with both our "ends" and "means" of existence down through history. These traditions have become unquestioned philosophies behind certain institutions which have been constructed to fulfill human needs. In this case we are examining the history of Western Religion and the effect it has had on humanity in each "world view".

In each stage, one specific institution has been ascribed with the power to predicate human identity, happiness and salvation. In keeping with Chris-
tian religious symbolism this institution, like the "Jacob's ladder of the Old Testament", is the primary instrument by which humans define themselves, their salvation, and finally their view of God and his relationship to them. Thus in our movement through the "changing world view" we will refer to this as the "Jacob's ladder" institution. Our movement will, after describing historically institutional values and behaviors, define the reasons for our most recent crisis of authority and, hopefully, give credence to the goals of political theology. More and more, the realization is being made that we can no longer remain enslaved by our institutions, which are remnants of the past if we are to survive the challenges demanded by our world.

The first world view for the West emerged around 1,000 B.C. and terminated with its experience of Jesus Christ. The first "Jacob's Ladder" institution to emerge, as illustrated by the rise of vast empires and the spoils of conquest, was the military institution. Because it was thought to satisfy the quintessence of human needs, all other institutions became subservient to it. Education took place on the steps of the gymnasium, where young men went to perfect their bodies to serve the ends of conquest. Symbolically and in reality, civic lives were centered around fortresses as a protection against the constant threat of invasion. The conventional expression of piety was to be found in the worship of semi-mortal gods, who exhibited the ideals so fervently pursued and filled the ranks of their Pantheon.

Alexander the Great, who conquered most of the known world at that time, was a product of this world view. His demise did not mark the end of that
view but, rather, its maintenance. For the Romans, with their ubiquitous talent for the appropriation of other cultures, adopted it and fused the Pantheon with their own brand of piety, emperor worship. The Mediterranean world experienced a phenomenon very much akin to our present experience, for the conventional piety, being an inherent part of that world view, was failing to provide a meaningful existence for the individual person. As the conventional piety began to lose its credibility, so also did the other visible institutions; a crisis of authority ensued.

However in this time of decay, when the traditional piety of the Roman world became institutionalized, empty, and impotent in responding to human needs, Jesus Christ was born into the world. In the opinion of many theologians, his life was an historical witness to God's dialogue with man. According to our past texts, Jesus, and the "Law of love" he lived was symbolic of humanity's authentic relationship with God. Jesus' life and his teachings were to prove that this dialogue with God, for the sake of transforming the world, demanded a deep unconditional love for humans by humans. His death and resurrection became the physical drama proving to all that only by disengaging themselves from their existing world view in total expectation of a new emerging view could they become free to encounter God in their history.

It was the charisma of his life that managed to gain a host of dedicated followers, for the realization was made by the latter that God did not shun the world but ultimately chose to embrace the world through Jesus.
They strove to emulate the humanity of Jesus, for, in the end, that is how they knew him. It became increasingly apparent to them that this could not be done without themselves becoming more human, a feat that could be executed by living as a community and embracing the values and teachings of Jesus. One theologian has often referred to these persons as the "Clutch People,"5 for they disengaged humanity from a previous decaying world view and engaged it in the trajectory of a new world view. This emerging world view promised dignity and freedom for all people who made the decision to live by the "Law of Love". Authority took on a new dimension, it became valid only when it became translated into a system based on service to humanity, rather than being based on the power of a handful of elites.

However, this Christ-inspired community of faith, hope, and love became the pawn in the political power-play of the Roman Emperor Constantine, who ruled an empire on the verge of decay, whose only hope for survival lay in unification. Constantine, being an astute politician, adhered to a basic law of politics in order to unify his empire; that any form of government that hoped to have authority must have an underlying belief system which will unify the people by the virtue of the inherent credibility of its authority. Thus, in a purely political move, he drafted the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D., a document which proclaimed the toleration of Christianity and led the way for it to become the state religion. This led to the distortion of the Faith (by virtue of it becoming a religion) for it was torn from human consideration as a lifestyle and was forced into being a political commitment
to a temporal structure. No longer did one make a conscious decision to live the law Jesus taught, but one was born a Christian as a condition for being a citizen which, at that time, entitled one to certain privileges. Christianity no longer aided people in their social relationships, but rather, became a relationship allied with a governmental institution whose authority was based on power. Thus, the Church as an institutional and political force became a "Jacob's Ladder" institution.

Out of this milieu emerged a world view which made the lines between Church and State virtually indistinguishable and there emerged certain institutions which were hopelessly contradictory and illegitimate. The divine right of mortal kings and the "double-edged swords" of their authority were some of the institutional products of this paradox. The clergy availed themselves of institutional power and privilege producing the historical phenomenon known as the "monarchical episcopate". Thus, the situation existed in which the Church no longer was responsible to the authentic needs of humanity. In fact, the paradox of an opulent, omnipotent, and self-serving Church/State hierarchy exercising power over a "church" whose membership was constituted by a majority of miserable, poor, and oppressed people, set up the conditions for the surfacing of a second group of "Clutch People".

This group was collected and led by a diminutive Assisian by the name of Francesco Bernardone, who later came to be known as St. Francis of Assisi. He and his spirited brethren were inflamed with the desire to live the Gospel message of Jesus, and to restructure the Church's values in order to embrace
humanity and rid humankind of the existing social evils. They saw material accumulation reach such excesses that it devalued life and distorted human relationships. Thus, they embraced poverty, not as a virtue, but in humble protest. Though, Francesco made an impact on the world, it was short lived. After his death the Vatican became firmly entrenched in the European Banking System, forshadowing the emergence of the next world view.

Three to four hundred years after St. Francis, a new "Jacobs Ladder" institution took hold and defined humanity and its happiness. With the advent of Renaissance capitalism, salvation became equated with the accumulation of material wealth and participation in the economic system. Education took place in universities whose goal soon became to teach people how to participate in the economic system. The other institutional structures became inexorably intertwined with the economic system. The religious exponents of this system, transformed the God of love Jesus once taught of into a God of law and order; for, the system needed just such an authority to function. If love was the dominant value, instead of law and order, it is of question whether or not we would have the type of institutional world we have today, with its inherent determinisms. Determinisms which have stunted human growth and clouded our potentialities.

According to various sources the effects of this world view and its determinisms, negated all but the economic dimension of a human being. Reacting against this, counterculture movements emerged in the late 1960's. The youth of the United States and the Affluent West rose up as bitter critics.
of the status-quo after witnessing to the atrocities in Viet Nam, the be-
foiling of the environment by the irrational dictates of an economic system
based on unbridled growth, and the underlying emptiness and violence of our
everyday life. They took it upon themselves to challenge the institutional
authority of that time so that it might realize authentic human needs. They
talked of love in a way that echoed the message of Jesus and St. Francis,
with their very life style an attempt to become disengaged from the main-
stream of society. They seemed to be asking this question of society; "How
can we call ourselves Christian countries, when domination, manipulation,
and violence are our entire way of life?" One that has produced war, racism,
and human misery. In the eyes of one secular theologian, these people were
truly "Clutch People"; for, they strove to find the means to happiness and
fulfillment and attempted to create a new order. They rejected the values
and concepts of the existing world view, even the concept of God described
above. Their movement, too, was short-lived. However, they provided a great
many people with the consciousness that there is going to have to be an emer-
gence of a new world order. 8

In the eyes of many theologians, the new world view might provide us
with the experience of God that has been written about in our past texts.
An experience capable of transforming our faith, to paraphrase Jurgen Molt-
mann, from one that only anticipates human deliverance from a world maintained
by oppression, into a faith that demands creative initiative and transforms
believers into worldly, social, personal and political witnesses to the
happiness and freedom afforded man when he enters into a relationship with the God proclaimed in our traditional texts, not defined by certain cultures and their preoccupations.9

It is my thesis that a new world view is capable of emerging. But, the question is always asked; "where do the directives for the forging of a new world view come from?" My essay will attempt the following answer; this new world view is being born out of the concepts of "development" which come from the "Third World"10 and the subsequent theology born of their struggle to become liberated from a world system of domination which was constructed by the previous world view. These new concepts are supplying humans with the knowledge with which to redefine themselves in order to survive in our world of impending crisis; a world filled with the threat of violent nuclear war, great human misery, resource depletion, and the constant threat of exploitation by the world economic system.

Humans have begun to achieve a new concept of God by virtue of the transactions between new "development" theories and contemporary theology. The underlying assumption here is that religion is as central to a culture's self-definition as speech or tool-making. Every culture and its particular view finds legitimacy in being part of a larger context. That is why it is maintained that, in the new theories of development, there is also a quest to relate Christianity in its authentic form to political action. It has been alluded to by the existential realities of the underdeveloped nations of the world that they are seeking a new mode of development which will unchain them from the tyranny of the past and a faith that will initiate this liberation.
Therefore, our consideration of a new world view will be placed in the arena of conflict between two distinct concepts of development, a conflict which by its very nature epitomizes the reasons for the catastrophic decline in the confidence of our present world view, to provide well-being for human beings and the urgency of creating a new order.
CHAPTER I

Notes to the Introduction


3. This concept was first related to me by Dot. Paolo Francini, Lecturer at the University of Florence, Florence, Italy, as the concept of the “Anthropomorphic changes of Mankind.” However, it has received its best theological articulation by Father Eugene Peoples, Ph.D., Head of the Theology Department, Carroll College.

4. The concept of “Revolution and Humanity’s Experience of God” was related to me by Father Peoples but can be found annotated in The Jerusalem Bible.

5. To understand the ramifications and power of the “Jacob’s Ladder Institution,” another concept introduced to me by Father Peoples, it must be viewed not only as the source of physical construction and creation but as the source of cultural myths and paradigms. It supplies most of the mental currency.

6. We owe this special automotive analogy to Father Eugene Peoples; however, this type has been given splendid definition; Paulo Freire gives a brilliant description about “Revolutionary Bodies” cf. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York, Seabury Press, 1974), p. 162.

7. The term “monarchical Episcopate” refers to the aristocratic position enjoyed by the medieval clergy—a position which ensured their ranks education, fortune, and power, primarily loomed out by the temporal state, far above that ever hoped for by the common man.

8. Splendid treatment has been given to the western phenomenon of the student uprisings, a chronological report with factual information can be read in Barbad and John Ehrenreich’s book, Long March, Short Spring: The Student Uprisings at Home and Abroad (London, Monthly Review Press, 1969). While special treatment of the emerging counter culture can be found in many sources, the most hilarious is Tom Wolf’s The Elective Kool-Aid Acid Test. (New York; Bantam Books, 1968).

10. In this thesis, the term "Third World" refers to the emerging nations on the Continents of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, however, since then there has been coined a further classification, known as the "Fourth World". Examples of these would be the nations of the sahel, where a large percentage of the population of these catastrophe-struck and resource-poor nations know only a life of hunger and misery.
Chapter II
CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT

The Established Model: Economic Growth

In inspecting the two major contemporary concepts of development, it is
evident that there is not only a "clash between vocabularies, but two con-
flicting interpretations of history and two competing principles of society."¹
Also evident, are two opposing ideas concerning human nature.*

The established model is comprised of two strains of thought which es-
sentially lack any discrete differences. The first maintains "development"
is synonymous with economic growth in aggregate terms. A country is developed
if "it can sustain by its efforts, after having first reached a per capita
G.N.P. of $500 to $1,000, an annual growth rate ranging from 5½ to 7½."² By
virtue of this economic standard, roughly two-thirds of the world is catego-
ized as being "underdeveloped", denying any other type of consideration.
Although this case is seemingly valid, when we dig deeper and uncover the
rationale which makes this judgment, one cannot but feel that a callous,
immoral, and disrespectful evaluation has been made of the plight of most
of humanity.

Specialists in this area maintain that the main obstacle to development
in these countries is an "internal stagnation" in their economies which re-
sults in waste, inefficiency, and lack of investment capital to aid the growth
of industry and technology. This internal stagnation, according to the value

¹ In examining the first concept we are asked to evaluate the existing
modelo of development and, in order to pursue this, we shall have to expose
the true nature of the aid being supplied to the under-developed countries
of the world by the affluent nations, hoping to reveal the colored concep-
tions of development.
judgments of conventional theorists making the comparison between the productivity in materially affluent countries and the rest of the world, is due to uneven endowments of intellectual capacity, dedicated effort and managerial skill. Thus, the only cure for the materially poor nations is aid in the form of investment, technological transfers, and corporate activity from the materially rich nations. A vigorous and "benevolent" intervention into the internal workings of these underdeveloped societies, by the materially rich nations of the world is seen as a crucial necessity.

There are critics of this stance, however, who state that development and the condition of underdevelopment is framed in a fraudulent context. According to Denis Goulet in The Myth of Aid: The Hidden Agenda Behind Development Reports, a provocative work which demystifies the governmental reports coming out of the affluent nations on the question of development, this conception is contradictory not only of history, but its language fails to even enter into the heart of the question. For Goulet and many others, this view and its language is historically unreal; underdevelopment is not rooted in providence, inferior personality traits, or traditional values. The underdeveloped countries have been and still are the objects of a systematic subjugation by those who gained an earlier privileged position. In Goulet's words, "following centuries of colonialism and neo-colonialism a worldwide system has been aided, technologized, and mutual secured into place." Aid being just one in the long line of tools to maintain just such a system.
The second strain of this concept was summarized by U. Thant in a speech to the United Nations, initiating the "First Development Decade." In his words, "Development equals economic growth plus social change." This equation invited a host of social scientists to join in prescribing a model for the advancement of the countries who "had come late" to the twentieth century. However, even the involved social scientists, who formed their own elite corp "subordinated value judgments about human goals to economic growth." Too often they proposed only safe and trivial alterations to the existing world system, and they succeeded only in spreading the attitudes deemed compatible with the hierarchy of values revered by the developed countries.

If it has not been ascertained by now, it is the attitude of this essay that the existing model of development, as practiced by the affluent countries of the West is not only ignorant, naive, and deficient, but moreover is callous and immoral in its treatment of the indigenous populations of the emerging African, Asian, and Latin American nations. Such judgements cannot be made without a valid argument and documentation; thus, at this time it is imperative that we review a new perspective which has revealed the inherent contradictions present in conventional thought.

It is the brilliant and astute political economist, James H. Weaver, who lifts the veil covering the contradictions in conventional wisdom by candidly questioning the ends of development. In his article, "Growth or Welfare," he carefully juxtaposes the model an emerging country would have to follow if it is seeking to develop in the traditional mode with a political
economist's view of human welfare. Indirectly, he asks the emerging notion crucial questions concerning the type of society it wishes to achieve, the conception of humanity it wishes to embrace, and what type of relationship it wishes to have with its natural environment.

If it is placing the highest value on economic growth, he asks it to become aware of established paradigms, those unquestioned assumptions about human beings which fuel economic activity. The major assumption of the dominant system of thought is that all human beings are motivated by self-interest, defined in material terms. Because "more is better", the motivation behind man's existence is to "have more" rather than to "be more". The main criteria for this type of "economy" is, first of all, efficiency, or maximum output at minimum private cost. Stability and a consistently high rate of employment are imperative if the production of goods and services are to increase over a period of time at a rate faster than the population.7

In an attempt to address the issue in its largest possible context, Weaver investigates whether or not the present concept of economic growth has any relationship to what he chooses to call "welfare". Weaver in an attempt to allude to Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" states that, "welfare is derived from singing, dancing, loving, theorizing, playing, painting, sleeping ... and engaging in religion."8 Conventional growth wisdom finds common ground with Weaver, only by virtue of the fact that certain tools are needed to pursue welfare, and the production of tools is the raison d'être for economic growth and development. However, Weaver asks the proponents of
the dominant growth model the following questions: Does your model provide
the people with the capacity to enjoy "welfare" through encouragement and
training? And, does it provide the environment or society for people to
enjoy the greatest amount of welfare? It seems the dominant system lacks
even the standards to judge these questions.

Weaver, however, introduces some exacting criteria for judging economic
systems, the standard being the political concept of sovereignty, a term
which by virtue of its nature, denotes the power to be independent, self-
regulating, and fulfilled in opposition to being powerless, dependent, man-
ipulated and alienated. He asks: does the consumer get the goods and ser-

ces he really needs and prefers for his/her self-determined welfare?
Does the worker have a job that affords him fulfillment and a certain
amount of creative autonomy as well as the necessary material goods in this
society? Does the citizen get to live in the type of community and natural
environment which will provide welfare?

The traditional view says the consumer has sovereignty vis-a-vis the
market place. But what this view omits is that "planning has replaced the
market." In the words of Ivan Illich:

In less than a hundred years industrial society has molded patent
solutions to basic human needs and converted us to the belief that
man's needs were shaped by the creator as a demand for the products
we have invented.9

Illich further uncovers the sad condition of human sovereignty by adding:

Industrial societies can provide package solutions for most
of their citizens, but this is no proof that these societies are
sane, economical, or that they promote life. The contrary is true.
The more a citizen is trained in the consumption of packaged goods
and services, the less effective he seems to be in shaping his
environment.10
We are also sadly reminded of the problems of labor, when we see how it has been defined by the dominant model.

The conventional wisdom maintains that the state as determined by a democratic process will decide what is in the nature of the public good. Increasingly, however, the question is asked if democracy is not more than a myth and a placebo for the indigenous populations of the developed world, and whether or not people can any longer participate in democratic actions to combat the institutional advances that threaten to destroy the welfare-relevant aspects of society.

Weaver, and, as we shall see below, the theorists behind the emerging "Liberation Movement" argue that no sovereignty exists in the present capitalistic systems because they emphasize only one dimension of growth to the detriment of all other aspects which enhance or make possible human welfare. For capitalism is composed of certain "core institutions", namely markets in land, labor, and capital and bureaucratic or entrepreneurial ability dedicated to the maximization of profits out of which specialization of labor is the norm.

In no uncertain terms it has been stated, not only by Weaver but by a host of intellectuals, artists, and poets that the Industrial Revolution transformed people and their natural world into commodities. People were driven off their land by enclosure movements which in essence "decapitalized" the population by ending their traditional rights to the use of the land. They were forced to enter a competitive factory labor system, after
being driven into the cities. Skilled craftsmen and artisans were transformed, in a relatively short period of time, into an industrial labor force as an alternative to starvation, thus becoming a commodity in the market process as it became defined at that time.

Land was transformed into a commodity to realize a profit, without a thought being given to what would be the future of the land used to make money rather than being used for the general welfare of human beings. A new phenomenon occurred: land, which was once employed for traditional uses, owned socially, a definitive part of the people's lives was now bought and sold, giving it a one-dimensional value. Capital was no longer something that was distributed to the citizens, but became a tool for investment in economically profitable production. Entrepreneurs explored manners of manipulating these factors of land, labor, and capital to make a profit. And, it is in reality these very core institutions which affluent countries are thrusting upon poorer nations when they send them aid and technology to develop. In reality we are sending them a system full of alienating dichotomies, invidious hierarchy, and divisive imperatives.

Neither the United States which sports a most advanced form of capitalism, nor the U.S.S.R., which is supposedly the quintessence of socialism, have produced the societies their Revolutions promised. The U.S.S.R. is mentioned here for its most favorable argument for years, not unlike the United States, has been its inexplicably fast rate of industrialization.
Thus "growth" is their dominant value, and we have only to take a look at how such growth takes place to witness the transgressions cited above.

Growth requires wealth to be inequitably accumulated and distributed, and this has been enforced by the mechanisms of forced saving, taxes, and frozen wages, which have made capital available for investment. There has been a natural tendency for people to inherit certain inequalities of power by virtue of this inequitability surrounding growth. So, also, is the case with labor. It possesses its own determinisms. Can anyone deny the fact that certain skills, education, and personality characteristics are derived from the various types of homes and schools afforded a person by the type of labor he/she or his/her gentry have come to engage? The opportunities to develop and enjoy welfare differ from job to job; accordingly, differential advantages can be inherited, accumulated, and transmitted from generation to generation.11 Despite certain popular national myths it is now understood that life in such a structure becomes hopelessly closed for all but a few privileged individuals. The capital or the labor rich school their offspring to develop their economic power more fully and thus further perpetrate an elitist system. Many social psychologists state that this system results in the loss of authentic human community.12 The deleterious effects it has on our natural resources has become dreadfully apparent. And there is some question as to the effects it has on the psychological environment. Human beings are becoming alienated by
work which has become less than "convivial." The profit concentration which produces such an hierarchical system further divides and specializes labor, so much so that only a few are able to make decisions; and they control the lives of a vast majority of people who are essentially powerless. The specialization of work with its inevitable fragmentation into small tasks, ends in estrangement and the death of human emotions.

Some do realize that this situation described previously is produced by the "core institutions". Institutions which are trying to establish themselves in the poorer nations of the world via private corporate investment, financial aid, and the transfer of technology. It is again Ivan Illich, who in standing by the real interests of the developing nations, describes the bankruptcy and inherent obsolescence of these institutions, becoming a highly vocal conscience for the affluent nations. He addresses his remarks to the elites of the world in the following way:

... we suppress our consciousness of this obvious reality because we hate to recognize the corner into which our imagination has been pushed. So persuasive is the power of the institutions we have created, that they shape not only our preferences but our sense of possibilities. We have forgotten how to speak about modern transportation that does not rely on automobiles and airplanes. Our conceptions of modern health care emphasize our ability to prolong the lives of the desperately ill. We have become unable to think of better education except in the terms of more complex schools and of teachers trained for ever longer periods of times. Huge institutions producing costly services dominate the horizons of our inventiveness."

In this context "convivial" work is that type of labor which brings men together in a truly human endeavor which is surrounded with joy and can come to be seen as a celebration of solidarity.
In essence, our institutions are inundated by the economic world view, and its affluent prisoners are attempting to extend its domination worldwide via "development". Illich's remarks signal the rebirth of human ingenuity and the eventual revolutionary change of our institutions. This is at the heart of our other concept of development, "Liberation".

**Liberation**

As part of the new concept of "Liberation" and an emerging world view, elements in the emerging Afro-Asian and Latin American countries have mounted a drive not only against the conventional development model, but also, the divisive language invented by the developed countries in their attempt to "domesticate" them. These nations see aid as a scandalous indignity. As an essential manifestation of the inequalities enumerated by Weaver, they see themselves as objects of paternalism and condescension by the developed world.

It is again Denis Goulet, in the work cited above which gives validity to their claim by diagnosing the content of the flood of reports coming out of the United States after the First Development Decade. This condescension and paternalism was detected by Goulet, when he discovered that three crucial issues were omitted in their discussion of development. The first omission was a consideration of all the socialist models of development and a critical evaluation of their efficacy in promoting authentic development. Secondly, no critique of goals was undertaken. Here is where the Third World nations begin to take a stand, for they are dedicating themselves to the
creation of a development theory which stresses qualitative improvement in all societies, groups, and individuals. Hoping to base development on ethical values rather than economics, they call for liberation and justice, not monetary aid. They defiantly choose to substitute the word "Liberation" for "development" to call attention to the fact that they have been exploited by a world system. With this new concept, comes a new vocabulary; a new critical view of history, and a new principle of society; it is up to humanity "to be more" rather than "to have more". The third and final omission in the reports was an analysis of the structures of dependence and domination found in the underdeveloped nations; seldom do the developed nations discuss their internal structures of domination nor do they deem it necessary to undertake the type of institutional changes which would defeat the domination/dependence syndrome.

The reason these three omissions have been brought to the forefront is that, in searching for the data to rectify the situation, proponents of the liberation movements have unmasked the hidden value assumptions of the conventional "wisdom" and the perjorative nature of its concept of development which stresses economic growth and social control. They choose, instead, to discuss the role of ethics in the belief that development based on ethics can bring about social justice and the creation of a "new man". The search for new ethics not only has provided such goals - the noblest being the destruction of the system of subjugation and domination - but has enabled them
to seriously consider the successes of Cuba, Tanzania, and China in pursuing new ethics and goals.

On a topic that is given so little noticeable treatment by the mass media of developed nations, we are indebted to one source, in particular: the periodical known as I.D.O.C. (The International Documentation on the Contemporary Church). It's primary aim is to:

"generate, validate, and to transmit to the English speaking world documents and analysis on international issues of justice, order, and liberty - social, political, economic, educational, and religious - with a special commitment to gathering from the Third World information not readily accessible to North American readers."15

This periodical has perhaps compiled the most authentic reports on the new development models in operation in Cuba, Tanzania, and China. The term "models" here is appropriate; it is common consensus, for a great part of the Third World, that the example of these three countries can describe a type of development to two-thirds of humankind which can make it possible to bypass an industrial development. Characteristic of this periodical's concern for the promotion of liberty and justice, its expositions on Cuba, Tanzania, and China have been placed in the context of "People Questions";16 i.e., how the people of each respective country are coping with five universal issues: education, health care, religion, work, and role and status of women. Using I.D.O.C.'s basic form, complete with an introductory history of the model countries as a framework for an explanation of the origin of these exemplary forms of socialism and the salient issues of their unique developments, we shall witness their individual charisms. Our discoveries shall begin with Cuba.
Cuba and the "People Questions"

The Cuba of Fulgencis Batista was the playground for American "bon vivants" and the source of quick profits for American Sugar Refining, United Fruit, Woolworths, Bethlehem Steel, and I.T.T., among others. The U.S. controlled 3/4 of the island's sugar, which amounted to 85% of the island's exports. The U.S. also dominated the tobacco and utilities industries. Translated into human misery, this rampant exploitation caused the unemployment of 700,000 campesinos; 560,000 seasonal farm workers, who, when working, received 25¢ per day; and spawned a civil service system choked by graft, corruption, and exploitation.

In 1953, a 26 year old lawyer, outraged by the amount of human suffering on his island nation, incited a small revolution against the power structure only to have it aborted. Shortly after he was put on trial; his sentence was for him to be exiled to Mexico. In Mexico, Fidel Castro Ruz, that young lawyer, met and befriended a physician by the name of Ernesto Che Guevara, with whom he engaged in a study of Marxist-Leninist ideology and prepared another revolution, one that did take place on July 26, 1956. It would not have taken place if it were not for the ability of these two men to organize alienated workers and some 30,000 disaffected professionals into a force which liberated the island in 1959. Castro gained immediate wide-spread support by setting up a unique program of agrarian reform and extending welfare services to the people free of charge. Because of these acts, he was able to hold off retaliation for his expropriation of U.S. holdings and continue...
the quest of his brand of socialism. With this brief history in mind, we will attempt to hear how Cuba answers its "People Questions."^17

In education, Cuba's first goal was to destroy all structures associated with their dependency on capitalism, which made education a privilege not a right, and to deal the death blow to a corrupt and graft-ridden education system where learning and teaching positions were bought and sold. In 1961, by virtue of engaging some 96,000 youth to educate the rural peasants and fishermen, the illiteracy rate was forced down from 26.3% to 3.9%. They manned all types of positions in this quest to educate from binding books to testing eyesight. So totally committed in this revolution of learning, Cuba's youth became the raison de tre in perpetuating the Revolution. In fact, very few movements in history have ever embraced youth as its driving force and engaged them in the process of making history as has been the case with Cuba.

Realizing that the people could not have a dignified existence without a monumental improvement in their standard of living, the next goal of education was to aid in economic development. Schools were built in the midst of fields and next to factories, so the students could engage in three hours of labor before attending 4 hours of classes. Education, therefore, emerged from real needs and was directed to existing reality. It was an all-out attempt to turn the "whole island into a school" and rid education of its professional mystique. The omnipresent slogan of Cuban mass media is; "if
you don't know, learn; if you do know, teach." In Cuba, there was, and
still is an attempt to give education a democratic value. Remembering back,
it was a wide, direct participation from the people which swept illiteracy
out of Cuba at a superhuman pace. Following from this, workers by virtue of
membership in certain trade unions engaged in the education of those teen-
agers which worked with them in the morning, and held congresses to discuss
the relevance and innovation of their pedagogy. Women formed brigades to
help the children learn and canvass for illiteracy. And students were cal-
led to engage in any one of many groups to discuss their education, its func-
tioning, and its role in relating to the transformation of the society.
Attendance, school performance, sports, productive work, cultural activities,
and evaluation of the group and the individual are the main topics of dis-
cussion. In essence, Cuban energy is striving to create a new man and a new
woman. In their words:

... People who are cultured, confident, and self-disciplined.
Ones who realize work in its educational aspect is the creative
center of life, involving comradeship, solidarity, and love.  

Health care had been totally converted from its previous situation of
being an urban, centralized service with private care extended only to those
rich enough to afford a physician engaged in a lucrative private practice,
to a concerted effort to provide universal coverage for all. Health, along
with education, has been given top priority, both using as guiding prin-
ciples those first stated as principles of the Revolution:

1. The elimination of any form of exploitation of man;
2. The attainment of the highest degree of social justice;
3. The promotion of collective and individual well-being;
4. Emphasis on the international solidarity with the people of the world.\textsuperscript{20}

This, in fact, formed the conceptual basis of the health care system and became translated into the subsequent principles:

1. The health of the people is a basic responsibility of the state.
2. Universal coverage is guaranteed to all citizens without discrimination of any kind.
3. The people must participate actively to assure a healthy population.
4. Health services are aimed at prevention.\textsuperscript{21}

To carry out these lofty goals, the Ministry of Public Health, MINSA, was set up. Its expressed purpose was to introduce those structures, which would extend health care, to the widest number of people. Turning the tide of history, the highest priority was given to rural services. To combat the problems produced by the post-revolution shortage of doctors, most of whom fled to the U.S. in search of lucrative practices, medical schools were set up to turn out as many doctors as possible. They, in turn, undertook three years of duty in rural areas. Besides honoring these calls to field work, they took an oath never to enter private practice. Today the new doctor-patient ratio is as phenomenal as their gains in literacy.

By virtue of a multitude of local programs, almost everyone is still engaged in health care and disease prevention on all levels. Information floods the media with pro-health concerns, using the U.S. as a poor example, Cuba refuses to advertise the products in existence which undermine health, and tobacco is rationed and the price of liquor makes it prohibitive to imbibe.
Maintaining that how a society treats its mentally ill reflects the dignity it gives to humanity, Cuba has set up mental health institutions which care for mentally ill individuals and train them to engage in a myriad of activities from toy building to chicken raising, for which they are paid. Psychiatric care is extended to whom ever should seek it.

In answering the people's need for religion, history has placed Cuba in an unique position. It was the Catholic Church which had fought Cuba all along - from initially trying to stop Cuba's attempt to become independent from Spain to recently being reluctant about allowing its private schools to become nationalized. Also, Protestants brought an acculturated type of religion to Cuba, interwoven with certain U.S. political, social, and economic values, which, according to some sources, aided in the subjugation of the island. The Revolution resulted in an exodus of clergymen from Cuba denouncing and fearing the Atheism they said was inherent in Cuba's brand of socialism. With the advent of the Latin American breed of "Liberation Theology" and the heroic examples of such men as Camillo Torres, Cubans have come to reflect upon their faith as being applicable to the revolution. This development has provided the basis for the Christian-Marxist dialogues, which will be treated below in the section on "Christianity and the Forces of Liberation".

In the realm of work, Cuba is fighting desperately against its former capitalist programming, by taking a new approach to incentives, employing
moral, as well as a sufficient amount of material incentives. Although everything is free, Cubans still work; they are not so much motivated by money as a sense of honor stemming from the fact that they engage in a process to free not only themselves but everyone from want. Wealth, for a Cuban, is translated into a community context; for it refers to "the entire collective productiveness of the entire population which is equitably distributed to everyone so a decent and human standard is guaranteed." This is being brought about, according to Cubans, by a drastic shift of values. Adhering to Marxist ideology, they are trying to successfully pass through the socialist stage, which emphasizes industrialization to fulfill human needs so that they may reach their goal of communism. To this point, this has created the beginnings of a community consciousness; waste is deplored; workers have voted against pensions which were set up to be in the worker's best interest; every student has become a worker; workers passed their own anti-loafing law, not only to curb loafing but to educate the people about responsibility to others.

In many endeavors - construction will serve as an example here - jobs are undertaken by a "Micro-Brigade" in which electricians, plumbers, and ditch diggers alike engage in the same tasks from beginning to end in order to inhibit certain stratification of labor and to educate everyone on the nature of the whole job. Work is revered, for it imparts a sense of honor and men realize that, by virtue of their labor in something meaningful, they are doing that means just as much or more to others.
Cuba's revolution with respect to women is regarded as a "double liberation" in which women are called upon to be "doubly revolutionary" in the process. Causing dramatic things to happen to the Latin male machismo, women are becoming equal partners in the creation of a new society. Special courses of education have been instituted at various levels to fulfill their needs. Marriage, whose pre-revolutionary cost was prohibitive for many classes of people, has been liberated from economic restraints as has divorce. A Family Code was discussed in 1975, one of its many directives being to require men to assume equal responsibility for the household and child care if the woman was working. This has also amounted to women being more assertive of their own interests and less inclined to tolerate either the traditional "double standard" in sexual relationships or vestiges of old attitudes of subservience. As a small indication of the effort women have brought to the creation of a new society, in 1973, 520,000 women were employed full time. This was complimented by 95 million hours of volunteer work engaged in by women.

Cuba witnesses to the fact that hardship is being met in all of the above discussed issues. It asks, however, not to be judged too quickly and harshly, for it has had only 16 years of revolutionary experience as compared to some 400 years of capitalist exploitation.
Tanzania and "People Questions"

The Republic of Tanzania did not present itself to history until the late date of 1964, when the countries of Tanganyika and Zanzibal became united some three short years after Tanganyika had achieved independence from Great Britain. Tanzania, although composed of 120 tribes, was united by virtue of a common tongue, Swahili, and a shared history. For centuries, both parts of present Tanzania had been first the source of a striving slave trade for the Arabs; in recent times, they have been the object of colonization and imperialism by Germany who, after World War I, was forced to relinquish its control to Great Britain by the League of Nations.

This country is a good example of a unique and benevolent road to socialism, resulting, for the most part, because of the efforts of one man; the present President, Julius K. Nyerere. The life and works of this man are inseparable from Tanzania's quest to be an authentic socialist society.

As a practicing Catholic and the product of missionary schools, he was transported abroad to further his studies. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, excelling in language, law, and libertarian philosophy. He was later to become a statesman of unrivaled intellectual stature, called "Mwalimu" (teacher) by his people. Avoiding elitist trappings, he opted to live in a house he built for himself rather than to live in the presidential mansion. He has cut his salary by 50% and has bid his cabinet members to follow suit. He has led an assault on the Apartheid government in South Africa by supporting guerrilla movements in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique,
and South Africa. He further went on to assert his country's ideological independence by accepting aid from China, when the United States tried to engage in political chicanery. Upon achieving independence, it was Nyerere who realized that his country had two future choices as an underdeveloped nation. The choices were either "to become dependent on the Western affluent countries, receiving aid and becoming part of a neo-colonial world system" or "to build a genuine economic and political independence by reconstructing in modern forms the traditions of African society." Opting to pursue the second path, Nyerere set about to determine what traditions would best suit Tanzania's goals for development. The principle of "Ujamaa", Swahili for "familyhood, or we live together", was chosen to be the basis of modern Tanzania's rural society. This is essentially a paradigm that calls for people with advantages to naturally assume that they are to use those advantages to help other people instead of exploiting them. This was both the means and end to reincarnate the tribal tradition that called for all to act in greater responsibility by working and sharing ideas in community. They found the whole principle of life could be called "love", while, in the African context, it leans more toward meaning "respect". To signify the government's adoption of this principle, the extended family is accepted; but, the government desires to move beyond this structure, so its inherent values can become those of a whole nation, which is 90% rural.

Tanzanians also fully employ tradition when looking at education. However, they have had to undermine the existence of the traditions brought to
them by the missionaries, traditions which caused the indigenous populations to be educated only to an elementary level with a complete abandonment of the sciences in the misguided hope of keeping the natives "innocent". This last form of education came to fruition with the British who used it to subliminally dominate the population by teaching their version of the history of colonialism.

Nyerere upon returning from his formal education uncovered these disguised myths and taught the people of their humiliation and the true meaning of colonial rule. Thus, at independence, all forms of colonial education were scuttled. Re-education was provided for all. There was a rapid revision of all courses and books tainted by colonialism. Books in English were written in the African context. New literature was published in Swahili. Finally, a university was established at Dar es Salaam in 1961. In conjunction with the Aruska Declaration signed in 1967, which nationalized all major means of production, the civil service followed suit and, in essence, became "Africanized". Tanzanians became the heads of Tanzanian schools in a systematic attempt to rid the people of the "slave mentality", internalized during the colonial period.

Out of this emerged a revolutionary new educational system; "education for self-reliance". The basic philosophy propelling this system is the desire for "one to be able to rely on oneself before having to seek aid from outside sources."26 This is evidenced today by the large number of students who are filling the ranks of the civil service after their first degree in
order to make it thoroughly Tanzanian. This concept of "education for self-reliance", goes even further, for teachers and students have embarked on a course of meeting to solve problems as they arise, inside and outside of school. They engage in a galaxy of activities, from such menial tasks as cleaning their own school buildings to such ventures as forming micro-economic communities, studying and engaging in all kinds of production from the raising of crops to minor construction. Encouraged by this philosophy, they determine their own extra-curricular activities, and engage in various forms of self government. Their school farms and construction activities have become a model for the people in their district, providing students with something to share with their parents.

Emphasis has been shifted from examinations to practical activities in the daily lives of the students. Science subjects are especially emphasized - dispelling the myth that the native population has any inherent weakness in understanding scientific concepts - for it is realized that rural areas cannot be changed without technical knowledge.

The emphasis on "self-reliance" has also removed the stigma from "shamba" or manual labor, for now it is seen as a teaching device, enabling students to equate work with education and freedom. In this spirit, all students, five months previous to entering the university, work on farms, engage in construction, and learn mechanical skills, enabling them to get away from the bookish life and abstract theories so as to come into contact with the true needs of their country and its people. In essence, it is a national
service which also directs the youth to learn the elementary techniques of "The Peoples Militia Army". The status of education in Tanzania can best be described in the following statement of its President, Julius K. Nyerere:

"The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania. It must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the growth of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon its own self for its own development, and which knows the advantages and problems of cooperation. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service, the greater the opportunities they have had. This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by the family, school, and society - by the development in which the child develops. But it is of no use to our education system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to our past, or citizens in other countries, it is wrong if it contributes to the continuation of those inequities and privileges which still exist in our society because of our inheritance. Let our students be educated to be members and servants of the kind of just and egalitarian future to which this country aspires."

Health care is the legacy of the foreign missionaries who established the first hospitals and clinics. Their motive, however, was based on demen- ted religious philanthropy, to gain converts rather than to promote the growth of a nation. Modern medicine today, is struggling first against superficial tribal medicine while attempting to blend with the efficacious traditional types with modern practice. Because of their culture, Tanzanians refuse free medical service, convinced of its being inferior by virtue of it being without cost. Thus, Tanzania is faced with the task of providing more staff to their meager, overworked system. It's only real advance has been in the dissemination of health education and care through the "uja-maa village".
Tanzania's response to religion is a very tolerant one; but in the words of President Nyerere, "socialism is secular". It is a socialism that rests on the assumption that "all men are equal". The government cares little about what premise one employs to accept this, only that one does accept it. As socialists, their main concern is to what kind of human relationships exist here on earth. Thus, religion is tolerated if it is genuinely interested in human beings and their existence. Likewise, they are sincerely convinced that "man's religious beliefs are important to him, and the purpose of socialism is man", thus, they must humbly accept them.

Today, Christianity is in the process of becoming imbedded in the culture by virtue of its wide acceptance among the youth. They, however, disdain that type of religion which was part of the forces of western cultural invasion, for it is their belief that the message of Jesus Christ cannot be contained in any one culture. In fact, it was Christianity which, in Tanzania, cut all cultural lines and gave spiritual support to the "Ujamaa Principle". To summarize Tanzania's concept of religion, it sees its brand of socialism and religion to be mutual correctives of each other. Socialism challenges the church to stand up for human dignity under God and human rights, and the integral growth of humanity. Conversely, socialism is challenged not to deny God, for, in doing so, it denies man the dignity of being a child of God. Tanzanians hope that the growth of the nation will bring about the fulfillment of the church.

In the realm of work, Tanzanians have come to equate work with freedom; freedom not only from a colonial past which split the population into a peo-
sanctuary and a working class which caused native systems of exploitation, but, a new freedom to assert their equality; to participate in, and be protected by government, and, finally, to have one's fair amount of the national wealth. They realize that they, not industries, are the units of development. And, while they value industry, the first priority is the achievement of self-reliance which affords them this freedom.

Industries, at present, are "import-substitution" in character, that have workers manufacturing goods that would otherwise be imported from another country resulting in a large capital outflow. Using the money from agricultural production to purchase aid and expertise would result in mass inequality. For, capital development by way of roads, hospitals, and industries, provided by foreign assistance using foreign development models, have the tendency to be located in urban areas. Tanzanians have the feeling that this type of development, since it would be largely financed through the efforts of rural peasants, would amount to exploitation.

Tanzania opts instead to direct development towards the rural masses. The government, in fact, has instituted the building of "Ujamaa Villages", which are located in areas surveyed for a certain activity the village will undertake, whether it be agricultural or industrial. With plenty of land left for communal expansion, two of three acres are allotted each family. In this village, the potential exists for all able people to work for the community. In a spirit of self-reliance they are brought together to attempt to realize the benefits of working together. The village becomes more
effective in reaching its goals by passing through a series of stages. The first stage is "togetherness", whereby the group makes the necessary sacrifices to live together. During the second stage, they attempt to achieve subsistence by growing their own food and becoming as self-sufficient as possible. In the third stage, the village enters into a cash economy, whereby they produce a surplus which enables them to sell in order to re-invest money in their community or make the down payment on a long-term loan. The wealth from the sale of the accumulated surplus goes to the improvement of the whole village.

Truthful about their situation, Tanzanians have openly admitted that this system, with its utopian-sounding qualities, has yet to reach full perfection; the people are still struggling to disinherit the behavior of a less-than-just colonial past. Yet, the Tanzanians are witnessing the emergence of skilled people who are putting their skill together to serve their fellow man, hopefully expecting an improvement of all people's rewards, not just material ones. As stated above, the Tanzanians are finding it very rewarding to work for the good of all, denying the value of working any other way.

Tanzanian women are still very much in the process of being liberated from such traditional chains as being married for a "bride price" and forced into accepting the polygamy of their mate. No longer are they jailed if their husbands or sons have escaped from prison or are in flight for
refusing to pay debts. No longer are they forced to forego education because of household duties. On the contrary, they actively participate in the making of their nation. On the village level, as well as at the national level, they are gaining access to virtually all positions. As in all the other socialist experiments, women are engaged to the fullest extent in health and education efforts. The statement has been made that the Tanzanian woman now realizes that her nemesis is not the male, but the exploitive system of the past which has been handed down to the present.  

China and "People Questions"

"In China, mass starvation has been abolished, a feudal social system overthrown, elitism in ruler systematically uprooted whenever it reappears and technological gains are subordinated to the creation of a new man capable of autonomy." The realization of how the Chinese are creating the new man is best witnessed to by how China is coping with their "People Questions". We will first examine the transformation of Chinese education.

The focus of the Chinese in transforming their education system has been the elimination of the "three differences or three gaps", which have separated people in society. Instead of maintaining the distinction between manual and mental work, urban and rural life, and agricultural and industrial development, education moves toward assimilating them. The "brain drain" no longer occurs where young people are seduced into the cities for jobs, leaving rural areas poorer. Young people work with the people of their region to gain practical experience before going on to higher education, an educa-
tion they are chosen for by their workmates, on the basis of their abilities to work in cooperation with all, and the general values they have that makes them able and willing to share acquired knowledge with their colleagues. In fact, the very reason for the combining of manual and mental work is intended to promote one's ability to "serve the people" and eliminate the possibility of a re-emerging elite which, in spite of advanced education is isolated from society. Education is not implemented in formal settings any longer, for many new innovations have been made concerning the methods of learning. A common example of this is the fact that workers, soldiers, and peasants have active discussions at their places of work or in their neighborhoods about technical, local, national, and international problems. In effect, the Chinese look upon this as a way for them to define their roles, and, by virtue of "practice", develop theories concerning their advancement. It has been observed that out of such practices many movements have occurred. In 1958 the "Great Leap Forward" took place, initiating an attempt to decentralize education and production. Following this came the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", a struggle waged around new manifestations of elitism and privileges, to hold the Chinese true to their goal of destroying divisive distinctions. However, so as not to run the risk of painting a false and virtuous picture of these movements, it goes without saying that these were not without their human excesses.

Teachers, because of their scarcity have adopted the policy of "walking on two legs". That is, while they are being educated at the university, they
are also a part of a mobile university in which teacher-student teams update rural teachers and school new ones. Remarkably, there has been a great cross-pollinization of ideas and knowledge between academic theory and peasant ingenuity.

The policy of "Open Door" education has also been created. Students and teachers alike participate in agricultural and industrial production and learn from the working people. Medical students are sent to rural health clinics to witness practice and directly experience the health needs of the people and their viewpoints, learning about the practice before they study theory so as not to alienate the two.

To suppress these distinctions even further, textbooks have been revised to eliminate the use of mystifying language and irrelevant materials. The goal of curriculum development is to shorten the years a student must spend in school. With the new emphasis being on quality, college can now be finished in two and one-half years.

All in all, enormous progress has been made by attempting to educate all people and insisting upon it being a lifetime process required for "serving the people".

Health Care, for the first time in literally centuries, has been extended to all. The communist government at its first health congress, enumerated the following four principles:

1. Health care should primarily serve the laboring people, the workers, soldiers and peasants.
2. The main emphasis should be put on preventative medicine.
3. Close unity between Chinese and Western doctors should be fostered.
4. Whenever possible, health should be conducted by mass campaigns with the active participation of medical workers.

Thus, as seen in these principles, health is put in a political context to advance the socialist construction of society. The fact that many widespread epidemics, including drug addiction, were eradicated by teams of health care workers and the education of the people in basic hygiene and sanitation, proved that the Chinese chose to make health care a right for all and the responsibility of all. Intricate networks of health care centers and hospitals were set up to extend good medicine from the cities to the countryside. Urban personnel formed mobile health teams that visited the rural villages and communes to provide immediate health treatment and engage in health education campaigns. The professionals shared peasant life in its fullest dimension. And, out of this, an amazing rural health force has emerged in the form of "barefoot doctors", as they are called. This force was born out of an attempt to solve the apparent conflicts between possessing technical skill and political consciousness, after realizing that, for their unique situation, there had to be a medical worker with expertise who would remain "unprofessional" and serve the people on the village level, they allowed certain men to become proficient at prescribing drugs and performing minor surgery. "Barefoot doctors" emerged, chosen from the communes own peasants on the basis of their political attitudes and selfless spirit, they become integrated into the community in a very significant way.
pecting the people's financial limitations, they chose to receive no financial advancement, only their rightful share to village income.

Also born out of China's financial shortcomings was the search for inexpensive ways to reach other goals. The mixture of traditional medicine with modern techniques has developed surrogate drugs and other research to put China in the forefront of treating severe burns and the reattachment of limbs. In ending, a most convincing array of evidence supports China's claim "that a change in health care requires a change in society."  

In the realm of religion, missionaries, paradoxically enough, contributed to the Chinese disillusionment with Christianity. For in spite of all their charitable medical, educational and religious activities, they still remained divorced from China's harsh social and political realities. While China had a myriad of gods which filled their gaps of ignorance, they and the Christian "God out-there" never lifted the mountains of oppression off their backs. Thus, the Chinese claim the revolution happened in spite of religion, leading them to brand the missionaries as capitalist instruments of cultural invasion.

Although their socialism has been branded as "godless", their revolutionary leader, Mao Tse-Tung, has expressed some very unique sentiments which give a clue to the emerging Chinese concept of religion. He maintains that China is engaged in a process of liberation, a process that should not be content with liberation from oppressive social, political, and economic
forces; but, more-so occupied with the changing of peoples' hearts and minds so that they may better participate in the making of the decisions which affect their daily lives. In essence, people are at the center of their revolution. Thus, they are sacred and their liberation is at the center of whatever religion exists. Many questions are being asked as to whether or not a country which holds its people as sacred can be called "Godless".

In an era when Western industry is faced with epidemic absenteeism and a general lack of interest in productivity on the part of labor, China is characterized by a viable new work ethic. Work, in the Chinese context, is based on a set of collective social goals. The tenets of this new ideology are as follows:

1. One should work for the group, not just for oneself.
2. The working class is the leading class of society.
3. All work is respected.
4. Work is expected as well as respected.
5. Wealth is distributed according to the principle; "From each according to ability, to each according to his work."53

As one can see by the initial principle, the realization has been made that individuals are interdependent; and, it is only interaction which will fulfill their needs. The fact that "all work is respected" has been evidenced by the administrator of the bureaucracies being called to work in the factory line. Also, for the student labor is combined with study at school. Regarding the distribution of wealth, it has been decided that work still determines income, that is, until the people make the necessary advance-
ment to provide fully for the needs of everyone. They truthfully admit that the present situation is a stage between capitalism and communism, but as with Cuba, judgment should be reserved; for, this socialist society has only been in existence for the short span of 25 years.

Many sources have indeed been astounded by the amiable Chinese attitude towards work, and this has led many Westerners, to investigate the reasons for this phenomenon. Again, it has been realized that work has been put in a social context. It is an activity that includes not only productive labor, but regular philosophical, political, and technical study. Social, cultural, and aesthetic programs complement toil. The factories come equipped with a universe of facilities, from bath houses and libraries to basketball courts and free housing.

Innovative technology is approached calmly, it does not signal a layoff but rather a reorganization of work assignments decided by the workers.

It cannot be overemphasized that the relationship these people have struck between study and labor, in the technical areas, has given rise to much innovation in production. Furthermore, work problems are solved by education rather than punishment. Lateness, absenteeism, and poor work supposedly have been remedied by educating the people to place their labor in the context of building a new society. This education is still very necessary for people are still in the process of realizing the concrete effects of social change on their daily lives. In the midst of change there still exists the ideological and political battle between two distinct sets of work attitudes.
The old system based on individualism, entrepreneurship, and the profit motive still exists. However, the new ethic which promotes a group outlook and which calls for cooperative development; preaches social and economic equality, maintaining that only these actions will make work genuinely meaningful.

Space does not allow a complete discussion of the role and status of women in China. However, it has been noticed that China has paid more than lip service to the liberation of women. It has eradicated virtually all of the traditional marriage practices pertaining to women such as foot binding, concubinage, and arranged marriages. Today, the integration of women into the socialist system has been identified with the revolution at large, with whatever present manifestations of past oppression becoming apparent treated with the same contempt as the old customs.  

* * *

The socialist experiments of Cuba, Tanzania, and China represent flesh and blood human successes for the Third World. They represent the incarnated hope of a world desperately in need of liberation. They have proved getting rid of unjust structures which maintain domination and dependency, is an open-ended process. That in itself, is a paradigm - a new world view - that seeks no certain ends, only just and human means. A process in which the creation and rediscovery of those ethics needed for authentic "development" are seen as the one true source of liberation. This elusive quest
demands astute treatment, so, in the next section we will discuss the genesis of this into the infant discipline, "Development Ethics". Empirical data does not correlate these socialist experiments with the pioneers of this discipline, however, as we shall see they both are looking for the creation of a new world.
Footnotes to Chapter II


2. Ibid., p. 6.


4. Goulet, "Development ... or Liberation?", p. 6.

5. Ibid., p. 6.


10. Ibid., n. 153.

11. Weaver, "Growth or Development".

12. This is best documented by the works of Erich Fromm; namely in his book, The Art of Loving, (New York; Bantam Books, 1956).

13. Illich, Celebration of Awareness, n. 152.

14. A list of the reports can be found on p. 65 under Appendix A. in Goulet's Myth of Aid.

15. This statement can be found on the back of most issues under the heading "About I.D.O.C." IDOC, which began in 1962 to supply the Dutch Bishops with the background documentation for informed participation in Vatican II, has evolved into an independent, trans-confessional, and inter-disciplinary organization dedicated to educating the world about its common problems.
16. See "Cuba; People Questions", IDOC No. 69 (January 1975); "Tanzania; People Questions", IDOC No. 68 (December, 1974); "China; People Questions" IDOC, No. 67 (November, 1974).

17. A more complete history can be found in Mary Lou Suhois "Introducing Cuba: People Questions", IDOC, No. 69 (January 1975), p. 3.


19. Ibid., p. 9.


25. Ibid., p. 5.


27. Ibid., p. 13.


30. Denis Goulet "Development ... or Liberation?" p. 8.


32. Ibid., p. 15.


34. Additional resources for a study on China can be found in: John Paton Davies, Dragon by the Tail, (New York; W. W. Norton, 1973), which deals with history and politics; and Jan Myrdal, Report From a Chinese Village, (New York; Signet, 1963), which gives a splendid portrayal of rural life.
Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT ETHICS

The organizing principle behind "Liberation" is the quest for an ethical basis from which to propel the Third World into an authentic human history, one no longer tainted by imperialism and domination and one freed from a situation of dependency on a worldwide economic system which practices exploitation and cultural invasion. In actuality, a new authority is attempting to be born. The dominant authority today lies in the hands of those who have power. Power has become the obsession of modern society and has found its way into the development debate. But, as liberationists feel, since it was humans who first instituted and perpetuated power, it will be humanity who shall vanquish such authority. Thus, it is out of the writings of a few dauntless men and the very example of their lives that we encounter the infant discipline of "Development Ethics". An array of philosophers, social scientists, politicians, and theologians have set themselves to the task of establishing a new authority. They have placed themselves in the center ring of a moral debate which once again asks philosophical questions about the role of economics in development. The meaning of development here is used to encompass humanity in its fullness, not settling for its old one-dimensional meaning. Denis Goulet, in his work, A New Moral Order: Development Ethics and Liberation Theology, gives an astute and erudite explanation of the historical nature of this quest in a chapter entitled "The Rebirth of
Moral Philosophy". His interpretation of the breakdown of western ethics heightens our awareness of the conflict of values between the existing world view and a not-yet fully-realized liberating world view. Our discussion, taking inspiration from Goulet's work also centers around certain men whose lives and creations stand as paradigms for a world in suffering and hope.

L. J. Lebret

The life, work, and institutional creations of Louis-Joseph Lebret stand as the mark of a man whom all others in his field at best can only emulate. Born of humble fishing folk around the turn of the century, he rose to great stature very early as an altruistic "Citizen of the World". Early in his life, he abandoned a promising naval career to enter the Dominican Order. Spurred on by a deep social conscience and affronted by the poverty of the Brittany fishermen, he set on the task of investigating their social maladies. His observations left him passionately believing that the misery and exploitation he saw around him had deep-rooted structural causes instead of being accidental or ephemeral evils. For the next decade, he conducted surveys on the lives of fishing populations from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. In tandem with an outlandish fisherman-turned-political-militant, Ernest Lemort, Lebret was instrumental in the creation of a network of fisherman labor unions, maritime associations and cooperatives, and groups which led to a radical restructuring of Europe's fishing economy.
The fact that their creation was without precedent is not what interests us here. What is of interest is more universal; the radical form of Lebret's research methodology created an interdisciplinary research in Marseille called "Economy and Humanism":

... Its scope included all the problems affecting a human economy - institutions, and systems, the centrifuge of social change, ideologies competing pedagogies, economic sectors, and the dynamisms whereby a populace plays a role in making the decisions that affect its own conditions.\(^2\)

It was Lebret's personal charisma which, in 1941, drew economists, agronomists, philosophers, theologians, and industrialists alike to address these issues, their collective goal being the critical examination of the political bases of economic systems which figured in the development question. Their's was an attempt to create instruments for the linking of analysis of small units with the knowledge of a world system so as to discover how social change could be planned in cooperation with the populace, in harmony with its values and objectives, and to discover guidelines for intelligent action on all levels.

As time passed, the sacrifice involved in the formation proved to be worth the price paid; today, "Economy and Humanism" is still a vigorous institution, publishing bi-monthly reviews and books and conducting training sessions. It disseminates research findings and is still a leading institution for the synthesis of thought and action directed towards liberation.

Since the early 1950's Lebret's own attention had been focused on the Third World. Shocked by its unbelievable misery, he set out to establish
new activities and institutions which would translate the existing realities into terms that could be understood by those in conditions which impounded their ignorance so that they could have an idea of where they stood in regards to living in real human conditions. Shunning macro-economic analysis and biased sectoral studies, he attempted to search out policies that had positive effects on the lives of the oppressed.

... One Argentine socialist accurately portrayed Lebret as one, who preferred to produce facts over postulates, who understood the world through a permanent praxis and who taught that the most genuine form of humanism was to struggle to satisfy the needs of mankind.

Out of these efforts he established I.F.R.E.D. (Institute for Research and Training in Development) in 1958, an institution which still figures heavily in modern development education and is perpetrator of his premises concerning development education. His basic premises now stand as the basis of a paradigm for approaching the praxis of development:

All individuals preparing themselves for committed developmental work need to be acquainted with the assumptions and methodology of all the major disciplines; economics, planning, human geography, cross-cultural sociology, politics, nutrition, demography, et. al.

Even the analytical end of theoretical studies should be oriented toward the transformation of social reality.

The value implications of competing development models, strategies, and programs need to be criticized explicitly in the light of prevailing ideologies and political doctrine.

No true interdisciplinary research can be achieved by a mere juxtaposition of partial viewpoints.

Indeed, his new aim was to produce a scholarship which was responsive to human needs. His books, primarily aimed at "Christians", plead for a commitment to the tasks of building social justice in history. Goulet calls
him a "man of intelligent love" and goes on to paraphrase Kierkegaard in calling him "the town crier of prophetic vocations". It goes without saying that Lebret is the pioneer of this movement. In his work he has refused to observe the prevailing canons of "scientific objectivity". He, in fact, has treated this as a false idol, which enabled him to achieve insights and initiate activities that were without precedent. To get to the heart of his scientific revolution within a revolution, we have only but to look at his diagnosis and prescriptions, humbly stated to the development community over four decades ago:

Development is above all a task of forging new values and new civilizations in a setting where most existing institutions contradict human aspirations.

The only valid path is to seek optimum growth in terms of a population's values and in terms of resource limitations.

Planning is futile unless it is a permanent association between decision-makers at the summit and communities at the grassroots.

Equality in the distribution of wealth and the achievement of dignity for all are priority targets of development efforts.

Conflicts of interest can be solved only by eliminating interest and launching a general pedagogy of austerity.

Paulo Freire

It has been voiced, however, that all the efforts prescribed above are only palliatives for a far more sophisticated pathology, and, that only the most naive could actually begin to believe that these could cure the Third World's ills. The ills, articulated in such ephemeral and abstract terms, give no clue to true praxis; therefore, "development" is marginal at best.
For the skeptical, however, there is a man, not only of illuminating words, but also of deeds which have made "liberation" a reality for many of Brazil's oppressed. This man is Paulo Freire. Freire has perhaps given the most honest picture of the nature of oppression, the type which, in Freire's mind, mires people in a "culture of silence" - a culture where human beings can no longer critically evaluate the world they live in, which prevents their engagement in the transformation of that culture into a just and life-saving society. Inspired by data collected and analyzed from various literacy campaigns in Brazil, Freire undertook a book, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed, which has become a standard text of the liberationists. Documented by his thoughts and experiences, this book lays bare the destructive relationships at the heart of oppression for all to see. It is a book written with authentic insight; for, as a child, misfortune led Freire to become culturally disposed and a member of the "culture of silence". A stunningly resilient man, he refused to be overcome by fate, seeing instead this experience as a call to liberate. Only real life experience could have brought one to conceptualize the process of "conscientizacao" or "conscientisation"; a process which enables one to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the repressive elements of reality.

Freire wed this process to his literacy campaigns; an act which led to his eventual imprisonment and exile. The question is asked; "could not this have been a slight overreaction on the part of Brazil's military government"
in 1964?" Looking at this government's hidden values, it does not seem so.
Freire translated these values into the following belief; that no matter
how submerged into the "culture of silence", men still have the ontological
vocation to become "subjects" in the creation and transformation of their
world so as to move to new and everchanging possibilities of a fuller life,
individually and collectively.

When he taught rural peasants to become literate, he used their exist-
tential reality as a point of reference. The words they learned, were not
the intellectual currency of the "system", but terms that described their
lives and developed a unique consciousness of the world in which they lived.
Soon, they became highly critical of their oppressed situation, while con-
versely developing an awareness of what it was to be a human being, with
rights and dignity. Freire radically altered the present pedagogy which,
for him, epitomised the roots of oppression. Awareness emerged, not by his
forcing them to deposit the knowledge of the system - knowledge almost to-
tally divorced from their present reality - but, by their engaging in find-
ing and examining the problems which confronted them. The subject-object
definition of the roles of teacher and student were dissolved, Freire re-
garding these roles as being at the very roots of elitism and domination.
One group, the teachers, could force a certain view of reality on the stu-
dents, making them objects in a world they had not mentally constructed,
and, therefore, having little or no participation in it.
His approach was logically simple. He and his workers entered as fully as possible into the culture of the people they hoped to educate, deeply enough to share meanings and goals and to regard these people as "subjects" in defining their own world. Because he saw them as subjects, he had no choice but to enter into "dialogue" with them to aid them in finding the tools to be free of the myths perpetrated by an oppressive system. His whole method centered around the action of "dialogue", which untraditionally, demanded teachers and students alike to create a vision of the world that they themselves could feel fully part of and participate in; a world that would no longer oppress them but, rather, challenge them to become makers of their own destiny and convert their education into freedom.

It is this "dialogue", that Freire so clearly describes, which unmasks the nature of oppression, the bankruptcy of contemporary institutions, and, strikingly enough, the dialogical concept of Revelation, that was described in the introduction to this essay. For Freire, it is a dynamic human phenomenon which calls people together to "name" the world in the light of their hopes and expectations. In "naming" this world, a person gains the ability to change it. Dialogue among humans is an action aimed at the conquests of the dehumanizing factor in the world, not at the subjugation of human by human. The question now arises in us all; "what are the conditions for 'dialogue', so that humanity can construct a new reality?"
Demystifying theology and jolting stagnant institutional mentalities; Freire states that a profound love of the world and humanity is the supreme vehicle for dialogue. Simply, he pleads for humility—something virtually non-existent today. In regards to educating the oppressed, he and many others have asked the question; "how can one dialogue if one starts from the premise that 'naming' the world is the task of an elite?" His concept of dialogue asks even the powerful not to fear being displaced by the claims of the oppressed. In dialogue, one is not to be offended or closed to the contributions even from the poorest of people. At its heart, this requires faith in all human beings. According to Freire, humanity must have faith in its power to make and remake its existence, guided by an ever-present awareness of this world. The awareness of the existing dehumanization should not be a call to despair, but to the "incessant pursuit of a humanity (now) denied by injustice."¹⁰

Freire's dialogue demands a complete praxis. It demands "cultural action for liberation". In his many discussions of "cultural action", Freire describes it according to the actions one finds prevalent in existing society and the unwritten laws regarding those actions. To demonstrate the liberating character of the actions surrounding dialogue, we must contrast them with "anti-dialogical actions".

He sees the cultures of the Third World and those of the countries which have power over it as being maintained by a process of "conquest":
i.e., all people are forced to enter into certain relationships, aimed at subjugating them; forcing them into a conformity of thought, word, and deed and, finally, making them objects of institutional power. Human needs are replaced by institutional needs. Institutional needs gain preference by the perpetuation of myths which makes the world seem to be a fixed entity in the tow of certain interests. The world is no longer a problem to be creatively handled for the sake of ever widening awareness and participation in it, but, rather, something to watch in impotent desperation. Conquest is maintained by myths which revolve around the fallacy that even the oppressed live in a free society. But, in reality, even those people who possess property, status, and power have only an illusory hold on freedom.

As we have seen, institutional power is used in an anti-dialogical society to divide people from each other and their own sense of self for the purpose of ruling them. Institutions and people governed by this divisive mentality see unity among people or within people as a demon to be dealt with—violently, if necessary. Freire claims that in most Third World settings, governmental bureaucracies use certain forms of "cultural action" to break up homogenous communities and infect them with elitism by selecting a few leaders to rule. These imposed structures become avenues for the subtle manipulation of people into dependent conformity. This conformity is implemented by one primary myth; the existing institutional structure provides all people with their only possibility of ascent. Through myth and manipulation, people are submerged into a certain view of
reality that numbs them into no longer thinking or creating a world that will allow them mastery over their own destiny. In words that apply to us, they fall into a certain vacuum with a bourgeois appetite for "success".

The most divisive and callous anti-dialogical action, however, is "cultural invasion". Whether on the international scene, in a nation-state, or in a province, it is the ultimate act of violence. Freire describes the violence the "invaders" visit upon the "invaded":

In this phenomenon the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in total disrespect of the latter's potentialities they impose their own view of the world on those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression.12

No matter how subtle or seemingly benevolent, this action results in the loss of human originality and leads to cultural inauthenticity. People are made into objects which are easily molded by rigid and oppressive institutions. As in our concept of the "changing world view", these structures are patterned after myths and ideologies which prepare a human for a lifetime of invasion. Children internalize parental authority exercised in a climate of oppression. Cultural invasion solidifies all the institutional restraints on people which makes freedom something to be feared.

Fortunately, an anecdote has been articulated by Freire. He calls for a cultural revolution to take place via dialogical action among people who sense a need for change. Dialogue is, in essence, revolutionary: Therefore, it can involve all human beings. As a process, it cannot rest in the hands
of an elite. It is Freire who, furthermore, describes the genesis of a "revolutionary leadership group" and the profound historical and sociological consequences brought about by its actions.

Revolution, or "authentic dialogue" as Freire would call it, begins when humans who enjoy power within a system renounce their class and join the oppressed as an act of solidarity. In doing so, they meet the oppressed as subjects from whom they learn the contradictions of the society as communicated by the oppressed. It is only then that they can engage in a dialogue and transform society into a more just existence. The leaders and their group become "outlaws" in the full sociological sense of the word; Jesus, Mao, and Castro seem to be exemplary here.

Freire leads us to believe the above takes place when humans realize that they have "housed" certain myths, irrational concepts of loyalty and obedience - not to mention a magical explanation of God - which have made them purveyors of oppression. They learn that their lives perpetrate an institutional authority which will make them fear freedom. Thus, the new leadership rejects all types of oppressive authority from its very roots and sets out on a course of cultural action to remove all oppression from people internally and externally.

The cultural action involved in liberation orbits around the solitary act of "cooperation"; an act, whereby, subjects meet in order to focus on reality and unveil a new view of the world through their loving praxis. The dialogue is based on the needs of human beings, which are realized only at
their communion. Communion is perhaps, an enigmatic sounding term, but it is appropriate. For people, despite various misunderstandings, have set out to form a radical new type of social organization and unity. Conventional unity in our world comes from antagonism. Elites organize to more effectively manipulate, whereas, the oppressed are unified for the sake of liberation, striving for organization as an action to give witness to their liberating behavior. Freire's concept of "witness" shall, hopefully, remain the standard:

The essential elements of witness which do not vary historically (are) consistency between words and actions; boldness which urges witness to confront existence as a permanent risk; radicalization, and the courage to love . . .

The end of his "dialogical action" also hopefully the ends of all future development activities is "cultural synthesis". The supreme hope has been proclaimed that liberation (or development, as some people still refer to it as) will come to be realized as a multidimensional transformation of the world as complex as the subject of that transformation - humanity. Therefore, it is a transformation that seeks to stimulate all cultures and peoples to realize their own riches. The common belief held among liberationists, whether they be talking of a culture or a continent, is that liberation is not worth much unless everyone rises together and everyone is accorded dignity. A common belief, as we shall see later, is that Freire is a prophet.

... 

With our discussion of "Development Ethics" and the men who have given birth to its paradigms, we have come to see a new awareness and consciousness
embraced by human beings. We have seen that humanity could be on the threshold of a new definition of what it is to be human and what kind of world view would allow humans more fulfillment. At this threshold many have not only encountered "liberation", but, also, a certain mystery penetrating the very soul of this movement. The mystery has sprung from a group of people once again questioning the nature of human relationships. Some believe this is a new phenomenon, while others believe that this mystery was once encountered and explained to humans two millennia ago by Christianity. The process of "liberation" is thought to be able to define for us the God people experienced in history and bring about the formation of a "Church", the like of which has not been known since Christianity became a religion.

It is this unique interaction between Christianity and Liberation which we will deal with in the next chapter in our discussion of the Latin American Christian community and, to a lesser extent, the activities of Christians in the Third World as a whole.
Footnotes to Chapter III

1. This section on Lebret as well as the following sections can be found in Goulet, A New Moral Order: Development Ethics and Liberation Theology, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1974), pp. 51-140. Because of the paucity of English language resources and my passive knowledge of such languages as French and Portuguese, I have chosen Goulet as my guide.

2. Ibid., p. 27.

3. Ibid., p. 31.

4. Ibid., p. 32.

5. Ibid., p. 33.

6. Ibid., p. 35.

7. The term "culture of silence", which has become part of "liberation" vocabulary, calls for an entirely unique inquiry into the nature of underdevelopment on a mental and psychological level.


9. For Freire, "naming" this world is not only the act of perceiving reality in a certain way, but, because of those perceptions, living it in a certain way also. An underlying assumption here is that as humans learn to perceive the world in a certain way - via dialogical encounter - they will be called upon to live in a different way, bringing forth a radical transformation of reality.


12. Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 54.

13. Ibid., p. 177.
Today, Christianity, with its ethics and its institutions, has been challenged to take a stand on the question of liberation and to critically reflect upon its role in the development debate. In Latin America, as well as in the rest of the Third World, a religion which has felt unquestioned oppression (and, for its institutional sake, has aligned with economically powerful groups) is now being asked the following critical questions:

Is social justice possible in a world of unequal wealth? Should all persons share in decisions, or must development be left in the hands of a technocratic and managerial elite trained to achieve optimum sufficiency? What moral standards ought to be used to decide how much and what kind of violence is necessary to achieve the desired change? How does one measure tolerably as against an intolerable, human cost of development? And finally, what are the true dimensions of liberation and authentic development?

Until very recently, it was the common consensus that Christianity had no real answers to these questions. However, because of a new awareness of the tragic realities of the Third World, especially on the continent of Latin America, the searching impulse and variable climate for participation in this world created by Vatican II and the documents drafted by the Latin American Bishops at Medellin have made priests and religious a most dynamic group in search of new ethics.

The theme and actions coming from Medellin presented one unifying claim: "The church can no longer place itself outside the brutal reality of its
followers. Acknowledging not only its links to the established order; but also its acquiescence to an order which has maintained injustice, the Bishops declared their church to be in a state of sin. The bishops described the misery and exploitation of man by man to be a situation of injustice, a situation of "institutionalized violence" brought into being by the fact that development decisions are made by external power groups. It has been asserted that misery and injustice stem from an "underdevelopment", which can only be understood in terms of a dependency relationship of the Third World (specifically Latin America) to the developed world. It is common consensus that a large measure of the underdevelopment in Latin America is a by-product of capitalist development in the west. This perception of reality has begun to lead a few concerned Christians to seek out alternative social and political lifestyles to reconcile their world with the needs of the thousands, who are victims of this worldwide system.

The Prophets of Liberation

This group of concerned Christians are men who have been tempered by just such a world to become historically significant figures - moral guides to the "hopeful" oppressed. To put them in an authentic Christian category, these people have been called the "Prophets of Liberation". Like the prophets of the Old Testament and by virtue of their courageously moral lives, they have provided the charisma - that unique experience of reality - which calls all people to reflect and act for a "new order". Verging on institu-
tional treason, they have proposed radical social reform, challenging the existing social authority and critically attacking the vital organs of the prevailing economic system. Whereas Pope John XXIII begged for social enlightenment, these men plead for a revolution of consciousness. The encyclicals, "Pacem in Terris" and "Popularum Progressio"; along with, of course, "Medellin", have given them a voice on a number of conflicts:

Class struggle, ideological conflict, competing politics, divisive party alliances and religious strategies at every level are now common experiences in churches and religious organizations.4

Contrary to popular notion, these men's visions were not born of pure intellectual discovery but, rather, the existential reality where the Christian community has taken it upon itself to be a force in shaping history, witnessing that Christianity could no longer afford to be afraid.

To bring it into the widest possible perspective, this essay cites the existence of two other types of Christians who have thrown off the shackles of conservatism and reached the people. Emerging into the public eye and allied with the "prophets" are the political leaders whose view of development is directly linked to their Christianity and scholars whose Christian ethics inform their writings on development (Space here does not allow me a discussion on the scholars, but a survey of their leadership is highly advised).5

The above have challenged traditional postures:

These new and vocal Christians favor liberation over law and order, and they plead for broad participation of the masses in
taking decisions and actions for change, as opposed to elitist top-down models of planning. They reject capitalism - even a capitalism which is rectified or attenuated by welfare policy - as radically immoral and structurally incompatible with social justice. . . one of the values they cherish is autonomy - national, regional, and local - in opposition to dependency on outside forces. Moreover, they seek self-determination which is not only political, but economic, cultural, and psychological.

Around the world they have summoned Christians to engage in the struggle for justice, regardless of the sacrifice.

The men whose lives seem to have a common thread of prophecy interwoven into them and who have indeed denounced social justice and punctured complacency in the powerful are men like Danilo Dolci, Paulo Freire, Camillo Torres, and Dom Helder Camara. As we shall see, they have risen to defend the downtrodden and, in the end, summon humanity to return to authentic morality.

Danilo Dolci

Danilo Dolci so far is relatively unheralded, but his life is of supreme importance for it gives one clue of what Christianity is challenged to do by a secularized world. Dolci is the prophet of militant resistance to that apathy which has been bred into man by centuries of poverty and oppression. His life, which is anything but "churchy", illustrates a Gospel-like commitment to the poor. His books proclaim a faith in the "little people" to overcome fear and resignation. Many of his works are tinged with anti-clericalism, which show that he will have nothing to do with God-figures who serve as legitamizers of a religiosity whose social expres-
sion either elicits a paralyzing fear or acquiescence to autocratic masters, whether they be church-backed latifundia or mafiosi. Embodied the compassionate nature of liberation, Dolci respects the profound religiosity of his favorite group, the Sicilians; but he implores them, as he does all Christians, to create a pure, historically liberating expression of their faith.

Paulo Freire

Freire must be again considered, for it has been said that his new radical consciousness, one of loving dialogue, is the consciousness of the incarnate Christ in history. The conventional exegesis of Christian Redemption stands pale and weak beside his concept of all human beings being subjects in the creation of a new world. His life and works are the reflection of a man whose life is dedicated to a Christ which makes humanity divine. Goulet has said of him:

More than any other social critic he gives modern expression to St. Paul’s assertion that "God has chosen the poor of his world to confound the rich; the foolish to bring down wise... His "cultural action" is profoundly Christian."

Camillo Torres

Camillo Torres has been the symbol of revolutionary unity for a weak and separated Latin America since the middle 1960's. His life of total defection from all the forces which imposed misery on his continent is one of pure charisma. The offspring of a prominent Colombian bourgeoisie
family, he renounced status and fortune to become a lowly parish priest. Responding to his people's need for leadership, he became, in the course of his life, a disciplined sociologist, college professor, campus minister, and finally a guerrilla fighter. His ultimate decision to return to the lay state in order to join a revolutionary army cost him his life. But it is this decision that brought Latin American Christians to the heart of a very serious debate. Out of his priestly love for the people, especially the poor, he embraced the violence and action which he saw essential for his life as a Christian.

Though he died like an outlaw, his dramatic death and commitment have become the basis of an ethical debate on the efficacy of violence. Torres' act of embracing violence out of a specifically Christian love and commitment to justice and the poor has forced Christian moralists to stop condemning violence out of hand. They are now forced to take a look at the institutional violence the church has condoned, perhaps coming to realize the church has become more occupied with rites and rituals than the securing of justice and dignity. At present, he is the standard by which a whole generation of Latin American priests and religious judge their commitment to justice.

Dom Helder Camara

What Torres is to the continent of Latin America, Dom Helder Camara...
is to the world - but in a non-violent mode. According to Denis Goulet:

He is the fragile David who slings outrages at the new Goliath, the Brazilian military regime; he is a voice of the silent ones in his land, the conscience pricker of Christians in the rich world, and the galvanizer of dormant energies in the Third World. For many years Camara dreamed of mounting a massive non-violent campaign of resistance against the structural violence of misery, unemployment, and illiteracy throughout Latin America. He argues that the reactionary ruling classes in Latin America, backed up by the military, diplomatic, and economic might of the United States, would easily crush any violent revolutionary movement once it was perceived as threatening by the stewards of the status quo.

It was his hope, that his hard-headed tactics, coupled with the leadership of Martin Luther King, would initiate a world-wide resistance campaign, but King's tragic death marked the end of this hope. Since then, he has been in peril in Brazil; his followers have been persecuted; and, all but the most trivial news about him is censored by the military dictatorship.

But what he cannot say in his country, he shouts as challenges to the developed world. He has been calling upon students and development specialists alike to revolutionize their own structures if they really want to help the Third World, reminding them that the struggle for justice comes before the calling of a successful professional career. His unquestionable integrity on behalf of all liberation movements is illustrated by his refusal to let either detractors or conservatives mold his non-violent creed into propaganda condemning those who have embraced violence for the cause.

...*

There are some skeptics that feel that these men, Dolci, Freire, Torres and Camara have had little influence on the status quo. Yet these detractors
use standards which could never begin to measure the example of Christian
love and sacrifice, that these "prophets" have given to the timid or the
burden of fear which they have lifted from the backs of those who would be
free, but for that fear. However, no one can be cynical of the efforts
of the Christian politicians of whom we are going to discuss only one.
For, he is a paradigm.

Julius K. Nyerere: The Christian Politician

In our section on the new models of development, a great amount was
said about Tanzania's President Julius K. Nyerere - Nyerere, the socialist.
It is time we witness Nyerere, the Christian. This man is dramatically
set apart from old time political leaders even more by his faith. His re-
ligion is not ornamental or instrumental in political power-plays, but,
rather, an organizing principle for his leadership and political exercising
of power.

As we will remember, the central themes of his governing came out of
the need for self-reliance. His appeal to African tribal values as the
motivating energy behind development; the decision to accept a slower eco-
monic growth so as to assimilate the populace in whatever growth does take
place; his stubborn uncompromising refusal to submit to leverage, however
subtle, by lenders, even at the risk of losing aid; and, finally his dec-
ision to activate the countryside rather than allow urban populations to
command decisions and control professional services are, in total, contri-
butions born out of his fundamental Christian postulates.

To many, his tour de force is the remarkable sense of detachment that Tanzania is able to keep from existing models of development, making it immune to external threats and overtures. This marks a realization that development, like faith, to be authentic must be a self-generated choice.

Tanzanian socialism is patterned only after what they, the Tanzanians, wish to see as architects of justice and freedom. They totally reject constructing socialism on governmental acts, elaborate ideology, or nationalization, opting instead for a socialism of human relationships. This does not mean that Nyerere denies the need for a state with central power; he and his nation only wish to see that the power does not become absolutized and the state transformed into an idol.

Nyerere's concept of austerity and embracing secularism also have undeniably Christian roots. Austerity is embraced, first of all, to establish the dignity of human beings, so they cannot be devalued by undue emphasis on material goods. He sees austerity as a permanent component of authentic development to liberate his people from the evils of mass consumerism. Thus, austerity is not just another necessary evil.

He, perhaps, could be characterized as a most authentic conservative, for he has remained in possession of only those structures which will liberate his people without uncritically glorifying the other features that are confluent with revolutionary action. As an example for the Third
World, he is living proof that Christianity may be operative in the life of a nation if that nation believes in humanity.

... In our discussion on "Christianity and Liberation," we have come to realize that Christians of all callings have begun to take human history seriously. Furthermore, those who have pledged themselves to liberation have responded to the call to build socialism here on earth. What seems to many as a preposterous irony - the construction of socialism by Christians - actually has been based on and is the basis for a continuing Christian-Marxist dialogue. In the next section, we will give lengthy treatment to this phenomenon which is changing the face of Christianity on many continents.

The Christian-Marxist Dialogue

The history of this dialogue is enigmatic. It has been known to have taken place in a number of countries as early as the immediate post-World War II era. Its earliest participants were from Russia, Czechoslovakia, France, Spain, and Germany. Although most of its early Christian participants were Roman Catholic, it is noteworthy that much of the theological basis for dialogue came from Protestant theology, especially the works of Bonhoeffer, Barth, and Cox. Presently, as said before, the dialogue has been incarnated into movements to construct socialism through the Third
World, i.e. Cuba, Tanzania, and Chile. The leadership role has now been assumed by the World Council of Churches.

The basic assumption for the existence of the dialogue is that some Marxist values and categories are not only compatible with, but give full expression to, those values and actions which constitute an authentic Christian lifestyle. There is, indeed, a theoretical convergence between Marxism and Christianity; i.e., their shared practical materialist humanism and historicity and their common goal of eschatological liberation from alienation through the powers of the dispossessed (i.e., sinners, proletariat). However, before we can discuss any of the common topics of debate, it is best that, first of all, we witness one interpretation for the historical reasons why Marxism has inundated Christianity as a basis for social change and revolution.

This historical dilemma revolves around the emergence of that phenomenon known as capitalism and the profound effects it has had in determining a certain view of the world. While capitalism has been attacked for its "crass materialism" and socialism attacked for its neglect of "the things of the spirit", both judgments, in the end, are products of faulty analysis. According to philosophers, a materialist is not someone that uses matter as capitalists are reputed to do (for profit) and values it only in that regard. "... rather (a materialist) is someone that believes in matter, who respects it as a source of ideas, life and spirit". In this respect, societies and their world views which use matter, abuse, and, in some cases,
despise it, should be called anything but materialistic. "People who pollute their own air and water can hardly be called materialistic."¹¹

Today, Marxist philosophical analysis confronts capitalism and its hybrid forms of Christianity on their diverse and contradictory traditions concerning the status of matter. For many, at the heart of this dialogue is the question of the state of matter; and, to understand what is salient to this discussion, we must relate the historical events which have led to "the eclipse of Christian materialism", a phenomenon that we cannot understand until we review a small part of the history of western philosophy.

Down through history there has been two positions that one can take on the status of matter; the first position has been characterized as being materialist, which views matter as the ultimate reality from which all phenomena, "no matter how intangible", are derived.¹² Contrary to this position is the idealist, which holds that ideas have primacy over things, that matter is derivative or epiphenomenal. Influencing the whole of social and intellectual history of Europe, these two thoughts battled to achieve dominance. Idealism, as we all know, finally won out by virtue of its Platonic school claiming the widest and most affluent alliances. The Renaissance not only brought on the revival of Platonic idealism, but, also, brought into existence what many people say to be is its economic expression, capitalism.

The ranks of the emerging bourgeoisie, populated by the Florentine dynasties of the Medici and Pazzi, found idealism very attractive:

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Any theory that made abstraction primary was clearly useful to men engaged in business. If ideas were the ultimate reality, then man was free, indeed, called to treat matter as a servant of ideas... Thus, it was thought that the world could and should be completely rearranged — mountains moved, wars fought, and cities built — without much regard for the givens with which man was confronted.13

Going back to the thoughts of James Weaver, in his article "Growth and Welfare", we realize that the Industrial Revolution, propelled by the "core institutions" of capitalism (which are, also based on abstractions about matter) greatly accelerated this trend in thought. And, it is only today that we are beginning to see the profound sociological, psychological, and environmental implications of what humanity can do when justified by the faith in the primacy and goodness of ideas. This "metaphysical" materialism is, in fact, an inherent part of the present capitalist influenced world view. The question might be asked, "What does a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism have to do with the questionable status of matter?"

Ages before Marx saw the light of day, Christianity stood as the most effective opponent of this idealism; this manipulation and subjugation of matter by ideas. In its original form, Christianity was grounded in a non-idealistic thesis: that God, the ground of being, could not be equated with ideas any more than with matter. The birth of Jesus treated as Revelation, however, was taken to symbolize that God could not be conceived as "over or against" the material world. According to the dialogical view of Revelation, Jesus took it upon himself to not just simply become a part of humanity — a spiritual essence that could be disassociated from material existence —
but the whole of humanness, body as well as soul. Because of this, Jesus was a man — in — the — world, not — of — it or outside — of — it.

The Incarnation should have settled, once and for all, the Christian stance towards idealism and its insipid idolatry of concepts that denied the world. Tragically enough, Platonism made its way into Christian incarnational thought early in the development of the faith, it came to permeate religion and a concept of the "God outside of history", one who was over and often against the created order of the world, was brought into existence. The identity of creation that Christianity had come to represent had been eclipsed. Except for the emergence of certain "clutch people", authentic materialism, the kind which gave meaning to humanity's relationship with God, was gone.

The promulgation of a "God-out-there" has led to the alienation and separation of Christianity from those forces which have served to humanize life. A splendid historical example is Christianity's failure to become accepted in China, which seriously considered this faith, believing it was the dynamic behind the advancement of the west. However, the realization was arrived at by many, most notably Mao Tse-Tung, that it was not the west's deep faith but its scientific method and economic system which had brought it "success". It is conjecture that the Chinese felt somewhat betrayed by a religion which was not true to its appearances. The missionaries — and China was not an isolated case — with all of their charitable activities.
contributed to that sense of disillusionment. They spoke eloquently of love, justice, and truth, but their words hung in the air, abstracted from the situation, and their works were divorced from China's harsh political realities. As history has it, it was Mao Tse-Tung and the Revolution which pulled China out of her enslavement and disgrace, not the people who preached a "God out there". What China needed, as does most of the Christian World today, was a whole theology of "God in Man", a God with and among humanity, who engages it to build a lasting justice. It was "dialectical materialism", however, which produced the effect that an incarnational Christianity might have. Marxism for many people in the world today seems to address itself to the bitter problems of their social reality, offering a way to construct a new reality. To many, it is Christ's basic message incarnated through empirical methods, not left to hang in the air as a mere ideal. The final irony, which is not just limited to the Chinese experience, is that this religion, based on incarnation, was rejected as a form of "alienation".

This has been interpreted as an unqualified dismissal of Christianity, but, as we shall see, this is not the rejection of the Gospel but rather of a theology, one that seems to be the historical denial of its own roots in order to compromise with the philosophical underpinnings of capitalism. The results of this are causing Christians to see that they have been too wrapped up in institutional forms of religion and, perhaps, seduced from the Gospel by the successes of the institutional church.
The topics on which the dialogue centers are surprisingly less enigmatic than its origin.

Usually Christian - Marxist discussions revolve around the same general themes; 1. The common humanism presupposed by the Bible, 2. Man's alienation from himself and God in a technological society, 3. Eschatology within the historical process (The Holtmann - Block Axis), and 4. The eschatological hope presented by Christianity and its secularized counterpart, Marxism.16

While seemingly convergent, there do exist dilemmas, on both sides, in sharing meanings in order to devise a praxis.

For the Christian as well as the Marxist, there exists one central category depicting humanity's woe and that is "alienation". For the Christian, it is specifically called "sin", a term which is taken to mean, generically, the whole human race's undeniable tendency towards evil. Or, on a more personal level, sin is one's inclination towards selfishness and manipulation of others. The message of liberation often becomes dressed up in language which is obsessed with freeing the individual from the "sins" of pride, greed, lust, and sloth. Thus; for Christians, conversion has become the unquestioned vehicle for social improvement, forcing them to become skeptical of institutions as a source of that improvement.

However, the Marxists in their interpretation of alienation, look to Marx the humanist, who stated in various ways that alienation resulted from things (i.e. institutions) which kept humanity from defining itself through creative praxis. For them, "alienation gives way to class division, exploitation, ideological domination, intensified privatization, and competitive
and monopoly capital. 17 Contrary to Christianity, their contention is that the positions people hold within certain institutional frameworks compel them to pursue dehumanizing interests. Even Marx inferred that capitalists are not exploitive because they are sub-human.

Resolution, however, seems to be in sight. Presently, Marxists and a number of sophisticated Christians, aware of the systematic impact of institutions on human relations and skeptical of the ability of "good people" to produce just institutions, reject the conservative position. They both are coming to realize that the solution must be sought in the formation of revolutionary strategies for change; whereby, efforts to change the moral values are both supporting of and supported by attempts to recreate institutions.

The greatest revelation coming out of this is that all persons regardless of status or persuasion are heir to the same passions and vices. In retrospect, the Marxian claim that the oppressed carry universal values within themselves and the Christian exoneration of the poor, are looked upon as romantically false notions. Both acts, they have come to admit, deal in idolatry. For any time a group feels that they have access to all the perfection of the world and that the world is theirs to be used to their own end, a certain type of sin or alienation sets in; hubris or idolatry. A humanity which denies considering the world any longer as a "subject" in their redemption or as a source of a history for them to become liberated in, is truly alienated. What is of agreement is the fact that liberation or
redemption must be seen as a dialectical task; an endless process whose gains never become ends and whose ends justify all sacrifice.

Momentous strategies for change are preached on both sides: Marxists call for revolution, based on the class struggle, while Christians ask for reconciliation. The latter use the life of Christ as the supreme example of reconciliation, for during his life he befriended the wealthy and powerful while refusing to engage in purely political action with the zealots to cease Roman occupation. The governing premise is that Christ came to save all, for all of humanity is victim of the same moral diseases. Most Christians, therefore, feel they cannot support a movement based on class struggle.

Here, again, is not only a Marxian, but a radical Christian point of departure. Radical Christian groups, convinced of the efficacy and validity of Marxist categories, use class struggle as a basis for action. In Latin America where Christianity has exercised deep cultural and political influence, these people have become open to just such an alliance of political ideology and faith. As we will remember, the priests and ministers of that continent - Camillo Torres being the prime example - have been actively involved in class struggle. They reconcile this seeming irony with their Christianity by standing firm in their belief that reconciliation is impossible until justice is first allowed to exist. They feel, according to Goulet, that:

To preach reconciliation now, at a time when the established structures support paternalism, privilege, and exploitation, is not only to commit a vicious hypocrisy; it is to place the Church in a non-historic posture which could only benefit the status quo.
This statement gives a clue to another challenge issued forth to Christians regarding their stance on the present stage of history, a stage which is largely defined by large scale technology, the existence of nuclear weapons, and the rapid secularization of values. The question is asked:

"Does Christianity represent alienation from history or a summons to incarnate mystery within history?"\(^{19}\)

In Latin America, despite persecution by military juntas, as well as in other parts of the Third World, Christianity has been forced to respond to history:

Faith and religiosity are now becoming an organizing principle for involvement in the tasks of history; to build up science, to abolish war and want, to explore nature more fully and bring human potentialities to their fruition.\(^{20}\)

The cry is sent up by Christians for humanity to re-interpret their God, their ethics, and especially, their hope about salvation in such a way as to plunge themselves into the act of human liberation. They are attempting to make certain that Christianity is not just some philosophy which makes light of human misery or makes it a necessary condition for a place in a not too clear eternity.

Going back to the concepts of Revelation we encountered in the Introduction to this essay, these Christians have chosen to interpret their lives in a new way. Too often have they, and the history they are so painfully aware of, seen human efforts degraded by emphasizing renunciation or abstinence from this world in the name of some apocalyptical fulfillment which
exists in some ambiguous realm of existence. Too often have they heard of this world as being a moral proving ground where all humanity lives in fear of judgment. Instead, they hope to define themselves relative to God's actions of history and to the eschatological meaning of human destiny, realizing that God's actions are mediated in the end only by the commitments of humans. What God has stated shall come "to be" and will come about only as humans become "more". What is hopefully proven by their movement is that God has chosen humanity to be the subjects and makers of their own history. If humans do choose to define themselves so, it is believed that a certain transcendence can come from fully living in the world.

It is this posture that Marxists anxiously await to fulfill their concept of humanism. The esteemed French Marxist, Roger Garaudy, despite coming under some severe criticism from co-ideologues, has suggested that the dialogue should not center around class struggle or revolution but "on such problems as transcendence, subjectivity, and the meaning of love". He and many others implore other Christians to join in the quest for liberation without attempts to proselytize Marxists or to water down their faith for a sake of compromise.

The Christians which have taught these rich lessons are exemplified by such movements as the Chilean "Christians for Socialism", who have been forced out of existence by that country's junta, but whose spirit and aspirations are alive. This group has been witnessed as a summons to build
socialism with a human face, i.e., Christians should bring their own authentically values to "liberation". The hope is that Socialism, which in so many cases has betrayed human hope, will be forced to live up to its claims. If there is a fear that socialism will lead to a totalitarian political order, it has been proven that it is up to Christians to take heed and exercise their own praxis, spotting the idolatry they warn about and deabsolutizing the political order. Revelation has indeed forbidden Christians to absolutize any idea, structure or creation; so the potentialities God has given humanity to become liberated can be respected.

The question is asked, "What good is any society if it is not built around the potentialities and worth of human beings with a collective destiny?" Nyerere's secular socialism is seen to be proof of Christianity's contribution; that each human person is indeed priceless. His societal requirements are not structured around obedience to social authority, which reduces an individual's worth down to the authority's concept of his or her wealth.

The sentiment has been expressed by Christians and Marxists alike that they should never falter or be ashamed of giving primacy to love as a human category. It has been agreed upon that while a person is a limited being, when engaged in love and moral acts, he/she can transcend selfishness. Garaudy has pleaded for the attempt at an inward transformation in all human beings to the creation of a new society, in which, "love will become an objective reality rather than a mere prescription."
The last aspect, provided by the dialogue, is a liberating vision of material goods. Ironically enough, modern Christians have had to go to the speeches and praxis of Mao Tse-tung to learn about a practical application of their gospel of poverty. Stripping aside ethnocentrism and looking past cultural dissonance, Mao could be seen as a "clutch person". His understanding and treatment of poverty has led many people to speculate if he and his brand of socialism does, indeed, have something to contribute to Christianity.

His implementation of economic austerity, not as a necessary evil to be borne by poor societies on the way to an industrial consumer society but as a permanent component of humanism, marks him as one who does not want his people to fall victim to the idols of wealth and acquisition. Production is to fulfill authentic human needs while the attempt is made to create a new consciousness based on inner-freedom and independence from those idols. Austerity is the best defense, also, against the manipulation and seduction of a consumer society whose devices are aimed at distorting and multiplying human needs. Paralleling Christianity in the understanding of human needs, austerity is not seen as the disdain for material goods but the refusal to let the desire for all but the most necessary goods to destroy spiritual freedom. Furthermore, neither the puritan work ethic nor perpetual inaction in the face of misery are tolerated.

The proponents of the dialogue await the rise of a breed of Christians which will live the Gospel of poverty in order to construct a new world.
view in which "goodness" is no longer synonymous with having an abundance of goods. This will not happen until Christians insert their Gospel into history and give life a transcendent value. In conclusion, this essay will discuss the possibility of a new world view and its final organizing process.
Conclusion

In the spirit of political theology, this essay has attempted to signal the possible emergence of a new world view. It has sought to identify it as a historical process via the "changing world view". Our discussion on the two concepts of development, coupled with our look at the flesh and blood realities of Cuba, Tanzania, and China, gave us the historical consciousness that the world is involved in such a process. Furthermore, our introduction to the men who have forged "Development Ethics" undeniably exposes the fact that there is a new awareness of human potentialities. With the advent of "Liberation", with its revolutionary thought and praxis, we have seen that these potentialities are well on their way to being realized. Humans are beginning to develop the sense of being autonomous subjects fully engaged in forging their own history. Realizing that this is an open-ended process, they feel called to "be more"; therefore, their growth as humans has now become based on ethics. The search for those new ethics by the people who wish to be free in history has brought together what were once thought of as two irreconcilable phenomena - Christianity and Marxism - to create a liberating view of reality.

We witnessed the "prophets of liberation" and the political leader, Julius K. Nyerere, who have given their Christianity meaning by engaging in a multitude of social acts to resolve the tensions between the needs of certain oppressed parts of humanity and the existing social realities. Because of such acts, Christians and Marxists alike have uncovered the tran-
scendence of living fully in this world, mediating their activities by an
ever-increasing awareness of the presence of God in history. For, they
have achieved a new awareness of themselves as actors in history.

It would be out of the character of this essay to place the "new"
world view into a single category. For it is a process, representing the
perpetual birth of a new awareness and the deabsolutizing of all the philo-
sophies which participate in its praxis. But, there exists one ethic to
which this process owes its very existence. All the "acts of liberation"
in this world would be in vain if they could not inspire humans with "hope".

The humble foundation of political theology is hope. It has been both
the result and inspiration of "Liberation". It was first articulated as
the basis for liberation by the Marxist, Ernst Block. Radically seculari-
zizing his favorite reference, the Bible, he has produced a radical concep-
tion of hope. Looking at the man, Jesus, Block believes that this man, who
preached the least conciliatory message towards the status quo, caused even
the most oppressed to realize the difference between mere lip service or
ecclesiastical promise and the totally explosive nature of hope. According
to a source, Block says:

Hope means possibility. It is the foundation of a future that
is-not-yet-being, something not-yet-conscious, and something not-
yet-come-into-being. Man lives in a preconscious hope and through
hope creates a new society. 23

Block, reminiscent of our Atheistic concept of Revelation, says that
one must be an atheist so as not to betray hope. However, theologians, like
Jürgen Moltmann and Ruben Alves, have seen this as a challenge to prove that the quality of human hope and the consequences of a completely open-ended future are in the spirit of Christianity. This essay ends in the midst of these men’s reflections, wishing this sentiment to be reflected upon: The process of forming an authentic and connivial human history is made possible only by the cancelling of the values and institutions which deny human hope and the abandoning of the parochial mentalities which keep humans closed to the people and values that do inspire hope. Just then, perhaps, we can encounter "God-in-history".

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2. For a complete analysis of the phenomenon of "Institutional Violence", see the working draft of the Medellin conference, The Second General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate was held in Medellin Columbia in August-September, 1968. Its place in ecclesial awareness in Latin America is somewhat akin to the role played by Vatican II for the church as a whole. cf. Peruvian Bishop's Commission for Social Action, Between Hope and Honesty, (Maryknoll, N.Y., Maryknoll Publications, 1970), p. 171.


5. The scholars who are engaged in the development debate have yet to be explicit about the Christian ethical framework in their writings. But who can deny that Barbara Ward, a British Economist who emphasizes the world as a global community in search of solidarity and cooperation and Jan Tinbergen, the Nobel Prize winning economist, who specializes in making world planning consonant with universal human values, are not acting out of a Christian love for this world.


7. Co-religionists have given these men their status and do not hesitate to mention that these men turned to the Scriptures for inspiration and were particularly fond of the following verses: "The Spirit of the Lord has given to me for he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captive and to the blind sight, to set the down-trodden free, to proclaim the Lord's year of favor." (Luke 4:18) "My brothers, you were called as you know, to liberty." (Galatians 5:13)


9. Ibid., p. 91.


11. Ibid., p. 177.
12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. To understand the spirit of this movement, one must read John Eagleton, ed., Christians and Socialism: Documentation of the Christians for Socialism Movement. (Maryknoll New York: Orbis Books, 1975). Although the Chilean junta put to end the organization called "Christians for Socialism", the spirit of revolutionizing institution is alive in that country.


17. Joseph Petulla, Christian Political Theology, p. 36.


19. Ibid.


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