
Liberation Theology: Its Origins And Early Development

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The Theology of Liberation emerged from the subcontinent of Latin America and from Roman Catholic thinkers. This theology seeks to reflect the problems of millions of people in Latin America, namely, dependency, poverty and injustice. Its advocates aim to eradicate injustice and establish a society which is fair and just: in other words to establish the Kingdom of God. From the perspective of liberation theologians, the failure of the Church in this respect has been abysmal. Consequently, the choice the Church is making today in opting for the needy and oppressed is a momentous rediscovery. Over five centuries the Roman Catholic Church has sided with those in positions of authority and wealth thus blessing the status quo and thereby impoverishing and enslaving the Latin American peoples.

Definition

Gustavo Gutiérrez, the Peruvian Roman Catholic priest and theologian, defines Liberation Theology as

a theological reflection based on the Gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation in this oppressed and exploited sub-continent of Latin America. It is a theological reflection born of shared experience in the effort to abolish the present unjust situation and to build a different society, freer and more human.¹

The definition is clear: Liberation Theology advocates a rereading of the gospel. The Boff brothers write:

Every true theology springs from a spirituality - that is, from a true meeting with God in history. Liberation Theology was born when faith confronted the injustice done to the poor. By 'poor' we do not really mean the poor individual who knocks on the door asking for alms. We mean a collective poor. The 'popular classes'; the poor are also the workers exploited by the capitalist system; the under-employed, those pushed aside by the production process.²

In brief, the Theology of Liberation is 'a critical reflection on Christian praxis in the light of the Word'³; this has become a formula for Liberationists. Theology is then a reassessment of the actions of the Church in her pastoral role. Leading Peruvian Evangelical, Samuel Escobar, confirms that Liberationists are not just adding to the traditional way of theologizing but instead they are doing away with it and bringing in an altogether new methodology:

The new contribution of Liberation Theology would be that she functions as 'critical reflection on praxis'. The contemporary Christian has adopted a certain form of action in response to the social and political demands unique to Latin America; this is his praxis. Only after the action, and then reflecting critically

on it, is he doing theology of liberation.⁴

This new way of doing theology is foundational to Liberation Theology. Gustavo Gutiérrez and Juan Luis Segundo presented this new method for the first time in 1964 at Petrópolis, Brazil in a conference led by Ivan Illich. Illich organised the conference to discuss the pastoral activities of the Church in Latin America. 'At that meeting Gutiérrez developed the epistemological theme of theology as critical reflection on praxis.'⁵ In a later work, *THE POWER OF THE POOR IN HISTORY*, Gutiérrez confirms:

From the beginning the theology of liberation had two fundamental insights. Not only did they come first chronologically, but they have continued to form the very backbone of this theology. I am referring to its theological method and its perspective of the poor.

From the beginning, the theology of liberation posited that the first act is involvement in the liberation process, and that theology comes afterward, as a second act. The theological movement is one of critical reflection from within, and upon, concrete historical praxis, in confrontation with the word of the Lord as lived and accepted in faith - a faith that comes to us through manifold, and sometimes ambiguous, historical mediations, but which we are daily remaking and repairing . . .

The second insight of the theology of liberation is its decision to work from the viewpoint of the poor - the exploited classes, marginalized ethnic groups, and scorned cultures. This led it to take up the great themes of poverty and the poor in the Bible. As a result the poor appear within this theology as the key to an understanding of the meaning of liberation and of the meaning of the revelation of a liberating God.

This second point, of course, is inseparable from the first. If theology is to be a reflection from within, and upon, praxis it will be important to bear in mind that what is being reflected upon is the praxis of liberation of the oppressed of this world.⁶

According to Gutiérrez, therefore, the Church's mission is the transformation of the social order by a direct involvement in the struggle for liberation in Latin America. Gustavo Gutiérrez in his discussion of the function of the Theology of Liberation enumerates several factors which distinctively shaped the historical praxis. He outlines in particular the rediscovery of charity (love) as the centre of the Christian life; the significant evolution of Christian spirituality marked specially by Ignatian spirituality; the contributions of modern theology in the area of Revelation, in particular its anthropological aspects; the Church becoming a theological locus where Christians participate in social movements; the rediscovery in theology of the eschatological dimension helping to see the centrality of historical praxis. But he also mentions the philosophical origin which underlines the importance of human action as the starting point of all reflection. This is due, he adds, to 'the influence of the Marxist thinking centred on praxis, directed to the transformation of the world.'⁷

Gutiérrez argues that in the confrontation between Christianity and Marxism, there is fertile ground. He says; 'Theological thinking is orientated towards a reflection in the sense of the transformation of this world and of the action of man in history.'⁸

The definitions offered by Gutiérrez and Boff substantially explain the radical new way of doing theology. The viewpoint of the oppressed, in this case the poor, will direct those critical reflections. This will necessitate a constant review of theology as it will be based on the experiences of a particularly defined group. In this sense Liberation Theology can be applied to several areas where particular minorities suffer oppression. This application is seen as one observes the other liberation theologies that have emerged in the past three decades: Black Liberation Theology, Feminist Liberation Theology, Asian Liberation Theology, Jewish Liberation Theology and Irish Liberation theology.

Theology is no longer based on the foundation of fixed theological formulations but in the ever changing circumstances and experiences of certain Christian groups.

The Notion of Development

Liberationists advocate the eradication of poverty by removing the economic and political structures of Capitalists which are responsible for the injustice and poverty in Latin America. The achievement of this aim relates to the notion of development.

Gutiérrez explains:

There has been much discussion recently of development, of aid to the poor countries... Attempts to produce development in the 1950's aroused hopes. But because they did not hit the root of the evil, they failed, and have led to deception, confusion, and frustration.

One of the most important causes of this situation is the fact that development, in its strictly economic, modernising sense, was advanced by international agencies backed by groups that control the economic world. The changes proposed avoided sedulously, therefore, attacking the powerful international economic interests and those of their natural allies: the national oligarchies.

Gutiérrez sees the response of developed countries as totally out of touch with the real problem. What is needed is liberation because it 'is more accurate and conveys better the human side of the problem.'¹⁰ The fact that aid comes from nations that are oppressing and exploiting the Third World makes the issue of dependency more acute. It is the task of these poor nations to take their own destiny into their own hands. Gutiérrez sees this reality as expressing 'the profound meaning of Hegel's dialectic Master-Slave.'¹¹ He further adds:

Liberation, ..., seems to express better both the hopes of oppressed peoples and the fullness of a view in which man is seen not as a passive element, but as an agent of history.... there are three levels of meaning to the term "liberation": the political liberation of oppressed peoples and social classes; man's liberation in the course of history; and liberation from sin as a condition of a life of communion of all men with the Lord.¹²

Latin America became a dependent colony of the Spanish and Portuguese empires five centuries ago and this prolonged dependency must be understood in order to appreciate why liberation is sought so fervently.

Gutiérrez gives priority to liberation in the political, socio-economical spheres of oppressed people. His understanding has been moulded by the plight of this social class. Gutiérrez speaks of the need of profound transformation, a social

revolution, which will radically and qualitatively change the conditions in which they now live.¹³ Liberation theologians are shifting the balance to a more socially involved Church, and they deliberately reduce to a non-priority level and reinterpret the answers that the gospel offers to the plight of human beings.

Violence

The definition of liberation opens the door for justified violence so that the process of liberation is achieved. The Church has to place herself in this process. Gutiérrez maintains: 'The Church's mission is defined practically, pastorally and theologially in relation to this revolutionary process.'¹⁴

In the process of *conscientization* actions will be taken against oppressive structures. Those actions may take the form of violence; they are justified as self-defence and are only a response to the first violence committed to human beings, hence the phrase *second violence* is used. The 1968 Medellín documents, however, teach that this second violence is not acceptable.

However, among Liberation Theologians, Camilo Torres

was driven to admit that only a violent revolution could change things: "Now the people do not believe in elections... The people know that only armed rebellion is left. The people are desperate and are ready to stake their lives so that the next generation of Colombians may not be slaves".¹⁵

Camilo Torres was ambushed and killed on February 15th, 1966 in a small town called El Carmen in Colombia. However, Liberation Theologians do not all agree in advocating a violent revolution.

Catholicism's Attempts at Renewal

On May 15th 1891 Pope Leo XIII wrote the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* aiming to deal with the problems of the working classes. The encyclical has been recognised as the Magna Carta of the social doctrine of the Church; in fact, it was the first Pontifical Social Document in the modern world and greatly encouraged those who were champions for the social cause. The teaching had at heart the plight of the oppressed. He called upon masters to give a just salary to workers and not defraud, otherwise heaven would avenge the cry of the oppressed. *Rerum Novarum*, however, was not seen as a mandate to be honoured by all.¹⁶

In the 1950s Pope Pius XII started his own reforms, which were dominated by the vision that Europe was becoming smaller and that the Church ought to project herself and her hierarchy at a world level. Added to this, 'there was great concern in Europe for the state of poverty in Latin America and the threat of communism'.¹⁷ Pope Pius XII issued a call to the Catholic hierarchies of Europe and North America to send priests to Latin America. Joseph Comblin (b 1923) a Belgian Catholic priest, ordained and trained in Theology at the University of Louvain, responded to this appeal.¹⁸ Comblin's influence in Latin America has been considerable, working together with Archbishop Helder Camara, 'he was introduced to a new world, a world teeming with poverty. As a result his entire attitude toward both church and society underwent a profound change'.¹⁹ These changes are discernible as Ferm indicates further:

(Comblin) came to know and participate in the struggles of the oppressed

people, the *mestizos*, the blacks and Amerindians. He became more outspoken against the oppressive Brazilian government in the process. Comblin also came to see the United States, not as a great liberator, a view which he held during his years in Belgium, but as the ruthless oppressor allied with Latin American military governments.²⁰

In addition to the importation of foreign priests to Latin America, there was an exodus of bright young Latin American men to Europe, many went to Centres of Catholic Education, in particular, Louvain in Belgium. It is known that 'scholarships were provided for Latin American students with the hope that they would help to counter that threat, eliminating poverty and establishing a "just and Christian order."²¹

For an appropriate understanding of the renewal being sought within Catholicism, we need to pause and examine the crucial years from the 1930s to the 1950s. From this period one can trace the roots that gave rise to Liberation Theology.

European Catholic Surge

In Europe under the leadership of the lay philosopher Jacques Maritain, many European thinkers reflected on social questions. They were inspired by Maritain's classic work TRUE HUMANISM²², which shared the vision of a New Christendom. Samuel Escobar mentions that these thinkers 'made a serious revision of Catholicism without separating themselves from it; they tried to reformulate the traditional faith without abandoning fundamental Catholic beliefs'.²³

Gutiérrez himself acknowledges this awakening of the social conscience of certain groups in Europe. He writes:

This current had issued from the modern wing of liberal Catholicism, from certain ideas of French social Catholicism, and from the social doctrine of the church launched by Leo XII. Jacques Maritain was its principal framer, as he welded these different lines of thought along an axis of Thomistic philosophy. It was an attempt to infuse some breath and flexibility into the mentality of Christendom - to open Christianity up, in moderation, to the values of the modern world and the bourgeois ideals of liberty and democracy.²⁴

Andrew Kirk writes that it is 'significant that theological renewal eventually came by way of an original philosophy and that "professional" clerics in Latin America were awakened to change through the impact of one lay thinker upon a largely lay group'.²⁵ The impact of Maritain in Latin America was due largely to Alceu Amoroso Lima who propagated Maritain's work. In Lima's estimation there is no doubt that Maritain was received 'as a liberator of the theological conscience, as a teacher of intellectual rigor, as a renewer of the Catholic Church and as a prophet of the new times'.²⁶

While Jacques Maritain was the main architect of the Catholic renewal, Emanuel de Kadt indicates helpfully that the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1933) indirectly influenced the thinking of the earlier generation of Catholic philosophers such as Maritain.²⁷

Jacques Maritain and the New Christendom

Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) was the child of a non-practising Catholic father and a liberal Protestant mother; he was born and educated in Paris. He 'grew up

without personal religious faith. In his late teens the problem of life's meaning forced itself upon him in an acute and agonising way. A solid grounding in the empirical sciences and in turn-of-the-century university philosophy failed to provide an answer to this tormenting problem'.²⁸ *Positivism* was the dominant philosophy when Maritain studied at the Sorbonne. There he met Raisa Oumansoff who shared Jacques's anguish concerning the meaning of life. Attending a lecture by Henri Bergson, he found a new world of freedom, process and creative evolution in which life was no longer meaningless. However this relief was not totally satisfying. McCool tells us where Maritain found that satisfaction at the age of 24 (1906):

Contrary to their expectations (Jacques and Raisa being introduced to the Catholic Church by Lon Bloy), life's ultimate meaning manifested itself on the religious rather than on the philosophical level. His religious conversion, however, imposed painful personal sacrifices upon the young Bergsonian philosopher. To insure his intellectual independence as a convinced Catholic in the anticlerical French republic, Maritain abandoned his plans for a university career. When he could not reconcile his own Bergsonian philosophy with the rigid requirements of Catholic orthodoxy at the height of the modernist crisis, he made up his mind to abandon philosophy as a career.²⁹

Maritain's convictions led him to support the Official Teachings of the Church. In his practical theology he sets out the notion of *New Christendom* 'based upon the premise that all modern ideologies have failed to grasp the primacy of the spiritual dimension for understanding human nature'.³⁰

Maritain was proposing a new balance between the spiritual dimension and the significance of the temporal. McCann further comments in relation to these two aspects:

Both ideas articulate the problem of social justice primarily in spiritual terms: social justice is viewed as a necessary precondition for the pursuit of an authentic relationship with God.³¹

New Christendom would entail a form of political organisation, not a political party but a Christian-inspired politics. Through his writings, many Latin American leaders were encouraged and went on to form different Christian Democratic parties. Jeffrey Klaiber SJ writes:

In Chile, Eduardo Frei, begun as a lay leader in university circles and José Dammert in Peru, main organiser of the country's first Social Week (1959) and currently bishop of Cajamarca, was an active member of Catholic Action in Italy. He also influenced Gustav Gutiérrez, who was president of a Catholic Action group before becoming a priest.³²

Gustavo Gutiérrez

Gustavo Gutiérrez was an enthusiast within the Catholic Church for social action before he decided to become a priest in 1950. Within the ranks of Catholic Action (CA) the mission of the Church was based on a new and aggressive lay apostolate. Andrew Kirk points out that

Stress was laid on the education of leaders. This paid great dividends, as a whole generation, with a new mentality towards spiritual renewal, evangelism and social issues was formed.³³

Gustavo Gutiérrez was one of those leaders within the CA who benefited from this commitment of training a new leadership.³⁴ Gutiérrez together with Camilo Torres and other Latin Americans found themselves in Europe for their educational formation. Gustavo Gutiérrez went to study Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Louvain in Belgium. During this period (1951-1955) Gutiérrez did his licentiate in philosophy on Freud and studied the prominent Catholic theologians of the day: Yves Congar, Karl Rahner, Christian Duquoc and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. From 1955 to 1959 Gutiérrez studied at the University of Lyons where he received his PhD in Theology. 'At Lyons he studied privately under Henri de Lubac, who like his fellow Jesuit, Teilhard de Chardin, was not permitted to teach in public.'³⁵ At both European universities Gutiérrez continued his studies of Karl Marx, a task he began earlier in Lima in the 1950s. Gutiérrez's experiences and learning in Europe are important for the task of understanding his liberation theology. Klaiber writes:

During those years he lived and breathed the stimulating intellectual atmosphere of a European Catholicism in full renovation and in search of a deeper dialogue with the modern social sciences, and even with certain philosophies and ideologies still condemned or viewed with suspicion by the church: Marxism, Freudianism, . . .³⁶

Gutiérrez's encounter with the theological surge in Europe was deeply influential. On his return to Lima in 1959, he became a parish priest and began working as a tutor in the Department of Theology and Social Science at the Catholic University of Lima. He also became the chaplain of the National Union of Catholic Students . . . He came to a community of individuals tired of their situation and who yearned for change. The atmosphere in the university was one of revolution and change; Fidel Castro had just led the Cuban Revolution, and the students could see the possibility of a new revolutionary force. Gutiérrez immediately identified himself with the political struggle of the people. Gutiérrez's commitment was evident as Emilio Núñez indicates in his book LIBERATION THEOLOGY:

In 1960 the Catholic student movement had opted for Christian Democracy and its ideology of the New Christendom. By 1963 it had changed its emphasis from the religious to the political sphere under the influence of Gutiérrez. . . . Garland points out that . . . the doctrinal position of the National Union of Catholic Students became more extreme, emphasising the Marxist analysis of reality under the guidance of Gutiérrez, who by then had begun to outline his theology of liberation.³⁸

In March 1964 leading Latin America theologians met in Petrópolis, Brazil; Juan Luis Segundo from Uruguay, Lucio Gera from Argentina and Gustavo Gutiérrez from Peru. Then, Gutiérrez posed the question 'How do we establish the dialogue of salvation with man in Latin America?'³⁹

In 1966 Gutiérrez published his first work entitled CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND LOVE, (Lima, 1966). Here he developed his thesis that human love cannot be separated from the love of God.⁴⁰ Love for other human beings involves loving God because man is God's temple . . . In July 1967, Gutiérrez gave a course on *The Church and Poverty*. Núñez writes:

In Montreal the Peruvian theologian declared that poverty opposes evangelical justice and should not be attributed to the will of God. Christians need to fight

for the suppression of that scandal, which is the fruit of social sin. The church is called to identify itself with the poor, assuming poverty, ceasing to be a rich church in the midst of destitution.⁴¹

A year later from April 20-27 1968, an important meeting took place in Melgar, Colombia. The ensuing documents reveal that the notion of *salvation in history* was developed further than in Vatican II. Nonetheless, the references were fully supportive of Vatican II, namely, that in history there is salvation for man. Melgar pointed towards the unity of history. This theme is developed by Gutiérrez in his *Lineas Pastorales de la Iglesia en America Latina*, where he further developed the concept of the integration of creation and salvation in a singular historical process in which man is not simply a spectator but rather the agent and transformer of history. The influence of Marx is evident here.

Medellin⁴² became a watershed in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America. The documents drawn up at Medellin recognised as legitimate the experiences and efforts of a number of Catholics from the peasants to the archbishops. The principal theme was the subject of poverty among Latin Americans, thereby the choice was made at Medellin by the Roman Catholic Church of 'opting for the poor'.

After Medellin, Gutiérrez participated in a conference at Cartigny, Switzerland in November 1969 where he delivered his *Notes for a Theology of Liberation*⁴³. These notes were a prelude to his book *A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION* published in 1971.

Conclusions

Liberation Theology is unashamedly a *class theology* because it theologizes from the perspective of the oppressed. It also identifies the poor of Latin America as 'a believing and exploited people' with the poor of the Bible. Pablo Richard resolutely says:

God lives and bestows self-revelation in the world of the poor and their struggles for liberation. This special presence and revelation of God in the heart of the people is liberation theology's deep root, whence it draws its strength and future.⁴⁴

The poor hold a privileged position in Liberation Theology. They have become the milieu where God speaks, acts and liberates because of God's preferential love towards them. As stated above, the import of the word *poor* is expressed clearly by Gutiérrez. They are 'those who live in a social condition characterised by the lack of goods in this world, and even including misery and destitution. Furthermore, it is a marginalized social group, with a shade of oppression and lack of liberty'.⁴⁵ These are the explanations given by liberation theologians to the 'poor' as used by Luke in the New Testament.

Criticism

But this interpretation is unsatisfactory as it does not do justice to the background behind the passages in Luke in relation to the prophet Isaiah. In a helpful dissertation David P Seccombe argues the thesis⁴⁶ that Luke uses the poor as a characterisation of Israel in her need of salvation.⁴⁶ Seccombe builds his position

from the view that the poor in the light of the Old Testament are designated as the heirs of salvation. Gutiérrez, together with scholars like E Hatch, A Nolan and R E Brown,⁴⁷ regards the poor as the economically deprived classes. Seccombe observes a different definition of the poor in Luke's gospel; they are those who are unable to subsist without charitable assistance. He further adds:

There is nothing (in the NT) that would support an identification of the *ptokoi* with the peasantry. This leads to an important observation which has been largely overlooked; in the NT the *ptokoi* are regarded as a group apart from Jesus and his disciples. The former are alms-takers, the latter are alms-givers.⁴⁸

This is an important distinction, since liberation theologians do create a parallelism between the Lord Jesus and the *ptokoi*, to the point of calling him the poor Jesus. Another point mentioned by Seccombe is that there is historical warrant for saying that Jesus came from an *artisan* family.

Seccombe concludes that the above explanations, advanced by different groups of scholars, fail to explain adequately the term 'poor' as used by Luke. They fail to consider adequately the dependency of Luke's use of 'poor' on Isaiah 61:1. From a separate study he affirms:

I conclude, therefore, with some confidence that in approaching quotations from and allusions to Isaiah there is a presumption in favour of Luke's awareness of their context and wider meaning within Isaiah as a whole.⁴⁹

Support for Seccombe's conclusion comes from E J Young:

The prophet now takes up again the description of the people as needy, which he had introduced in chapter forty and again in the word *worm* of 41:14, to show that no matter how great that need might be, God would meet and answer it. To describe the people he employs two words frequently used together, *NIYYIM* (*afflicted*) and *EVYONIM* (*poor*), which represent Israel in the state of affliction and poverty that had come upon it. Such affliction and poverty, however, are not to be understood merely in a material sense; rather these words appear to refer to the devout and pious who endure suffering patiently, trusting in the Lord.⁵⁰

Young identifies too the poor in the text of Isaiah as the nation of Israel, but furthermore, he speaks of a believing and trusting people, who endured sufferings. In reference to Isaiah 61:1, he writes:

What is pictured here reflects partly upon the exile but describes also New Testament and eternal relationships. It is the Messianic work, which no prophet in himself could carry out... He preaches *good tidings to the afflicted*, i.e. he evangelizes them in that he declares to them deliverance from their bondage, *bind up the broken heart*. Their sins have weighed them down so that their heart is, as it were broken, and there is no heart left in them...

Whereas the phase *broken of heart* characterised the inner condition of the *afflicted*, the words *captives* and *them that are bound* refer to their outward state. There may be a possible reflection upon the exile, but the captivity in which the true Israel of God lay was deeper. The people were captives to sin and bound with the fetters of iniquity. For such there is to be a blessed release and an opening. Isaiah is not speaking of deliverance from a physical prison but from the spiritual darkness in which the people have been imprisoned. Deliverance from that spiritual darkness is an opening of the eyes, in contrast to the

darkness in which the people were.⁵¹

Gutiérrez's definition of the poor as 'those who live in a social condition characterised by the lack of goods in this world, and even including misery and destitution' has no justification from the Scripture. Rather, the gospel which Jesus Christ preached was intended to reach people in deep poverty across the spectrum of the social classes; that is, **people who are spiritually bankrupt in the sight of God** with needs beyond the material and needs only Christ himself can supply through his substitutionary atonement.

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- 2 Leonardo Boff & Clodovis Boff, *INTRODUCING LIBERATION THEOLOGY*, London; Burns & Oates, 1987, p 3
- 3 Gutiérrez, TL, p 38
- 4 Samuel Escobar, *LA FE EVANGELICA Y LAS TEOLOGIAS DE LA LIBERACION*, El Paso, Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, 1987, p 89
- 5 Rosino Gibellini (ed), *FRONTIERS OF THEOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA*, London, SCM, 1980, p 312. See also Deane William Ferm, *PROFILES IN LIBERATION*, 36 Portraits of Third World Theologians, Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1988, p 180
- 6 Gustavo Gutiérrez, *THE POWER OF THE POOR IN HISTORY*, London; SCM, 1983, pp 200-1
- 7 Gutiérrez, TL, pp 31-2
- 8 *ibid*, p 32
- 9 Gustavo Gutiérrez, 'Notes for a Theology of Liberation', *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*, 1970, vol 31, p 246
- 10 *ibid*, p 247
- 11 *ibid*
- 12 *ibid*, pp 247-8
- 13 Gutiérrez, TL, p 126
- 14 *ibid*, p 180
- 15 José Miguez Bonino, *DOING THEOLOGY IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION*, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1975, p 44. Miguez Bonino quotes Camilo Torres, 'Message to Colombia from the Mountains', in *REVOLUTIONARY PRIEST: The Complete Writings & Messages of Camilo Torres*, Edited by John Gerassi, New York, Random House, Vintage, 1971, p 423
- 16 As late as 1948, Mons Francheschi wrote: 'If when the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* appeared, all men would have resolved to consecrate themselves to the immediate execution of the reforms demanded by the Pope, if they would have put themselves at the front of an intense social movement, the fortune of the world could be different to what it is today'. Editorial, 'Rerum Novarum. 70 Anniversario', *MENSAJE*, May 1961, Vol 10, No 98, p 139
- 17 Emilio Núñez, *LIBERATION THEOLOGY*, Chicago, Moody Press, 1985, p 115-6, Trans Paul E Sywulka

- 18 Comblin went to Campiñas in the state of Sao Paolo, Brazil. See Deane W Ferm, *PROFILES IN LIBERATION*, p 141
- 19 Ferm, *op cit*, p 141
- 20 *ibid*
- 21 Núñez, *LIBERATION THEOLOGY*, p 115
- 22 Jacques Maritain, *TRUE HUMANISM*, London, Geoffrey Bles, Trans M R Adamson from French *HUMANISME INTÉGRAL*, 1937
- 23 Escobar, *op cit*, p 32. Escobar has in mind Emanuel Mounier amongst those thinkers, together with Maritain.
- 24 Gutiérrez, *THE POWER OF THE POOR IN HISTORY*, p 188
- 25 J Andrew Kirk, *LIBERATION THEOLOGY, An Evangelical View from the Third World*, Basingstoke, Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1979, paperback 1985 p 15
- 26 Alceu Amoroso Lima, 'Testimony: on the influence of Maritain in Latin America', *NEW SCHOLASTICISM*, 1972, vol 46, p 84
- 27 Emanuel de Kadt, 'Paternalism and Populism: Catholicism in Latin America', *CONTEMPORARY HISTORY*, October 1967, vol 2, No 4, p 101
- 28 Gerald McCool, 'Jacques Maritain: A Neo-Thomist Classic', *THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION*, 1978, vol 58, No 4, p 387
- 29 *ibid*, p 388
- 30 Dennis McCann, 'Reinhold Niebuhr and Jacques Maritain on Marxism: A Comparison of the two Traditional Models of Practical Theology', *THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION*, 1978, vol 58, No 2, p 155
- 31 *ibid*
- 32 Jeffrey Klaiber, 'Prophets and Populists: Liberation Theology: 1968-1988?', *THE AMERICAS*, July 1989, Vol XLVI, No 1, p 6
- 33 Kirk, *LIBERATION THEOLOGY*, p 15
- 34 Klaiber comments: In a sense CA had 'fulfilled its mission: to create a dynamic laity with a sense of responsibility both to church and society.' Klaiber, 'The Catholic Lay Movement in Peru: 1867-1959', *THE AMERICAS*, 1983, vol 49, p 170
- 35 Jeffrey Klaiber, 'Prophets and Populists . . .', p 4. Klaiber adds in a footnote that this information was obtained in a private interview with Father Gustavo Gutiérrez in Lima, March 21, 1983.
- 36 *ibid*, p 3. See also Escobar, who writes: 'The Catholic intellectuals that in the 1950s went to study in Europe, found in France and Belgium a theological and pastoral ferment, a conscientization of certain sociological realities of the Church and a searching of ways of renovation.' *op cit*, p 33
- 37 UNEC was the university branch of Catholic Action
- 38 Núñez, *LIBERATION THEOLOGY*, p 116. Núñez substantiates his remarks by quoting Alfredo Garland, *COMO LOBOS RAPACES*, Lima, Sapei, 1978, pp 66-7
- 39 Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Petrópolis*, Lima, Centro de Estudios Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1964, p 1. The papers presented at Petrópolis were mimeographed and are kept in the files of the above centre. Quoted by Roberto Oliveros Maqueos, *LIBERACION Y TEOLOGIA. Génesis y Crecimiento de una Reflexión: 1966-1976*, Lima, CEP, 1977, p 55

- 40 Gutiérrez develops this theme in chapter 10 of his THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION. He concludes that 'since God has become man, humanity, every man, history, is the living temple of God'. TL p 250. Gutiérrez arrives at this conclusion because he interprets the incarnation to be the event in which humanity becomes God's temple. This temple involves every person whether he is a Christian or not.
- 41 Núñez, LIBERATION THEOLOGY, p 121. The notes of Gutiérrez's course on 'The Church and Poverty', according to Oliveros Maqueos, are found in the archives of the Centro de Estudios de Bartolomé de Las Casas, Lima, Peru.
- 42 At Medellín, Colombia, the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops met from August 26 to September 6 in 1968.
- 43 The Conference theme was 'In Search of a Theology of Development'. The journal THEOLOGICAL STUDIES later published Gutiérrez's contribution, see note 9
- 44 Pablo Richard, 'Liberation Theology: A Difficult but Possible Future', in Marc H Ellis & Otto Maduro (eds) THE FUTURE OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY, Essays in Honor of Gustavo Gutiérrez, Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1989, p 502
- 45 Gutiérrez, TL, pp 379-380. Pixley & Boff also categorically define the poor as 'those that suffer a fundamental economic deficiency. They are deprived of necessary material goods to be able to lead a dignifying existence.' Jorge Pixley & Clodovis Boff, OPCION POR LOS POBRES, Madrid, Ediciones Paulinas, 1986, p 17. Original title: OPCA O PELOS POBRES, Sao Paulo, CESEP, 1986, trans Alfonso Ortiz Garcia
- 46 David Peter Seccombe, 'Possessions and the Poor in Luke - Acts', PhD Dissertation, 1982. Published in STUDIEN ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT UND SEINER UMWELT, Linz, 1982, Serie B, Band 6. All my quotations are derived from SNTU.
- 47 E Hatch, ESSAYS IN BIBLICAL GREEK, Oxford, 1989, p 76. A Nolan, JESUS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY, London, 1976, p 21. R E Brown, 'The Beatitudes according to Luke', NEW TESTAMENT ESSAYS, London - Dublin, 1965, pp 265-271, 270
- 48 Seccombe, op cit, p 31
- 49 Seccombe, 'Luke and Isaiah', NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES, 1981, vol 27, p 259
- 50 Edward J Young, ISAIAH, Vol 3, ch 40-66, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1972, Reprint 1981, pp 90-91. Young is dealing with Isaiah 41:17.
- 51 *ibid*, pp 459-460

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