

## RELIGION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

*Gerhard Drekonja, German Foundation for Developing Countries\**

THE CENTRAL WORKING DOCUMENT FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN BISHOPS' Conference, which met in the summer of 1968, in the industrial city of Medellín, after the Eucharistic Congress in Bogotá, mentioned in its introduction neither pastoral nor theological questions. It began with a matter-of-fact analysis of Latin American reality, discussed the underdevelopment of the subcontinent in sociological terms, and demanded finally a commitment from the Church to the social problems of hunger and misery, which the document stated are the urgent questions upon whose solution the future of Latin America depends. Hesitation on the part of the Church to do its share in creating a more free, more just, and more humane society would be tantamount to being in the state of mortal sin.

The discussions in Bogotá and Medellín, underscored by the Pope's visit, have proven to be a historical turning point, dividing Latin America's much neglected Church history into 'before' and 'after' periods. Before 1968, the so-called progressives were not taken too seriously. Since then, it has become apparent that Catholic rebels have begun to fill many Church positions. To the conservatives was left scarcely the power-structure of the visible Church. The fascination of this state of affairs hardly needs to be pointed out. The Church in Latin America has stood, to this time, as the most reliable support of the traditional order, by sanctifying its structures, thus fortifying the establishments against change. With good reason, the progressive theologians and pastors, eager to escape the condition of a supposed collective mortal sin, are rebelling: they desire to make their own contribution to the renovation of the Church and the modernization of Latin America. Their efforts become apparent when traditional strategies of development are failing.

With the commitment of the progressives, the development of the subcontinent takes on an amazingly different aspect. Correctly did Ivan Vallier (1967) state that the Church, if it can rouse itself to the legitimization of change—if only by retaining the sacralization of the traditional society—would do more for development than most of the other (imported) models of development up to this time. The task is difficult, since change in Latin American

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implies a fundamental and painful transformation of hardened structures, and the creation of new values, modes of behavior, traditions, and beliefs. What lies ahead is not without risk. The commitment to change—inside and outside the church—conceals dangers such as political and theological schisms, possible self-destruction, damage to historical positions, the substitution of spirituality by utilitarianism and, above all, suspicion of subversion. The events of 1969–70, such as the expulsion of foreign priests by the state authorities, the imprisonment of clerics, and group rebellions against the Church hierarchy, demonstrate that a historical structure such as the Church, which was stable and even static for four centuries, is threatened with disintegration when involved in rapid renovation. This new situation, in turn, compels Latin Americanists to turn their attention to the Church, which is one of the most neglected areas of research and writing. If it were not for Mecham's (1934/1966) classic book about Church and State in Latin America, the field, at least in the area of English-language publications, would be almost completely neglected. Mecham diligently collected the scarce publications on the Church in Latin America and dealt in his first edition primarily with the turmoil of the Church-State conflict during the Mexican Revolution. From the perspective of 1966 (the date of Mecham's second, revised edition), the Church-State issue in Mexico has lost its importance, and rightly so, because the conflict between State and Church in Mexico during the 1920's had to do with unsolved problems of the 19th century. The aging issue does, however, pose questions as to what, and how, the Church can contribute to social change and modernization.

The concept of the New Jerusalem had bound the Church closely to the State as soon as the conquest had taken place. In order to open up a continent free of heretics, the Popes granted to the Spanish kings far-reaching powers known as the *patronato real*. These agreements led to a coalition of worldly and spiritual powers which formed the foundation for the astonishing Spanish empire. But the Church suffered in the area of moral and pastoral questions. With the formation and perfection of the Hispano-Catholic ethic, a profanation of the temporal order took place, whereby religious categories digressed from their legitimate sphere, and mixed with the socio-political realm. The static result, with its renunciation of the world, emphasis on the hereafter, and the paternalistic syndrome, with its ability to endure suffering, was the basis for the amazing Pax of the Hispano-American empire. Spanish-born officials, noble and non-noble creoles, mestizos, Hispanicized Indians and reservation Indians comprised a closely-bound society, in which the noble creoles, supported by the Church, formed the essential buffering component. The large majority of the mestizos and Indians did not challenge the creoles because of the exclusively local orientation of the former. It was the task of the mission-

ary orders to carry out Christianization without interrupting this balance. The objective was partly achieved because of the importation to Spanish America of the suffering Christ of Tangiers instead of the human Christ of the Spanish mystics (Mackay, 1932), and partly it was achieved by the rivalry of the missionary orders that were not able or willing to transmit a convincing ethic or a national orientation (Bagú, 1952; Specker, 1953; Ybot León, 1954; Konetzke, 1959; Taylor, 1966).

It is not our task to discuss the achievements and the rich literature about Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit missions in Latin America. However, one must state that the missionaries were unable to go beyond formal Christianization, and even worse, were unable to develop an autonomous moral system. The effects of this failure, with the consequent fear by rural dwellers of the two antagonistic metaphysics, define Latin America even today (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; Fals Borda, 1962). Among the locally oriented mestizos and Indians, a thorough Christianization would have meant the formation of a national orientation, and thus might have threatened the stability of the sanctified social structure. With every attempt at real pastoral work, suspicion of subversion fell upon the Church, beginning with Bartolomé de las Casas and Antônio Vieira, up to the present time. To survive, the traditional society needed the legitimizing support of the Church. It felt threatened whenever the support was not given.

The crisis of ecclesiastical privilege began when the Spanish Bourbons tried, for economic reasons, to modernize the societal structure in order to overcome the heritage of the bureaucratic Counter-Reformation state (Rodríguez, 1951; Farriss, 1968). However, before the crisis actually erupted, the question of independence arose. As Spanish America sought to secede from the mother country, a crucial role devolved on the lower creole clerics: the mobilization of the mestizos. The names of the Mexican priests Hidalgo and Morelos are well known. Others did not reach fame, but their participation in the battles for independence is documented. In Mexico alone, it is possible to prove the participation of 401 clerics in politico-military tasks (Farriss, 1968), thus refuting traditional anticlerical claims that the Mexican clergy was not "patriotic" (Genaro García, 1906). In this case the differentiation between lower and higher clergy was essential (Figueroa, 1960). What shortly before the independence wars would have been a subversive act became for those few years a heroic deed. Seldom has it been shown more graphically how the stabilizing influence of the Church can turn into revolutionary ferment in critical situations. The parallel between the 1820's and the 1960's in Latin America and between Latin America and the outside world should be noted (Marx, 1967).

The separation of America from Spain—a less serious schism occurred in the case of Portuguese Brazil—brought upon the Church catastrophic personnel losses, mostly through the departure of loyal bishops and prelates, many of whom took refuge in Spanish Cuba. However, privileges, possessions and powers were relatively soon transferred to the newly independent states. Besides, the opportunity was at hand, in regard to the *patronato real*—now a *patronato nacional*—to acquire the administrative autonomy which up to this time had been missing. In the following years, each Latin American state had to find its own solution to the problem. The solutions were varied, from the dominating position of the Church in Colombia to dramatic conflict in Mexico to peaceful coexistence in Peru and subjugation in Venezuela. A permanent conflict between State and Church dominated the 19th century (Pike, 1964). Because of the original superiority of the latter, the state necessarily had to designate and define the areas over which it had sway. Naturally the churches sought to protect privileges and drew up promising short-term strategies, mostly in alliance with conservative parties. The struggle was not an ideological conflict. Even the most ardent Liberal seldom challenged the Church as a spiritual institution, but he did challenge it as a political rival. Thus, Latin America experienced de-Christianization without real secularization. The unfortunate result was that State and Church wasted valuable energy in an obsolete contest that postponed or hindered economic development and modernization. Indeed, modernization can be observed best where the Church-State conflict was solved early, or where it never acquired urgency, an example being Uruguay, which fared best (Sobrado, 1968). The surprising effects that the tenacious struggle between a powerful Church and the State achieved can be demonstrated best with micro-problems, which, unfortunately, until now, have been neglected by historians. An example is the study of the “capellanías” (Costeloe, 1967), in which the closing of these bank-like Church institutions opened Mexico further to the penetration of British banks. The traditional Church historians of the colonial and independence periods have neglected these aspects, satisfying themselves with the enumeration of historical details (Cuevas I, 28; Vargas, 1953; Silveira Camargo, 1955; Watters, 1933). Nor has the problem been investigated of the degree to which the emerging conservative parties of the subcontinent were related to certain types of religious fraternities which accentuated the tensions between liberals and conservatives (Cadavid, 1955).

The century-long struggle came to a dramatic climax with the Mexican Revolution, which provoked the first great persecution of Catholics in the 20th century and attracted the attention of historians. The collision actually belongs to the 19th century, as a sharpened repetition of the conflicts of the Juárez era.

Significantly, the persecution did not break out in the first revolutionary epoch, but in the late 1920's, when Mexico's Church leaders advised a political offensive in order to regain lost ground. Mexican writers of the period took up the issue with strong pro- or anticlerical biases (Pérez, 1926; Toro, 1927; Portes Gil, 1935; Navarrete, 1935). The second revolutionary generation responded with an outburst of church persecution—proof of their revolutionary loyalty. The tragic persecution—tragic because it was unnecessary—ended inconclusively: neither the Church nor the revolution was able to bring about a convincing ethic for the new Mexican. In the Cristero rebellion (Rodríguez, 1960; Olivera, 1966; Wilkie, 1966), the faithful peasant died before the firing squad with the cry, 'Viva Cristo Rey,' because he had been taught to die like a martyr. But he had not been taught to live like a Mexican Christian. Even less was the peasant aware of secret aims behind the insurrection, such as to get the United States involved, via Catholic pressure groups in Washington (Cronon, 1935; Rice, 1959). Consequently, the analysis of the problem was of special interest for North American authors (Macfarland, 1932; Mecham, 1934; C. L. Jones, 1935; Quirk, 1963). However, the incapacity of the revolutionary government to destroy the Church led to coexistence (James, 1935; Brown, 1964), which in turn ripened into peaceful togetherness (Pattee, 1944; Turner, 1967), and an almost cordial relationship. Statistics show (Ramos, 1963) that the Church, by conforming to the given situation, is the only traditional institution in Mexico that survived the turmoil of the revolution.

The most significant challenge to the Church came later. With the first wave of industrialization, the Church's cultural monopoly was broken. Nationalistic and leftist groups maneuvered for supporters. Protestant sects achieved amazing success among neglected peasants, villagers, slum dwellers. The resulting loss of ground led the Church to a certain administrative modernization. Pope Pius XI had sent the Mexican hierarchy a pastoral letter after the persecution, advising that body to attempt the re-Christianization of Mexico through the instrument of Catholic Action. Catholic Action became the magic formula for the rest of Latin America. Thanks to the supporters of Catholic Action, Latin American Church problems were discussed and strategies for survival were prepared. After all, because of the Church-State conflict of the 19th century, the Church had stumbled into the 20th century without real training or preparation for modern pastoral practices. Thanks to the activists of Catholic Action, the national churches, which until this time had been isolated from each other, were able to coordinate programs. In 1955, the prelates organized CELAM, the Latin American Bishops' Conference. In 1953, the sobering Chimbote report (Tercera Semana, 1953) had been drawn up (which provided the basic data for Coleman's monograph, 1958). Nevertheless, the

general outlook for the Church remained somber (*Catholic Historical Review*, 1940/41; Pattee, 1945), and consequently offered minimal attraction to observers from the fields of history and other social sciences.

Because of the tremendous shortage of priests (Garrigos, 1961; Pérez, 1964), a spiritual alliance for progress was designed by the Church. From the United States and Europe came missionaries and financial support. At the Catholic University of Louvain, in Belgium, an educational center for the young Spanish-American clergy was opened, which emphasized training in the social sciences. (Louvain was to become the meeting place for future clerical rebels). To support such spiritual efforts, the FERES-Institute (International Federation of Catholic Institutes of Social and Socio-religious Research, with headquarters in Fribourg and Bogotá) began to collect essential data on church structures: these findings, which include the churches in all of Latin America, are in print (Summary: Alonso, 1964; Tormo, 1960). In relation to FERES, Houtart began to probe the revolutionary aspects of the beginning renovation. His collaborator, Pin (1962), attempted, however insufficiently, the first sociology of Latin American Catholicism. With foreign aid, some numerical success was won, and administrative modernization was achieved to a certain degree. But the high costs of this program, such as the introduction of diverse foreign elements, and cultural confusion, did not go unnoticed (Illich, 1967).

Despite all its drawbacks, such official stimulus from the outside set in motion the process of internal renovation. Discussions and then dissent split the former monolith when priests, who besides doing pastoral work, also tried social action and development programs. One might assume that village priests with their privileged position would be the first to accept the modernizing role, but the fact is that the stimulus came from external sociological thinking and training. The first church radicals began to appear after they had experienced the frustration of engagement in social projects without ever seeing a convincing success of this slow, step-by-step strategy. This group is generally referred to as "progressives," but the Latin American reality demands a more precise definition, which was provided by Vallier (1967): he established a typology differentiating "Politicians," "Papists," "Pastors," and "Pluralists." He noted correctly that modern technology is not equivalent to progressive theological thinking. The internationally famous 'Radio School' of Sutalenza in Colombia is a case in point (Torres-Corredor, 1961).

It is interesting to note that the decade of the 1950's which brought about clashes between State and Church power in some Latin American countries, notably in Argentina under Perón (Marsal, 1955; Whitaker, 1956; Kennedy, 1958), and in Venezuela under Pérez Jiménez (Colmenares, 1961), went by quite unnoticed: the clashes did not offer—or did not arouse—insight into the

beginnings of Church renovation. Yet the evolving situation created much more ferment than the earlier observers of the phenomenon had dared to envisage (Weigle, 1958; Kennedy, 1961; Considine, 1964).

The changes became visible with Father Camilo Torres, whose life and work provide the essential basis for the rebellions by the "theologians of revolution" who followed him. Camilo, the son of an upper-middle class family in Bogotá, had studied sociology at Louvain. There, it may have been, the seeds of rebellion were sown: now he saw more clearly the ills of Colombian society. After his return to Colombia, Torres worked as student chaplain and lecturer in sociology at the Universidad Nacional de Bogotá. His first clash with Luis Cardinal Concha of Bogotá did not apparently affect Camilo's loyalty to the Church. He resigned from the university and accepted other challenging assignments, such as that as personal representative of the Cardinal in the Colombian land reform institute, INCORA. At the same time, Camilo continued with sociological work, and opened an experimental *finca*. At the first sociology congress in Colombia, he submitted a paper on "La Violencia," diagnosing the structural changes Colombia had experienced through years of civil war (Torres, 1963). But his crucial experience doubtless was his work in INCORA. Camilo began to understand that the traditional elite of Colombia, despite its intellectual brilliance, was not capable of comprehending the social question. So he felt justified in formulating his own revolutionary concept, which in its initial stage was meant to be an "ideal, peaceful revolution," according to the model of the Christian Democrats in Chile. He jotted down in his observations: I am a revolutionary—as a Colombian, as a sociologist, as a priest, as a Christian. In a publication bearing the title "La Revolución: imperativo cristiano" (1965), he carried the theme further. According to Camilo, violent revolution in Latin America is probable. Christians should take part in it: they should enter coalitions with Marxists, who are most experienced in such tactics. But is this not dangerous? Not at all, replied Camilo, for the love of the Christians will overcome the hate of the Marxists. Late in 1964, a political movement, called Frente Unido, grew out of Camilo's travels and campaigns. It experienced phenomenal growth within months and shook the power structure of Colombia. However, after some hesitation, the priest, who had in the meantime been defrocked (without having been punished further by Cardinal Concha), decided on his own ultimate conversion. Camilo Torres went into the mountains to fight with the guerrilleros of the Ejército de Liberación Nacional, commanded by a follower of Castro, Fabio Vázquez Castaño. In February 1966, Camilo was killed in a skirmish with a military patrol.

The testimony, the speeches, and the writings of Camilo Torres have made a lasting impression on Latin America. The subcontinent, so often an

importer of models and symbols from outside, now suddenly possessed an authentic formula, at least in the theological field. Camilo's writings are not sophisticated, theologically or sociologically. They attempt, however, to answer unequivocally the question of how a Christian in Latin America should conduct himself. The answer that he gave is that such a Christian must bring about the radical change of society. What strategies and tactics this simple sentence implies are not clear because Camilo's life does not follow a straight-line development, but may be interpreted as a series of conversions. Germán Guzmán (1967), also a priest who took over Camilo's journal *Frente Unida* in Bogotá, but with a much more radicalized language (in the Marxist term) tried in his biography of Camilo (1967) to picture the development of a "guerilla-priest"—and failed. Therefore, the analysis of the Camilo phenomenon has yet to be written, and a more satisfying answer will probably lie in a political interpretation of this, and other, messianic phenomena than Latin America has produced (Métraux, 1957; Eckert, 1951; Pereira de Queiroz, 1963). Since Lanternari's (1960) brilliant study, it should be clear that this kind of cult can and does also appear in a Catholic environment. For the moment, however, we can follow the Camilo phenomenon only through the perspective of historical development: together with Che Guevara, Camilo constitutes—for the first time in Latin American history—the export of a political symbol, in that he is perhaps as popular on United States campuses as he is in Europe. Especially in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina leftist Catholics founded the *Movimiento Camilo Torres*, advocating violence in cooperation with Marxists. The dialogue phase, which played such a dominant role in Europe in the middle 1960's, was left out: political cooperation with Marxists was taken up without much hesitation. At the first international meeting of the *Movimiento Camilo Torres* in Montevideo, early in 1968, the slogan was: *Basta de diálogo, ahora acción común con el marxismo!*

To make it clear: Camilo was not the first Latin American churchman to advocate violent political action. The early 1960's saw a number of individual clerical rebels (besides Camilo, most notably Bolo Hidalgo in Peru), most of whom took up Marxist ideology and advocated violence. Even outside the rebel environment, violence was discussed. As early as 1962, the Catholic journal *Mensaje*, edited in Santiago de Chile, took up this topic. At that time the monthly was under the dominating influence of Father Roger Vekemans, the astounding Belgian Jesuit and sociologist who made Chile his field of labor. Naturally, *Mensaje* and Vekemans would prefer the restructuring of society under controls. Advising the Christian Democrats who came to power in 1964, he designed a series of sociological models in order to replace the vague social doctrine of the Church, papal encyclicals, and likewise the Christian humanism



of the Frenchman, Jacques Maritain, who had so much influenced the Frei generation. With the traditional European formulas it was quite impossible to modernize Chile and at the same time take on the competition of the Cuban revolution. Father Vekeman's publications (Summary: DESAL, 1969) are highly interesting as contributions to development theory and provided the Frei government with useful tools for directed comprehensive change. However, as to the hope that these concepts would be the basis for a "revolution in liberty" in Chile, thus establishing supposedly the alternative to Cuba and the Marxist revolutionary model, it failed. The consequence is tragic for the second Christian Democratic generation in Chile, which developed an ideological inferiority complex and split in the spring of 1968 from the mother party, organized its own political movement, MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unida), cooperated with the Marxist left, and put up one of its leaders, the agronomist, Jacques Chonchol, as candidate for the presidency in 1970. In the available literature on the Latin American Christian Democrats these aspects are overlooked. A similar development took place in the Latin American Christian Democrat syndicalist movement, CLASC (Confederación Latinoamericana de Sindicalistas Cristianos), where radicalization occurred even more rapidly (Córdova, 1968).

To a certain degree, the Catholic radicals based their arguments on the ideas of the North American Protestant theologian, Richard Shaull (1966), who acted as theological adviser to the Protestant Junta Latino-Americana de Iglesia y Sociedad (Montevideo), which in 1963 began to publish the journal, *Cristianismo y Sociedad*. Shaull tried to build up a "theology of revolution." He used some of the sociological concepts of the Colombian scholar, Orlando Fals Borda, who was a close friend of Camilo Torres and who defined the concept of the "counter-elite." Shaull's writing, especially, was taken up enthusiastically in Europe and North America (Rendtdorf-Todt, 1968) without having decisively influenced the Latin American rebels. Despite Shaull's brilliant and sophisticated definitions, the simple sentences of Camilo Torres are preferred because Torres, after all, was a member of the "Third World," whereas Shaull imported his radical political theology. Shaull is also diagnosed to a certain degree as romantic: he identifies revolution as a cruel, destructive act, but demands, nevertheless, the participation of the Christian in order to guarantee the freeing of the supposedly innate humanistic tendencies of violence. Latin America has observed violence throughout its history and it is consequently doubtful whether the violent act can be tied to humanism. In this sense, all Latin American "theology of revolution" (Lage Pessoa and Karl Lenkersdorf in: Castro, 1968), although taking advantage of some of Shaull's brilliant concepts, further developed by the young Protestant theologian from

Brazil, Ruben Alves, tends to take Camilo Torres' position: the realization that the violent act cannot be justified by its supposedly romantic virtue, but has to be taken as soberly and realistically as possible and can be justified only under very specific conditions.

Shaull's concepts exercise more influence on Latin American theological rebels when efforts are being undertaken to tie the religious renovation of the Latin American Church to the liberation struggle of the Third World. Among the 15 bishops who issued a manifesto in the French journal *Le Témoignage Chrétien* (August 31, 1967), the dominant group represented Latin America. A "theology of revolution" may find in this field rewarding challenges (Houtart, 1967). It should also be stated, however, that the Latin American theologians of revolution do not go unchallenged: here reference should not be made to conservative Church representatives who are deeply frightened by such endeavors, but to a group tied to Ivan Illich's CIDOC center and the diocese of Cuernavaca in Mexico, headed by Monseñor Méndez Arceo (1968; Segundo, 1962). Their argument is that the task of the Christian cannot be to turn into a revolutionary guerrilla. The Church can contribute to development and change, but only if she desists from influencing these processes and contents herself with celebrating the advent of time and prophetic tasks. After all, the Church is not to become an international development institute: if she should turn into one she would become obsolete as soon as the goal—development—were reached.

The ultimate test case for the Church radicals may be the Brazilian Northeast, where the commitment of the Church under the leadership of Archbishop Helder Câmara is massive and convincing. Because of the specific socio-economic situation of this region, the engagement of the Church in social action came earlier than elsewhere but also brought earlier the frustrations connected with these efforts and consequent radicalization (Paulo de Tarso, 1963; Cardozo, 1964). Bishop Helder Câmara became in the following years the spokesman for the Church renovations which were proposed for the sake of social action (Mutschler, 1965; Kadt, 1967). Still, the social structure of the Northeast has not changed significantly and concern for the marginal dwellers provokes even today the suspicion of subversion because with reform the local, passive orientation of the peasants and colonists collapses. Freed from their extreme marginality, they develop political consciousness. Such a development is enough to cause the present military government to see the specter of Communism everywhere, a short-hand expression for all forms of subversion.

In the past few decades the Pentecostal sects (Bloch-Hoell, 1964; Read, 1965) have been able to make considerable missionary gains in Brazil (and elsewhere). The German-born sociologist, Emilio Willems (1963), com-

mented on this phenomenon: "The more pronouncedly the internal structure and the inherent value system of a Protestant body deviate from those of traditional Latin American society, the more attractive they have proved to the masses. This tendency has found its most radical expression in the Pentecostal sects that have substituted a classless society for the traditional class system. . . . This is what we call subverting the traditional social order, in the language of religious symbolism."

The Catholic Church in Spanish America and Brazil may obtain similar results if it is able, and, with its own renovation, stake out new fields of activity that have been neglected up to now. Is the Catholic Church in Latin America discovering its "Puritan ethic"? We are dealing with more than a mere rhetorical question. Max Weber has defined a certain stage in the modernization of Europe—then partly "underdeveloped"—recognizing that the subordination of one's own interest under the concept of a religiously meaningful calling creates a strong motivation for renovation and for breaking the barriers of traditionalism. Complicated economic processes which were partly neglected by Weber (Trever-Roper, 1967) played a considerable part in such change. Attempts were made to apply his thesis to the Catholic world (Robertson, 1933; Fanfani, 1934) or apply an adapted version to Latin America (Hagen, 1963; Moog, 1964). With the preparation of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology in Washington in 1962, one of whose working sessions dealt with the relationship, Religion-Development (Desroche, 1961), the topic acquired new interest and led to two pioneering volumes (Bellah, 1965; Eisenstadt, 1968) which will have to be consulted for a future sociology of religion in Latin America.

The time is ripe for such an undertaking. With the disintegration of the Hispanic-American ethic, partly as a result of industrialization processes, partly as a voluntary cultural mutation, new attitudes may develop that may have similarities to the phenomenon Weber defined as the "Puritan ethic." But the parallel must not be taken literally, especially as it may refer to the formation of capitalism. The young Church rebels of today's Latin America despise the capitalistic developmental model as much as do the most ardent Marxists, nor are they at all satisfied by a vague "Comunitarismo" as advocated by the first generation of Chilean Christian Democrats. If the effort of the Church to bring about social change results only in a capitalistic middle class Latin America, the whole undertaking—at least in the eyes of the Church rebels—is not worthwhile. "Theology of revolution" consequently has a double attraction: it promises immediate and drastic social change as well as the avoidance of capitalism, which makes the idea of "Christianizing" the act of violence even more desirable. As a matter of fact, Latin American Church rebels begin with criti-

cism of capitalism—as the manifesto of the “Group of Golconda,” headed by Bishop Gerardo Valencia of Buenaventura, Colombia shows—analysis never seriously undertaken in the European Church. Therefore, Latin America must produce the creative writer who will design the counterpart to Tawney’s (1927) classic work on the formation of capitalism.

Fidel Castro’s Cuba adds an interesting footnote to this development. After the initial clash between the revolution and the Church (1961/62), caused by the inflexible anti-communism of the mostly Spanish-born clergy, a situation of co-existence resulted that can justly be called pacific (Dewart, 1963; Novoa, 1968; Fernández, 1969). The Cuban leaders do not bother with the Church: within its sphere it enjoys all liberties, as long as it abstains from “counter-revolutionary” activities. With the ferment in the Latin American Church providing a welcome ally for the revolutionary post-guerrilla period, even a Marxist-oriented sociology of revolution gets its justification (Rama, 1966). The Church lives with the revolution, and the Church rebels of Latin America state even that co-existence is possible only with Cuba and socialism, but never with “imperialism” (Germán Guzmán at the Cultural Congress in La Habana, January 1968). Again, a Protestant theologian produced a document which until now is the most outspoken for this attitude (Arce, 1965). To rage against “clericalism” is left to the old Marxists, and they take care to direct their attacks against Protestant sects, supposedly “in the pay of the CIA” (Blas Roca, 1963). It should be added that the relationship between North American Protestantism and “Imperialism” is noted also by the Church rebels themselves (César, 1968).

Upon reviewing literature on the Church in Latin America, one must conclude that research is sadly lacking on this vital aspect of Hispano-American society. To go beyond the available literature that covers general aspects of the problem, detailed studies of the religious situation will be necessary. Questions as to the composition of the student bodies in seminaries (Parra, 1964) or the position of the priest in rural and urban communities (Hicks, 1967) will have to be answered before a more general definition is possible. Essential questions, such as the relationship of *machismo* to anti-clericalism, which are so important to life in Latin America, and the understanding of death, have been taken up only by poets. The analytical approach of Vallier (1967) cannot be extended if the void of data is not filled. As everyone interested in Latin America knows, empirical material available today will have disappeared tomorrow, yet Latin America’s angry Church rebels are presently more than busy defining their ideological and theological positions and turning out pamphlets, manifestos, protest letters, and resolutions. Most of these will be lost if they are not collected immediately. Ivan Illich’s CIDOC—center in Cuernavaca is

already of the greatest value because part of the document output is being collected there. On the other hand, the rebels constitute only a relatively tiny group within the Church. We still do not know what the representatives of moderate or conservative groups think and write (and they are in the majority). Since we can assume that the ferment in the Latin American Church may contribute surprising results to the modernization of the subcontinent, no effort should now be spared to collect the manifestos of the Church radicals, in order that tomorrow we may be able to document one of the most astonishing changes that has occurred in Latin America in the 1960's.

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### APPENDIX I

This paper was completed in December, 1969. Since then the renovation of the Church has speeded up even more, turning renovation into outright disintegration. The focus of the clerical avant-garde has shifted from Colombia's "Grupo de Golconda" to the clerics of the "Tercer Mundo" in Argentina, the latter being strangely associated with leftist peronism and orthodox marxism.

However, the reaction of the conservative churchmen has also stiffened. In this regard, the most bizarre document was turned out by the integralist, Geraldo Sigud, Archbishop of Diamantina in Brazil, who, while visiting Germany in August of 1970, denounced Archbishop Dom Helder Camara in an extensive letter to the German Bishop of Münster, Monsignor Heinrich Tenhumberg. He branded Camara as the prototype of a subversive, starting out as a "fascist" and ending up as a "communist." The paper warned the German bishops against Dom Helder Camara's nomination as candidate for the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize (which, as it is known, was not awarded to him but to the agricultural researcher, Barlough).

As the church rebellion turns into chaotic disintegration, new literature is being turned out at a prodigious rate, not only among journalists, but also among researchers. The Church, after four centuries of near oblivion, has become the most provocative topic.

### APPENDIX II: RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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