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## Introduction, Vol. II, No. 1

The legacy of Ivan Illich is indeed a strange one. As a friend pointed out to me recently, even those on the Right<sup>1</sup> can claim Illich as an intellectual hero who stood against big government and fiscal folly. But what does it mean when *The American Conservative* (co-founded by Patrick Buchanan) now lauds Illich as a great, lost intellectual forefather?<sup>2</sup> In a sense the author of *The American Conservative*'s February, 2010 article entitled, "The People's Priest," Chase Madar, is correct: Illich was anti-government and ardently against state building projects. Yet, what the Right's transmogrification of Illich's legacy does not recognize is the fact that Illich was very much invested in a development project. Just not one that centered on property rights and institutional power, but rather the moral worth of every person. You see what is strange about a selective celebration of Illich by some on the Right is that you can't have a libertarian political intervention or future without a corresponding reinvestment (what Debord called "*détournement*") of the social forces now being corralled headlong into all-manner of global neoliberal complexes of power. That is, Illich can't properly be hailed as a forgotten ideological saint who championed the dissolution of big government and the growth of corporate-state services while not also recognizing that he stood for something else, an alternative to modern society as Illich would put it. It is this other aspect of Illich's legacy that I take exception to in Madar's rendition of an Illich revival by the Right: Illich was quite clear as to what an alternative to a modern capitalist society should look like and while he may have broken bread on occasion with Jerry Brown he would never do so with Pat Buchanan or those who think the need to conserve the cultural commons is equivalent to pulpit pounding on behalf of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and other traditions based upon preserving a history of white supremacy. If Illich at times openly fought with Freire, he did not then by default approve of E. D. Hirsch. If the National Organization of Women found Illich's views on gender offensive, it did not mean that he was one step away (his views on government notwithstanding) from an appointment in the Reagan administration as its Czar on Family Values.

Illich was/is an extraordinary wildcard to a system that is one-dimensional in its party approach to political representation—one is either a Democrat or Republican—in which the status quo always prevails regardless. *Tools for Conviviality*, for instance, one of Illich's earliest attempts at working through alternatives to notions of modern industrial progress, stands for a society whose culture is not one that is based on the value structure of the commodity and the market. In other words, convivial society for Illich means a rejection of modern apparatuses of control and management such as the World Bank and IMF that peddle development projects

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<sup>1</sup> This is not the place for detailed analysis of where *The American Conservative* or the author of its article on Illich fit on the political spectrum. It should be noted that the magazine claims to be the mouthpiece for conservatives in a "post-Right" world. In taking stands, albeit for financial reasons and not moral ones, against war and the corporatization of individuals' lives, *The American Conservative* is not congruent with the policy formation of the previous Bush administration, on the one hand, and much of the "news" that pours forth from other Rightist organs such as Fox or *The Weekly Standard*. Still, a careful examination of many of the contributors to the magazine will find a who's who of many political insiders on the Right of the last thirty-odd years (as well as some others of more politically ambiguous persuasions), and my argument would be that the Right is not a definitive ten-point plan that all ascribe to but rather a dynamic hegemony that is built out of various factions that come into alliance around certain sets of agreement. Thus, *The American Conservative* reaches out to a particular segment of the Right's base, just as does Glenn Beck, Rush Limbaugh, Bill O'Reilly, Sean Hannity, William Kristol, and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Chase Madar, "The People's Priest: Ivan Illich Understood the Dangers of Trying to Save the World" *The American Conservative*, February 1, 2010.

based on property rights and an overall ethic of privatization. Yet Illich's understanding of the commodity society was not solely a Marxist one—it also extended Marx's critique of capital beyond the limits of the worker, the colony, and the factory. Illich was one of the first to see that what also came along with the commodity society was not just the dehumanization of people; there was also a pernicious myth of progress that was locked into even Marx's critique of industrial capitalism. In this sense, if we can thank Marx for teaching us about the ways in which the ruling elite and experts work feverishly to convince us of the greatness of the virtues of their vision of a society built upon human exploitation, then we have Illich to thank for calling into question the idea that modern progress, even when harnessed for use on behalf of a socialist or communist society, is perhaps a path better not taken.

It is this aspect of Illich's critique of modern society that we must never lose sight of, his recognition of the fact that being anti-government and anti-state also means being for people, but not the atomistic individual (who is assumed to be, ideologically at least, a white, property-holding male) that the Right would like to read into Illich's work. Nor does Illich's critique of behemoth structures of power such as the church, school, medical system, or interstate freeway suggest that these models of modern progress are worth keeping around even if they are under the management of more enlightened folks. Illich thus does offer an alternative society in his work that is not just built around a blind faith in people, it is a faith also rooted in values that affirm human scaled, autonomous, and convivial forms of life that are in balance with each other and the larger regional ecology of which they are a part. Herein lies perhaps Illich's greatest teaching that a selective understanding of Illich such as Madar's leaves out: the basis to any convivial society should be one that recognizes limits to growth *and* celebrates the regenerative power of the commons to derive forms of culture in which people are less dependant and servile to big systems and their tools of domination.

The current issue of the IJIS comprises a snapshot of that which might comprise such an alternative society. In the range of articles from this issue that take up different aspects of Illich's work and legacy, we have a more accurate picture of what Illich's critique of modern society really entailed. From the desertification of Canadian fisheries, to autonomous feminist political movements in Southern Mexico, to Illich's own falling out with the Vatican, a revision of school curriculum as a site for ecological re-establishing ecological balance and sanity, and a powerful play on the shadow of institutional life, I am proud to offer this issue as a truer measure of the work of Illich and the vision it puts forth. As Illich never offered a pre-designed plan to alternative models of social life to the modern industrial one, these articles offer a multitude of points of departure for thinking about that other aspect of Illich's work that was always searching for spaces of renewal.

Clayton Pierce  
University of Utah  
Editor  
September 8, 2010



## Ivan Illich and the Conflict with Vatican (1966-1969)<sup>1</sup>

Jon Igelmo Zaldivar  
Patricia Quiroga Uceda

### Antecedents (1960-1966)

By the end of 1960 Ivan Illich founded two centres with a close group of colleagues: CIC (*Centro de Investigaciones Culturales*) in Cuernavaca, México, and CENFI (*Centro de Formação Intercultural*) in Anápolis<sup>2</sup>, Brazil. Both centres were economically coordinated by the CIF (Center of Intercultural Formation), located in Fordham University, New York.<sup>3</sup> The activity in these two centres which opened at the same time were focused on training religious and secular missionary groups, mainly from United States and Canada, who were responding to John XXIII Pope's call for Latin America modernization. Officially at the beginning the aim of the centres was to train groups of volunteers in the culture and language of their next assignment.<sup>4</sup> However something very different was being offered. Instead of teaching words of a new language they learned to be quiet<sup>5</sup>; and instead of basic notions about Latin American culture they dissuaded missionaries from achieving their goal.<sup>6</sup>

In April 1963, at the same facility where CIC was located, a new project began under the direction of Valentina Borremans and academic leadership of Ivan Illich: CIDOC (*Centro Intercultural de Documentación*)<sup>7</sup>. It was founded as a civil association independent of the Catholic Church and since its beginning, CIDOC eclipsed the activity of the previous

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<sup>1</sup> In the development of this article we have mostly used documents published by the CIDOC between 1963 and 1976 but we also worked with our own reports of the Cuernavaca centre. Some of these documents were not published but today they can be consulted in Daniel Cosío Villegas Library at Colegio de México (Mexico City). When we refer to these documents we will point out the corresponding label of the mentioned library.

<sup>2</sup> In 1962, CENFI moved to Petrópolis, Brazil.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia del CIF 1960-1965*. Corresponding label: 370.196 C397d Daniel Cosío Villegas Library at Colegio de México.

<sup>4</sup> Esperanza Godot, in *Centre of Intercultural Formation: First Five Years* («CIDOC Cuaderno» nº 1. Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1966: 5) mentions among the aims of the project: "Latin America counts on an increasing number of person who are animated by a common spirit: a commitment to humanist values. These persons are found both inside and out of public life. They are in all of the professions, churches, labour unions and international agencies. They are hard to identify, except, by their thought processes. They fit into no one ideological patterns. However, they all share one difficulty: the impossibility of communicating, on the basis of their common concern, with members of their own professional or work group. These men are deeply orientated toward a humanist interpretation of development programs, are better able to communicate with each other than with colleagues of their respective profession.

CIDOC fosters meetings among such men. Within the context of their unified commitment and interest, the Center stimulates the exchange of ideas which their different points of view bring to bear on a concrete problem, and assist the coordination and strengthening of the humanist current in Latin America. In our estimation, the latter is one of the most important factors in socio-economic change. To accomplish this work, certain conditions had to be met: the kind of the flexibility which is most possible for a university and continual contact with friends, collaborators and alumni throughout Latin America. However we are aware of the necessity of increasing our personnel and perfecting the methodology of our various research programs, while at the same time giving greater purposeful leisure to our staff".

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Illich, "La elocuencia del silencio", in *Alternativas, Iván Illich Obras Reunidas Vol. I* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 180-185.

<sup>6</sup> Javier Sicilia "Prefacio" in *Ivan Illich Obras Reunidas Vol. II*. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Requets for Founds CIDOC* Corresponding label: 370.196 C397d Daniel Cosío Villegas Library at Colegio de México.

centres.<sup>8</sup> When the center moved from Chulavista Hotel to Rancho Tetela in 1966, CIDOC housed one of the most complete libraries of America in pastoral studies and about 57 magazines and 230 comments were received. Also held at the library were a significant number of conferences and seminars related to ideological, political, social and educational challenges taking place in Latin America. The center had the necessary infrastructure to edit by hand six publications: «CIDOC Informa», «CIDOC Dossier», «CIDOC Cuaderno», «CIDOC Fuentes», «CIDOC Documenta» y «CIDOC Sondeos».<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, from 1966 to 1969, Illich became involved in conflict with the Vatican authorities which risked not only his work in Mexico, but also the feasibility of CIDOC project. This early tension with the Catholic Church was a defining moment in Illich's biography and marked the turn in his work to a critique of modern institutions. During these three years, the center and some people who participated in its activities, especially Ivan Illich, suffered from constant harassment planned and organized by the most conservative sectors of the Catholic Church. The academic activities organized in Cuernavaca combined with the controversial publications that were being produced at that time, caught the attention of the upper echelons of the Church, especially in Mexico, that precipitated the closure of the center. Ultimately this conflict, also tested many of the principles discussed in the Second Vatican Council that had just been closed a year ago, in 1965.

In late 1969, under the direction of Tarsticio Ocampo, CIDOC published number 37 in «CIDOC Dossier» *México "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-69*. In this work were presented a remarkable number of documents--letters, tickers, articles, press reports, and internal reports of the CIDOC, ... - which had been stored in the basement of the center that documented the accusations against the center of Cuernavaca and Ivan Illich himself by the authorities of Catholic Church in Latin America and the Vatican. The agency Burrell's Press Clipping participated along with staff from the center of Cuernavaca in preparing this excellent work which was divided into three sections. The first dealt with the history between August and June 1968, the second regarding the questionnaire given to Illich in 1968 by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, and the third focused on what happened between June and July 1969. This issue of «CIDOC Dossier» also offered an extensive documentary index of periodicals used in the preparation of this report.

### **The beginning of the conflict (July 1966- September 1967)**

Two events that occurred in the summer of 1966 and early months of 1967 marked the

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<sup>8</sup> The independence and economic feasibility of CIDOC respect to CIC, CENFI and CIF, became evident with the rental agreement of the Rancho Tetela signed by Ivan Illich in 1967 until 1971 in Mexico. Illich made reference to the signed agreement in the letters that he sent to the archbishop of New York, Joseph Spellman in 1967 (*México "Entredicho" del Vaticano a CIDOC*. «CIDOC Dossier» n° 37, Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación. 1969: 4/38).

<sup>9</sup> In the summary of *Catálogo de Publicaciones 1973* («CIDOC Cuaderno» n° 1018, Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1973: 0/6) a good synthesis of CIDOC activities appears: "CIDOC is an independent Mexican educational membership corporation registered according to the laws of the State of Morelos in 1963. The main offices are located in the Casa Blanca in Rancho Tetela, overlooking Cuernavaca, one hour South of Mexico City.

CIDOC is not a university, but a meeting place for humanists whose common concern is the effect of social and ideological change on the minds and hearts of men. It is a setting for understanding the implications of social revolution, not an instrument for promoting particular theories of social action. It is an environment for learning, not a headquarters for activities planning. The main context of CIDOC is contemporary Latin America.

CIDOC Library and Archives comprise a documentation center for a unique set of materials on Latin America, including manuscripts and documents not readily available in North America. Through the Institute for Contemporary Latin American Studies CIDOC offers its associates a framework for independent, creative learning and the opportunity for leisurely research and non-structured colloquy."

beginning of hostilities between Mexican Vatican authorities and Ivan Illich and the CIDOC. First a course for catechists was held in Mexico with participation from members of CIDOC in July 1966. This particular course led to a series of angry complaints from a group of participants who were directed to the Delegate of the Holy See in Mexico, Guido Del Mestri.<sup>10</sup> The reaction was that the delegate of the Holy See in Mexico commissioned a report to the director of the Archdiocesan Catechetical Office, Monsignor Francisco Aguilera. The purpose of this report was to confirm the assumption that the activities of the CIDOC was promoting a religious community whose intellectual performance was endangering the unity of the Church.<sup>11</sup> And this was happening precisely at the time when the Catholic institution had just closed one of the toughest reform processes in recent centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Second, in January and June 1967 two documents were published by the CIDOC that were also signed by Illich that caused problems among the most conservative groups of the Church. In the January issue of *America* magazine, edited by the Jesuits from New York, appeared an article signed by Illich that was particularly controversial: *The Seamy Side of Charity*.<sup>13</sup> In the text, Illich presented an assessment of the impact of Vatican's Plan to modernize the Church in Latin America. According to figures Illich realised himself that the failure was clear: by 1966, instead of 10% which was requested in 1960, only 0.7% of American and Canadian clergy had shifted southward. It had been estimated also that by 1970 about 225,000 American priests, including brothers and sisters, have been sent south of the border. In the last five years, the American clergy had contributed just 1,622 people throughout Latin America. Illich stated in the text that perhaps it was necessary to think whether it was time to end this modernization effort. Illich put three issues on the table: Why we do not stop, even once, to consider the down side of charity? Why don't we think about the inevitable charges that foreign assistance imposes on the Latin American Church? Why don't we test the bitterness of the damage caused by our sacrifices?

The second of the controversial texts was published in *The Critic* of Chicago in June 1967 and assumed the title of *The Vanishing Clergyman*. In this article, Illich not only addressed very controversial issues for the Church, as well the privileges of the clergy, ordination of deacons, the secularization of the priesthood or the question of celibacy, but also came to describe the Church as an institution that worked like General Motors and that had converted into the largest non-governmental administration in the world.<sup>14</sup>

Accordingly, in September 1967, upper echelons of the Catholic Church launched a campaign to oust Illich in Mexico. The first action was organized by the CELAM (*Conferencia Episcopal Lationamericana*) in response to protests that some Mexican bishops had expressed in relation to the activities organized from Cuernavaca. The decision was to send an oversight committee to CIDOC. The testimony of this action was documented and prepared by Lucio Gera,<sup>15</sup> who along with Bishop Candido Padin visited the center of

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<sup>10</sup> The document dated August 20, 1966 can be found in *México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969* («CIDOC Dossier» n° 37, Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969: 4/2-4/27).

<sup>11</sup> Among the most controversial expressions that arose in the course, according to the report submitted by Francisco Aguilera (Ibid, 4/2-4/28), mentioned the derivatives of the shares Ceslaus Hoinaki, Victor Nazario, Clyde Bayeux and Ivan Illich.

<sup>12</sup> In the last pages of reports on Archbishop Aguilera (Ibid: p. 4 / 27), it is expressed as follows: "I am sure that you keep in mind that (the shares of IPC members of Cuernavaca in the course of catechists) [...] threaten Unity of the Church at this time".

<sup>13</sup> Ivan Illich "The Seamy Side of Charity", *CIDOC Informa enero-junio de 1968*. («CIDOC Cuaderno» n° 20. Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación. 1968) 68/60a.

<sup>14</sup> Ivan Illich "The Vanishing Clergyman" *CIDOC Informa junio-diciembre 1967*. («CIDOC Cuaderno» n° 10 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación. 1968) 67/2.

<sup>15</sup> Lucio Gera, in *México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969* («CIDOC Dossier» n° 33. Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación 1969) 4/29-4/35.

Cuernavaca from 21 to 24 September 1967.

At this meeting, members of CIDOC, made special mention of the fact that the documentation center since its foundation was separated from the CIC in Cuernavaca, CIF of New York and CENFI of Brazil. It was stressed that the CIDOC was not an ecclesiastical institution, not dependent on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, since it was established as an Mexican civil association. Valentina Borremans, as director, gave a detailed report that left all these aspects clear and which also detailed the activities that took place in the center.<sup>16</sup>

Another issue of concern to the commission of CELAM, apparently, was connected to the liturgical practices that were taking place at the CIDOC. In this regard, members of the executive committee of the center explained that from March 1966 CIDOC had moved to Rancho Tetela, so no liturgical functions were organized with students. It was recognized that Chulavista Hotel facilities were implemented some liturgical renewal experiences irregular, but it was stated that the new site had just a small chapel where only private liturgical functions were organized with the permission of the Bishop of Cuernavaca, Méndez Arceo. It was clarified also that for some time Illich did not want any responsibility in the organization of these functions.

Finally, Lucio Gera and Candido Padin worked to assuage the critical issues Ivan Illich had risen concerning the Catholic institution in his articles. As part of CELAM, Gera and Padin stated that many of the published texts were offensive, as for those interested in such matters. Hence, a more scientific and serene tone as well as advertising that was less sensational was requested for future publications. While Illich defended the tone of his work arguing the need to inform public opinion on some issues that were considered urgent, however, he also explained to CELAM delegates his willingness to be faithful to the Church.

In any case, although the visit was pleasing to both sides, it was in the aspects referred to in Illich's articles where CELAM informants and members of the CIDOC found some discrepancies. Yet in the final report written by Lucio Gera it specifically mentioned the recommendation to the Roman Church hierarchy to take no action against the CIDOC or the person of Ivan Illich. In his opinion, such measures would be rushed, so it was recommended time to open further dialogue and contact between the CIDOC and the Catholic Church.<sup>17</sup>

While ignoring the report of the CELAM commission, a new offensive was organized by a Mexican bishop which intended to withdraw Illich from Mexico and return of the awkward priest to the New York Diocese, where he was formally registered. The strategy devised was clear: get Illich outside Mexico to close the center of Cuernavaca.

### **The conflict strained (October 1967 - June 1968)**

Mindful of these movements, Illich himself got in touch with the Cardinal of the Archdiocese of New York, his friend Francis Joseph Spellman.<sup>18</sup> In a letter to him and dated 12 October 1967, Illich warned his superior that in the near future he was likely to receive a flood of applications to execute the immediate withdrawal of his performance in Cuernavaca. Illich believed that such an action would break the contract he had signed for the next five years, following the relocation of the CIDOC to the new facilities. Abandoning the project at that time meant leaving unprotected a large number of people. In this letter, Illich expressed to Spellman that his conscience was preventing him from considering the breach of such a contract he had entered into with the center of Cuernavaca.

<sup>16</sup> Valentina Borremans, in *México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969* («CIDOC Dossier» n° 33. Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación 1969) 4/35-4/37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/34

<sup>18</sup> In «CIDOC dossier» n° 37 titled *México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969* (*Ibid.*) are reflected the letters that exchanged Ivan Illich, Joseph Spellman and the Mexican Episcopal Conference in October 1966.

On October 31, events precipitated that brought tensions to a head. The Mexican Bishops Conference of the Archdiocese of New York sent a letter requesting the immediate return of Illich to United States. However, it appeared that Illich, thanks to the deep friendship that bound him to Cuernavaca's Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo and New Yorker Archbishop Francis Joseph Spellman were able to circumvent this new action orchestrated by a sector of the Mexican episcopate, which threatened to end the activities of CIDOC. Both Arceo and Spellman, had come together in defense of Illich hindering the application driven by more conservative bishops in Mexico to get out of Cuernavaca. Although this first act of defense was weakened by an event that marked the evolution of later events: on December 2<sup>nd</sup> of that year, just a few weeks had elapsed from the attempted protection of Illich against the request of the Conference Mexican Bishops, Joseph Spellman died at the age of 78 years in New York.

A key form of support disappeared that day, not just in the defense that Illich had launched against the allegations from the Church that scrutinized his work, but also a friend who was instrumental in his reunion with the Church that had taken place during his stay in New York in the 50's. In fact, ten days after the death of Spellman, Illich sent a strongly worded letter to Pope Paul VI.<sup>19</sup>

In the letter to the Holy Father on 12 December 1967, Illich asked that the honour he had enjoyed in recent years within the Catholic institution be removed. Ten years previously, in August 1957, Cardinal Spellman had awarded him the honor and distinction of being named Bartender Secret of His Holiness for his service in the Archdiocese of New York. In his view, that honor and privilege to be granted within the Church had become an obstacle in the development of their academic functions.<sup>20</sup>

In this context of tension, the campaign orchestrated against Illich and the center of Cuernavaca was taken a step further. Although the Mexican Bishops Conference relented in its efforts to pressure the Archdiocese of New York to carry out the withdrawal of Illich in Mexico and to close CIDOC, the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith took up the matter. Thus, on December 19, 1967, the newly appointed administrator of the Archdiocese of New York, John J. McGuire, wrote a letter to Illich informing him of the receipt of a directive from the Vatican collegial body to return as soon as possible to his American archdiocese.<sup>21</sup> The Vatican warned in their decree that their removal from Mexico needed to be abided by January 12, 1968 and that disobedience to such an order would lead to canonical sanctions.<sup>22</sup>

While this letter did not come to Cuernavaca until January 16<sup>th</sup>, the ultimatum imposed by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for Illich's return to New York had passed by four days. On receiving the news Illich called for an urgent meeting with the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, which was held on the 17<sup>th</sup> of that month. During his encounter with Guido del Mestri, Illich reaffirmed his stance of not abandoning the project of the CIDOC and drew upon the same arguments he had already expressed in writing to Spellman some weeks ago. The decision made by Illich to defy the church however meant accepting any suggestion by the Holy See regarding his status in the church. In addition, Illich added his willingness to declare his total submission to the Church's teaching on those

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<sup>19</sup> As David Cayley points out in *The Rivers North of The Future. The Testament of Ivan Illich* (Canada: Anansi, 2004: 2), in the 50's: "Illich was apt in every way for a career as a prince of the Church. He came from an aristocratic family with old connection to the Roman Church, and he was charismatic, intellectually brilliant, and devout. Amongst those who pressed him to remain in Rome were Giovanni Montini, who later became Pope Paul VI."

<sup>20</sup> *México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969* («CIDOC dossier» n° 37 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969) 4/40.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 4/43.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 4/43.

subjects that had appeared in articles in which the Catholic institution could find some assertions considered erroneous related to faith.<sup>23</sup>

Five days after that meeting with Guido del Mestri, Illich again contacted the Apostolic Delegate to deliver a letter addressed to Pope Paul VI. In this new letter appeared, first, a brief account of what happened. Later Illich showed his indignation toward receiving the order to return to New York without the constancy of any previous warning or canonic reprimand. It was then that he made two requests. On the one hand he requested to be notified about what his errors were, in order to make the necessary clarifications or even to withdraw. On the other hand he accepted that if need be, he may be relieved of his duties and clerical privileges, but not the obligation of celibacy, or the recitation of the Holy Divine Office.<sup>24</sup> That same day also from Cuernavaca, Illich sent a telegram to John McGuire setting a new reason why his trip to New York had to be postponed: "Relapse Asiatic flue must postpone trip".<sup>25</sup>

### **The questioning in Rome (June 1968)**

In February 1968 a new report was prepared in the Vatican concerning Illich that was to be studied by the Cardinals of the Holy Office. The unanimous decision to call Illich for a submission process was adopted on February 28<sup>th</sup> in Rome. This decision was approved by the Pope on the first day of March. Monsignor Casoria, consultor of the Congregation, was named Trial Judge of the Pope, and Monsignor Magistris and Celso Alcaina were proposed as helpers in the process.

A month later, Illich, aware that his and the CIDOC's future was being decided thousands of miles away, once again made contact with the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico to inform him that from March 25<sup>th</sup> he suspended the holding of public Mass, the publication of articles on theological conferences in the same subject, and sermons in retirement;<sup>26</sup> although he did not stop his academic work. In April 1968 he published some pamphlets on topics relating to new research: "The futility of schooling in Latin America" appeared on 20 April 1968 in *Saturday Review*<sup>27</sup> and "Latin America in Revolution violence" on April 27<sup>th</sup> in *America* magazine.<sup>28</sup>

But the process went on and on June 10<sup>th</sup> Guido del Mestri wrote Illich to inform him that the order of the prefect by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal Seper, should be submitted promptly to the Holy Ministry. The deadline to make an appearance in Rome and to be questioned was set for June 25<sup>th</sup>. The letter was also accompanied by a paragraph in which the Apostolic Delegate left on record the last complaint that had been filed in his office in Mexico against Illich and on which he would also have to give the necessary explanations to the Supreme Court. In his words, he was puzzled about what the Bishop of Zacatecas related about Illich, accusing him being initiated into the practices of Candomble and Brazilian witchcraft.<sup>29</sup> However, this accusation was until now the only charge that was explicitly communicated to Illich as a matter of possible discussion before the Holy Office. It was evidence of the way in which the process was being carried out more

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 4/61-62.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 4/63-64.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 4/65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 4/103.

<sup>27</sup> Ivan Illich "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America" *CIDOC Informa enero-junio 1967*. («CIDOC Cuaderno» n° 20, Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación. 1968) 68/66.

<sup>28</sup> Ivan Illich "Latin America in Revolution violence" *CIDOC Informa enero-junio 1968*. («CIDOC Cuaderno» n° 20 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación. 1968) 68/67.

<sup>29</sup> México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969 («CIDOC dossier» n° 37 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969) 4/93.

than anything.

On June 17, 1968, Illich went to Rome. He went to be subjected to an interrogation at the building of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith at the Vatican, located just to the left of the Cathedral of St. Peter.<sup>30</sup> He was sent to an underground room protected by a pair of double doors, one was made of leather and lined with soundproofing. The room was decorated with red plush chairs and two sets of curtains that remained subject to the shutter of a window. In front of a long couch there was a pink marble table, and on the table a green pen.

After five minutes of waiting, Cardinal Seper appeared in the room and greeted Illich first kissing his ring and then shaking his hand. They exchanged a few words in Italian and Seper began suddenly to speak in Croatian language, which Illich had learned in his childhood. The conversation was lengthened about 25 minutes and when finished, Illich was invited by Archbishop De Magistris to leave the hall. Illich followed him. They went downstairs and continued through three lavishly decorated rooms. Then they came into a new room. In the center of this chamber there was a sturdy wooden table with a black crucifix and a superimposed white Christ. Sitting at the table wearing a black cassock was Monsignor Casoria, and in front of him there was a stack of folders, many of which contained newspaper clippings. Illich came to greet him and the first words were:

- I am Illich-.
- Yes, I know-. Casoria answered.
- Monsignor, ¿who are you?-. Illich asked.
- Your Judge-.
- I know. I want to know your name-.
- That is not important. My name is Casoria-.

Then Illich, Casoria and De Magistris, crossed themselves as a sign that the process had begun. Illich put his hand on his chest and swore to tell the truth. Then, when he was asked to keep secret, he expressed his unwillingness to disclose or to respond without having in his hand a copy of the charges that had been formulated against him. The discussion on this issue lasted about 45 minutes, during which De Magistris left the room to talk with Seper. Finally, with the permission of Seper, Illich was given the written examination, with the promise that the defendant should give an immediate response. Then Casoria informed Illich that the conversation would be taken up within two hours after he had read the document.

Illich went to study the interrogation documents at Caprona College in Rome, where he had located his residence. The text that Illich received from Monsignor Casoria was not the same that was used at the hearing when the interrogation began. Apparently Casoria had deleted some pages at the last minute.<sup>31</sup> However, the version that finally reached the hands of Illich was all a sample of the tone in which it was intended to judge his performance since arriving at Cuernavaca in 1960.

The questioning began by requesting information in relation to activities that Illich had been developing at the centres which had successively opened in Cuernavaca. Then he was demanded to clarify and give details about the relationship he had with different people. Among the names that appeared were persons who were or had been linked to the Catholic institution, for example, Cardinal Spellman, Cardinal Garibi, Cardinal Cushing, Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo, Gregorio Lemercier, Martin Amaya, Sebastian Bolo Hidalgo and Cameron Torres. In addition, information was requested on the special relationship he had

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<sup>30</sup> Illich would tell his version of the interview months later to the journalist Edward Fiske. On February 4th 1969 it was published in the New York Times (Ibid. 4/173-4/175).

<sup>31</sup> This is what Ivan Illich said to Cardinal Seper in the letter he wrote on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1968 (Ibid. 4/102).

with Mexican academic celebrities such as Alfredo Cepeda, Horacio Flores de la Pena, Víctor Flores Olea, Carlos Fuentes, Pablo González Casanova, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Mario Menéndez Rodríguez, Octavio Paz and Luis Suárez. Included were also questions which sought to clarify the links between Illich and social activists such as Francisco Juliao or guerrillas such as "Che" Guevara.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, after examining in detail the document of the interrogation, Illich sent a message to Bishop Casoria pointing out that he needed more time to respond.

That night Illich dined with Celso Alcaina in the Carlotta restaurant, perhaps looking for some last minute support that could help him with the cascade of accusations that hours earlier he had received from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. In Alcaina's version<sup>33</sup>, Illich said that if they continue pursuing him, he would publish the text of the interview that Cardinal Seper had provided him. The publication of the document would be Illich's ultimate weapon for his defence.

The next day, June 18<sup>th</sup>, Illich came again at the Palace of the Inquisition at the Vatican.<sup>34</sup> He refused to be with Bishop Casoria and requested an interview with Cardinal Seper. He handed him a letter which explained point by point what would be his own way forward for the future. To begin, in the letter sent to Cardinal Seper, Illich stated his systematic opposition to the whole process. His intention was to focus his defence in those parts which were separated from the principles of the Church, the Gospel, to the provisions of the Councils or even renewed assertions of the supreme bodies of the Catholic institution. Accordingly, he took the decision to abandon his defense without exposing even more reasonable or legitimate reservation. Illich also reaffirmed what he had explained to the pope in a letter dated January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1968. He was willing to do all the necessary clarifications and retractions, but only when tested with authentic writings and hard evidence, not third-hand information, which was separated from faith and morality, or that his conduct could have caused scandal to others.<sup>35</sup>

Also in the letter handed to the prefect Seper, Illich made a set of clarifications grouped into six points. First, he made mention of having been subjected to a process without knowing the system upon which he was being accused, tried and eventually examined. He felt, based on this point, that his basic right to defend himself was not satisfied before being tried. Second, he rejected the oath that he was required to keep secret. Illich believed that such an oath would be against the natural right to defend himself, against the divine law of truth in the Church and against the same positive law of the Catholic institution. In the third point, he justified the fact that he had requested a written copy of the questioning, and particularly of the charges alleged against him. Illich would take this copy with him to Cuernavaca.

In the fourth point, Illich described the questionnaire as excessive. It was formed by 86 questions that Illich considered as "embracing the universe". Fifthly, it was mentioned that the text ultimately delivered to him did not correspond to the one that had been used in the hearing that began the questioning, because some pages had been clearly removed and torn.

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<sup>32</sup> The interrogation was published in Mexican newspaper Excelsior on 3 February (Ibid. 4/84-4/90).

<sup>33</sup> Celso Alcaina, "El affaire Monseñor Illich". Retrieved January 2009 from <http://2006.atrío.org/?p=984>.

<sup>34</sup> David Cayley in *The Rivers North of The Future. The Testament of Ivan Illich* (Canada: Anansi, 2004: 9) relates what happened that June 18, 1968: "The questions, as Illich said later, were of the 'When did you stop beating your wife? variety; to have answered at all would have required him to accept numerous unacceptable premises. 'What would you answer,' he was asked, 'to those who say that you are petulant, adventurous, imprudent, fanatical... hypnotizing, [and] a rebel to authority...?' [...] That evening Illich wrote to Cardinal Seper that he would not answer the question. He preferred, he said, to remain silent, taking as his motto 'If a man asks you to lend him your coat, then give him your shirt as well'".

<sup>35</sup> México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969 («CIDOC dossier» n° 37 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969) 4/100.



Finally, Illich showed his indignation over the fact that many of the questions were referred to others: priests, laities, and even bishops. He remarked also that it did not belong to him, as researcher, to provide or to make news judgments about others, because he considered the inquisitorial body's work to obtain the necessary information in other ways more orthodox.<sup>36</sup>

Then Illich, in the same document given to Seper, announced four decisions. First, he declared that he could not accept the inquisitorial principles that were being proposed to him, because those did not correspond to the principles of order of the Church. Secondly, in relation to many of the questions that were in the questionnaire, Illich referred to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith the dossier prepared by the CELAM commission in September 1967 for the CIDOC. He believed that on that occasion he had been subjected to an examination of his doctrinal positions and his behaviours. Third, Illich reminded Seper that on 25 March, in a letter to Guido de Mestri, the Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, he had decided to suspend the public celebration of Holy Mass, the publication of articles in theological matters, participation in conferences in the same subject and preaching of retreats. And fourthly, he stated his intention to remain in this state during the time that there is still any doubt or reservation of the Superiors to his person, even if there were doubts or unfounded reservations.

The letter was read by Seper when the defendant was still in his presence. At that time, according to Illich's recollection long after the event, the prefect of Yugoslav origin said: "Go away and never come back". And then, Illich immediately left the room with a copy of the questioning in his hand. Happening just when descending the stairs that led him to the output, Illich realized that Seper had repeated the last words of the Dovtoyeski story about the Grand Inquisitor in the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*.<sup>37</sup>

### **The publication of the interrogation (February 1969)**

Illich returned from the Vatican on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1968. On reaching Mexico, he informed the apostolic delegate, Guido del Mestri, and the bishop of Cuernavaca, Sergio Méndez Arceo, of what had happened in Rome. He told them the set of decisions he had been forced to take and how he had given to Cardinal Seper's a letter with his reasons. A few days later, in July 1968, Illich wrote to the newly appointed archbishop of New York, Terence J. Cook, and to CELAM representatives who visited CIDOC in 1967.

In September, Illich received permission from the archbishop of New York to live as a lay for a year. Immediately this information was communicated to Sergio Méndez Arceo.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile Illich continued his academic dedication, although the theme of his work did not explicitly address issues concerning the Catholic institution. It happened that following the conflict with the Vatican, he began his most famous studies in relation to modern institutions such as schools, *Deschooling Society* (1971), transport, *Energy and Equity* (1973), and hospitals, *Medical Nemesis* (1973).

By January 1969 the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith sent a letter to the bishop of Cuernavaca where they announced the ban on clergy and the religious<sup>39</sup> to attend and participate in the activities of CIDOC. The reasons for objecting were the complaints made to the Holy See on the effects caused by the center and its participants. It made reference to the civil status, which made the Catholic hierarchy have no control over their

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 4/101-4/102.

<sup>37</sup> This story is picked up by Javier Sicilia in the "Preface" of the *Ivan Illich Obras Reunidas Vol. II* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008: 20).

<sup>38</sup> México, "entredicho" del Vaticano al CIDOC 1966-1969 («CIDOC dossier» n° 37 Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969) 4/120.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 4/136-137.

performance. It also spread a rumor in the international media that the CIDOC had made the decision to not admit persons of Catholic religion into its activities. In response to these two circumstances, Carmen Pérez Bello, who had just been named chair of CIDOC and for years was Illich's personal secretary, wrote a new report to partners and participants from the center. The report contradicted the rumors and again emphasized the character of CIDOC and its position in relation to the recent aggression from the Vatican.<sup>40</sup>

By knowing the recent aggression of the Roman Curia against CIDOC, Illich made public the text of the Interrogation of the Holy Office and his letters to the Pope and Cardinal Seper. The texts were published in two articles in the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* and *The New York Times* on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1969. The publication of documents disarmed the Roman Curia and got the desired effect: to stop bothering indefinitely Illich and the center of Cuernavaca.

At that time, other media also echoed the documents published by Illich and charged against the Church and the remnants of the medieval Inquisition who remained in the institution. In 1969 a book entitled *La Reforma del Sant'Uffizio e il caso Illich*<sup>41</sup> written by journalists Giancarlo Zizona and Alberto Barbero was published. Faced with this scandal, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith not only ceased to disturb Illich, but also it began to develop the first regulation for the examination of doctrines in the ancient history of the Church. The text was titled: *Nova agendi Ratio in Doctrinarum consideration.*

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 136-4/141.

<sup>41</sup> Giancarlo Zizola and Alberto Barbero, *La Reforma del Sant'Uffizio e il caso Illich* (Torino: P. Gribaudo, 1969).

## **The Challenge Facing Educational Reformers: Making the Transition from Individual to Ecological Intelligence in an Era of Global Warming**

C. A. (Chet) Bowers

A major problem today is undoubtedly that most of us have been educated in western style educational institutions and thus have been socialized to think and communicate in the metaphorical language framed by analogs settled upon by earlier western thinkers who were unaware of environmental limits. The combination of hubris and a deeply held prejudice toward indigenous cultures that had already developed ecological intelligence that enabled many of them to live within the limits and possibilities of their bioregion led western thinkers to take a different path into the future. As we can now recognize, this path has led to environmentally destructive technologies and the hyper-consumer dependent lifestyle that is now being globalized. Whether we have the time to develop a life-sustaining ecological intelligence will depend upon the length of time we have before the rate and scale of environmental changes embroil all Americans in the struggle for survival that will go beyond the current efforts to maintain a debt-dependent standard of living. It will also depend upon whether public school teachers and university professors have the will to recognize how the past continues the linguistic colonization of the present. Unfortunately, even if our educational institutions are able to socialize the next generations in how to exercise ecological intelligence in their daily lives, political power will remain in the hands of the older generations that were socialized to the industrial/capitalist mode of consciousness. Even in the face of mounting evidence that the environmental crisis is not a scare tactic of liberals, a large and powerful segment of the American population still place profits and the exploitation of the environment and other people (especially low wage workers in other cultures) above all other considerations. If we are to take Albert Einstein's warning seriously, namely that we cannot rely upon the same mind-set that created the problem to fix it, we need to begin thinking of how to exercise ecological intelligence and thus to move to a post-industrial form of consciousness. This will be an especially difficult challenge for classroom teachers and university professors who have been socialized to think in the metaphorical language that earlier thinkers succeeded in establishing as the basis of modern thought.

Before discussing some of the characteristics of ecological intelligence that will represent a special challenge for western thinkers it is necessary to identify the scale and scope of the ecological crises—especially since our technologies and economic systems are able to maintain the illusion for many people that this is still an era of plenitude and that, if there is a problem, it is that they do not have enough money to consume as much as can be produced. There are many dimensions of the ecological crises that are beginning to impact directly the lives of the middle class in many countries, and are already threatening the lives of several billions of people who are struggling to meet the basic necessities of life. These include the melting of glaciers that are the source of potable water, the spread of droughts, the changes in the chemistry of the world's oceans and the collapse of major fisheries, the disappearance of over thirty percent of the world's topsoil, the loss of forests that serve as carbon sinks, and the extinction of species. Other losses that usually do not make this kind of list include the loss of linguistic diversity and the loss of the intergenerational knowledge that sustain the diversity of the world's cultural commons. The latter two losses are especially important as they are sources of knowledge and skills that have enabled different cultures to live with a smaller carbon and toxic footprint. Today, these losses force more people to being dependent upon consumerism at a time when automation,

outsourcing and downsizing by corporations in search of greater profits make it increasingly difficult to earn the money necessary for meeting basic needs.

As the word “ecology,” especially among scientists, has become as widely used as the word “sustainability,” it is necessary to identify how it reframes the meaning of “intelligence.” Daniel Goleman’s new book, *Ecological Intelligence*, will likely popularize the phrase among the general population. But his book is unlikely to lead to the realization that ecological intelligence requires a radical shift in thinking. Goleman starts off by recognizing that ecologies are complex interacting natural systems that sustain life—including how the future of humans is dependent upon understanding how their behavior impacts the self-renewing capacity of these systems. Unfortunately, he promotes a narrow and basically misleading understanding of ecological intelligence. By reducing it to basing consumer decisions on knowing the life cycle assessment of various products (that is, the history of the production process—including the use of toxic materials) any hint that ecological intelligence will require rethinking the widely held view of intelligence as an individual attribute are overwhelmed by his association of ecological intelligence with being a more informed consumer.<sup>1</sup> One of the unfortunate consequences of his book is that many people will begin to think of ecological intelligence as a matter of obtaining information from websites such as the Berkeley based GoodGuide that alerts consumers about the ecological impacts of different products. This criticism is not to denigrate the importance of learning about the toxic consequences of different products on various natural systems, but it needs to alert us to the need for a deeper understanding of the nature of ecological intelligence—as well as the modern ways of thinking that undermine it.

The three interconnected areas we need to rethink if educational reforms are to contribute to making the transition to an ecological form of intelligence include the following. First, we need to learn to make the transition from thinking of intelligence as an attribute of the autonomous individual to understanding the characteristics of ecological intelligence, as well as how to reinforce them as part of the student’s taken-for-granted pattern of thinking. Second, there needs to be wider understanding on the part of educators of how language carries forward the misconceptions and values of earlier thinkers who were unaware of environmental limits. Third, how to revitalize the cultural commons, as well as understanding how they are being undermined, need to become part of the curricula of public schools and universities. At the university level, the focus needs to be on the various cultural forces that are transforming what remains of the world’s diversity of cultural commons into new markets. These forces include the destructive influence of western philosophers and social theorists who ignored environmental limits as well as other cultural ways of knowing. How ideologies and religions that justify cultural colonization, technologies such as computers that marginalize awareness of the importance of contexts and intergenerational knowledge of how to live less consumer dependent lives, various status systems, and the educational sources of cultural amnesia and marginalization also need to be the focus of a university education.

In the interest of brevity, I will summarize key ideas in three areas that must be addressed in thinking about educational reforms that foster ecological intelligence. My focus will be on the ecologically problematic cultural assumptions and linguistic patterns that are taken-for-granted by most classroom teachers and university professors, and not on the daunting challenge of how to get them to rethink the assumptions their academic careers are based upon.

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Goleman, *Ecological Intelligence: How Knowing the Hidden Impacts of What We Buy Can Change Everything*. (New York: Broadway Books, 2009).

### **Fostering ecological intelligence**

The ancient Greek word *oikos* referred to a wide range of cultural practices in the household and community. It was only later that Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) transformed it into the neologism “oecologie” that eventually became “ecology”—that is, the study of natural systems. We need to recover the ancient Greek understanding of learning the cultural patterns of moral reciprocity essential to community—while also retaining the more contemporary understanding of the behavior of natural systems as ecologies. Both cultural and natural ecologies involve interdependent systems, where no organism or action exists on its own. Gregory Bateson refers to the changes circulating within different ecosystems, and within and between cultural and natural systems as the “difference which makes a difference.”<sup>2</sup> These differences, or actions upon an action, can also be understood as the patterns that connect, which in turn lead to changes in other parts of the cultural and natural ecology. In short, ecological intelligence takes account of relationships, contexts as well as the impacts of ideas and behaviors on other members in the cultural and natural systems. Rachel Carson’s recognition of the connections between the use of DDT and the decline in the local population of birds is an example of patterns that connect. Many of her critics took-for-granted, that like other scientific discoveries, DDT was yet another expression of progress—which led them to ignore the impact on natural systems. The myth of progress, especially scientific-based progress, reinforced the taken-for-granted pattern of thinking that, in turn, led to ignoring the difference (introduction of a toxic pesticide) that makes a difference (the dying off of birds).

Ecological intelligence is what many indigenous cultures rely upon in order to adapt their cultural practices to the cycles of renewal in their bioregions. For example, the Quechua of the Peruvian Andes express ecological intelligence in their ability to observe what the changes in their environment are communicating about when and where they should plant their fields. Their ceremonies both re-enact the patterns of human/nature interdependence as well as give thanks for how nature nurtures them. Ecologically-oriented scientists are now exercising a limited form of ecological intelligence as they study the energy flows and cycles of renewal. Social scientists also rely upon a limited form of ecological intelligence when they study the patterns that connect, such as how the patterns of discrimination and class differences impact the lives of people. Ecological intelligence takes into account the interacting patterns, ranging from how behaviors ripple through the field of social relationships in ways that introduce changes that are ignored by non-ecological thinking, to how an individual’s actions introduce changes in the energy flows and alter the patterns of interdependence within natural systems. When we pay attention to contexts, interactions, and the consequences that follow from these actions, we are also exercising ecological intelligence. Ecological intelligence is not something we have to create anew as it goes back to the form of intelligence exercised in hunter-gather cultures. They had their mythopoetic narratives, but their survival depended upon careful observation of the cycles and patterns in the environment—as well as the intergenerational knowledge they continually tested and refined.

Unfortunately, western philosophers from Plato to the present have largely denigrated this form of intelligence by representing rational, abstract and thus decontextualized thinking as having higher status.<sup>3</sup> Over the centuries, ecological intelligence has been further undermined as

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<sup>2</sup> Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 315.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Bowers, “Philosophy, Language, and the Titanic Mindset,” *Language and Ecology*, 2, no. 1 (2008): 1-16. Available at [www.ecoling.net/journal.html](http://www.ecoling.net/journal.html).

the idea of the autonomous individual became accepted as the basis of our political and social justice system—and now the source of ideas and values. The introduction of perspective by artists in the early 15th century helped to strengthen the cultural myth that privileged the individual as a separate onlooker on an external world, just as Rene Descartes further strengthened the myth of intelligence as separate from the cultural and natural ecologies that individuals interact with in ways that are too often ignored. Today, the myth of the autonomous individual is being reinforced by educators who urge students to construct their own ideas, and who promote computer-mediated learning on the grounds that it enables students to decide what they want to learn and value. Cell phones as well as many other cultural forces further undermine awareness of contexts, relationships, interdependencies, and the consequences of human behaviors that ripple through both cultural and environmental ecologies. Such taken-for-granted linguistic conventions as using the phrases “I think,” “I want,” and “what do you think?” continually reinforce the myth of not being part of the interdependent cultural and natural ecosystems, but rather being a separate observer, thinker, and actor. What are the implications for educational reformers? The first would be to become more aware of how the taken-for-granted cultural assumptions influence whether intelligence is interpreted as the attribute of an autonomous individual. Special attention needs to be given to how the student may represent her/himself as being an autonomous observer, and source of originality and intentionality. As noted above, this assumption as well as many of today’s other taken-for-granted cultural assumptions gave conceptual direction and moral legitimacy to the industrial/consumer culture that is now entering its digital phase of globalization. Other assumptions include the idea that change is an inherently progressive force, that this is a human-centered universe, that mechanism provides the best explanatory framework for understanding organic processes, that language is a conduit in a sender/receiver process of communication, that traditions limit the individual’s freedom and self-discovery, that (still for some) patriarchy was part of the original creative process, and that free markets have the same standing as the law of gravity.

A second suggestion would be for participants in a learning situation to reinforce each other in giving greater attention to the cultural and environmental patterns that connect, to the consequences that follow from different behaviors, and whether these consequences have an empowering or detrimental effect on others—in both the cultural and natural systems. The subjectively-centered self is such a prominent tradition in mainstream western culture, even among artists and people searching for a deeper sense of meaning and purpose, that it needs to be discussed and, if possible, reframed in ways that take account of how an action affects the actions of others, including the natural systems, in ways that influence their development. A key to making the transition to ecological intelligence is recognizing that there are no isolated events, facts, actions—everything, as Bateson points out, is part of a larger system of information exchanges. One of the more difficult sources of resistance to obtaining this awareness is the way in which print, both in books and in computer-mediated communication and thinking, marginalizes the importance of contexts, tacit understandings, and awareness of the history of the larger network of relationships. Even when what is represented by the printed word is situated in terms of its history, the history is also an abstract construction that is unable to accurately represent the culturally mediated embodied experiences of participating in the cultural and natural ecology of an earlier time.

### **How language thinks us as we think within the possibilities made available by the language**

Just as the cultural assumptions have led to thinking that individuals are basically autonomous beings (or have the potential to become autonomous), we have a tradition of thinking of the other participants in these complex cultural and natural ecologies as being self-contained entities, such as a weed, a crime, a behavior, a value, an idea, and even the printed word. The spoken word, on the other hand, makes it easier to recognize the different dimensions of the cultural ecology in which it occurs. Context, memory, reciprocal actions, tacit understandings, and immediate consequences are accessed through all the senses, and effect understandings and actions. Given the privileged status that the printed word has in public schools and universities, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of helping students to recognize that words are not autonomous entities into which teachers/professors, authors, and computer software writers put their meanings and then convey them to others.

Our educational institutions leave most graduates with the idea that language is a neutral conduit that enables ideas, objective data, and information to be passed to others. That is, most students graduate without understanding that most words are metaphors that carry forward the meanings framed by an earlier choice of analogs. Many of these analogs were chosen by *men* who were unaware of environmental limits, and who took for granted many of the cultural assumptions of their era. Recognizing that words have a history has important implications that are seldom considered. That is, they are part of a complex linguistic ecology that can be traced back to earlier narratives and evocative experiences. Thus, the use of such words and phrases as tradition, technology, property, data, intelligence, progress, critical thinking, and so forth, carry forward the way of thinking of earlier times—as well as the silences and prejudices that were taken for granted.

Overcoming this general lack of historical perspective suggests one of the ways educational reformers can foster ecological intelligence. Students need to be encouraged to examine the history of key words in the modern vocabulary that are contributing to undermining the intergenerational knowledge of the community, to the colonization of other cultures, and that lead to behaviors that further degrade the environment. For example, they need to consider the cultural context that influenced John Locke's analogies for understanding the right of individuals to own property, the early cultural basis for thinking of technology as a neutral tool, as well as the basis for thinking of traditions as obstructing progress and rational thought.

Ecological intelligence involves escaping from the linguistic colonization of the present by the past. An especially critical example of when ecological intelligence needs to be encouraged is when professors, political elites, and demagogues in the United States refer to the economic policies of Milton Friedman, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush as conservative. These promoters of capitalism, the globalization of free markets, and undermining of Constitutional protections should be more accurately described as market-liberals. To reiterate a key point: words have a history, and the word conservative, when used as a category of political theory in the West, can be traced back to Edmund Burke who warned about the danger of basing changes on abstract (and supposedly universal) ideas, to Michael Oakeshott who explained how the rationalization of the work place de-skills the worker, to the authors of *The Federalist Papers* who justified the separation of powers, to contemporary environmental thinkers such as Aldo Leopold, Wendell Berry, and Vandana Shiva.

The word conservative carries forward many problematic interpretations of what should be conserved, such as states'-rights and prejudicial traditions. The important point, however, is

that the genealogy of political metaphors such as conservatism, liberalism, libertarianism, socialism, marxism, as well as the root metaphors that frame their respective agendas and silences, need to be examined in terms of their hidden forms of colonization. Given the threat in the United States to our civil liberties, including such long-standing traditions as habeas corpus, the viability of local markets and democratic practices, and to the self-renewing capacity of natural systems, it is important to think ecologically about how to rectify the use of our political vocabulary that may otherwise lead people to equate the political slippery slope leading to the further enclosure of the local cultural commons with modern progress and development. What Naomi Klein documents in her recent book, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* is a powerful example of how modern political metaphors hide the process of economic and cultural colonization.<sup>4</sup> Ecological intelligence avoids accepting the authority of abstract words and theories by focusing on the how the consequences of policies effect the prospects of the other participants in the larger cultural ecology—as well as on the fate of the natural systems.

### **How fostering ecological intelligence leads to revitalizing the local cultural commons**

To reiterate, the way we unknowingly accept basing relationships and values on the meaning of words that were framed by analogs selected hundreds of years ago becomes especially critical to whether we move to a post-industrial form of consciousness and community. Substituting the phrase “cultural and environmental commons” for what most people associate with the word *community* will help in making this transition. Even in its most positive use, the word community is too limited to convey the complexity of the cultural and natural ecologies that we are dependent upon. Stripped down to the simplest explanation, the cultural commons represents the intergenerational knowledge, skills, and mentoring relationships that enable members to be more self-reliant in the areas of food, healing, creative arts, craft skills, narratives, ceremonies, civil liberties, and other aspects of daily life that are less dependent upon consumerism and participation in a money economy. Basically, it encompasses what is shared in common, which may also include traditions of exploitation and prejudice.

The word commons is now being used to refer to the cyber-commons, and its history in understanding the environment as a commons can be traced back to Roman law. The intergenerational knowledge and skills now being widely shared-- ranging from how to grow, prepare, and share a meal, how to discover talents and skills in a wide range of the arts, to the local efforts to make political decisions that protect the local cultural and environmental commons from being integrated into the supposedly free-market economy--have profoundly different consequences than what is experienced in a consumer dependent lifestyle. Revitalizing the cultural commons enables people to be less dependent upon a money economy that too often exploits the most vulnerable people as well as the environment that future generations will depend upon. The intergenerational knowledge and skills that represent alternatives to the industrial mode of production and consumption also have a smaller carbon and toxic ecological footprint. Furthermore, strengthening of the local cultural commons leads to developing the skills and relationships that are the basis of mutual support. In short, these life sustaining forms of ecological intelligence will vary from culture to culture and from bioregion to bioregion. And like traditions, such as the slow food movement, that are carried forward by mentors, the cultural

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<sup>4</sup> Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2007).



and environmental commons will continue to exist along with a more selective dependence upon modern technologies. The challenge for educators, which is being made more daunting by the ideology that justifies greater reliance upon computer mediated learning, is to help students become aware of the forms of knowledge that take account of the limits and possibilities of the local bioregion, as well as patterns of mutual support that are essential to moving into the post-industrial era that we must enter if we are to avoid total ecological collapse.

The revitalization of local cultural commons across North America, and in Third World cultures that are questioning the western model of development, involve mutually supportive intergenerationally connected relationships. These relationships, if examined in terms of specific activities and skill development, are not framed in terms of fostering more “individual self-direction,” “independence,” and “ongoing questioning and revising.” These words and phrases are based on the same deep cultural assumptions that lead to the kind of individualism required by the industrial/consumer-oriented culture. As these words and phrases have a special standing in the thinking of both market and social justice liberals, it is important to clarify how metaphors that are often associated with progress in achieving fuller individual lives may actually support the forces that lead to a consumer-dependent lifestyle. In *Rebels Against the Future*, Kirkpatrick Sale notes that “it was the task of industrial society to destroy all...that ‘community’ implies—self-sufficiency, mutual aid, morality in the market place, stubborn tradition, regulation by custom, organic knowledge instead of mechanistic science....” He goes on to identify the connection that is often overlooked by educational reformers who emphasize the importance of individual emancipation: namely, that all the local cultural commons “practices that kept the individual from being a consumer had to be done away with so that the cogs and wheels of an unfettered machine called ‘the economy’ could operate without interference....”<sup>5</sup> In short, the industrial/consumer-oriented culture requires the further enclosure of the cultural commons and an educational system that hides the dynamics of how language, in carrying forward the analogs settled upon by earlier culturally specific thinkers, is part of this colonizing process.

The linguistic tradition of reproducing the conceptual errors of the past (in this case, the analogs settled upon by Enlightenment thinkers) can still be seen in how much of our thinking represents “traditions” as obstacles to progress and individual self-discovery. However, when we consider the traditions of organic gardening, of craft skills and knowledge, of the creative arts, of local decision making about how to protect civil liberties and the viability of the environmental commons, we find the traditions that we re-enact and modify in daily life are not impediments to progress. The experientially-grounded nature of ecological intelligence does not require treating progress as in opposition to traditions –and the students’ discovery of interests and development of talents as being undermined by the forms of intergenerational knowledge and skills that are the community-basis of mutual support.

If we consider most learning relationships, without succumbing to the meaning of words dictated by the ideology of various expressions of liberal/progressive thinking that have given us a mixed legacy of social justice achievements and the industrial/consumer-dependent culture, we will find that traditions, intergenerational knowledge and skills, awareness of relationships and patterns of mutual support, the use of language that takes account of context and tacit understandings, and moments of dialogue, are integral to the students’ pursuit of interests, questions, and desire to achieve at a deeper level of accomplishment. We need to continually think against the grain of today’s formulaic thinking by keeping in mind that the western

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<sup>5</sup> Kirkpatrick Sale, *Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution* (Reading, MA.: Addison-Wesley, 1995).

theorists who identified the analogs that now frame the meaning of such words as progress, individualism, freedom, emancipation, and so forth, were not aware of ecological limits. Their analogs reflected the advanced thinking of their era. Like the Roman god Janus, their vocabulary enabled us to make important gains in the area of correcting social injustices and in establishing a framework for civil liberties. Now we need to revise this vocabulary in ways that are culturally and ecologically informed. These words can then take on the meanings that reinforce the exercise of ecological intelligence, which requires becoming more ethnographically informed about the differences between the cultural patterns that strengthen traditions of community mutual support and those that adversely impact the viability of natural systems.

More in-depth discussions of how language reproduces the misconceptions of earlier thinkers and examples of an ecologically informed vocabulary, as well as in-depth treatments of ecological intelligence and the political economy of the cultural commons, are available in two online books: *Toward a Post-Industrial Consciousness*, and *Educating for Ecological Intelligence*. Both may be accessed by Googling **C. A. Bowers**, and then going to online articles and books, and then to the Eco-Justice Press.

## **Indigenous Feminism in Southern Mexico**

Soneile Hymn

### **Abstract**

Neo-liberal Globalization has pushed indigenous women more and more into contact with Western culture and feminism, and feminists are discovering how the rich and unique experience of the struggle of indigenous women can offer a more comprehensive and holistic feminist theory. Indigenous forms of feminism are an important site of struggle that explicitly recognize the vital issues of cultural identity, nationalism and decolonization. This paper explores the situations from which emerged indigenous feminism in southern Mexico and examines the ways in which indigenous women from this region struggle to draw on and navigate Western ideologies while preserving and attempting to reclaim some indigenous traditions, such as pluriculturalism and complementarity, which have been eroded with the imposition of the dominant western culture and ideology. Indigenous feminism contests the existence of a universal feminism and the existence of universal truths and rights in favor of a more inclusive discourse of equality as difference. The struggles of indigenous women hold a lesson and opportunity, not only for feminists, but for all people in the industrialized world to begin to open our eyes and make space for the plurality, not universality, of the earth and its rich cultures.

### **Introduction**

The concept of indigenous feminism has taken hold and its distinct perceptions have brought new energy, depth, and debate into the realm of feminist theory. Some contest its existence while others celebrate its strengths. Spaces for indigenous feminism have developed in response to an opening up of and shift in both indigenous gender consciousness as well as more mainstream feminist consciousness. As indigenous women have found themselves coming into contact more and more with the Western world and its feminisms through the processes of globalization, feminists are discovering and learning from the rich and unique experience of indigenous women, advocating for a more comprehensive understanding of the many spaces women occupy. In Mexico, indigenous feminism has been a force to contend with, but a force that must delicately navigate the precarious space that inhabits the intersection between an imposed globalized culture and the divergent cultures and “otherness” that constitute indigenous feminist space.

The term feminism, even without “indigenous” attached, has long been elusive to those who strive to define and reify its meaning into one unified theory. In the United States feminism has never been widely popular and rarely understood, often reduced in its meaning to something similar to what is considered “liberal feminism”: a feminism largely based on improving women’s opportunity and rights to economic, social and sexual equality in the global capitalist system. In truth, there are a plethora of feminisms, some of which question the very basis of the socio-economic system of capitalism, which is deeply embedded with colonial, racist and sexist forms of oppression. For the purpose of this essay we will look at feminism as a tool of perception and action against oppression. With all the feminisms within the many cultures and classes that exist, Joyce Green describes feminism’s central characteristic being that

...it takes gender seriously as a social organizing process and, within the context of patriarchal societies, seeks to identify the ways in which women are subordinated to men and how women can be emancipated from this subordination...Feminism is also a movement fueled by theory dedicated to action, to transformation – to praxis.<sup>1</sup>

All the different feminisms are derived from all the different unique situations that women find themselves in and their understandings of those situations. Feminism requires an acknowledgment of patriarchy and patriarchal conditions as unacceptable while being dedicated to action against these conditions.

In Mexico, indigenous women have become a strong voice in the denunciation of the economic and racial oppression that has characterized the violent insertion of indigenous communities into the national Mexican project; a project designed to adhere to the blueprint of neoliberal globalization which works to concentrate global power into the hands of Western governments and corporate CEO's under the guise of "progress". Oppression under this system has multiple effects on indigenous women in Mexico. Neoliberal globalization is the continuing legacy of colonization and, by design, assimilates and arranges cultures and people into its economic hierarchy. Within the neoliberal model of development indigenous women are many times subjugated once as indigenous, again as women and then as the poverty stricken of an "underdeveloped" country. While indigenous women are struggling to change the political and social elements that exclude and oppress them as indigenous women in their nations, they are also struggling to change the so-called "traditional" elements that exclude and oppress them within their organizations and communities.

Indigenous feminism does concur with Western and "third world" feminisms at times, but it also has its own unique flair. It is an important site of gender struggle that explicitly recognizes the vital issues of cultural identity, nationalism, and decolonization. Their struggle is based in a blend of their unique ethnic, class and gender identities<sup>2</sup>. In Mexico, indigenous women, feminists or not, are deeply involved in the political and social struggles of their communities. Simultaneously to these struggles, they have created specific spaces to reflect on their experiences of exclusion as women, as indigenous and as indigenous women.

Chiapas, Mexico, along with Guatemala and parts of the Yucatan, is home of the Mayan people<sup>3</sup>. Chiapas has become an epicenter of the renewal of the struggle for indigenous identity

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<sup>1</sup> Green, Joyce. "Feminism is For Everybody" in ed. J. Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*. (New York: Zed Books, 2007), 20

<sup>2</sup> Postcolonial feminisms take into account the multi-system oppressions that indigenous feminism wrestles with and has reacted against the universalizing tendencies in Western feminist thought on the grounds that it is ethnocentric and does not take into account the unique experiences of women from third-world countries or the existence of feminisms native to third-world countries. This debate has been a large and substantial debate in the evolution of contemporary feminism theory. Postcolonial feminism is also embedded in western feminist theory and frameworks and has been critiqued as not leaving space from which 'the indigenous' can theorize itself. For a good argument contrasting indigenous and postcolonial feminisms see Rao, Shakuntala. "What is Theory? Interpreting Spivak, Postcolonial and Indigenous Theory" *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Marriott Hotel, San Diego, CA, May 27, 2003*. 2009-05-26  
<[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p112180\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p112180_index.html)>

<sup>3</sup> The overarching term "Maya" is a convenient collective designation to include the peoples of southern Mexico and Northern Central America who share some degree of cultural and linguistic heritage; however the term embraces

and survival, which is inextricably linked to the huge surge of indigenous women's organizing in the region. The notorious Zapatista movement, a contemporary Mexican guerilla movement of mostly indigenous Maya, seethes with women, and this has been a catalyst to women's organizing around Mexico.

### **Locating Mexico's Indigenous Women**

Indigenous peoples can be defined as any ethnic group who inhabits a geographic region with which they have the earliest known historical connection. While some countries have a predominant population of indigenous peoples, in areas that have been significantly settled and colonized by western Europeans, the term indigenous tends to have more significant implications. These indigenous peoples retain social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. A few examples of said groups are the Maori of New Zealand, the Saami of Northern Europe, the Inuit of the circumpolar region, the Maya of Central America and the Aymaras of Bolivia.

European colonization was the genesis of the continuing assault on the indigenous people of the so-called "New World." The diverse and distinct indigenous cultures (and languages) of Americas have since been being systematically devastated. Many cultures, along with their ways of life, have completely vanished and more do every year. As the legacy of colonialism, the globalized neoliberal agenda continues to absorb and eradicate cultural diversity at an alarming rate through violence, deprivation, assimilation and the processes of "progress."

Mexico has one of the most diverse and largest indigenous populations in all of the Americas even when you rely on government statistics which have a history of officially undercounting indigenous people. Until 2000, one wasn't even counted as indigenous unless one spoke an indigenous language, which lead to silliness such as an indigenous child not being officially indigenous until they began to speak. Folks not counted as indigenous are counted as mestizo.<sup>4</sup> There are many different tallies on indigenous populations of Mexico, but we can confidently say that it is somewhere between 10% and 30% with the population speaking at least 92 languages, and up to nearly 300.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the statistics say, Mexico's indigenous are many and have done an amazing job at keeping their distinct cultures and languages largely intact after centuries of colonization and numerous attempts at assimilation. There are still many indigenous who speak only indigenous dialects. The most heavily indigenous states are the ones sitting to the south of Mexico: Yucatán, Oaxaca, Quintana Roo and Chiapas where Mixtec, Zapotec, Chinotec, Maya and Mam groups live. These are also the most economically poor states in Mexico: statistically indigenous people are the most deprived of ethnic groups anywhere you go in the Americas; that is to say deprived of land, resources and opportunities to thrive in their communities. In this paper I aim the look at Mexican Mayan groups specifically, as I illustrate how Zapatista Mayas catalyzed the current indigenous women's movement in the region. However, much of the ideas in this paper reflect the indigenous of much of Southern Mexico and parts of Central America since, after spending many thousands of years living in close proximity,

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many distinct populations, societies and ethnic groups who each have their own particular traditions, cultures and historical identity.

<sup>4</sup> Mestizo is a person of mixed descent. In Mexico it's generally a mixture of European and Indigenous.

<sup>5</sup> Kampwirth, Karen. *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution* (Ohio:Center for International Studies, 2004), 126; and Yoshioka, Hirotoshi "Language and Self-Identification?: Estimates of the Indigenous Population in Mexico" *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, Aug 11, 2006.* 2009-4-12 <[www.allacademic.com/meta/p101535\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p101535_index.html)>

they share many similarities in culture and worldviews and likewise have suffered in many of the same ways at the hands of colonialism and Western imperialism.

One of the tactics that the indigenous of Mexico, particularly Mayan peoples, have used to keep a strong hold on their customs and language after more than 500 years of conquest and the push towards assimilation is gender inequality, mainly in the form of men controlling movement of women and their access to the money sector.<sup>6</sup> Women are traditionally responsible for the reproduction of community and culture, in taking on the principal responsibilities of raising and teaching children, weaving clothing and passing on the art of creating meals for the family. In confining women to their villages and culture, and by prohibiting them from the things of the colonizer, (i.e. western style clothing and education, and the Spanish language) the process of assimilation by the dominant culture has been significantly averted while the global economy has forced men to migrate and work in the factories established by transnational corporations.

Communal land is of great importance to agrarian indigenous communities throughout the Americas and beyond. It is the central foundation for their livelihood, spirituality, and identity, and the cornerstone of cultural reproduction. When groups of people hold communal land, they come to rely more on each other and their community and less on government institutions. Self-determination, autonomy and cooperation are indispensable to the continuation of indigenous culture of Mexico. Governments, on the other hand, recognize the need for populations to be dependant on and utilize its institutions and infrastructure in order to maintain control of nations. Thus the battle for autonomy and land has been for many years the battle between Western style governments and indigenous people.

Indigenous and poor campesina women have been organizing for centuries in battles for tribal self-determination. They have also long been engaged in struggles to regain their people's lands from the colonizers along side their male comrades. Much of the research on indigenous movements throughout history does not document women's participation well. Indigenous women were, however, often in charge of the "logistics" of many of the marches, sit-ins, and meetings that have been documented.<sup>7</sup> Parallel to their participation in the struggle for land and radical democracy many women have begun to demand the democratization of gender relations within the family, community and organizations.

While Western culture tends to favor the "melting" of cultures and assimilation, Mayan peoples traditionally respect and value culture and difference, as can be seen in the pluricultural<sup>8</sup> landscape of their territories. Even in instances when Mayan rulers would defeat another ruler or take control of territory, the cultures of the defeated people were decidedly recognized and accepted. The indigenous tendency against assimilation into the dominant culture is based in an understanding that equality requires acknowledgement, and at least a tolerance, of difference.<sup>9</sup> This value of difference is prevalent in indigenous women's feminism, partly in that indigenous women generally embrace what is considered women's work and gender differences. However, many women are now also reserving the right to choose their work, rather than having it imposed upon them. Besides working in the home, women have traditionally worked in other subsistence

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<sup>6</sup> Nash, June. *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in the Age of Globalization*. (NY:Routledge, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> For more information, see Jesús Morales Bermúdez, "El Congreso Indígena de Chiapas: Un Testimonio," in *Anuario 1991* (Tuxtla Gutiérrez: Instituto Chiapaneco de Cultura, 1992), 241-371.

<sup>8</sup> Pluricultural is when various distinct cultures live and coexist inside one country, as opposed to multi-cultural, where the cultures tend to mix into something that looks more like a melting pot.

<sup>9</sup> June, Nash. *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in the Age of Globalization* (NY: Routledge, 2001) 42; Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu Suri. *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil Cultures* (New York: Zed Books, 1998).

roles such as caring for the animals and agriculture. Rather than understanding equality as the right to work in the money economy and/or do work that may be traditionally reserved for men for the same salary as men, many women are looking more towards valuing women and their differences for what they are at present. These women want to be seen as different and equal and not sucked into a struggle for jobs that men are already struggling amongst themselves to attain and retain. This could be a very critical and innovative concept to some feminists who struggle in an economic system where work such as caring for the home and children is undervalued and thus underpaid. The current Western ideology dictates that if one decides to work in the home or chooses a “feminine” vocation of nurturing and/or subsistence work, one is probably also choosing a low level of status, cultural value and economic potential regardless of gender.

The “oil boom” of the 1970s, together with the scarcity of available land, caused many indigenous men from Chiapas, and other southern Mexican states, to migrate to the petroleum zones, leaving women to deal with family economic matters.<sup>10</sup> Indigenous women’s entry into the money economy has been analyzed as making their domestic and subsistence work evermore dispensable to the reproduction of the labor force and thus reducing women’s power within the family.<sup>11</sup> Indigenous men have been forced by the need to help provide for the family in the globalized capitalist economic system that favors paid economic labor while depending on female subordination and unpaid subsistence labor<sup>12</sup>. These ideals are internalized by many workers and imported back into the communities. This was a blow to the already deteriorating Mayan concept of complementarity, which is part of Mayan customary practices and cosmovision. In complementarity, male/female labor is seen as basic to social survival, “male labor produces the raw materials, and female labor transforms them into objects of use and consumption”.<sup>13</sup> There is a definite gendered division of labor, but both are considered of equal importance. Complementarity is equality. Respect of difference is equality. Alma López, a Maya from Guatemala is nostalgic:

The philosophical principles that I would recover from my culture are equality, complementarity between men and women, and between men and men and women and women. That part of the Mayan culture currently doesn’t exist, and to state the contrary is to turn a blind eye to the oppression that indigenous women suffer. The complementarity is now only part of history; today there is only inequality, but complementarity and equality can be constructed.<sup>14</sup>

In complementarity, there exists a male/female duality, as opposed to a polarized concept

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<sup>10</sup> Collier, George. *Basta. Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* (Oakland: Food First, 1994) 123.

<sup>11</sup> For more information on this topic see: Collier and Merielle Flood, “Changing Gender Relations in Zinacantán, Mexico,” in *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Vol. 15, 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Though it is true that in some zones of neoliberal economic development, such as the maquiladora zone along the US-Mexican border, women workers are preferred due to women’s tendency to have small nimble hands, accept lower wages, and be easier to control than men. These women are often still expected to perform unpaid “feminine” labor in the home. Thus far, in indigenous areas of Southern Mexico women have largely stayed in the villages while men have migrated for work. The majority of women who have left their villages to work in the formal sector do not return to the village.

<sup>13</sup> Devereaux, Leslie. “Gender Difference and Relations of Inequality in Zinacantan” in *Dealing with Inequality: Analyzing Gender Relations in Melanesia and Beyond*, ed. Marilyn Stern (Cambridge and New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1987), 93.

<sup>14</sup> Castillo, R. Aida. “Zapatismo and the Emergence of Indigenous Feminism” in *NACLA Report on the Americas* 35, No. 6 (2002) 40.

of masculine and feminine. Living off of the land, as indigenous cultures historically have, tends to make for more flexibility in gender and labor rolls than does Western capitalist systems of development and culture. There usually were allowances even in strict indigenous cultures allowing for those who practice different gender rolls. Gender rolls became more restrictive with the arrival of the Europeans and their polarized views of home/work, domestic/productive (soon to become the public and the private).<sup>15</sup> Though much of the erosion of complementarity is undoubtedly due to the erosion of the Mayan peoples' subsistence base, indigenous women's traditional realm, and push into the dominant European system, it is ironic to note that what may have been an attempt on men's part to preserve culture—through the isolation, thus domination, of women—has also helped to erode a very fundamental concept of the traditional Mayan Worldview. Complementarity is similar to the basis of many other American indigenous belief systems based on male/female duality, which are likewise being devastated.

The desire of indigenous women to reclaim good traditions such as complementarity is bound up with their struggle for autonomy and respect as indigenous people. This struggle could be of great importance and inspiration to the rest of us in its call for self-determination, autonomy, and dignity. This is especially important since so many cultures that comprise the world are no longer isolated from each other. With the system of global capitalism in crisis, perhaps it is time to look to more pluricultural ways of coexistence over the monoculture that capitalist development and progress require.

## **Women Unite**

As their position within the family was being restructured by a homogenizing globalized system, indigenous women entered into contact with other indigenous women and mestizas in the informal sector. They began to organize women's spaces for collaboration, communication and reflection outside the home. This often took the form of the artisan cooperatives that have been blossoming across the nation over the last decades.

Likewise, feminist organizations had begun working in the countryside of Mexico to support development projects and promote gender consciousness-raising among campesina and indigenous women. In this line, the organization Comaletzin A.C. lead the way in working with indigenous women in Morelos, Puebla, Sonora and Chiapas on the development of gender perspectives in the late 80's and many others followed suit.<sup>16</sup> The Catholic Church, a strong force in all of Mexico, was also changing its ideology of women around this time in many parts of Mexico. The Church's discourse on the "dignity of women"<sup>17</sup> was being replaced by a discourse about women's rights and claims of gender equality. This new discourse by the

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<sup>15</sup> LaRocque, Emma. "Métis and Feminist" in *Making Way for Indigenous Feminism* (New York, Zed Books Ltd., 2007) 64.

<sup>16</sup> Other feminist groups that did early work in indigenous Chiapas are The Center for Research and Action for Women (CIAM) and the Women's Group of San Cristóbal de las Casas, both founded in 1989. They initiated work against sexual and domestic violence and in support of organizing among indigenous women of the Chiapas highlands and Guatemalan refugee women. Women for Dialogue, working with women of Veracruz and Oaxaca, and the consultants of Women in Solidarity Action (EMAS), who work with Purépecha women of Michoacán, were also early promoters of rural indigenous women's rights, gender perspective, a literacy program and small business education for women. The above is but a taste of Feminist work in Chiapas. See Castillo, R. Aida. "Zapatismo and the Emergence of Indigenous Feminism" in *NACLA Report on the Americas* 35, No. 6 (2002).

<sup>17</sup> The church's discourse of dignity of women was based in an ideology of "marianismo," that is a woman's dignity based on her self-sacrifice, devotion to her children and purity.



Catholic church was by no means feminist, as it still held men as the patriarch of the household. Nonetheless, indigenous women appropriated the ideas about rights and equality and it gave new meanings in their dialogue with feminists.<sup>18</sup>

### **Zapatismo as a Catalyst**

The eve that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect, in the wee hours of the morning of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1994, a little known indigenous rebellion became public. The EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional or Zapatista Army of National Liberation in English) took to the streets and took over the cities of the State of Chiapas in Mexico. This guerrilla army was not out to over-throw the government or forge their own country, but to make such demands as basic rights to autonomy, dignity and land for their communities. This seemingly small, but significant group of rebels became champions in the movement against neoliberal globalization and colonialism.

The EZLN had a large number of women within its ranks from the get go, rivaling the view of the subservient uneducated indigenous woman often held by the more affluent population of Mexico and the world. In fact, the person who planned and led the take over of San Cristobal de las Casas, the former capitol city of the State and urban hub to indigenous Chiapas, was Infantry Major Ana Maria, a woman. Her triumph has served as an inspiration to young women throughout Mexico.

The Zapatistas' movement was the first time a guerrilla movement held women's liberation as part of the agenda from the first uprising. Besides the high number of women in its rank and file, the EZLN's public appearance served in even greater ways as a catalyst for the organization of indigenous women in Mexico. Likewise, Zapatista women have been catalysts for some of the most important advancements of indigenous women's rights, largely arising from the "Women's Revolutionary Law."

The idea for the women's law began over a year previous to the first uprising, when the Zapatistas decided that they needed to present their own set of laws with their demands to the government. "A general law was made, but there was no women's law. And so we protested and said that there has to be a women's law when we make our demands. We also want the government to recognize us as women. The right to have equality, equality of men and women." Explains Major Ana Maria,<sup>19</sup> who was not only the woman who lead the EZLN capture of San Cristóbal de las Casas during the uprising, but also one of the women who helped create the women's law.

A woman named Susana was put in charge of the creation of The Women's Revolutionary Law. She and Comandanta Ramona traveled to dozens of communities to ask the opinion of thousands of women. The laws were drawn up, voted on and passed unanimously. In the words of Subcomandante Marcos, "The first EZLN uprising took place in March of 1993, there were no casualties and we won".<sup>20</sup>

The Women's Revolutionary Law was released publicly during the uprising on New Year's Day of 1994, in the pamphlet of Zapatista demands were aimed at the government.

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<sup>18</sup> Castillo, R. Aida. "Zapatismo and the Emergence of Indigenous Feminism" in *NACLA Report on the Americas* 35, No. 6 (2002) 41-42.

<sup>19</sup> Ana Maria, Major. "Interview with Major Ana Maria" in *Zapatistas! Documents of the New Mexican Revolution*, ed. El Ejercito Zapatista Liberación Nacional (New York: Autonomía) 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Marcos, Subcommandante. "The First Uprising: In March 1993" in *La Jornada*, (January 30, 1994).

However, it was obvious that some of the demands in the Women's Law were written specifically to those in their own community, including those in the ranks of the EZLN and local Juntas (indigenous governments). The document includes the right to political participation and to hold political leadership posts; freedom from sexual and domestic violence; the ability to decide how many children one has; fair wages; the choosing of a spouse; education; and to quality health services (see appendix). For the first time in the history of Latin American guerrilla movements, women members were analyzing and presenting the "personal" in politically explicit terms. This is not to say, however, that in Zapatista communities women don't have to fight for equality and dignity. Revolutionary laws are a means, and usually a beginning, not an end. But all in all, the existence and knowledge of the law, even for women who don't actually know what it says, has had great symbolic importance as the seedling of the current indigenous women's movement in Mexico.

It wasn't only the *inspiration* of the Zapatista movement that promoted women's organizing. The Mexican government's rapid response to the Zapatista uprising, the militarization of Chiapas and other indigenous communities in Mexico, created a crisis. Indigenous communities began to suffer from heightened tension, violence, displacement, and the loss of freedom of movement. Women have paid the highest price in the militarization of the indigenous communities of Chiapas, as they have been by far the most victimized during military and paramilitary attacks. Women's organizations that had previously acted in isolation began to form coalitions and women joined groups out of both the new found courage inspired by Zapatista women and also out of desperation caused by the crisis.

Indigenous movements also seized the opportunities and crises introduced by the Zapatista uprising and movement to make their case to local, national and even international populations and governments. They began forming new coalitions as well as reclaiming lands and making demands for indigenous groups. Within weeks of the rebellion, 288 indigenous groups formed a coalition called CEOIC (Coordinadora Estatal de Organizaciones Indigenas y Campesinas).<sup>21</sup> Some women's artisan cooperatives and campesina women's groups participated in these meetings, though the demands they made on the part of women were not a priority. It was, however, progress for women within their own ranks. Their demands were for rights to land and money and for the creation of women's spaces in the political, social and cultural realms. To keep the CEOIC on it's toes in regards to women's demands, a women's commission was created, though it did take almost a year of struggle on the women's part as most men did not consider it a main concern and often got pushed back due to meeting time restraints.<sup>22</sup> In the end, women's spaces were created within indigenous coalitions.

## **Women Unite Part II**

The inclusiveness of women in the Zapatista agenda and the evidence of indigenous women's emergence into the political sphere along with the Revolutionary Women's Law peaked the interest of mestiza feminists in Mexico. Before the "women's revolutionary law" movement, mestiza and indigenous organizations rarely collaborated. Indigenous women's organizations were generally artisan cooperatives, which were not considered feminist, being

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<sup>21</sup> Collier, George. *Basta. Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* (Oakland: Food First, 1994) and Rojas, Rosa. *Chiapas, And the Women?* (Mexico DF: Ediciones del Taller Editorial La Correa Feminista, 1994). 2009-4-28 <<https://webpace.utexas.edu/hcleaver/www/bookintro.html>>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., Kampwirth, Karen. *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution* (Ohio: Center for International Studies, 2004).

created to augment the family income, while mestiza feminists focused on popular organizations and elections to affect change in women's positions through political action and the national government. When mestiza and indigenous women's organizations did collaborate it was generally in the context of indigenous women as a sort of project of a mestiza feminist organization. Shortly after the emergence of the Zapatistas, mestiza and indigenous women groups began to collaborate in a much more meaningful way. Six months after the EZLN uprising, the first Chiapas State Women's Convention was held. Then about six months after that, the first National Women's Convention was held in Querétaro with the participation of over three hundred women from fourteen different states.<sup>23</sup>

Besides all of the obvious advances and learning that these meetings inspired, inside the first women's conventions women came to some hard realizations as well. One of the issues that arose within the conventions where the difficult dynamic developed where the mestizas tended to "help" and the indigenous women tended to be "helped".<sup>24</sup> This dynamic was counterproductive for both groups, so they decided to set up working groups during one *encuentro* for each ethnic and linguistic group. But this created a problem of separateness, which was one of the obstacles that the conventions had worked to overcome. So in the next *encuentro*, again they tried to work together, without the segregation, but also without the "helping" dynamic. According to Paloma, "many of the indigenous women were surprised that, despite the class and linguistic advantages enjoyed by the mestizas, they also had problems; a reality that had been obscured by the advisor-advisee relationship that was a legacy of the older paternalistic model of organizing, predominant before 1994".<sup>25</sup>

Finally in August of 1997, indigenous women organized the first National Gathering of Indigenous Women, which was held in the state of Oaxaca, attended by over 400 women from twenty-three indigenous regions, and inaugurated by the late commandant Ramona of the EZLN<sup>26</sup>. In the first words of her speech she declared, "All of us should ask ourselves if Zapatismo would be what it is without women. Would indigenous civil society and that of non-indigenous people, who have helped us so much, be the same without its women? Can one imagine the new rebel Mexico we want to create without new rebel women"?<sup>27</sup> Indigenous women had come to know and claim their place in the revolutionary movements of Mexico. It had become and continues to be a prominent one. The indigenous women's movement has achieved a visible and coherent presence in the international social justice movement.

### **The Westernization Question**

The very notion of right and law is a western notion...it is but a window among others on the world, an instrument of communication and a language among others. The word not only is non-existent among the traditional indigenous cultures, but it will never come to their minds that human beings can have

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<sup>23</sup> Kampwirth, Karen. *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution* (Ohio:Center for International Studies, 2004) 119-120.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.121

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>26</sup> Comandanta Ramona died on January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2006, of a kidney condition that she had spent years contending with. She was one of the two women who were the main people who developed the Revolutionary Women's Law. She was the woman who had also presented the Mexican flag presented at the peace talk between the Zapatistas and the government.

<sup>27</sup> NCDM (National Commission of Democracy in Mexico). "Ramona Recovering!" in *Libertad*, no. 7:1 (1996) 3.

rights...for them it is difficult to understand that rights or entitlements could be homocentrically defined by a human being. That they, furthermore, could be defined by a sovereign state, that is, by a state of sovereign individuals, is almost ridiculous.<sup>28</sup>

Feminism is often understood as evidence of Westernization when perceived from the standpoint of indigenous culture. The Zapatistas' demands, including the Women's Revolutionary Law, indicate that the Zapatistas along with the indigenous women's movement that was born within it take not only from its indigenous roots but also from Western feminist discourses. This aspect has been a site of debate between indigenous groups who want to adopt some parts of the Western feminist identity and other indigenous groups who are contemptuous toward Westernization as well as a third group of non-indigenous people who look to indigenous cultures as a favored alternative to capitalist hegemony. Indigenous feminist women have something to say as well; following the lead of the Zapatistas they too have chosen to adopt the modern, legal discourse of "women's rights" as an instrument of communication with the world that it seeks to connect with and this tactic has been successful in gaining the attention of feminist groups around the world. The Western activist is familiar with the discourse of rights, even the right to one's own customs and traditions but would probably not so easily identify with "usos y costumbres." Alas, due to privilege, it is necessary only for the under-privileged to learn the cultural language and philosophies of the privileged, if only as a device of survival, while the privileged remain mostly oblivious to the "other."

It is important to note that even as the Zapatista women utilize the discourse of "women's rights" to communicate their concerns and demands, it is done in a non-Western setting. The separation of public and private did not exist in Chiapas the way it has for countries in the Western world. Lisa Poggiali describes some examples of the spaces from which Zapatista women claim their rights:

The Mexican state has only recently succeeded in producing such a distinction [between public and private] through its promotion of neoliberal economic reform...For Zapatista women then, leaving the private sphere of the home and entering into the public one of the workplace does not constitute a revolutionary or 'emancipatory' act. Rather, it involves inserting oneself into a newly created neoliberal political economy, a position many Zapatista women are forced into, but one few willingly accept.<sup>29</sup>

Another example is the Zapatista stance on abortion. Though abortion is illegal in Mexico, the Zapatistas provide women among their ranks safe, free abortions. However Zapatista women have rallied for the right to have a child while remaining within its ranks, arguing that life inside the EZLN is often easier than life in the village. In contrast to Western feminism's claim to the right to an abortion, Zapatistas have contrasted that with a clamoring for the right to have a child.

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<sup>28</sup> Vachon, Robert. "L'étude du pluralisme juridique: Une approche diatopique et dialogale" in *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 29 (1990) 165, cited in Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu Suri. *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil Cultures* (New York: Zed Books, 1998) 110.

<sup>29</sup> Poggiali, Lisa. "Reimagining the possible: Zapatista Discourse and the Problematics of Rights" *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, 8 (2005) 13.

With all that talk of the Western and non-Western, it would be a mistake to conceive of the two as an either/or concept; nothing is pure and completely separate. Culture and tradition change in response to internal conflict, pressure from dominant cultures and exposure to and assimilation of other cultures. Culture and tradition can also vary slightly from family to family, person to person, because in reality, people don't live out their lives inside culture and tradition, but inside communities.

Tradition is often perceived by the 'modern' world as something set in time, pure, strict and unchanging; something from the nostalgic past or perhaps lost in the past that ensnares the young generations. The Oaxacan writer Gustavo Esteva offers up another concept of tradition:

One of our best traditions is how we change tradition in a traditional way. Each generation inherits the customs that govern our community life, but each changes them autonomously, adapting them to the times and learning from others. By refusing to break with the past--to escape to the future as the 'moderns' would have it--we maintain our historical continuity.<sup>30</sup>

Tradition and custom are practices that are part of the reproduction of culture; they are ever changing and adapting.<sup>31</sup> The state that adheres to a homogenized Western ideology, seeks to monopolize the production of social norms and laws under the guise of progress and it generally portrays indigenous customs as being backward and stuck in the past. Historically, feminists looking through a Western lens have not always viewed indigenous women as competent to wage their own battle towards equality and happiness; stuck in their culture. They also often lack understanding or knowledge of the thousands of years of (non-western) experience, traditions, and theory that indigenous women are born out of. But, if we take a step back and see how much Western culture itself that has contributed so strongly to women's loss of status in indigenous communities, it is easier to understand that imposing Western ideals even more could not correct the predicament of indigenous women.

Western culture already has affected indigenous culture and to a lesser extent, vice versa. We have seen how the custom of complementarity has changed through colonization to a more patriarchal custom (and this is the custom that the peddlers of hegemony would have you believe is "truly" indigenous and not a result of the imposition of Western culture). Indigenous women are electing to incorporate the discourse of rights into their own traditions and customs. While it is true that indigenous peoples are being imposed upon by a Western universe (to which belong human rights), with its "universal truths", indigenous people in resistance are also adopting the discourse of rights into their pluriverse<sup>32</sup> in their own strategic terms. "Their evolving modes of cultural coexistence protect their pluriverse; adapting to each new condition of oppression and domination without losing their historical continuity."<sup>33</sup>

Indigenous people have always gotten along very well without human rights, as human

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<sup>30</sup> Esteva, Gustavo. "A Flower in the Hand of the People." *New Internationalist* 360 (2003). 2009-7-25  
<<http://www.newint.org/issue360/flower.htm>>

<sup>31</sup> Western culture being co-opted into this form of creating tradition can be seen very clearly in the specific form of indigenous Catholicism that exists in Chiapas which is sort of a religious hybrid in which saints take the place of comparable Mayan gods, while Mayan ceremonies have changed very little other than they are practiced in Catholic Churches. The Catholic Church was unable to completely convert indigenous Mayas to Catholicism.

<sup>32</sup> Pluriverse is being used as a rough translation of the Mayan concept of a world of many universes.

<sup>33</sup> Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu Suri. *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil Cultures* (New York: Zed Books, 1998) 111.

rights are really only 200 years old! “The philosophy and the institutional agreements on human rights were constructed after extraordinary practices of social and personal deprivation took root among the ‘developed’ peoples and places of the planet.”<sup>34</sup> Now that all have been affected by a globalized agenda and indigenous peoples live under new conditions and mostly hold a desire to communicate with allies and enemies alike, the discourse of human rights has become an important mode of communication.

Historically, the indigenous of Southern Mexico have used the discourse and tradition of obligation (*usos and costumbres*) and not “rights.” The adoption of the discourse of rights has allowed for cross cultural and international collaboration and empathy between indigenous and Western advocates of women’s equality. On the other hand, the discourse of rights is perceived by many indigenous and non-indigenous as further degradation to other ways of being and assimilation into Western hegemonic structures. It is unfortunate that diverse forms of thought are not recognized in mainstream discourse, philosophy or the status quo of First World Countries. Embracing diverse thought has never been consistent with the traditions of colonial states and the promoters of globalized capitalism, which prefer assimilation and conformity to plurality and the celebration of difference.

Adopting the discourse of rights while attempting to honor indigenous customs (such as *usos and costumbres*) has proven at times to be very tricky and has caused some problems. Tribal governments are elected to respect and uphold indigenous tradition and custom, not the West’s notion of “human rights”. While Indigenous people have been asserting their rights and using them to further their cause, there have also been instances of the government using this same discourse to harass and delegitimize indigenous ways of being that break international human rights laws<sup>35</sup>; the systems are not always compatible.

The unique way that women are incorporating human rights discourse into their indigenous cultures keeps with their system of building tradition and customs and their idea of the pluriverse and pluriculturality. The complexity of the indigenous woman’s position in Mexican society today is not easy to navigate. To this day the struggle to define indigenous women’s struggle remains in a state of unrest. The term “feminism” has not found itself a comfortable home in many indigenous places in Mexico. Many men seem to have difficulty in trusting women with the reproduction of their culture, but really, feminism in indigenous communities is not something which men have much control over but something indigenous women are grappling with and defining on their own terms. Lisa from the FZLN (National Liberation Front of the Zapatistas, the now defunct civilian arm of the EZLN) exposes feminist

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 119

<sup>35</sup> As an example, in 1998, two brothers from Guatemala were detained by the Autonomous Indigenous Authorities in the autonomous indigenous municipality of Tierra and Libertad because they had been accused of illegally cutting wood and failed to appear when summoned. They held one of the brothers in jail for a week while trying to negotiate a settlement with his accusers. When the second brother turned himself in the first brother was released. While attempting to negotiate the release of the second brother, approximately 1,000 police, immigration agents and soldiers invaded the community raided the community, accusing the authorities of kidnapping, assault and usurping the functions of legitimate authorities. These charges were brought against the autonomous authorities in the name of human rights. They accused them of denying the accused a fair and public hearing, negotiating with the accusers rather than presuming innocent before proven guilty and holding them in prison longer than the 36 hours allowed by the Mexican Constitution. All these actions can be considered human rights violations according to articles 9, 10 and 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The problem in this community is that the local authorities are elected to uphold the law and respect “*usos and costumbres*” (local indigenous customs). Human Rights law was used by the state “to strip agency from local authorities. (Poggiali, Lisa. “Reimagining the possible: Zapatista Discourse and the Problematics of Rights” *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, 8 (2005) 12.)

elements and reactions in her community:

As a woman I emphasize the necessity of promoting a world of equals. That is, we are trying to feminize the struggle. In fact, we are currently on the question of principals, on the question of women. In the meeting, I dared to use the term “women’s liberation” and it caused a lot of terror in the men. The goal is that the women assume the discussion...there were men that said that women’s liberation meant to be like the Europeans and take off our bras. I said that to take off one’s bra or anything else, one does not ask permission...I am a feminist, with all that implies. Because even inside the Zapatista Front, to say that I am a feminist implies that I am a radical.<sup>36</sup>

Indigenous feminism is looking up from below and from a new and unfamiliar perspective than our relatively affluent Western feminist points of view. This view not only sees oppression from a woman’s standpoint, but it also endures and navigates through themes of extreme poverty, race, culture and colonialism. Indigenous women’s contributions are not just now materializing; they have been largely chronicled for years in the documents produced in their conventions, meetings, workshops and essays and interviews in feminist journals. The significance of the struggle of these women should no longer be over-looked or under-appreciated in any feminist theory. Just as indigenous peoples are not homogenous or stuck in a static tradition and culture, neither is feminism—nor are anti-colonial or social justice movements for that matter. Indigenous feminism is bringing colonial and indigenous history and racial and cultural oppression theory deep into the ever-changing feminist analysis, perhaps moving us into a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of the face of oppression and power itself.

## APPENDIX

### The Revolutionary Women’s Law

In their just fight for the liberation of our people, the EZLN incorporates women into the revolutionary struggle regardless of their race, creed, color, or political affiliation, requiring only that they share the demands of the exploited people and that they commit to the laws and regulation of the revolution. In addition, taking into account the situation of the women worker in Mexico, the revolution supports their just demands for equality and justice in the following Revolutionary Women’s Law.

FIRST: Women, regardless of their race, creed, color, or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in a way determined by their desire and ability.

SECOND: Women have the right to work and receive a fair salary.

THIRD: Women have the right to decide the number of children they will bear and care for.

FOURTH: Women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and to hold

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<sup>36</sup> Kampwirth, Karen. *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution* (Ohio:Center for International Studies, 2004) 143.

positions of authority if they are freely and democratically elected.

FIFTH: Women and children have the right to primary attention in the matters of health and nutrition.

SIXTH: Women have the right to education.

SEVENTH: Women have the right to choose their partner and not to be forced into marriage.

EIGHTH: Women shall not be beaten or physically mistreated by their family members or by strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.

NINTH: Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and to hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.

Tenth: Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the revolutionary laws and regulations.

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## **The Body Hazel**

Kristin D. Jones

### **Abstract**

Investigating place-based curriculum and embodied curriculum, the author uses playwriting to explore the body's relationship to land and food. This one-act play penetrates the writings of Ivan Illich, Wendell Berry, and others in an attempt to fictionally integrate conviviality with the modern/industrial life. This is an exploration of how our disconnectedness from the earth that characterizes our daily living and learning affects us bodily.

### **THE BODY HAZEL**

#### *List of Characters*

(In order of appearance)

Hazel

Mom (Hazel's mother)

Corylus (a.k.a. Cory)

Quercus

Quince

Persimmon

Rosemary (as a newborn)

Rosemary (as a 5 year old)

Amur (newborn)

Scene I

*[Hazel and Corylus's apartment].<sup>1</sup>*

*[Hazel is obviously pregnant and very large. Hazel walks in the door to her apartment, throwing down her keys, purse, jacket, and groceries. Doorbell rings. Flustered, Hazel pushes the groceries into the kitchen and rushes back to answer the door.]*

Hazel: Oh hi Mom.

Mom: Hi honey. *[Kisses her on the cheek.]*  
How are you feelin- *[Interrupted].*

Hazel: Mom, I just walked in with groceries. I don't really have time to talk.

Mom: I just wanted to see how my grandbaby is- *[Interrupted].*

Hazel: Mom, I *really* don't have time. I'm fine. Baby's fine. I need to eat dinner and grade some papers. I have a job you know.

Mom: *[Disappointed, hurt.]*  
Uh, okay. Sorry I bothered you. Maybe I'll try calling...

Hazel: *[Irritated]*  
Mom! I'll call if there's any news, okay?

Mom: Okay, okay. I understand. I love you.

Hazel: Yeah, love you too. Bye. *[Closes door quickly.]*<sup>2</sup>

*[Hazel lets out a heavy sigh, and drags herself over to the grocery bags. She begins to put the groceries away and places a frozen dinner in the microwave. The groceries are all processed foods: boxes and cans.]*<sup>3</sup> *The phone rings.]*

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<sup>1</sup> The opening setting of the apartment is an important nod to Illich. Illich (1982) writes that apartments are residences for sexual partners, a taxable unit that is made for people, not by people (pp. 120-121). These spaces become overnight storage for economically productive resources (p. 119); I wanted to convey that Hazel and Corylus are merely economically productive resources, working for the economy and not for each other or the household economy. The apartment symbolizes the void of a healthy home: "Healthy homes are transformed into hygienic apartments where one cannot be born, cannot be sick, and cannot die decently. Not only are helpful neighbors a vanishing species, but also liberal doctors who make house calls" (Illich, 1980, p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> Hazel here is painted as a typical member of the Industrial world: "In short, most of the time we find ourselves out of touch with our world, out of sight of those for whom we work, out of tune with what we feel" (Illich, 1980, p. x). Hazel remains out of touch with her mother, one of the most fundamental relationships of a gendered, convivial commons.

<sup>3</sup> Hazel and Corylus represent the industrial eater: "'The industrial eater is, in fact, one who does not know that eating is an agricultural act, who no longer knows or imagines the connections between eating and the land, and who is therefore necessarily passive and uncritical—in short, a victim" (Berry, 1990, p. 146).

Hazel: Hello? *[Pause]*  
Hi, yes, we met at the conference in New York. How are you?  
*[Pause. Hazel listens as she is taking off her shoes and letting down her hair.]*  
Oh, I see. Wow, that's great. I'm really honored. *[Pause.]*  
A whole year? I thought it was just for the summer. I ... uh ... I don't know what to say. Can I have some time to think about it? *[Pause.]*  
Okay, great. I'll call you within the week. Do you have a number I can reach you at? *[Writes down number.]*  
Uh huh, Uh huh. Great. Thank you Dr. Winters. *[Pause.]*  
You too. Talk to you soon.

*[Corylus enters. Hazel switches the microwaved meal for another, starts microwave again.]*

Corylus: Hi Honey. How was work? *[Gives Hazel a quick peck on the cheek.]*

Hazel: *[Sighs heavily again.]*  
Oh fine. More papers to grade tonight. Why did I ever agree to teach freshman Comp? *[Smiles.]*  
What about you? Stressful day?

Corylus: Not too bad. *[Puts down his briefcase and jacket.]*  
A couple new patients came in, but a pretty average day. I might start writing that journal article tonight though, if you're going to be working.<sup>4</sup>

*[Hazel places two microwaved meals on the table, pours bottled water into two glasses.]<sup>5</sup>*

Hazel: Well that sounds good to me. It can be just like one of our study dates during college.

Corylus: Except we'll actually study? *[Flirtatiously puts his arms around her midsection. She instantly pulls away.]*  
Sorry, Hazel. I know you aren't in the mood to be affectionate. *[Steps back from her, giving her space.]*  
So how are you feeling today? Are you feeling a lot of kicking?

Hazel: Yeah, kicking, moving. I feel pretty good, just not as energetic as I'd hoped.

*[They sit down to eat, Corylus turns on the television.]<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>4</sup> Home in the Industrial society is a place for *consuming*; even the work that is done in the home is work for the market economy, not for the household economy (Berry, 1990, p. 180).

<sup>5</sup> Here, I show first how food remains abstract and disconnected from the earth for the industrial eater. "For them, then, food is pretty much an abstract idea—something they do not know or imagine—until it appears on the grocery shelf or on the table" (Berry, 1990, p. 146). I also reveal that Hazel and Corylus fall into the Industrial mindset that work is only worthwhile when it is sold (Berry, 1990, p. 185). The couple values work only when they are paid for it through their jobs; work in the household economy is nearly worthless because no one pays them to do it. No one in this home "works" to prepare food. Two minutes in the microwave is about all the work they are willing to give.

- Hazel: So can I tell you about the phone call I got just now, or is the television more entertaining?
- Corylus: Sorry. Habit. So who called? *[As he turns down the volume.]*
- Hazel: Well, first my mom stopped by, bugging me about the baby. I had to be a little forceful in telling her to go.
- Corylus: Hmm. *[Sarcastically.]* That's surprising. She's just excited.
- Hazel: Well, she probably does have good intentions. I just don't have time tonight to deal with it. So anyway, I got a call from Dr. Winters. He's head of the English department at Columbia. Do you remember me telling you about him?
- Corylus: Oh, he was the one who really liked your conference paper, right?
- Hazel: Yeah. That's him. Anyway, he called to tell me that they'd like me to come there for a year, to teach a few classes and maybe co-write with some faculty there. Isn't that great?
- Corylus: Wait, this guy just calls you out-of-the-blue and offers you a job?
- Hazel: Well, it's more like a year-long fellowship, and the fellow usually gets a full faculty position afterward. And it wasn't totally out-of-the-blue. I did apply. I just never thought I'd be considered.
- Corylus: *[Voice raising.]*  
WHAT? You applied without telling me, AND it's for more than a summer? When were you planning on telling me any of this?
- Hazel: Dear, please don't be angry. I never thought I would have anything to tell. I honestly thought I had no chance. But now ... I mean, this is the opportunity of a lifetime! Columbia!
- Corylus: Hazel, have you lost your mind? You're about to give birth, any day now. How would you start a new job, move from Illinois to New York, oh, and by the way, not be anywhere near your husband while you take care of a newborn?
- Hazel: *[Walks away from the table, leans over kitchen sink, looks out window as she talks.]*

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<sup>6</sup> In an industrial house, the members find entertainment through consuming, not through each other. "For entertainment, the inmates consume television or purchase other consumable diversion elsewhere" (Berry, 1990, p. 181).

Corylus, I thought we talked about this already. We both decided that neither one of us wanted to give up our careers. We already talked about day care.<sup>7</sup>

Corylus: Yeah, we talked about daycare, as in you would have your same job, take time off when the baby is born, and go back to work after a few weeks. We never discussed you moving to New York.

Hazel: Well, I was hoping you'd consider moving with me.

Corylus: Oh, right. I'll just give up my family practice that I've worked so hard to build up.

Hazel: So I have to give up the biggest opportunity of my career so you can keep your family practice in the suburbs?<sup>8</sup>

Corylus: *[Calming down, voice more relaxed.]*  
Well maybe this is a conversation we should have had several months ago, not when our baby is due any day. Are you actually considering packing and moving when you're 8 ½ months into a pregnancy?

Hazel: Hey, I didn't choose to get pregnant.

Corylus: No, Hazel, you didn't. But you are. This baby is coming, and it's going to need a lot from us.

Hazel: *[Returns to table, sits slowly, begins to cry.]*  
It just isn't fair. I've worked so hard, and I might never get an opportunity like this again.<sup>9</sup>  
*[Heavy sigh.]*  
Anyway, I have papers to grade. I guess the dishes and laundry can wait until one of us has time, right?<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hazel's disregard for her own fertility and reproductive cycle is symbolic of her disconnect from the earth, and the earth's fertility and reproductive cycle (i.e. land and food). As Wendell Berry (2002) shares, "The pharmacist or the doctor will look after the fertility of the body, and the farming experts and agribusinessmen will look after the fertility of the earth. This is to short-circuit human culture at its source. It is, in effect, to remove from consciousness the two fundamental issues of human life. It permits two great powers to be regarded and used as if they were unimportant" (p. 128).

<sup>8</sup> Marriage in the industrial society becomes mostly focused on division and consumption. "Marriage, in other words, has now taken the form of divorce: a prolonged and impassioned negotiation as to how things shall be divided. During their understandably temporary association, the 'married' couple will typically consume a large quantity of merchandise and a large portion of each other" (Berry, 1990, p. 180).

<sup>9</sup> Here, Hazel reveals how she feels useless without her career: "Wherever the shadow of economic growth touches us, we are left useless unless employed on a job or engaged in consumption" (Illich, 1980, p. ix). Hazel and Corylus both find that a career "confines them to survival through being plugged into market relations" (Illich, 1980, p. vii). Hazel, like so many women in industrial society, believes that a woman only finds worth when she works outside the home and contributes to the market economy. "An active woman who runs a house and brings up children and takes in those of others is distinguished from a woman who works, no matter how useless or damaging the product of this work might be" (Illich, 1980, p. 53).

Corylus: You don't think we should talk about this more?

Hazel: No, not right now, Cory. I just want to get my work done and go to bed.

Corylus: Dear, are you sorry we got pregnant?

Hazel: *[As she's taking dinner dishes to the sink.]*  
What kind of question is that? I never said that.

Corylus: You didn't have to. I can see you're miserable, and you've been really distant with me ever since you found out you were pregnant.

Hazel: *[Now leaning over sink again.]*  
Well, you know it's always been my dream to be an English professor at a top university. I'm just not willing to give up that dream yet. Why should I? Why should you be able to have the career you want while I stay home and change diapers? How is that fair?

Corylus: You're right. It's not fair. *[Pause.]*  
Whoa! Was that a kick? *[Stands, moves toward Hazel to feel her belly.]*  
That was huge!

Hazel: *[Backing away.]*  
Corylus, please don't touch me. Not now. *[Starts walking out of the room.]*  
I'll be in bed working. Maybe you should work out here at the computer. I'll use the laptop.<sup>11</sup>  
*[Exits.]*

*[Corylus stands, slumps, then sits down again with his head in his hands.  
Curtain closes.]*<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Again, Hazel reveals that the only work worth doing is the work that is sold (Berry, 1990, p. 185); Hazel's professorial work, the work for the market economy, is sold, whereas the dishes and laundry, the work for the household economy, cannot be sold and therefore has no value.

<sup>11</sup> The computers are another metaphor for Hazel and Corylus's disconnect from the earth and the environment. See Wendell Berry's *Why I Am Not Going to Buy a Computer* (in Berry, 1990, pp. 170-177).

<sup>12</sup> This scene reveals the all-too-common severed lives that many members of an industrial society face. As Wendell Berry (2002) describes, "Any severance produces two wounds that are, among other things, the record of how the severed parts once fitted together" (p. 106). The disintegration of marriage reflects and completes the disintegration of community (Berry, 2002, p. 113).

Scene II

*[Next morning, sunshine coming in the window of Hazel and Corylus's bedroom. Hazel is asleep in bed, Corylus enters the bedroom, holding a fast food bag.]*

Corylus: Good morning sunshine. How about breakfast in bed for my favorite pregnant lady?

*[Hazel sits up in bed, still waking up.]*

Listen, Hazel. I know I was upset last night, but I don't want to fight with you. I'm sorry I got upset with you. It all just took me by surprise—a lot to digest all at once, you know?

Hazel: *[Begins eating the fast food breakfast Corylus brought in.]*<sup>13</sup>  
I know. I'm sorry too. I should have told you about it, even if I thought I didn't have a chance. *[Takes another bite.]*

Corylus: There must be some way for us both to be happy in our careers. Maybe there's a compromise we haven't thought of.

Hazel: *[Drinks juice.]*  
Cory, I don't really want to discuss this right after I woke up.

Corylus: Okay. Fair enough. I was going to take a quick shower. Can I get you anything first?

Hazel: No, but thank you. *[Touches his hand and looks down at it.]*  
I think I'll go for a walk at the forest preserve. The doc said I could keep going for walks.

Corylus: Oh, would you like company?

Hazel: No, that's okay. I'll be home in an hour, and maybe we could go to a movie this afternoon or something.

Corylus: Okay. I'd like that. It's been a long time since we went out. Maybe I could take you to a nice dinner, and maybe we could talk more about this New York issue too.

Hazel: Not now, please. Can I just have my walk before we start arguing again?

Corylus: Sure. *[Begins to walk out of room.]*

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<sup>13</sup> Again, the fast food reveals the couple's disconnect from their food, a metaphor for how they are disconnected from each other and the earth.

Hazel:           *[Gets up to change clothes.]*  
                    Thanks for breakfast by the way. *[Corylus is already gone; doesn't hear.]*

*[Lights darken as she changes clothes. Set change. New set: Forest with a trail. Off to one side are two hazelnut trees growing close to each other and a small pond in front of them. Hazel walks onto set, on trail.]*

Hazel:           *[To herself.]* Uhg. I don't feel so good. Of all the days to forget my phone.  
                    *[Pulls a granola bar out of her pocket, begins to unwrap it.]*

*[Woman appears among the trees, not on trail. Appearance is other-worldly. Carries a basket.]*

Quercus:       Greetings dear one! *[Hazel halts, looks surprised.]*  
                    Oh my, you are indeed with child. Are you well?

Hazel:           *[Shocked, worried.]*  
                    I ... uh ... I'm actually *not* feeling well. I thought maybe some food would help.  
                    *[Holds up granola bar. Laughs nervously.]*

Quercus:       Food? That is not food. Here, try these. *[Offers her basket toward Hazel.]*  
                    I'm Quercus by the way.

Hazel:           Hazel. What's in here? It smells delicious.

Quercus:       Hazel ... interesting. *[Pause, studies Hazel while smiling mysteriously.]*  
                    These are roasted acorns. They don't come out of wrappers; they're from a very  
                    sacred oak tree.<sup>14</sup>

Hazel:           *[Tasting the acorns.]*  
                    Mmm ... wonderful. But, really, who has time to roast anything?<sup>15</sup>

Quercus:       I see. *[Saddened look.]*  
                    Your food has no connection to the natural world.  
                    It expresses the darkest parts of your identity.<sup>16</sup>  
                    You want to have anything, any time you want it.  
                    Your food has no seasonality.<sup>17</sup>  
                    Am I right?

Hazel:           *[Bending over in more pain now.]*  
                    Um ... what? You hate granola bars or something?

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<sup>14</sup> Food, rather than becoming our "most direct link with the nurturing earth," becomes "mere merchandise by which we fulfill [our] role as 'good' consumer" (Moore Lappé, 1991, p. 8). Quercus becomes the person that points out to Hazel how food makes her a good consumer rather than connecting her to the earth.

<sup>15</sup> The industrial eater is passive and uncritical (Berry, 1990, p. 146).

<sup>16</sup> Food expresses our identity and our relationship to the natural world (Pollan, 2008, p. 8).

<sup>17</sup> "Consumers don't want seasonality; we think we can have anything we want any time we want it. The market is totally out of sync with nature. ... Our menus should adjust to the seasons" (Pollan, 2006, pp. 252-3).



*[Begins breathing more heavily.]*

Quercus: Dear Hazel, you are in pain. Your child is eager to enter our world. But this pain you feel—it is perhaps teaching you something.<sup>18</sup>

Hazel: I ... I don't understand. *[Still bent over in pain.]*

Quercus: Come child, sit. *[Reveals a cleared area next to a tree.]*  
Your pain may be a lesson for you. Let me explain. *[Hazel sits, leans back against a tree.]*  
Our eating is our profoundest enactment of our connection to the world.<sup>19</sup>  
Food creates a chain that connects us to our soils and makes us dependent on relationships.<sup>20</sup>  
These acorns were part of this very oak tree and part of the sun not that long ago.<sup>21</sup>

Hazel: *[Eating more acorns.]*  
It's been a long time since I've tasted such flavor.

Quercus: And a long time since you felt any connectedness? To your soils, your community, your family? *[In a softer voice.]* To your child?

Hazel: *[A few tears appear.]*  
You're right. *[Pause.]*  
I haven't felt close to my husband, my mom, this baby...

Quercus: And it's not you, Dear hazel. Your world makes everyone indifferent to connections, blind to severed parts.<sup>22</sup>

Hazel: My world? What- *[Interrupted by rustling in the leaves.]*

*[Another woman appears, also looks other-worldly, but at the same time "modern."]*

Quercus: Quince. What do you wish with us?

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<sup>18</sup> Ivan Illich discusses how pain is something we can learn from, and give an individual response to, or we can succumb to the anesthesia of the medical professions (Illich, 2002). Hazel must choose here if she will feel her human pain or choose the dehumanizing anesthesia that separates her from this major life event. This dilemma is symbolic of Hazel's choice to remain in her role as industrial worker, or build a convivial life with her husband and new child.

<sup>19</sup> "profoundest ... world" (Berry, 1990, p. 152).

<sup>20</sup> (Pollan, 2008, pp. 102-103).

<sup>21</sup> (Pollan, 2008, p. 99).

<sup>22</sup> "The industrial mind is a mind without compunction; it simply accepts that people, ultimately, will be treated as things and that things, ultimately, will be treated as garbage. Such a mind is indifferent to the connections, which are necessarily both practical and cultural, between people and land; which is to say that it is indifferent to the fundamental economy and economics of human life" (Berry, 1987, p. 168).

Quince: I wish no harm dear Quercus. Perhaps the young lady needs my help?

Hazel: You two know each other? Do you live here in the forest or something? Are you ... homeless?

Quince: *[Laughing strangely.]*  
Dear one, what is your name?

Hazel: Hazel.

Quince: Well, Hazel, we do, indeed, live here, but we are not homeless. We are- *[Pause.]*  
Did you say *Hazel*? *[Looks at Quercus, surprised.]*

Quercus: Leave her alone, Quince.

Quince: No, no. *[Smugly.]*  
This is perfect. *[Excitedly.]*  
Let me guess, you have a really great job, and you make decent money. I bet you don't have to cook your own food, do you? I bet you have other people to watch this new baby for you. I envy you, not living in this forest.

Quercus: *[Hisses.]* Quince!  
*[Darts up, grabs Quince, pulls her by the arm out of sight. Quercus is speaking—inaudible—to Quince as they leave the stage.]*

Hazel: What in the world?

*[Suddenly, another woman appears, with strikingly young features. She is also other-worldly in appearance.]*

Persimmon: Hello blessed Hazel. Are you in need of anything?

Hazel: *[Frightened, trying to get up.]*  
How do you know my name?

Persimmon: I am Persimmon, aid to Quercus. As she is detained, I will be at your assistance.

Hazel: Listen, I don't know what's going on here, uh...

Persimmon: Persimmon.

Hazel: ... Persimmon, but I don't really need you or those other two ladies. I just need you to call the hospital, if you don't mind. I'm afraid this baby might come soon.  
*[Breathes heavily, panting.]*

Persimmon: No telephones here. My apologies.

Hazel: Great. How am I supposed to have this baby?

Persimmon: We are fully equipped here to help you deliver your child.

Hazel: You have a doctor here?

Persimmon: No, Hazel. We are all women. Bringing new life into the world is part of who we are. We live in engendered bodies and we leave behind a trail of new life.<sup>23</sup>

Hazel: *[Enunciates each word, condescendingly.]*  
Uh, okay, but how can I get to a doctor?

Persimmon: Hazel, you don't need a doctor. You allow your needs to be met by professionals, but we are offering you something beyond the sterilization and separation of a hospital birth.<sup>24</sup>

Hazel: I can't believe... you're saying I'm going to have a natural birth in the middle of the forest because you don't have a phone?

*[Quercus reappears, smoothing out her clothes.]*

So what was that? You all live in this forest together but you don't like Quince?

Quercus: Well, Quince is still very disconnected. She needs to restore a few connections.

*[Pauses, looks over at Hazel.]*

Hazel, maybe it would be good for you to walk.

Hazel: *[Sarcastically.]*  
Well, you're the doctor.

*[Persimmon helps her up, the three begin walking very slowly.]*

Quercus: Hazel, where do you live Dear?

Hazel: On Division Street, by the Starbucks. Why?

Quercus: Division Street? And how long have you been living in division?

Hazel: I'm sorry, but why do you need to know this?

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<sup>23</sup> "engendered ... life" (Illich, 1982, p. 122).

<sup>24</sup> Ivan Illich (1982) describes that genderless medical care sterilizes and separates women from others during childbirth (p. 124).

Quercus: Hazel, you are very clearly indifferent to food and indifferent to the land.<sup>25</sup>  
These severed connections always lead to more problems, with your self and others.

Hazel: Hey, I'm doing just fine. So I'm feeling a little distant from others right now, so what? I have a career to build up, and I'm doing pretty well at that.

Quercus: *[They pause in their walk so Quercus can look directly at Hazel.]*  
Dear Hazel, you find you are invisible to yourself and others. You find no equality in the economy, and you don't recognize yourself in your own gender.<sup>26</sup>  
By buying products, you replace yourself.<sup>27</sup>  
You are severed from others and the earth.<sup>28</sup>

Hazel: Well maybe I'm no Zen-filled fruitcake, but I do have a solid marriage and a baby coming any minute.

Quercus: As for the baby, you have no gendered connection to it. It is simply another patient, a disconnected part to be managed<sup>29</sup> ... in day care I presume?

*[Hazel nods, thinking it over.]*

Quercus: And as for your marriage...

*[Hazel looks up at her, wiping a tear away. The three women sit again.]*

You have been mobile, unsettled, and without dwelling.<sup>30</sup>  
Just as you see fractures in the community from this disconnection to land, you see the failures in your own marriage.<sup>31</sup>  
You and your husband are consenting to an economy that exploits everyone and everything.<sup>32</sup>  
Marriage and the care of the earth are each other's disciplines. Each makes possible the enactment of fidelity toward the other.<sup>33</sup>

*[Hazel appears saddened and pensive, looking off in the distance.]*

Quercus: Hazel, when you lose respect for your body, you lose respect for all bodies: the bodies of your family members, animals, plants, the earth itself.

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<sup>25</sup> (Berry, 1987, p. 168).

<sup>26</sup> (Illich, 1982, p. 178).

<sup>27</sup> (Berry, 1990, p. 190).

<sup>28</sup> (Berry, 2002, p. 106).

<sup>29</sup> (Illich, 1998, p. 6).

<sup>30</sup> (Berry, 2002, p. 119).

<sup>31</sup> (Berry, 2002, p. 113).

<sup>32</sup> "consenting ... everything." (Berry, 1990, p. 185).

<sup>33</sup> "Marriage ... other." (Berry, 2002, p. 126).

All of your relationships become competitive and exploitive rather than collaborative and convivial.

All bodies are members of each other, but the body is degraded and saddened by being set in conflict against the earth.<sup>34</sup>

Hazel, you have the opportunity to heal, to restore connections—from the earth hazel [*points to hazelnut tree*], to the food hazel [*points to hazelnuts*], to the body Hazel [*gestures toward Hazel*].

Persimmon, why don't you and I go fetch some towels and hot water before Hazel's water breaks?

*[Persimmon nods, stands.]*

Quercus: Hazel, you just sit and rest. We'll return shortly. [*Kisses Hazel on the forehead.*]

*[Quercus and Persimmon walk off stage, talking to each other indistinctly.]*

Hazel: Oh, Corylus, I wish you were here.

*[Quince appears.]*

Quince: Okay, kiddo, you're all set. I flagged down some guy in a car who says he can drive you to a hospital.

Hazel: What?

Quince: Oh come on, you weren't seriously thinking of letting those two Betty Crockers deliver your baby, were you?

Hazel: Well, I didn't think I had much choice. Ow! Ahh! [*Leans over in pain.*]  
I think I'm having contractions and I think my water just broke.

Quince: Well, then let's get you to a hospital. You need a professional right now Hazel, not Mopsey and Dopsey. Besides, the faster you get to the hospital, the faster you get back to your job—what was it again?

Hazel: I'm an English profess- OW! [*Another contraction.*]

Quince: An English professor! You've worked so hard for your career. Now all you need is to get this delivery over with so you can keep moving up the ladder. Let's get you to that hospital.

Hazel: I don't think I'm going anywhere. This baby is coming now. Ah!

*[Another contraction, Hazel curling up in pain.]*

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<sup>34</sup> "when you lose ... earth." This is a reworded quote from Wendell Berry (2002, p. 101).

Quince: But don't you want an easy delivery, with the drugs? The nurse can take care of the baby while you sleep. You could be back to work the next day!<sup>35</sup>

Hazel: I don't know what I want. There's just so much pain!

*[Quercus reappears, Persimmon behind her with supplies.]*

Quercus: Quince! I told you to stay away from her.

Quince: Hey, it's her life. I'm just reminding her of her choices.

Quercus: Hazel, I feel I should tell you something important. Since Quince and I were young, the Great Spirit has foretold of your coming. Do you see those two hazelnut trees growing together? *[Points. Hazel looks, though breathing heavily.]*

Hazel: Sure. *[Panting.]* What about them?

Quercus: We knew a Hazel would one day come, bearing the offspring of the other Hazel. What did you say your husband's name was?

Hazel: Corylus.

Quercus: Exactly, another name for Hazel.

*[Hazel looks up, confused. Still breathing heavily.]*

Quercus: We knew this Hazel would need our assistance, and that she would only find restored connections with our help. Unfortunately, Quince has lost these connections herself and does not have your best interests in mind.

Quince: Hey, I just want out of this forest and into the real world, where people actually have jobs and don't spend their lives cooking. There's nothing wrong with that.

Hazel: I don't really know what you two are bickering about, but this baby is coming NOW!

*[Quince exits, unnoticed by the others.]*

Quercus: Oh, Hazel, push!

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<sup>35</sup> Here, we see how childbirth has become industrialized (Illich, 1980, p. ix.). The tools that professionals use to perform this service should be equally accessible in the home (Illich, 1980, p. 36). The medical profession changes a meaningful life event into professional service. "In his teaching, as in writing his 'pamphlets,' Illich refuses to participate in the medical ethics concocted by professionals who 'feel responsible for a life, from sperm to worm, or from fertilization to organ harvest, rather than for a suffering person'" (Prakash, 2002, p. 146).

Persimmon: *[At birth canal.]*  
Push!

*[Hazel grunts, screams in pain.]*

Persimmon: Push again!

Hazel: I don't think I can do this! It's too much pain!

Quercus: You can. You must, Hazel.

Persimmon: The head is out! One more big push, Hazel!

Hazel: Ahhhh! Ahhhhh!

*[Sounds of baby crying.]*

Quercus: You did it Hazel! You have a daughter!

*[Quercus hands baby to Hazel as Corylus appears, standing next to the two Hazelnut trees.]*

Corylus: Hazel! You're okay! Is that our...

Quercus: *[To Corylus.]* You have a beautiful new daughter.

Corylus: Oh Hazel, she's beautiful. *[Kisses Hazel, holds hand of baby.]*

Persimmon: Come with us to the pond and we'll wash her off. *[Takes child.]*

*[Corylus helps Hazel over to the pond.]*

Quercus: Have you a name for this child?

Hazel: *[Pauses for a minute, noticing that they are standing next to the two Hazelnut trees.]*  
Are these the two hazelnut trees you mentioned?

Quercus: Yes, Dear.

Hazel: And what is this growing between them?

Quercus: *[Looks down, surprised.]*  
You know, these were never here before today. It's rosemary.

Hazel: Cory, what do you think of the name Rosemary?

Corylus: It's perfect.

*[Kisses her again, then takes the swaddled baby from Persimmon.]*

Rosemary. *[Kisses the newborn's forehead.]*

Quercus: Amazing. Even the Great Spirit did not foretell of this new rosemary. Your daughter is indeed a miracle in every way. *[Bends over, picks up two hazelnuts.]*  
Hazel, Corylus, each of you take a hazelnut and toss it into the pond.

*[Hazel and Corylus each take one and toss it in the water.]*

Quercus: See there, how they bob in the water, yet remain close to each other? It is a good sign. You both are going to see life anew. You will restore all that was severed. Persimmon, it is time for us to leave.

Persimmon: Hazel, it has been my pleasure. Blessed be. *[Kisses Rosemary's forehead.]*

Quercus: Dear Hazel, remember all we talked about here today. You can begin anew. Blessings to you both, and your dear little Rosemary. You belong to each other now.<sup>36</sup> *[Kisses Hazel and Corylus each on the cheek, kisses Rosemary.]*

*[Quercus and Persimmon walk off.]*

Corylus: What was all that? They were kind of mysterious huh?

*[Music. We hear a recorded vocalist singing a haunting Celtic melody as the light softens.]*

Hazel: Shh. *[Puts her finger to his lips. Kisses him passionately while the baby sleeps.]*

*[Curtain closes.]*

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<sup>36</sup> "There are, however, still some married couples who understand themselves as belonging to their marriage, to each other, and to their children" (Berry, 1990, p. 181).



Scene III

*[Again in the forest. Hazel and Corylus walking on trail with now 5-year-old Rosemary between them. Hazel is again pregnant.]*

Hazel: Here it is, Rosemary, the spot where you were born. Right there, under that big oak tree.

Rosemary: Really? Was Daddy there?

Corylus: I found your Mom just as you were coming out. You were a little miracle. *[Hugs Rosemary affectionately.]*

Hazel: Actually, two nice ladies helped me. I remember one of them carried a basket *[Stops, sees the basket by the oak tree.]*  
No... couldn't be.

Rosemary: What Mommy?

Hazel: That basket by the oak tree. It's just like the one that lady carried, with fresh acorns. I can't believe it's still here.

Rosemary: Can I go play with it?

Hazel: Uh, sure. I guess.

*[Hazel smiles at Corylus. They kiss romantically.]*

Corylus: You know, I looked up the names of those women. Did you know they're all tree names?

Hazel: What? *[Looks confused.]*

Corylus: Yeah, remember you said my name is another name for Hazelnut tree? Turns out Quercus means oak, and Quince is a poisonous rose tree. Persimmon is a tree too.

Hazel: Huh. And the ladies aren't here any longer, but their trees are. I wonder what that all means. Were they ever real? Did I just imagine them? I guess it doesn't make much difference to me now. I'm just grateful I had that encounter, real or imagined. I remember how much things changed after that day.

Corylus: *[As they both watch Rosemary singing and dancing with Quercus's basket.]*  
That's an understatement! We both quit our jobs, and now we run a farmers market, and grow our own food—all because of your encounter with those

women in the forest.<sup>37</sup> I remember it was really difficult at first, such a big transition. It was really worth it though. *[Pause. Reflects on past.]*  
Remember when we went home that first night?

Hazel: Yeah, I wouldn't let her out of my arms. She stayed in my arms until she could walk.<sup>38</sup>

*[Hazel and Corylus smile at each other tenderly, clasp hands.]*

Corylus: And now we have another one on the way.

Hazel: Well, I picked Rosemary's name. Maybe you should pick this one.

Corylus: *[Long pause, turns to look at the two hazelnut trees.]*  
Do you see that Hazel?

Hazel: *[Turns.]*  
What? Our trees?

Corylus: No look, down by the rosemary plants. It's a little honeysuckle tree sprouting.

Hazel: Oh, no. Forget it. *[Chuckles.]* I'm not naming my daughter *Honeysuckle*.

Corylus: Well, it's actually an Amur Honeysuckle. What do you think of the name Amur?

Hazel: Amur ... I like it. *[Rubs her belly.]*

Rosemary: *[Runs up to Hazel and Corylus.]*  
Mommy! Daddy! Can we go home now? I'm hungry.

Hazel: Of course honey. Maybe after lunch we could pick some blueberries from the back yard. We'll see if Grandma wants to come help.

*[The three exit, hand-in-hand. Quercus appears, watching them exit.]*

Quercus: No longer living in division, they truly belong to each other.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hazel and Corylus have found a way of healing through restoring connections (Berry, 2002, p. 106). They are connecting their lives to their food and to the earth, and simultaneously reconnecting to each other. They are living their lives in equality, in a gendered commons, not through a genderless economy (Illich, 1982, p. 18, pp. 90-93). Wendell Berry (2002) discusses this process of healing and healthiness. "Only by restoring the broken connections can we be healed" (p. 132). "The parts are healthy insofar as they are joined harmoniously to the whole" (p. 106). "Healing is impossible in loneliness; it is the opposite of loneliness. Conviviality is healing" (p. 99). Hazel and Corylus have begun this journey back toward conviviality and healing.

<sup>38</sup> Here, I refer to the works of Thevenin (1987) and Liedloff (1977). In many pre-industrial and pre-modern cultures, women still keep children in their arms and in their beds until children are ready for independence. In our industrial society, we put children into cribs, strollers, and various other contraptions to give the mother "freedom." This freedom is often the mere freedom to do more paid work for the market economy.

Together, they create a whole which cannot be reduced to the sum of equal, merely interchangeable parts; a whole made of two hands, each of a different nature.<sup>40</sup>

*The End.*

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<sup>39</sup> (Berry, 1990, p. 181).

<sup>40</sup> "Together ... nature." (Illich, 1998, p. 4).

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## Energy and Equity in World Fisheries

Dean Bavington and Sajay Samuel

### Abstract

In his essay entitled, *Energy and Equity*, medieval historian and social critic Ivan Illich observed that the first step toward addressing the energy crisis is to recognize that there are thresholds "beyond which technical processes begin to dictate social relations. Calories are both biologically and socially healthy only as long as they stay within the narrow range that separates enough from too much."<sup>1</sup>

In order to uncover what "enough" might mean in the post-collapse cod fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the many other collapsed fisheries around the world, we focus on debates, since the 1850's, on the appropriateness of various fishing methods. We argue that the introduction of the cod jigger in the 19<sup>th</sup> century marks a transgression of natural thresholds beyond which technical imperatives began to dictate social relations, both among people and between codfish and people.

In the case of energy use, Illich shows that "the threshold of social disintegration by high energy quanta is independent from the threshold at which energy conservation produces physical destruction."<sup>2</sup> He argues that cultural and social thresholds are more sensitive than bio-physical ones, occurring much earlier and at lower levels of energy exploitation. More generally, his argument implies that the atrophy of the social imaginary by the industrial mind-set occurs far earlier than the damages to the physical environment due to runaway industrialization. This paper explores the extent to which the cod fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador exemplify Illich's observations on the timing and relationships among cultural, social and biophysical thresholds. We conclude by arguing that contemporary policy and management discussions on world fisheries are ineffectual and irrelevant because they are blind to the existence of natural thresholds associated with fish and fishing.

### Too many managers, too few fish

Worldwide the oceans are emptying of fish. Since the 1990s, wild fish landings have steadily declined. Officially, the Fisheries and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations reports that approximately 80% of global fish stocks are fully exploited or have collapsed. Ninety percent of large carnivorous fish have been removed from the world's oceans by industrial fishing fleets. A recent paper in *Science* notes that all commercially valuable species will collapse within a generation if current trends continue. Fish grown on farms now comprise close to half the global consumption of fish.<sup>3</sup>

Almost 500 years ago, the Grand Banks off the island of Newfoundland on Canada's east

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Illich, *Energy and Equity* IN. Toward a History of Needs (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 26

<sup>3</sup> FAO, *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture 2008* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 2009); World Bank and FAO, *The Sunken Billions: The Economic Justification for Fisheries Reform* (Washington, DC: Agriculture and Rural Development Series, 2009); Pauly D, Watson R, Alder J. *Global trends in world fisheries: impacts on marine ecosystems and food security*. (Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Biological Sciences 360:5-12, 2005); Myers R, Worm, B *Rapid worldwide depletion of predatory fish communities* (Nature 423:280-283, 2003).

coast teemed with such an abundance of codfish that they reportedly choked the passage of vessels. Since 1992, cod have disappeared from the Northwest Atlantic and the resulting moratorium on cod fishing continues to this day. Yet, cod have not recovered and the fish has recently been recommended as a candidate for Canada's endangered species list. The moratorium on fishing also led to the largest single day layoff in Canadian history affecting over 30,000 people in a province with a population under 500,000.

The collapse of the Newfoundland and Labrador cod fishery (once the world's largest ground fishery) has become legendary and reflects global fishing trends writ large. While there are many studies adding footnotes to these dismal figures, the overwhelming scientific consensus implicates overfishing as the major cause—too many fishermen chasing too few fish. If excessive fishing has been identified as the problem, scientific management is seen as the solution and contemporary scientific research and policy are focused on the task of reinventing fisheries science and management.

All is not well, however, in the world of fisheries science and management. As early as 1980, Robert Francis noted a strange paradox: "Reasonably successful fisheries seem to be those about which little is known ... and the least successful fisheries are those heavily studied." He posed a question that has yet to be answered: "What is it about fisheries science specifically, or the science of renewable resource management in general, that makes this true?"<sup>4</sup> The cod fishery collapse provides a clear example of the paradox identified by Francis. The cod fishery was scientifically managed into non-existence. Before the collapse it was considered the most successfully managed fishery in the world. While inshore cod fishermen warned that the cod fishery was on the verge of collapse well before the moratorium was imposed in 1992 their knowledge and arguments were dismissed as being anecdotal and unscientific. Since the collapse of the fishery in 1992, the policies and plans of fisheries scientists and managers continue to take precedence over the voices of fishermen. Contrary to the calm reassurances made by reform minded managers, we contend that since scientific management was the dominant cause of the collapse of the cod fishery the knowledge of fishermen rooted in the perception of natural thresholds should now guide the efforts to restore it.<sup>5</sup>

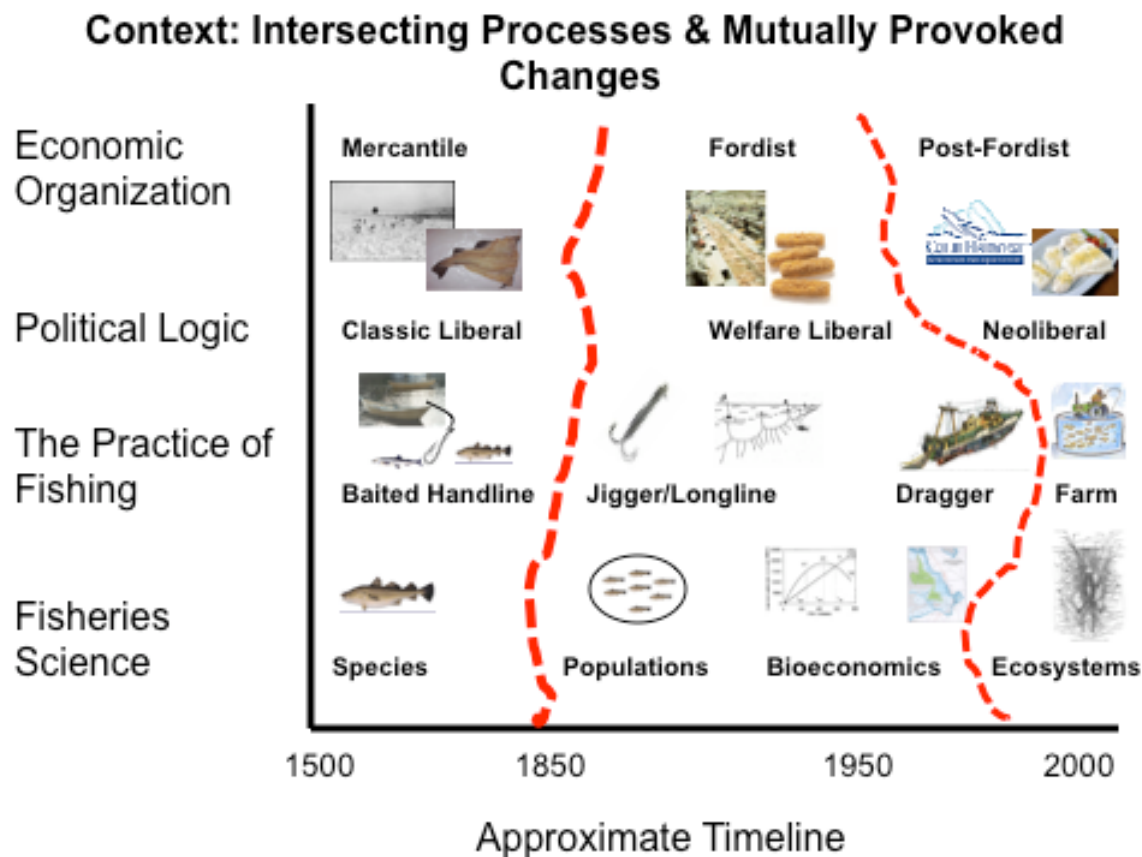
In the first section of this paper, we sketch out when, why, and how the cod fisheries in Newfoundland came to be managed and describe four mutually provoked moments that constitute the epistemic space for the scientific management of fish, fishermen and fishing (*see* Figure 1). We focus on the history of fisheries science and technology to show that scientific fisheries management necessarily devastates the objects of its concern. In the second half of the paper, we explore alternatives to scientific fisheries management by attending to the voices of cod fishermen and their consistent protests at the introduction of novel fishing technology. We conclude by arguing that fisheries policy makers, scientists and managers consistently fail to understand the words and deeds of fishing people due in part to a general blindness to the existence of natural thresholds in fishing.

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Francis, *Fisheries science now and in the future: a personal view* (New Zealand Journal of Marine & Freshwater Research 14 (1): 95-100, 1980)

<sup>5</sup> Dean Bavington, *Managed Annihilation: An Unnatural History of the Newfoundland Cod Collapse*. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010)

**Figure 1**



### Managed endangerment

For most of human history, fisheries have neither been managed, nor been an object of techno-scientific research and development. To this day, fishing is primarily a small-scale subsistence activity, subjected to the rhythms of season and tide, subservient to the nature of fish, and of the ability of fishermen. By the latest count, artisanal fishermen outnumber workers on the world's industrialized fleets by a factor of sixty. They receive a fifth of the public money given to the industrial fleets and yet catch as much fish. They produce none of the pollution routinely generated by industrial fishing, avoid harm to spawning fish and habitat, and waste none of their catch. Oriented primarily toward fishing for food instead of for profit, the wide array of artisanal fisheries do not mistake fish for a commodity, fishermen for workers, or fishing as employment.

It is widely recognized that the science of fisheries management is just over a century old. In this retelling of the history of the Newfoundland cod fishery, we identify four mutually provoked moments that together constitute the space for the scientific management of the fishery. In what follows, we highlight, (1) The economic organization of the cod fishery; (2) The political logics that governed it; and focus on (3) The techniques of fishing and; (4) Fisheries science (Figure 1). We focus on techno-science to avoid the all too facile explanation of the cod fisheries collapse as an instance of the inappropriate use or application of techno-science by

economic and political interests. We use the term ‘techno-science’ to highlight the inapplicability of a supposed distinction between a ‘pure’ science and an ‘applied’ technology or indeed between ‘science’ and ‘politics’ in the history of fisheries management. In contrast, fisheries management reveals precisely an arena in which techniques, science, and politics, and economics are deliberately brought into mutual play.

Therefore, we understand each of the four moments as forming a network or assemblage and in theory we could have begun with any of the four. Furthermore, none of these are self-sufficient categories. They shade and even blend into each other. We assume for example that economic arrangements cannot be neatly separated from political logics, that technical innovations in fishing are not necessarily independent of scientific theories of fish and fisher folk. Nor do events captured within these four analytical moments unfold in perfect concert. For example, there are no facile casual links between neo-liberalism and fish farms (*see* Figure 1).

Instead, each of these moments has their own trajectories, periodicities, and points of displacement. One element can provoke another much later in time and space; a given change here could well influence or modulate another one there. To speak of networks, complex systems or assemblages is to leave the world of simple linear causality. However, we will leave the observation and description of such ‘science in the making’ to others. Our focus in this paper is on giving a plausible account of the techno-scientific destruction of the Newfoundland cod fisheries and the contemporary relevance of the knowledge and practices of cod fishermen.

### **A brief history of the cod fishery**

For most of the 500-year history of the cod fishery, fishing was done using a baited hook on a single line dropped over the side of a small row boat called a dory. Though larger boats were used seasonally to reach the offshore fishing banks, fishing required cod to be hungry to go for the bait which limited the fishing season to the roughly 6-8 week period when cod followed their main food source—capelin—in from the offshore banks. Once cod gorged themselves on capelin they would stop biting at the baited hooks and the cod fishery would come to an end.

Merchants, who loaned money as capital to the fishermen, usually indexed the repayments to the sale of fish. Accordingly, the customary practice was for loans and interest to be repaid during the fishing season. As the scale of the merchant’s operations grew, the mismatch between the abstract, numerically driven loan repayment schedules and the comings and goings of the codfish became unprofitable for the merchant. Not only was the length of the fishing season variable, but more crucially, the quantity of the catch in a given season would also naturally fluctuate. The customary practice of carrying forward loans or forgiving debts on account of unexpected changes in catch thus became a problem for finance capital. Merchants wanted a more reliable flow of codfish to match the constancy of mathematically induced loan repayments. The fishermen could do little to change the natural rhythms of codfish, attuned to seasons, temperature, and other imponderables. However, fishermen were tempted and encouraged to the solution of increasing the catch. Specifically, in response to the demand for increasing the annual catch, many fishermen began to experiment with and adopt more intensive technologies for fishing.

In the middle of the nineteenth century (1850s), after close to 350 years using the baited hook and line method, the practice of cod fishing began to change with the introduction of a slew of new technologies. These technologies intensified the fishery, dramatically increasing the amount of baited hooks in the water and extending the fishing season in time and across space.



The first of the new tools introduced was the cod jigger. The jigger allowed cod to be fished after they were glutted full of capelin, lied logy on the bottom of the fishing grounds, refusing to bite at baited hooks. The jigger (two hooks attached to a lead weight cast into the *image* of a capelin) would be dropped down into a school of satiated cod and quickly moved up and down until one of the hooks pierced a codfish so that it could be hauled aboard the boat. A related fishing tool was the longline or bultow, introduced by the French which consisted of a main long line attached to dozens of fishing lines and hooks launched off the end of a boat and kept afloat with glass buoys on either end. Traps, seines and gillnets were other fishing technologies introduced during the last half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These new technologies transformed fishing from the agonal activity of hunting a living being to the activity of harvesting a valuable resource. Thus technological innovation presupposed ignoring the nature of fish and the culture of fishing.

With the arrival of the first bottom dragger in 1956, natural thresholds in the cod fishery were completely transcended. Draggers allowed cod fishing to take place at any time of the year and in almost any part of the ocean without concern about weather conditions, the hunger of cod, or other natural phenomena. The diesel-powered factory freezer trawler or “dragger” was constructed in the post-WWII period when the technologies of war were applied to capturing fish, vastly increasing production. Of the 100 million tons of cod that is estimated to have been captured from 1500-1992, it took 400 years to hunt down half of that number, and under 100 years for the new technologies to harvest the remaining 50 million tons.

Since the cod have collapsed, the latest fishing technology to be applied is the industrial cod farm. Referred to as the culture verses capture fishery by Canadian fisheries managers, the complete lifecycle of cod can now be controlled and industrially produced from “egg-to-plate.”

### **A history of cod fisheries science**

For most of the history of the cod fishery, knowledge of the fish was based on qualitative observations made by fishermen. Little was known about the movements of cod or what caused inter-annual fluctuations in landings. There were no quantitative models, laws or paradigms of research—in short fisheries *science* did not exist. This phase was largely disconnected from the development interests of both the state and the fishing industry and began to change in the 1850s when governments (under pressure from fish merchants and investors) started to recruit scientists to discover what caused inter-annual fluctuations in landings and to uncover the natural laws that determined years of lean and plenty.

When biological research began into marine fisheries the dominant theory explaining inter-annual fluctuations in catches was the so-called Polar Migration Theory. This theory hypothesized that all marine fish migrated en masse in the fall and winter to the polar region and returned south the following spring and summer. Fluctuations in the availability of cod on specific fishing grounds was thought to be caused by the vagaries of individual cod migration routes to and from the Pole.

In the 1880s German biologist Frederick Heincke started to combine statistical methods he borrowed from the study of human populations to observations of morphological features of herring that had been caught in different fishing locales. He was the first to apply quantitative methods to the study of fish and was insistent that population thinking be applied to the study of

fisheries.<sup>6</sup> By the 1930s, the notion of “population” derived from the science of demography had created a scientific field devoted to understanding fish as members of statistically determined single species populations. By the 1950s, population models were developed to predict the amount of surplus-biomass (or live weight of fish) produced each year by a specific fish population, labeled Maximum Sustainable Yield (MSY), which if extracted would maintain stable annual landings in perpetuity. MSY became a global fisheries policy goal after WWII when the United States fought to have the construct embedded in international fisheries agreements to allow their distant-water industrial fleets to continue the practice of taking fish from the coastal waters of undeveloped, poorer countries.<sup>7</sup>

While the surplus-production model allowed fisheries scientists to determine the maximum sustainable yield from fish populations, there was no way to guarantee that fishermen would behave accordingly. This was especially true of new fishing technologies that allowed continuous fishing on factory freezer trawlers. At the peak of the Newfoundland cod fishery, trawlers from over 20 nations were competing for the fish on the offshore banks creating a “city of lights” on the fishing grounds. By 1968, this “cod rush” off Newfoundland resulted in a “killer spike”—the largest annual landings of cod ever recorded—and a precipitous decline in landings thereafter.

By reframing this decline as a “tragedy of the commons,” economists joined biologists to widen the scope of scientific fisheries management. Economists claimed to be able to predict how fishermen would act and the economically rational rate to harvest fish populations. Fishermen would behave as rational economic actors and profit would be maximized from cod only if access to the fish could be limited and controlled. The economic logic of transforming the commons into property led to enclosing Canadian fishing grounds within a 200 mile limit, enshrined in the United Nations Law of the Sea. This public property, divided and allocated as quotas, was thought to create the incentives necessary for economically rational fishermen.

And yet in 1992, the cod fisheries collapsed. Permanently. Despite what was recognized worldwide as the most advanced, well-funded, scientific fisheries management regime, the cod fishery of Newfoundland was destroyed.

Yet the response to the techno-scientifically engineered collapse of cod has been to expand the scope of techno-science. The failure of cod fisheries management has been misread as a failure *in* management. Therefore, attention has been directed at developing a new and improved science of fisheries management resulting in two main responses. First, the elaboration of the ecosystem view in the context of fisheries is establishing versions of ecosystem-based fisheries management. Fisheries scientists are increasingly representing wild

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<sup>6</sup> Heincke encouraged the shift from qualitative natural history to quantitative fisheries science with the following rhetoric: “Pronounced aversion toward measurements and numbers...is admissible when it is a manner of gaining a quick overview about the manifold varieties of organic forms, and is pardonable when the pleasure of the composing artist in the beauty and variety of forms and in His fanciful conceptions is greater than the sense for exploration of the analytical scholar; but this aversion toward measurement and numbers, which at times is heightened into contempt, is incomprehensible, inadmissible, and unpardonable when the scholar demands that his labours be regarded as a contribution to the knowledge of the true laws of nature. - Frederick Heincke 1898 *quoted in* Sinclair, M. and Solemdal, P. *The Development of “Population Thinking” in Fisheries Biology Between 1878-1930* (Aquatic Living Resources. 1: 189-213, 1988), 195

<sup>7</sup> The history of the MSY construct and its political verses scientific virtues in particular for the cold war era United States are detailed in Carmel Finley, *A Political History of Maximum Sustained Yield, 1945-1955 in Oceans Past: Management insights from the history of marine animal populations*, ed. David Starkey, Paol Holm, and Michaela Barnard (London: Earthscan, 2008), 189-214. And Smith, T. *Scaling Fisheries: The science of measuring the effects of fishing, 1855-1955*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

cod as elements in complex ecosystems where many of the equilibrium and averaging assumptions, which permitted predictions of population biomass and MSY are now admitted to being false. However, since ecosystem models with accurate predictive ability have not yet become available (and some scientists argue they are theoretically impossible given the uncertainty and complexity of perturbed aquatic systems) the bio-economic models still remain the dominant tools in use, even if used with increased caution and ironic recognition of their unreliability. Fisheries science, therefore, is in the middle of a crisis, searching for a revolution to operationalize the ecosystem paradigm into fisheries management.

The second response to the collapse of the cod fisheries in 1992 has been the development of egg-to-plate aquaculture. In the post-moratorium period scientists and entrepreneurs—with the help of significant expertise from regional public universities and extensive financing and enabling policies from provincial and federal Canadian governments—learned how to manage domesticated cod populations throughout their entire lifecycle. A cod hatchery was built and cod brood stocks were developed through a cod genome project that identified genetic traits in the fish that were amenable to rapid growth and resistance to diseases and stressors associated with confined growth in sea cages. Coastal grow out sites were surveyed and licenses issued. Dependable, scientifically formulated feed sources were engineered and government loan guarantees for the aquaculture industry established. The demise of *Gadus morhua* was now presented as a profitable business opportunity. By 2003, *Fish Farming International*, the world's leading source of aquaculture information, was proclaiming a “Cod Comeback” in Canada.

### **Natural thresholds and environmental justice**

[T]he avoidance of an even more horrible degradation depends on the effective recognition of a threshold in energy consumption beyond which technical processes begin to dictate social relations — Ivan Illich<sup>8</sup>

In *Energy and Equity*, Ivan Illich argues that the first step toward addressing environmental and social issues like energy use and transportation in industrial society, or the loss of fish and fishermen as we have been describing, is to recognize that there are thresholds “beyond which technical processes begin to dictate social relations.” Just as with calories, fishing is both “biologically and socially healthy only as long as they stay within the narrow range that separates enough from too much.”<sup>9</sup> Determining what sufficiency, or enough might mean in world fisheries runs counter to scientific fisheries management that is oriented toward sustaining maximum annual fish landings.

In order to uncover what “enough” might mean in the cod fishery, we focus on the debates that emerged during the 1850s (and which continue today) surrounding the appropriateness of baited-hooks-and-hand-lines verses cod jiggers and other fishing technologies. We argue that the jigger marks the transgression of a natural threshold. Baited hooks and hand lines have an unmatched ability to stay within crucial biological and social thresholds associated with the nature of codfish, fishermen and the practice of fishing. Fishing people have persistently recognized the importance of thresholds related to fishing and have consistently demanded laws to ban fishing practices they deemed to have violated the thresholds. Those in charge of fisheries (scientists, governors, managers, investors and industrialists),

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<sup>8</sup> Ivan Illich, *Energy and Equity* IN. Toward a History of Needs (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 28

<sup>9</sup> Ivan Illich, *Energy and Equity* IN. Toward a History of Needs (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 24

however, have consistently failed to respond to the charges of fishermen, they often cannot recognize even the existence of thresholds favoring representations of fish as calculable and controllable single species populations.

The jigger inaugurates the transformation of cod fishing from an agonal hunting of fleshy wild cod to a harvesting of cod understood as biomass, a natural resource, standing reserve, industrial input, and swimming inventory. And the documented resistance of fishing people in Newfoundland and Labrador to the jigger, from the moment it appears, illustrates their sophisticated understanding of the consequences of threshold crossing on the nature of cod and the character of the fisherman and the fishing community. The resistance of cod fishermen to the jigger and other novel fishing gears continues to be dismissed by fisheries scientists and managers because the biological and social consequences perceived by fishermen often fail to manifest themselves in ways detectable to fisheries science.

The arguments of fishermen against fishing gear deemed to violate crucial thresholds are fundamentally different in kind from scientific management that focuses on identifying underlying problems amenable to technological solutions. Baited hooks and hand lines embed cod fishermen in thick and interconnected biological and social contexts. When cod fishing occurs with a baited hook and line, in the hands of an experienced fisherman, the human senses become engaged with the ocean and its creatures. The baited hook and line does augment the powers of the fisherman beyond what he can do with a spear or with his bare hands. Yet it does not magnify his powers to a point beyond his physical capacities as do powered tools. Nor does it diminish the powers of the codfish as do jiggers. The baited hook and line gives the codfish its due, respecting its migratory patterns, rhythms of eating and sleeping, and cycles of reproduction. When limited by the baited hook and line, the cod-fisheries end when the fish migrate, the codfish can be hunted only when they are hungry, and Mother fish are not killed especially when spawning. Fisheries science on the other hand, requires no engagement with the fish as a living being. Instead, the fish is understood to be an economic resource whose harvest quantity is determined through statistical sampling and population modeling.

In *Energy and Equity* Illich explains what causes such a time lag between the recognition of transgressed thresholds by fishermen, and the appearance of fishery problems that call out for solutions delivered by scientists and managers. In the case of energy use, Illich shows that “the threshold of social disintegration by high energy quanta is independent from the threshold at which energy conservation produces physical destruction.”<sup>10</sup> He argues that social and cultural thresholds are more sensitive than bio-physical ones, occurring much earlier in human history and at lower levels of energy exploitation. Protests against jiggers in the 1850s prefigure, by over one hundred years, the emergence of fisheries science and management and precede by 150 years the actual biological collapse of cod stocks and the social collapse of cod fishing as a way of life.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ivan Illich, *Energy and Equity* IN. *Toward a History of Needs* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 23

<sup>11</sup> For a list of the many attempts by fishing people to protest the introduction of threshold breaching fishing gears see Callum Roberts *The Unnatural History of the Sea* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2007) especially chapter ten. For examples specific to the cod fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador see the canonical Harold Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954) and Cadigan, S. *Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-settler relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855*. (Toronto: University Of Toronto Press, 1995); The Moral Economy of the Commons: Ecology and Equity in the Newfoundland Cod Fishery, 1815-1855. *Labour/Le Travail*. 43(Spring):9-42; Failed Proposals for Fisheries Management and Conservation in Newfoundland, 1855-1880. In. *Fishing Places, Fishing People*. Eds. D. Newell and R. Ommer. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; and 2003, *The Moral Economy of Retrenchment and*

### **Fishing as a way of life attuned to natural thresholds**

While changes in the practice of cod fishing are most often presented as linear stories of progress, with baited hooks and hand lines being inevitably replaced by more efficient capital-intensive fishing technologies, there have been weak but consistent voices that tell a very different tale. These voices are best understood in their own words. Below are the words of an inshore cod fisherman who addressed an assembly of government officials, fisheries scientists, students, researchers and fellow cod fishermen: "Killing fish, that's what I do for a living. And do it quite proudly too. But we've got the technology developed that we can catch the last one that's out there... We've developed and become very very efficient at killing fish. But we started out with the hook and line -- Inshore cod fisherman."<sup>12</sup>

Repeated protests and political action by fishing people from around the world in response to the introduction of industrial fishing technologies, has mostly not received significant support from fisheries scientists, managers or politicians. The current official position of Canadian fisheries managers and politicians is "that no specific gear type is inherently destructive depending on how they are used."<sup>13</sup> This stance has led the government to focus on techno-scientific approaches to resolve Canadian fisheries issues. The Canadian government has also recently rejected a United Nations proposal for a global ban on bottom trawling. Fisheries scientists and managers seem blind to thresholds that are perceptible to the common sense of fishermen. Most often, fisheries issues are reduced to scientific problems amenable to managerial solutions. Once fishing issues are framed in techno-scientific terms, the management of fishing technology, rather than political and juridical interventions to ban specific fishing gears (as demanded by cod fishermen since the 1850s), becomes the approach taken toward fisheries. Unlike the fishermen, fisheries scientists, managers and politicians have repeatedly failed to grasp essential distinctions between different fishing gears and practices. Ever since Heincke's founding work, fisheries science and management have focused on quantitative measures to discover how much fishy biomass is available for maximum industrial exploitation rather than developing a detailed sense of how fishing is actually conducted, or and the implications of different types of gear on the nature of fish and the character of the fisherperson and their community.

Figure 1 provides a good opportunity to examine some of the thresholds associated with the history of fishing practices, the identity of the cod fisherperson, and the biological status of codfish under baited hook and hand lining verses cod jigging. The baited hook and hand line method requires the codfish to be alive & hungry; that fishing be actively conducted in baiting, throwing, enticing and hauling in the line with the wild fish struggling on the other end; and finally that the agonistic relation between cod and the fisherperson be played out. The fisherman uses all his senses and experienced skills to entice a hungry codfish to bite a baited hook at a particular time and place.

In contrast, jiggers, trawlers and gill nets are techniques to capture even sleeping,

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Regeneration in the History of Rural Newfoundland. In. *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland*. Ed. R. Byron. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

<sup>12</sup> Comments by an inshore cod fisherman on March 24<sup>th</sup>, 2003 at a meeting of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.

<sup>13</sup> Canadian Fisheries Minister, 2004, United Nations Address at New York headquarters on technology and overfishing.

spawning and satiated cod—the nature of the cod’s behavior is eclipsed and obscured by the power of the technology. Fish hunting is reduced to fish harvesting—operating tools that demand no relationship between cod and the fisherperson since cod are killed and scooped out of the sea as an abstract quota of biomass—legally sanctioned property.

Differences between fishing practices are embedded within a large set of intersecting processes with complex histories. What we believe is crucially important today is to help clarify the thresholds that separate “enough” from “too much” in world fisheries. Following Illich, we expect this to require hard work to create an effective political sphere where deliberations on what is appropriate and fitting for human relationships with fish remain open to the common sense of fishing people rather than being dominated, as in the past, by the deadly nonsense spouted by fisheries scientists, investors and managers.

Contemporary discussions surrounding world fisheries consistently fail to understand the arguments of fishing people in part because of a generalized blindness to the existence of thresholds that high energy industrial tools and ways of living transgress and ultimately obliterate. The colonization of the mind by scientific constructs such as single species fish populations and maximum sustainable yield (MSY) occurs prior to the social disruption and ecological collapse that often follows their real world application. Recovering from the atrophies of the mind caused by techno-scientific constructs is necessary if we are to avoid the deadly paradox of fisheries knowledge that produces what it is designed to prevent. The continued reliance on a form of scientific fisheries management that is oblivious to natural thresholds opens to a kind of life-boat ethics-where the survival of each requires suppressing the liberty of all. Listening to the arguments of hook-and-line fishermen, restoring the priority of subsistence over commercial production, and joining the global ban on bottom trawling could start to address the history of threshold breaching in world fisheries.

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**Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, and Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement**

By Richard Kahn.

New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 2010. 208 pp. ISBN 978-1-4331-0545-6

Reviewed by Peter Buckland and Jacqueline Edmondson

In December 2009 thousands of leaders, experts and activists attended the United Nation's climate summit in Copenhagen, Denmark (COP 15). These so-called leaders reached no meaningful agreement to decelerate or curb climate change. Don Brown, director of Penn State's Collaborative Program on the Ethics of Climate Change, attended the conference and reported that the United States, China, India, Brazil, and South Africa demolished two years of negotiated potential action begun after the 2007 Bali, Indonesia climate talks.<sup>1</sup> If COP 15 stands, *homo educandus*, Earth's dominant animal, will deliberately warm Earth's atmosphere by up to 5.2° Celsius this century.<sup>2</sup> *Homo solidaris* must reeducate, retool, and reconstruct for conviviality even as *homo educandus* pushes us into this ecocidal abyss.

In this context, Richard Kahn's *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, and Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement* challenges educators to critically engage and join the nascent but growing international ecopedagogy movement. Ecopedagogy's complex and inclusive roots lie within early environmental education and educators' and philosophers' teachings including those of Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, and Herbert Marcuse. Invested ecopedagogues seek to cultivate and appreciate human beings' collective and communal potentials in the struggle to achieve convivial life on Earth. We see ecopedagogy as a potential Illichean social and educational "tool for conviviality," a tool that creates the possibility for "individual freedom realized in personal interdependence."<sup>3</sup>

Kahn's book traces ecopedagogy's historical and philosophical roots, its implications, and its current possibilities in literacy, technology and science education. The book casts a wide net across multiple and complex influences that contribute to our current yet evolving understandings of ecopedagogy. As Douglas Kellner notes at the volume's end:

Kahn is thus sketching out a project that requires further development, debate, and new concepts and teaching strategies as we learn more about the environment, ecological crisis, and ways we can develop a more sustainable lifestyle and ways of living on this planet.<sup>4</sup>

We agree with Kellner and hope this review will encourage readers to seriously engage Kahn's work and the broader discussions needed as we struggle toward human and non-human conviviality. To encourage this engagement we focus this review on three areas Kahn expresses as priorities in the opening of his book:

1. the radicalization and proliferation of ecoliteracy programs both within schools and

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Brown, "Climate Change, Climate Justice: Lessons from Copenhagen" (paper presented at the Climate Justice panel discussion, University Park, Pennsylvania, January 24, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> David Chandler, "Revised MIT Climate Model Sounds Alarm," *TechTalk* 53:26 (2009), <http://web.mit.edu/newsoffice/2009/techtalk53-26.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1973), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas Kellner, "Afterword," in Richard Kahn, *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, & Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement* (New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 2010), 153.

society;

2. creation of liberatory opportunities for building alliances of praxis between scholars and the public (especially activists) on ecopedagogical interests;
3. fomenting critical dialogue and self-reflective solidarity across the multitude of groups that make up the educational left during an extraordinary time of extremely dangerous planetary crisis.<sup>5</sup>

We will address each of these in turn in what follows.

### *Ecoliteracy programs*

Kahn closely attends to literacy throughout this book. Relying on Paulo Freire, who defined literacy as reading the world and the word,<sup>6</sup> Kahn engages critical readings of texts, practices, and policies. Some of the most interesting and compelling moments come through his own critical demonstrations.

In the book's introduction, Kahn critically reads environmental and outdoor education projects. The School of Environmental Studies (also called the "Zoo School") in Apple Valley, Minnesota provides high school students with an experiential learning lab school on the zoo's grounds. The Zoo School promotes itself as a way for students to meet academic standards naturally and improve their test scores across all subject areas as they learn to 'do science'.<sup>7</sup>

While this project appears to provide engaging opportunities for students to learn more about nature, Kahn's analysis illuminates the illusion. The Zoo School builds itself on neoliberal assumptions about schooling and the environment, leading to what Kahn describes as "a real *illiteracy* about the nature of ecological catastrophe, its causes, and possible solutions."<sup>8</sup> Kahn points to critical gaps in the experience: there is no engagement of the history and nature of zoos; there are no opportunities for students to critically engage the social and political problems the zoo has presented within this local community; and no alternatives—including the ecological benefits of a vegan diet—are provided as options for students. The resultant idealization of animal life and family farms fails to foster ecopedagogical understandings about human relationships with non-human life.

Kahn's critiques extend beyond discrete examples to encompass U.S. education policies, including *No Child Left Behind* and the *National Educational Technology Plan*, as well as international policies such as the *United Nation's Project 2000+: Scientific and Technological Literacy for All*. He disrupts narrowly held understandings of technology and literacy that function to isolate and limit engagement as he considers the possibilities both offer in our crisis-filled world.

To move forward, ecopedagogues must critically engage literacy issues as a central component of this movement. Kahn's work impels this discussion. Kahn relies on understandings of multiple literacies—which he distinguishes from the New London Group's ideas about multiliteracies—to develop a theory of multiple technoliteracies. Kahn believes these

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<sup>5</sup> Richard Kahn, *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, & Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 2010), 27-28.

<sup>6</sup> Paulo Freire & Donald Macedo, *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Kahn, *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, & Planetary Crisis*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 9, emphasis ours.



literacies will allow people to become more ethical producers who can redesign and reconstruct technology toward people's needs rather than desires. He navigates readers toward this conceptualization of multiple technoliteracies through overly quick discussions of literacy, critical multiple literacies, and critical media studies. To more completely inform the ecopedagogy movement, this discussion needs to be slowed down, contested, and debated by critically engaged educators. Ecopedagogues need to direct their attention toward literacies that engage and critically read both the natural and artificial worlds to deepen understandings of new possibilities for convivial life. Reading the world involves both technological and non-technological conditions as the public comes to understand the signs and conditions that indicate global environmental crisis in addition to fostering shared stories and meanings, a point we flesh out later in this review. In this fashion, Freire's ideas about public pedagogy, which have been further elaborated by Henry Giroux and others, have much to contribute to ecopedagogy's project.

### *Alliance Building*

Kahn's second goal seeks to "create liberatory opportunities for building alliances of praxis between scholars and the public (especially activists) on ecopedagogical interests."<sup>9</sup> The book, on the surface, accomplishes this by incorporating Freire's development of literacy for critical consciousness, Illich's dialectical historiography to develop social critique, and a Marcusean view toward potential dialogue and coeducation between moderated, radicalized, and militant ecoactivists. We find his discussion most fruitful and productive in Illich's and Marcuse's cases.

As ecopedagogy evolves, it will need to critically engage technology and practically navigate paths within and without institutional life. On the first point, Kahn notes that Illich did not demonize tools per se but saw that *homo economicus* and *homo educandus* transforms its tools from "'means to ends' into the ends in themselves, and they thus alter the social, natural, and psychological environments in which they arise."<sup>10</sup> This hearkens back to Illich's analysis of how cars, buses, and planes monopolize traffic, reducing people to the means of industrial transportation at our own peril when feet and bicycles can sustain economic, social, and biotic communities.<sup>11</sup> Therefore we foresee ecopedagogues necessarily developing formal and informal curricula that seek to answer Kahn's questions about who and what technology serves, who it excludes and why, and the strategies that should be pursued.

Consider for a moment the social, natural, and economic costs associated with using iPhones, Droids, Blackberries, laptops that get ever smaller, and other emerging personal widgetry. Any utilitarian calculation whose primary goal is conviviality will have to do some ethical acrobatics to justify using some of these tools – tools we note that may not be equally convivial. An investigation of the ecological and social costs of the supply chain behind these devices exposes pollution from "resource" extraction, human suffering, greenhouse gas intensive processes at every step from extraction to implementation, cradle-to-grave versus cradle-to-cradle production models, and more. We note one of Wendell Berry's reasons for not buying a computer: "It should not replace or disrupt anything good that already exists, and this includes

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>11</sup> Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality*, 52.

family and community relationships.”<sup>12</sup> Perhaps ecopedagogical technoliteracy would result in refusal. Others, Kahn invites us to consider, might result in actual attacks on modern industrial technology, a point we will return to below.

*Fomenting critical dialogue*

We believe that Kahn’s third goal brings the constructive ecopedagogue to the table by inviting “critical dialogue and self-reflective solidarity across the multitude of groups that make up the educational left during an extraordinary time of extremely dangerous planetary crisis.”<sup>13</sup> Here we hope to foster some of that discussion with Kahn and within the movement at large, noting that the goal here is solidarity and not gamesmanship.

Kahn puts forth the idea that traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) ought to be considered science, such as that which Shoshonee Indians believe and practice near a U.S. nuclear weapon testing facility. We find Kahn’s classification of TEK too indiscriminate. We note that we find Western science problematic as an instrument of education, development, and empire, that the sciences and their uses have inhibited multicultural and social justice,<sup>14</sup> and that the ethical and political critique in which Kahn situates himself should and does give us pause. Our discussion here does not disagree with him. However, we think that Kahn’s description of TEK as science creates a methodological issue that will encounter serious resistance from many working scientists. This is no small problem for ecopedagogy.

To our minds, science must be methodologically natural, i.e. use nature to explain nature. No science worth the name can smuggle the supernatural into its descriptions, explanations, or predictions. To do that is to open a floodgate of pseudoscience into naturalistic methods. As Kahn explains it, we suspect that aspects of TEK are pseudoscientific and some are not.

TEK might count as science if its descriptions, explanations, and predictions are naturalistic. Where TEK has been adopted/co-opted by Western modern science, it has been in part because it has satisfied naturalistic criteria. For example, what the Iroquois considered “knowledge” about their agricultural practices might have been science as it came about through the testing and retesting of social, biological, chemical, and physical arrangements and the compiled corroborative evidence of numerous generations. However, it does not follow that their concomitant “knowledge” about supernatural entities or worlds undergirding the material systems was science. Making the supernatural commitment for science pushes science onto a very slippery slope.

Consider the United States’ sociopolitical climate of the past century regarding the theory of evolution. If TEK metaphysics are science, then we are not sure how to demarcate why creationism would not also be science. Creationism readily attaches itself to biology, paleontology, and geology as descriptive sciences. After all, creationists use verifiable data in their arguments and practices but hitch them to totally unfalsifiable metaphysical claims about a particular God’s intentions and actions that they a) allege science supports and b) cause them to deny the most empirically supported theory in biology. To our minds, Kahn’s definition of science could invite a “repressive tolerance”<sup>15</sup> that sanctions creationism, or even more

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<sup>12</sup> Wendell Berry, *What Are People For?* (New York: North Point Press, 1990), 172.

<sup>13</sup> Kahn, *Critical Pedagogy, Ecopedagogy, & Planetary Crisis*, 28.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 106.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

detrimentally, climate change denial because of religious revelations as science.<sup>16</sup>

We must note two things. First, claiming that parts of TEK are outside of science is not to say that TEK is ultimately untrue, nor that science necessarily disproves any of TEK's – including creationism's – metaphysical truth. Ontological materialists will say that. Few people are ontological materialists.

Second, and more importantly, we must recognize the innumerable evolving traditional ecological knowledges as parts of human natural history. They are many of the beautiful threads in human history's grand quilt. We ought to not just preserve but revel in them as part of collective meaning and story telling embedded in a much-needed commons. Humans are not simply scientismic logic or input-output robots. Science need not be our most important story and we need not label myths as science to use myths' powers. We are sensual myth makers, story tellers whose suchness comes through stories that have brought us happiness and meaning and continue to do so despite "progress," "development," and ecocidal mechanical efficiency. It is with this last point in mind that we close.

Kahn invites us to consider Marcuse as ecopedagogue because he endorsed direct civil disobedience. Kahn uses Marcuse to show that in the age of Gaia's revenge when the Earth's systems are feeding back on us,<sup>17</sup> the most radical among us, perhaps even those who engage in industrial sabotage, have much to teach and much to learn. We note that perhaps less "radical" academics than Kahn, such as John Lemons (Professor Emeritus of Biology and Environmental Science at the University of New England), wonder if people "in environmental ethics should consider helping to provide an ethical defense of nonviolent civil disobedience to better promote policies."<sup>18</sup> In our own conversations with people inside and outside academia we are finding notions of direct action increasingly attractive. This is all to note that this part of ecopedagogy is happening and might well escalate.

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Richard Kahn has offered us a potentially beautiful tool for recalibrating and reconstructing education. Given the horrific interrelationship of climate injustice and the collapse of human systems the Worldwatch Institute now calls for such a recalibration to change global society from consumer-oriented to sustainability-oriented, part of which must be accomplished in formal and informal education.<sup>19</sup> We believe that Kahn's *Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy, and Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement* will help us to co-create educational "tools for conviviality" that can help us to adapt, mitigate, and possibly flourish in unfolding crises.

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<sup>16</sup> See the following: Paul R. Gross & Norman Levitt, *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels with Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 149-178; Robert Pennock, *Tower of Babel: The Evidence Against the New Creationism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Robert Pennock, *Intelligent Design Creationism and Its Critics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> James Lovelock, *The Revenge of Gaia*, (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 26-38.

<sup>18</sup> John Lemons, "The Urgency to Address Global Climate Change: Possible Implications for New Directions of Climate Change Ethics," *ClimateEthics*. September 5th, 2009, <http://climateethics.org/?p=225> (accessed January 24, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> Erik Assadourian, "The Rise and Fall of Consumer Culture" in *2010 State of the World: Transforming Cultures for Consumerism to Sustainability*, edited by Linda Starke and Lisa Mastny (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2010), 3-20.

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**Unsuspecting Souls: The Disappearance of the Human Being**

By Barry Sanders.

Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 2009. 384 pp. ISBN 978-1-58243-472-8

Reviewed by Ayşem Mert

Sarah told me, ‘This Tuesday Dad will die.’ Or maybe she said, ‘It’s Dad’s death day.’—something like that.... I spent minutes trying to find the words to write that down on my Outlook Agenda, so I don’t know how I felt.

These sentences belong to my neighbour and they had a profound effect on me. They made me wonder where the new tragedy of humanity lies. In the fact that his friend Sarah can talk about her father’s death in this fashion? In the fact that euthanasia is now a choice? In that the last soul Sarah’s father will see is his physician? In that my neighbour actually wrote this event on his online agenda? Or that he couldn’t find the words?

And then again, would my neighbour be equally shocked and intimidated had he been a woman? A woman his age might have written a sentence like, “Doctor appointment: I will give birth on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August” on her online agenda at least once, as it has become increasingly fashionable to give birth by appointment. Now, one dies by appointment. Maybe there is a gender-based difference in the extent to which such developments surprise us. As for gender, for a while now, we’ve been learning what’s to come “before the *id* knows.” Hélène Cixous reflects:

You see, I’m a woman of the period of time—and time, too, is in the process of passing—in which we didn’t know if, when pregnant, we were going to have a girl or a boy—not till the last minute. I want the last minute. I don’t want to know before the last minute. Even if *id* knows. The problem: when is the last minute? The last minute is in the other world. It’s afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Time, too, is in the process of passing; within a lifetime, we moved from the point of “It’s a boy!” to the point of “This Tuesday is Dad’s death day....” How did those *other worldly* minutes of birth and of death—distinct from life itself—become entries on online agendas? How did we carry that precious, mysterious, sacred last minute to our mortal world? How did we give it up? And why?

Barry Sanders’ new book *Unsuspecting Souls: The Disappearance of the Human Being* is precisely about such questions concerning life and death, and the most novel tragedy of humanity. In a string of exciting anecdotes from the nineteenth century onwards, the book explains today’s United States (and certain features of much of western, industrialised cultures). Its main argument is that human essence is lost and human beings are no longer what they once were. This is not news either; the human essence has been in a gradual process of disappearing for more than two centuries now. In fact, most of the groundwork was laid in that short nineteenth century, and we are continuously inventing new ways of further disembodiment of our already disappearing *being*.

At first, I disagreed with such an undertheorised idea of essence (As Cixous demonstrates, at our most primal, women experience this process differently than men, even if we “want the last minute,” it’s been a while since we have lost any control over the matter...). It is difficult to imagine a certain essence for the whole of humanity, experienced in a similar fashion. Halfway through the book Sanders also makes this point: the various

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<sup>1</sup> Hélène Cixous, *Stigmata: Escaping Texts* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 40.

nineteenth century endeavours to distil the essence of humanity not only failed but also further thwarted the conceptual possibility of essence as such. However, despite this crucial disagreement, I have been overwhelmed by the snapshots Sanders takes of the nineteenth century to explain the twentieth and ask questions about the twenty-first. He scrutinises almost every dimension of that mysterious time: politics, entertainment, literature, philosophy, science, art, and technology all take turns in this photo album. Just like a family album, the more one looks, the more one understands the past, her parents, and in fact herself. Unlike a family album, each snapshot is well-chosen, perfectly executed, and carefully ordered. This collage of nineteenth century anecdotes, hovering around some common themes, weaves today to yesterday and tomorrow. In the middle there is something ethereal, so hard to grasp that it justifies (if not requires) this creative method: the disembodiment we are subjectively experiencing every day. Taking a string of snapshots is indeed one of the few ways to make sense of this experience. And making sense *is* difficult for the disembodied individual. Today's *greatest* tragedy is our constant need to imbue matters of life and death with meaning, while we are increasingly unable to. The greater the need, the less the ability—existential *heteronomy*.

This is where Sanders' project becomes convincing and impressive. What has been lost throughout the nineteenth century is sacredness, of the universal order and of our place in it as a society or as a species. Since the myth of the Great Chain of Being has been disrupted by the scientific method, there is little we value as sacred (and sacredness assumes the kind of commitment that would label one a fundamentalist today!). Surely, the place of human beings in the Great Chain of Being was rather expedient; this probably made it such a successful myth. But imagine how it must have shocked and hurt those first few generations of souls who once stood between that which is divine and what which is earthly, to be rendered 'just another species.' And human societies have received little healing after falling off the chain (Can we blame two world wars on this shock? Are we sure we healed?). The book's focus on the nineteenth century is therefore justified if we are to understand, heal, and forgive ourselves.

At any rate, since the Chain broke, we seem to have lost some of our ability to think of the universe and our identity in synch. Moreover, this incapability seems to coincide with a specific paradigm—in the euthanasia example, with my neighbour's will to write this event on his Outlook Agenda. His self-reflection has been halted, at least to some extent, by having to write this unusual event on his online agenda. And although the exact causality is hard to point to, this is no random coincidence. Think of Ivan Illich's observation that, 1978, the year Microsoft launched its DOS operating system, was also the year the term *immune system* was coined, marking the beginning of systems analysis that quickly and "surreptitiously affected people's perception of themselves."<sup>2</sup> Illich was referring to a paradigm shift that escaped most theorists of modernity: a shift towards an *amortal society*. Although medicalisation resulted in the dependence of the individual and the counterproductivity of the health system, disembodiment only came along with systems thinking. Once we started to perceive and construct ourselves as "living systems," we could no longer die our own deaths:

The ability to die one's own death depends on the depth of one's embodiment. [...] [L]ives in managed states like the RAM drive on [a PC] do not die; they break down. You can prepare to die as a Stoic, Epicurean or Christian. But the breakdown of life cannot be imagined as a forthcoming intransitive action. The end of life can only be postponed. And for many, this managed

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<sup>2</sup> Ivan Illich, "Death Undeclared," *BMJ* 311 (1995), 1653.

postponement has been lifelong [which] began when their mother observed a fetus on the ultrasound screen.<sup>3</sup>

The amortal society is the state in which this life-long management commonly impedes our acceptance of our fragile existence and irredeemable death. *Unsuspecting Souls* is a historical account written from within the amortal society. Both for Illich and for Sanders, the amortal society represents a lesser way of 'being.' They join Cixous in the understanding that when it comes to matters of life and death, these last minutes are sacred, other-worldly; and they want the ultimate last minute back! They both believe that the return of the last minute will have effects on life itself.

Illich regards institutionalisation as a root cause of corruption, while systems thinking relies on the assumption that each institution is a system. In order to constitute a system, the relationship(s) in question must be repetitive or cyclical, at times defeating their initial function and aim. Autonomy, conviviality, adaptability and flexibility are all secondary if not fundamentally opposed to the formation of a system. In its most perfect abstraction, a social system is the institutionalisation, the sedimentation of social codes, symbols and relations. For Sanders, on the other hand, the problem appears to be in the transformation of death (and how this affects life). Once a solid experience, after the nineteenth century, death has become elusive or even worse it has been reduced to deletion. If someone (or something) lives and dies, it leaves a mark, a memory, a little sediment that has changed the world forever—albeit insignificantly. If something is deleted, however, it simply disappears—no trace, no remains, no nothing. Deletion is not similar to death! It is much more similar to what has happened to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Very few experience deletion and survive to tell the story. Thus, when Hillary Clinton used words such as “wiping it off the map,” or “totally obliterated[ing] them” about Iran, the metaphor didn't become scary, it simply collapsed.<sup>4</sup>

Deletion and narration do not coincide. As I write this text (ironically on a word processor), I cannot simultaneously delete it. As I delete, I can't narrate. The metaphor collapses when we cannot narrate our own stories of life and death, however brutal, uncomfortable, brave, or tragic. Sanders' project is to close the circle in three steps: 1) Sanders notes how Illich understands Erwin Schroedinger as “the first to use writing no longer as a metaphor but as an explanatory analogy.”<sup>5</sup> 2) He is fascinated by the subversive side of Schroedinger's experiment. In a time of forceful categorisation, the only way to collapse categories is by making them irrelevant, however counterintuitive this may be:

Schroedinger postulated [...] an object may exist in several states at once, but when a person observes that very same object it always collapses into one state. Schroedinger annoyed those outside the scientific community by arguing, for example, that his cat could be both alive and dead at the same time, but that when he looked at it, the cat always collapsed into the one state—of total aliveness. Historians of science have taken to calling this phenomenon *the observer's paradox*. And to name this situation that ran so counter to logic, Schroedinger paid homage to a fantastical work of nineteenth-century literature: He described the condition of his mystifying cat as Draculated. [...] Schroedinger allowed us ordinary people to believe in either/or at the same moment.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Barry Sanders, *Unsuspecting Souls: The Disappearance of the Human Being* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press, 2009), 325.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. (my emphasis)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 320-21. (my emphasis)

3) Sanders dares us to engage in two simultaneous opposing actions. On the one hand he shows us the need to water down that which is categorised by science, by law, by biology, by convention, by politics, by logic *etc.* On the other hand, he dares us to look inside the box that is the twenty-first century and exert *the observers' influence*. Only then can we see the state of human *being*. Only then will humanity collapse into one state and that state is such that we will have to reflect upon and respond to the life and death of others.

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**Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada**

Edited by Arlo Kempf.

Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010.257 pp.

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Reviewed by Engin Atasay

In *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada*, Arlo Kempf invites the reader to reformulate the ontological as well as the epistemological tools used in examining social power relations of colonialism experienced in the US and Canada. Kempf argues that anti-colonial education necessitates an urgent need for a “multicentric”<sup>1</sup> approach, which not only recognizes the epistemologies of marginalized populations but also actively seeks practical avenues that embrace anti-colonialism. It is through this “recentering”<sup>2</sup> that we can hope to understand the relationship between colonizers and colonized, thus emancipating social theory and praxis from the ideological constructs of colonialism and the political power of empire. Along these lines, Kempf orchestrates a selection of essays that stress the significance of alternative anticolonial analytical tools for exploring colonialism. The central theme of the essays set out to critique institutionalized patterns of resistance, theoretical critique and power. Therefore, in the first chapter, drawing upon the works of prominent anticolonial theorists, Kempf suggests that “contemporary anticolonialism”<sup>3</sup> must decolonize the way in which we investigate, explore and oppose colonialism.

The critical readings of colonial institutional practices and discourses articulated in Kempf’s collection are aligned with many of the arguments that comprise Illich’s work, which seeks to challenge our reliance on oppressive institutional and industrial practices. The critiques made in Kempf’s book by anti-colonial education scholars share many of the same critiques fundamental for Illich and Illichian scholars. Therefore, the idea behind recentering our understanding of colonialism ultimately corresponds with Illich’s plan for de-schooling and de-institutionalizing society; in which Illich argues that “not only schools but social reality itself has become schooled.”<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the collection of essays in Kempf’s book strives to emphasize the need for de-institutionalized educational settings in order to de-construct and eradicate colonial social discourses in education. In relation to Illich’s assertion that schooling renders education “unworldly and the world noneducational”<sup>5</sup>, the anticolonial movement struggles against “dominant ways of knowing”<sup>6</sup> in order to dis-establish/recenter schooling. Given the symmetry between anti-colonial approaches in education and many of Illich’s views of education, Kempf’s edited collection offers a powerful way of thinking about educational institutions that many times get left out of the deschooling debate.

In chapter 2, Ward Churchill, demonstrates the notion of *recentering* vibrantly when he argues that we need to approach the world through a “multiplicity of sociopolitical environments...[and] bioregional realities.”<sup>7</sup> Churchill emphasizes the call for a new “Fourth World” paradigm, which is outside of the parameters of colonial epistemologies and the

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<sup>1</sup> Arlo Kempf, ed., *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada* (Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid,1

<sup>3</sup> Ibid,1-31

<sup>4</sup> Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Arlo Kempf, ed., *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada* (Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010), 254.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid,42.

repressive ontological political paradigm of nation-state discourses that characterize and shape schooling. In the following chapter, Dolores Calderon<sup>8</sup> stresses the legal dimensions of colonial schooling which ignores indigenous struggles for self-determination. She further investigates the Normative Multicultural Educational frameworks that perpetuate colonial oppressive educational discursive constructs such as citizenship and nation-state which follow color and colonial-blind patterns. The fabricated diversity patterns of schooling portray themselves as inclusive, however they remain silent in accepting true pluralism. A tangible anti-colonial pluralism on the other hand “demands a rejection of Western metaphysics, a move towards epistemological and ontological diversification, and the shattering of colonial ideologies and practices.”<sup>9</sup> What sets education apart from colonial schooling and renders it truly anticolonial, echoing Ilich’s quest for the triumph of *worldly education*, is anti-colonial education, which for Calderon, “embraces different ways of seeing, being and embodying the world around us.”<sup>10</sup>

In another chapter, Henry Giroux further articulates the need for recentering education and pedagogical ways of knowing for achieving an educational language that separates itself from the epistemologies of colonialism. Anticolonial education for Giroux is:

More than rewriting or recovering the repressed stories and social memories of the other; it means understanding and rendering visible how Western knowledge is encased in historical and institutional structures that both privilege and exclude particular readings, particular voices, certain aesthetics, forms of authority, specific representations and modes of social reality.<sup>11</sup>

Giroux asserts that the reality generated by colonialism represents the social, racial and economic systemic disparities of industrial society. Colonialism is thus a discourse and a historical institution that produces industrial forms of life and technologies of control, which consistently seek to dictate social and pedagogical subjectivities. Again Ilich’s analysis of the authority/technology of industrial schooling and construction of Western knowledge is therefore essential for investigating the means to critically understand colonial education. Ilich warns us by stating that “our imaginations have been industrially deformed to conceive only what can be molded into an engineered system of social habits that fit the logic of large-scale production.”<sup>12</sup> Hence, the success of an emancipatory anti-colonial recentering educational project relies on its ability to critically reflect on colonial discourses, institutional structures, educational *tools*, and epistemological assumptions, which operate together to produce and sustain particular colonial and color-blind schooling formulations.

Furthermore, the following three chapters of Kempf’s collection examines how the colonial imagination still mitigates many efforts to eradicate borders and define social relationships between settler and indigenous populations. For instance, Antonio Reyes Lopez<sup>13</sup> draws our attention to the indispensable and never ending dynamic between ‘reflection and action’ necessary for implementing a critical anti-colonial pedagogy. To this end, the chapter examines how U.S. colonial educational practices and colonial imaginations in US-Mexico borderland communities engender, sustain and perpetuate colonial relations.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 73.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>12</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Tools of Conviviality* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), 15.

<sup>13</sup> Arlo Kempf, ed., *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada* (Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010), 91.

Lopez claims that educational discourses in border communities are characterized by historical processes of colonial suppression and consequently result in sustaining and perpetuating the discursive regimes of U.S. colonialism in the region. Zainab Amadahy and Bonita Lawrence<sup>14</sup> also address the negative impact of colonial imaginations, which continue to structure the relationship of people of color and aboriginal people in Canada. They observe that even though both groups have experienced racism, black populations in Canada tend to use settler/colonial discourses to identify aboriginal populations and their relationship with them.

These two chapters signify the impact of colonial legacies and imaginations that were kept alive through colonial institutions, language, and practices, which become subtle repressive colonial social structures that are often difficult to overcome. For that reason, an educational system that ignores the legacy of colonialism and continues to overlook the diverse bioregional realities, not only excludes pluralism but also imprisons social discourses into oppressive colonial discourses. By investigating the challenges faced by colonized populations by identifying their social space, Lopez, Amadahy and Lawrence also demonstrate what Ilich has affirmed when he claimed that schooling is done for schoolings' sake<sup>15</sup>, whereby institutions encapsulate our world-views in institutionalized apparatuses and discourses, designed to imprison and discipline society. As Ilich states, "factories, news media, hospitals, governments, and schools produce goods and services packaged to contain our view of the world."<sup>16</sup> Therefore, colonial institutional structures, schooling apparatuses (e.g. hidden curriculum<sup>17</sup>), apart from constructing pedagogies, also exist to condition and manipulate social discourses by assuming a "therapeutic and compassionate image"<sup>18</sup> that is intended to mask their paradoxical effects. The ideological mechanisms of institutions therefore enable colonialism to dominate the language of the colonizer and the colonized, misleading them to paths of least resistance. In other words, the social subjectivity that represents a potential negation of colonial forms of oppression, critical thought and action is reduced to unproductive ontological formulations of colonialism and impotency.

Fortunately, the political power of colonialism is not left unchallenged. The chapter by Peter H. Sawchuk introduces the case of union movements in Canada as conceivable examples of anti-colonial organizations which embrace a strategy of "community unionism"<sup>19</sup> that operates outside the institutional mechanism of production and machinery. The "community unionism" is indeed a prime example of what Ilich refers to as a convivial society:

Convivially used procedure guarantees that an institutional revolution will remain a tool whose goals emerge as they are enacted; the conscious use of procedures in a continually antibureaucratic sense is the only possible

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>15</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Deschooling Society* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), 17.

<sup>16</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Outwitting Developed Nations*, in: Ivan Ilich, *Toward a History of Needs*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 55.

<sup>17</sup> See; Ivan Ilich's essay titled *In Lieu of Education*, in: Ivan Ilich, *Toward a History of Needs*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 71. Ilich claims that hidden curriculum conditions students to consume learning and lean *about* the world rather than *from* the world.

<sup>18</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Deschooling Society* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), 54.

<sup>19</sup> Arlo Kempf, ed., *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada* (Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010), 167.

protection against the revolution itself becoming an institution.<sup>20</sup>

Both Sawchuck and Ilich believe that anti-colonial movements can only challenge the political power of empire through alternative organizational tools which must be convivial and represent de-institutionalized instances of resistance. The following two chapters underline the ways in which the power of colonial constructs create a reality by working through colonial institutional apparatuses and describing the colonial criteria on what is legitimate and what is illegitimate knowledge. In chapter 9, Katie Aubrecht and Tanya Titchkosky<sup>21</sup> argue that Western scientific constructs, such as mental illness is used by global organizations, such as World Health Organization and World Bank, to create a colonial discourse of power which generates a framework for allocating regimes of exclusion and inclusion. The next chapter, which looks at university education, Patrick S. De Walt<sup>22</sup> employs a similar argument and exposes the colonial dynamics that continue to structure the university system. He claims that universities continue to perpetuate, promote and benefit from colonialism by arguing that the operational structures of colonial plantations and universities mirror each other in a number of ways. By exposing the bureaucratic corruption and economization of education at the level of higher education, De Walt further reveals the significance of the central theme of the book by highlighting the urgent need for de-schooling and recentering of education away from industrialization and institutionalization.

Anticolonial education requires not only reflection, but moreover it requires spaces where it can be practiced. The notion of praxis is exemplified in Langdon and Harvey's attempt to create an undergraduate course in "Global Education,"<sup>23</sup> which was designed to create an alternative space for anticolonial pedagogy. Although an Ilichian perspective would disagree with advocating the creation of an alternative space to colonialism within a colonial and modern institution, anti-colonial education theorists and educators such as Langdon and Harvey strongly believes that re-conceptualizing the classroom and re-centering pedagogy can be a viable starting point for emancipatory and transformative education/action for social justice.

Although *Breaching the Colonial Contract* is not intended to be an Ilichian analysis for an Ilichian audience, it shares in Ilich's thinking on the theoretical premises for exploring the colonial legacy of modern institutions and in addition suggests practical pedagogical spaces to counter contemporary forms of colonialism in education. Ilich's skepticism about institutionalized struggles and the bureaucratization of education is recognized throughout the book while an anti-colonial movement is posed as a feasible solution while remaining critical and self-reflective. Indeed as George J. Sefa Dei<sup>24</sup> states, anti-colonial and anti-racist scholars are also in need of decolonization. Anti-colonialism is a new tool in attempting to decolonize education, which is analogous to Ilich's vision of implementing *convivial tools*<sup>25</sup> that too can challenge and change the colonial structures of institutionalized learning that shape social practices and identities. What unites Ivan Ilich and the prominent authors that have contributed to this book is their struggle against colonial institutions, which renders their work inseparable:

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<sup>20</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Tools of Conviviality* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), 106.

<sup>21</sup> Arlo Kempf, ed., *Breaching the Colonial Contract: Anti-Colonialism in the US and Canada* (Springer: Explorations of Educational Purpose, Volume 8, 2010), 179.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 201.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 219.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>25</sup> Ivan Ilich, *Tools of Conviviality* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973).

The struggle-our struggle- continues not as a wide river but as disparate yet related tributaries, ideally heading in the same direction of discursive rupture and regeneration.<sup>26</sup>

As a result, the ideas presented in this book, will resonate well with any reader who is discontent with institutionalized pedagogies and educational practices that reproduce and are blind to the legacy of colonization. At this moment in time, when the meaning of multiculturalism, social justice and academic success in schools is defined simply by access and assimilation into colonial power structures, anti-colonial education urges us to question the true task and meaning of education in an increasingly standardized society. By critically exposing ideological constructs and institutional degradation caused by colonial educational discourses, anti-colonialism allows us to transcend a colonized social attitude and provides us with analytical tools to strive for change and democratic control over power relations in society that must start with a rethinking of schools and their imperial past.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 252.

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DIRECTORATE OF  
INTELLIGENCE

# Intelligence Report

THE COMMITTED CHURCH AND CHANGE  
IN LATIN AMERICA

(Reference Title: ESAU XLIII/69)

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10 September 1969

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## THE COMMITTED CHURCH AND CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

### MEMORANDUM TO RECIPIENTS

After centuries as a major force for conservatism and status quoism in Latin America, the Catholic Church has become a breeding ground for a wide range of socio-political action groups ranging across the spectrum from extreme radicals to extreme reactionaries. Rather than tranquility and order, new radical Church factions espouse revolutionary change; they demonstrate and disrupt with such vigor that in some instances they have all but upset delicately balanced political and social systems. And the outlook is for continued and increased pressures from the radical and leftwing Church groups riding on the crest of a growing demand for social and political change throughout Latin America.

This study analyzes the forces for change, the factional alignments taking shape within the Church and between Church and non-Church groups, and evaluates the impact on Latin American social and political structures. It also includes a section speculating on the outlook for the future.

Although this study benefited from inputs and support from OCI, ONE and DDP, it is not a coordinated memorandum. It is a product solely of the Special Research Staff. Joseph R. Barager was the research analyst.

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THE COMMITTED CHURCH AND CHANGE  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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## THE COMMITTED CHURCH AND CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

### I. Background and Current Situation

The traditional role of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America was to defend the established order of things and to resist unwelcome innovations. During the long colonial period the Church served the Spanish and Portuguese kings in many ways: pacifying the aborigines, ministering to the sick and unfortunate, organizing schools, inculcating the acceptance of constituted authority, and ferreting out the purveyors of unorthodox views and creeds. In the troubled late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries the Spanish monarchs, as the principal "Defenders of the Faith," were able to drive a hard bargain with the Papacy. Thus there was never any real question as to who held the reins in the Church-State relationship in the New World, and the dominance of the State was maintained throughout the colonial period. In the second half of the Eighteenth Century the Portuguese and Spanish rulers provided a convincing example of that domination by peremptorily expelling the Papacy's own elite corps, the Society of Jesus, from their possessions.

In the early Nineteenth Century some of the lower clergy and even a few bishops supported the movements for independence in Spanish America. In the main, however, the influence of the Church was preponderantly on the royalist side, a situation which caused bitterness in Church-State relationships once independence was won. While anti-clerical measures taken by several of the new governments (as in Chile and Argentina in the 1820s) were later amended when more conservative forces came to power, in other countries (such as Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala and Ecuador) anti-clericalism continued to be one of the principal themes of liberal political forces. When they came to power, one of their first actions was to circumscribe the role of the Catholic Church in their societies.

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Later, as liberal regimes were replaced by conservatives, as, for example, in Mexico under Porfirio Díaz, in Colombia under Rafael Núñez, and in Ecuador under Gabriel García Moreno, the Church recouped its losses and fashioned new alliances with its benefactors. Moreover, as anti-clericalism became a sine qua non of liberal political programs, the conservatives and the Church became even more closely aligned and dependent upon each other. Since the military leaders either tended to come from upper-class backgrounds, or to be absorbed by upper-class interests, a trilateral relationship usually developed in which Church, military and upper class leaders (the latter predominantly large landowners), cooperated to mutual advantage.

In much of the area, and particularly in Colombia and Mexico, the proper role of the Catholic Church continued to be an inflammatory issue well into the Twentieth Century. By mid-century, however, anti-clericalism had largely lost its appeal since an increasing number of liberal and Church leaders were bridging what had once been a veritable abyss between them. The movement toward an accommodation was facilitated by the realization that they had more in common with each other than with extremists--mostly on the left--who were demanding the destruction of the very fabric of the societies with which the liberals, as well as the Church, were identified.

Despite the emergence of more moderate leaders among the bishops in several countries, the Roman Catholic Church was still basically conservative in social, economic and political--as well as doctrinal--matters. As a result, at mid-century the Church was still mainly oriented along lines stressing those portions of the papal encyclicals Rerum novarum (1891) and Quadragesimo anno (1931), which defended the rights of private property and condemned Socialism, but playing down the concern for the working man, and the admonitions as to the responsibilities of property owners, which were also expressed in those papal encyclicals.

Since the mid-1950s, the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America has been reoriented from its traditional role as a major bastion of the status quo to become one of the principal proponents of change in the area. Not

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all the hierarchy, and by no means all the lower clergy and the laity, however, march to the same drummer. If anything the Latin American Church is more divided now than at any time in the last four centuries. But the decision to bring the Church into accord with the modern world and into the service of the masses has been taken. Despite foot dragging by many, and diehard resistance by a few, the Church is moving forward much more rapidly than appeared possible less than a decade ago.

The key questions in regard to this new course are the pace of change, and the tactics and instrumentalities to be used. At present the numbers of individuals and groups committed to limited change by legal and non-violent means are substantially larger than those urging much more extensive and rapid change by such means. The partisans of radical change by violent means still constitute a relatively small, extremely provocative minority which concentrates on destruction of the present order with little, if any, attention to what would then be installed in its place. The trend in their fervor is to fanaticism, and they view their goals as justifying any means to attain it.

At the other extreme, an equally vocal and similarly small minority seeks to roll back, to block, or at least to water down and to delay, any meaningful change in the status quo. Although fewer in number than the Radicals, they have long-standing ties with powerful economic, political and social forces in many, but not all, of their societies. Their allies provide funds and political power to back up the Reactionaries in their use of the pulpit and Scripture in defense of a status quo that over the years has demonstrated remarkable staying powers. The ranks of the Reactionary bishops are thinning, however, as they die off and their positions are filled by more moderate individuals including some Progressives. This raises the possibility that the outlook of the hierarchy in a specific country might be reoriented rather dramatically, and within a relatively short span of time, by the death or incapacitation of a few key Reactionary or Uncommitted bishops.

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As yet the Radicals have not been able to find allies as powerful as those of the Reactionaries. The Radicals' potential for disruptive action would increase greatly if the Progressives too became convinced that meaningful change could only be obtained by violence. Even then, however, such tactics would not have much chance of bringing about the changes they seek unless a sizeable share of the uncommitted majority were won over to support them, or there was a serious falling out among the defenders of the status quo.

The Radicals are willing to align with anyone and to use any means to destroy the established order. This raises the noise level and increases the likelihood of violence, especially in societies where the political framework is fragile. Most of the Moscow-aligned Communists in Latin America, however, are much more conservative than are the Radicals. Although eager to maintain a dialogue with Catholics, and to exploit the disruptive capabilities of the Radicals, they have not been so eager to risk the consequences of direct involvement with the Radical Catholics.

In recent years the Progressives have gained the support of some key members of the hierarchy. Only in Chile, however, is a national episcopacy solidly committed to carrying out a definite program of basic reforms. In several countries the Progressives have had success in winning acceptance of the idea of reform, with the national organization of bishops approving reform programs. Once they are back in their own dioceses and away from the national and international spotlight, however, many of the bishops who voted for reform do little or nothing to make it a reality. While such bishops may not oppose the emphasis of the Progressives on social justice and personal freedom, they clearly do not give it a similar priority.

The Chilean case has been exceptional in that the Progressives had at hand a political instrument--the Christian Democratic Party--to take up their program and to carry out many of its provisions by winning control of the Executive Branch of Government (1964) and electing a majority in one House of Congress and a plurality in

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the other (1965). Now, however, the Christian Democrats have lost their majority in the Chamber of Deputies (1969), are wracked by serious internal party factionalism, and face the prospect that they may lose the presidency in 1970.

Elsewhere in Latin America the Progressives have scant prospect of finding a similar political instrument. Where a constitutional system is a reality, it is either: controlled by the conservative forces of the society, as in Colombia; is still under the watchful eye of a conservative military establishment, as in Venezuela where a Christian Democratic Administration has just come to power but does not have a majority in Congress; or is struggling to survive the economic consequences of overly ambitious social welfare programs, as in Uruguay. In most of the area, there is no political group both interested in and capable of carrying out the structural reforms the Progressives are demanding to rectify widespread social injustices.

Thus, the Progressives are likely to become frustrated by their inability to secure the kind of change they are convinced is necessary. They have tended to become so estranged from the military leaders that only in exceptional cases--perhaps Peru--is there any chance of a lasting alliance with the one element in most Latin American societies that has the power to carry out far-reaching changes.

In sum, the Church is caught up not only in the changes that are taking place in Latin American societies but also in its own internal struggle between the forces pressing for and opposing change. The only certainty is that the Church will become more rather than less involved in the changes that are occurring.

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## II. The Forces for Change

Latin America was less directly involved in World War II than was much of the rest of the world. Nevertheless, the area's economies and social and political institutions were affected. In the larger countries the restriction of imports encouraged industrial development which, in turn, swelled the flow of migrants from the countryside to the metropolitan and other urban centers. The Allied triumph over the Axis dictatorships gave an impetus to liberal and socialistic political movements while weakening the prestige and influence of the political right. These changes also caused strains in the traditional alliances of large landowners, military and Church leaders that still existed in much of the area. In countries as different as Guatemala and Argentina, for example, the military and organized labor combined to obtain power and to introduce social, economic and political reforms. It is true that most of the Latin American societies were not so dramatically affected as in those two countries, and in Guatemala the conservatives returned to power within a decade. Nevertheless, the pace of change was clearly stepped up and its scope significantly widened during the decade of the 1940s.

The response of the Roman Catholic Church to the changes introduced or amplified during the 1940s varied widely from country to country. Some members of the hierarchy adapted to the increased importance of organized labor, but there were few, if any, who went as far in this respect as did the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, Chile, whose services as a mediator in labor-management disputes were sought by even the Marxist leaders of the country's labor unions.

Perhaps the most notable shift, however, was in the relationships of the Church with the dictatorial governments. There was increasing evidence that some bishops, as well as the lower clergy, were growing restive over the Church's relationships with dictators such as: Perón, whose preemption of charitable activities in Argentina and fostering of a cult of worshipers of Evita Perón and of himself was anathema to the Church

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in general; Rojas Pinilla, whose efforts to ape Perón by building a popular labor base threatened the Church's own well-established influence over organized labor in Colombia; and Pérez Jiménez, whose efforts to still the criticisms of his police state in a Catholic newspaper were rebuffed by the usually amenable Archbishop of Caracas. Meanwhile, in Cuba a Catholic bishop even gave sanctuary to a youthful opponent of the Batista dictatorship, one Fidel Castro. Thus the traditional pattern of the Church accepting and even supporting military dictatorships was breaking down and preparing the way for a closer identification of the Church with human rights and civil liberties.

Some of the major problems that have confronted the Church, since mid-century, were created or intensified by the upsurge in migration from the countryside to urban areas that accompanied the development of industry, particularly in the larger countries of the area. The arriving migrants put heavy strains on old and newly-created urban parishes which were becoming woefully understaffed as a result of the decline in the number of priests being trained in the Latin American seminaries.

In part, at least, the reduction in the ranks of seminarians was due to the counter appeal of populist and other leftist political groups, which were often hostile to the Church, and to the opening up of more attractive vocational opportunities in the fields of industry and commerce. At the same time ordained priests, as well as seminarians, have been leaving their vocations to be married. The upshot of these and other factors, such as the continuing rise in the annual rate of increase in population, has been fewer priests trying to minister to larger numbers of increasingly indifferent Catholics.

Even the more sedentary members of the Latin American hierarchy recognized the need to take steps to reverse the situation confronting them. When their efforts to attract more seminarians had little success, the Latin American bishops turned to other parts of the world, particularly North America and Western Europe, for assistance.

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Since the Communist takeover of mainland China was closing down that traditional area of missionary activity, the Maryknoll nuns and priests, and some members of other religious orders, were diverted to Latin America. The closing of China to missionary activity, however, also brought the diversion to Latin America of Protestant missionaries, including the Pentacostal groups, in increasingly larger numbers. The vigor with which the various Protestant missionary groups competed for souls indicated that the virtual monopoly the Catholics had had for centuries was drawing to a close--a point underscored by the increase in the number of converts to Protestantism.

By the 1960's the Latin American bishops were seeking more help. The North American and Western European bishops responded by stepping up their financial contributions and urging laymen, and secular as well as regular clergy (members of religious orders and monastic communities), to volunteer for service in Latin America. Pope John XXIII, perhaps the most widely admired of the modern heads of the Church, gave his blessing to the cause and millions of dollars of outside funds and thousands of foreign Catholic laymen and priests were sent to the area. As a result, at least 25 percent of the clergy in the area are foreigners, and in some countries, such as Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the percentage is much higher. In Brazil, whose population of about 90,000,000 is predominantly Roman Catholic, at least nominally, foreigners constitute over 40 percent of the Catholic clergy; in Bolivia, the percentage rises to about 70 percent. The impact, both upon the Latin American churches and the foreign Catholics involved, has had far-reaching implications for both the countries and the individuals involved.

The foreign Catholics, whether laymen or priests, and particularly the younger priests going to Latin America for the first time, have often undergone cultural shock from the conditions existing in urban slums and rural villages. Unlike most of the older local clergy and laity, who tend to accept such conditions as "God's Will," or who have been overawed by the strength of the forces

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supporting the status quo, the visitors react by trying to find ways and means to change the conditions they encounter. In some cases these reactions have been kept under control by transfer to other assignments where such attitudes are less contagious or conspicuous. In a few cases, particularly in recent months, the national authorities have intervened to deport foreign priests and deacons whose actions are regarded as disrupting public order. While the local bishops also have such authority, they have used it only in exceptional cases. Their need for personnel is so pressing that even the more reactionary bishops are willing to go a long way with a foreign priest before removing him and risking the displeasure of his foreign sponsors and local supporters.

There were, of course, members of the Latin American clergy and the hierarchy, who were concerned with the material as well as the spiritual welfare of their people and critical of the status quo. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the encyclicals and other pronouncements of Pope John XXIII encouraged such priests and bishops by urging that measures be taken to bring the Roman Catholic Church into a closer relationship with the needs and problems of the modern world. John XXIII also provided the advocates of change, among the bishops, with an opportunity to do something about it by convoking the Church's Twenty-First Ecumenical Council, the first since Vatican I of 1869-1870. The opening message of the assembled bishops, which reflected the Pope's preoccupation with peace and social justice, set the tone of the sessions that followed. Vatican II, meeting in four separate sessions (October-December 1962, September-December 1963, September-November 1964, and September-December 1965), promulgated 16 texts\* which have become the Magna Carta

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- \*1. Dogmatic Constitution of the Church: 16,200 words;
  2. Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation: 2,996 words;
  3. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: 7,806 words;
  4. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: 23,335 words;
  5. Decree on the Instruments of Social Communication, 2,225 words;
- (footnote continued on page 10)

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of the forces for change within the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time the ecumenical spirit of John XXIII, which permeates the documents of Vatican II and has facilitated closer cooperation of Catholics and non-Catholics seeking change, has been maintained by his successor Paul VI (elected 21 June 1963).

The documents produced by Vatican II cover a variety of topics and the advocates of change can find support in some part of all of them. The document that has been most used for that purpose, however, is the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, better known as Gaudium et Spes from the initial words of the Latin text. The immediate impetus for preparing this key text came from Leon-Joseph Cardinal Suenens, Archbishop of Malines, Belgium, during the last days of the first session (December 1962). Cardinal Suenens' concern over the future course of the Council, and particularly just how the Church viewed its relationship with the world today, was echoed by other progressive leaders such as Cardinal Montini, then Archbishop of Milan and who, as Paul VI, would be in charge of implementing the recommendations of the Council.

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(footnote continued from page 9)

6. Decree on Ecumenism: 4,790 words;
7. Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches: 1,806 words;
8. Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church: 5,982 words;
9. Decree on Priestly Formation: 2,987 words;
10. Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life: 2,189 words;
11. Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity: 7,016 words;
12. Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests: 7,896 words;
13. Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity: 9,870 words;
14. Declaration on Christian Education: 2,604 words;
15. Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions: 1,117 words;
16. Declaration on Religious Freedom: 3,195 words.

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Although the Pastoral Constitution reflects the influence of ideas and attitudes developed in recent decades, particularly among European intellectuals, it is primarily a synthesis of Catholic thinking from many sources. The impact of the papal encyclicals and other statements of the previous three-quarters of a century, particularly those of John XXIII in Mater et Magister (May 1961) and Pacem en Terris (April 1963), are evident in the stress on the necessity for the Church to take up, and to identify itself with, the cause of social justice.

The concern for the material welfare of man comes through clearly in the Pastoral Constitution's criticism of the social and economic inequalities in both advanced and less-advanced countries (Chapter III, Socio-Economic Life). It defined the fundamental purpose of economic development as not a mere multiplication of products but the service of all men everywhere. It also warned that "if a person is in extreme necessity, he has the right to take from the riches of others what he himself needs. Since there are so many people in this world afflicted with the hunger, this Sacred Council urges all, both individuals and governments, to remember the saying of the Fathers: 'Feed the man dying of hunger, because if you have not fed him you have killed him.'" (Article 69).

The text's emphasis upon the improvement in the material condition of mankind was accompanied by the admonition to those who exercise political authority that such authority " . . . whether in the community as such or in institutions representing the state, must always be exercised within the limits of morality and on behalf of the dynamically conceived common good, according to a juridical order enjoying legal status." (Article 74). Defense against any abuse of this authority is lawful provided that the limits imposed by natural law and the gospel are observed. While this is in line with established Catholic political principles, the text went further in declaring that "It is in full accord with human nature that juridical-political structures should, with ever better success and without discrimination, afford their citizens the chance to participate freely

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and actively in establishing the constitutional bases of a political community, governing the state, determining the scope and purpose of various institutions, and choosing leaders." (Article 75).

For many Catholics, and particularly for the younger and more progressive-minded ones, Vatican II marks the beginning of a new era in the history of their Church. Conversely, of course, for the traditionalists--and particularly for the reactionaries--it has opened a veritable "Pandora's box" which they are trying to close up again. It is for these reasons that the terms "pre-conciliar" and "post-conciliar" are frequently used in referring to the antagonists and protagonists, respectively, of change in the Catholic Church.

Although John XXIII's successor, Pope Paul VI, has resisted innovations in matters of faith and morals and has opposed radical changes in Church ritual, he too has encouraged the progressive elements in the Church to undertake the wide range of reforms needed to make social justice--a redistribution of goods and services to benefit the impoverished masses--more of a reality and less an empty phrase. In fact, in his encyclical, Populorum Progressio (March 1967), Paul VI has extended the Church's preoccupation with achieving social justice in a national context to focus it on the need for social justice in a global setting, warning that "the hour for action has now sounded. At stake are the survival of so many innocent children and, for so many families overcome by misery, the access to conditions fit for human beings; at stake are the peace of the world and the future of civilization. It is time for all men and all peoples to face up to their responsibilities." (Article 80).

That Encyclical's emphasis upon the Church's concern with the development of peoples, particularly the development of those striving to escape from hunger, misery, endemic diseases and ignorance, and of those who are looking for a wider share in the benefits of civilization and a more active improvement of their human qualities, gave further encouragement to those bishops,

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priests and lay members of the Church pressing for more rapid progress in behalf of social justice. At the same time, and despite the Pope's clear warnings as to the dangers of too rapid change and to the often counter productive effect of violence, the more impatient and radical reformers have seized on those portions of the text that lent support to their views. For example, to justify the use of violence to secure radical changes, they have taken out of context such anguished phrases as:

"There are certainly situations whose injustice cries to heaven. When whole populations destitute of necessities live in a state of dependence barring them from all initiative and responsibility, and all opportunity to advance culturally and share in social and political life, recourse to violence, as a means to right these wrongs to human dignity, is a grave temptation." (Paragraph 30)

Paul VI made it clear that his description of the yawning gap between the wealthy few and the poverty-stricken masses in the developing countries reflected his personal contact, with the problems pressing on Latin America and Africa, during trips he had made in 1960 and 1962. His criticism of widespread illiteracy, of inequitable systems of land holding, and of international trade, of an exploitative capitalism that over-emphasized profits without a corresponding sense of social obligation and failed to prevent the flight of profits abroad, were eagerly welcomed by Latin American critics of the established order as particularly applicable to most of the area. And in his call to action, the Pope minced no words:

"We want to be clearly understood: the present situation must be faced with courage and the injustices linked with it must be fought against and overcome. Development demands bold transformation, innovations that go deep. Urgent reforms should be undertaken without delay. It is for each one to take his share in them with generosity, particularly those whose education, position and opportunities afford them wide scope for action." (Paragraph 32)

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In view of the criticism in some quarters that this Encyclical was "warmed-over Marxism" it is worth noting that in his critique of the defects of laissez-faire capitalism, Paul VI not only was reflecting his own experiences; he was also firmly in the tradition of his predecessors, Leo XIII, Pius XI, Pius XII and John XXIII, all of whom had condemned the exploitative nature and lack of social consciousness in economic liberalism. This does not mean that the Church rejected private ownership. In fact, Paul VI specifically exhorted governments to associate private initiative with development. What it does mean is clearly stated in Paul VI's own words. "The recent Council (Vatican II) reminded us of this: 'God intended the earth and all that it contains for the use of every human being and people. Thus, as all men follow justice and unite in charity, created goods should abound for them on a reasonable basis.' All other rights whatsoever, including those of property and of free commerce, are to be subordinated to this principle." (Paragraph 22)

While Populorum Progressio was largely ignored, when not bitterly attacked, by the area's more reactionary forces, such approval from the top was quickly exploited by the post-conciliar groups working to persuade those who had been lukewarm or indifferent to proposals for reform to accept and even to support them. One of the instruments they have used for spreading the post-conciliar tenets has been the Latin American Bishops' Conference (Consejo Episcopalo Latinoamericano, CELAM) authorized by Pius XII, in 1955, to coordinate the Church's activities in Latin America.

Although the more extreme proponents of change have had their proposals toned down by the need to reach a consensus, CELAM, through its various commissions, its special conferences and the two Assemblies of the Latin American Roman Catholic Episcopate (1955 and 1968), has become the principal agent in formulating and promoting the new role of the Church in Latin America. CELAM's 12 departments are organized to deal with social and economic as well as religious aspects of Latin American

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society. Although some of the bishops heading each of the departments are less zealous than others in urging change, CELAM has responded to the leadership of its progressive bishops. That was apparent during its Second Assembly at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, when the conservatives succeeded in moderating the tone of the resolutions adopted but were able to make only a relatively few substantive changes. Even with the broad generalizations adopted to enable their recommendations to be used in the diverse situations confronting the Church in Latin America, the message of Medellin comes through loud and clear: "Get on with the task of putting into practice the precepts of Vatican II and Populorum Progressio."

Despite the footdragging and shrill propaganda efforts of a vocal reactionary minority, the Latin American Catholic Church is being brought into the second half of the Twentieth Century much more rapidly than seemed possible a decade ago. A key factor in that process is the pervasive influence of the Vatican. Despite Paul VI's traditive position on theological matters, he has been innovative on social, economic and political issues. Although his pronouncements on birth control disappointed those aware of and concerned with the population explosion in Latin America, and his strictures against the use of violence have alienated some extremists, the Pope has continued to press forward on his twin goals of peace and social justice. Few, if any, of the Vatican's recent appointments to key episcopal posts in Latin America have been opponents of change; many have been the most effective leaders of the post-conciliar trend in the Church.

The regular clergy, the members of the religious orders, have also played an important role in the changes that have taken place within the Latin American Church. Both the native and foreign members, and particularly the younger ones, have provided leadership for reform movements in many of the countries where such movements are active. When serving as worker priests in urban slums, carrying out pastoral duties in remote rural areas, teaching in Catholic schools, preparing seminarians for

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the priesthood, and when engaged in a multitude of other activities, the Maryknollers, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Oblates and members of other religious orders have initiated and fostered the concept of a Committed Church dedicated to the service of the masses.

The members of the regular clergy have training, financial resources, contacts in the Vatican and influence in the local hierarchies that are not available to the secular diocesan clergy. As a result the regular clergy tend to be the leaders, particularly in the initial stages, of reform movements in the Church. Moreover, the numerous research centers organized and maintained by the Church have carried out basic research to provide data demonstrating the extremely inequitable distribution of land, income, housing, caloric consumption and educational facilities. One of these centers, the Centro para el Desarrollo Económico y Social de America Latina (DESAL), in Santiago, Chile, founded in 1960 by Father Roger Vekemans, a Belgian sociologist and Jesuit priest, has also worked closely with the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) before and since the PDC won the presidential election in 1964.

The change in the role of the Jesuits in Latin America is particularly significant. Members of the Order, which was organized to serve the papacy in the Counter-Reformation and was regarded for centuries as a powerful, elite force aligned with the ruling groups and opposing change, have openly declared the necessity for abandoning their previous role and devoting themselves to the service of the masses. Again this decision has been taken by the younger Jesuits and receives little active support from many of the older members of the Society of Jesus. Similar reactions are taking place in the other religious orders, in effect creating a generation gap in the attitudes towards change within the Church itself. While the older clergymen continue to stress their traditional duties, those carried out largely within the Church such as presiding at baptisms, marriages, funeral services, hearing confessions and saying masses requested by parishoners, the younger clerics are involving themselves in the daily lives, and the trials and tribulations of the masses, sometimes working side by side and living in the slums with them.

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Although initially the foreign priests tended to be the principal instigators of the changes emphasizing the direct involvement of the priest with the problems and aspirations of the people in his parish, the native clergymen have not only become involved but are taking over the leadership of movements for reform and change within the Church and the society. A particularly striking change is the willingness of native as well as foreign priests to work closely with leaders and representatives of Protestant and Jewish groups. While some such cooperation had existed before John XXIII came to the papacy, it has clearly increased as a result of his emphasis upon the ecumenical spirit which was carried forward by Vatican II and Paul VI. In countries such as Argentina, where rightist, pro-clerical elements have been active in the government since mid-1966, the Protestant groups tend to be wary of Catholic overtures and cooperation has been limited. On the other hand, there has been considerably more cooperation between Catholics and Protestants in Chile, where Protestant groups have been able to operate so freely that there are now about 1,000,000 Protestants out of a total population of less than 10,000,000. In Brazil, the antagonistic attitude of the military regime towards Catholics and Protestants opposed to the status quo also tends to foster the ecumenical spirit among such groups.

In summary, the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America is being subjected to a wide range of pressures for change. In general, the younger clergy and laity are the more active and the most impatient proponents of change, but they are supported by middle-aged and even some elderly Catholics as well. Some of the tensions within the Church in Latin America are similar to those the Church is experiencing elsewhere in the world, and particularly in Western Europe and North America. The Church in each Latin American country is also affected by the tensions within those societies caused by a variety of economic, political and social factors. The actions of various elements, within the Church itself, some of which are demanding change while others are trying to delay or block it, are further unsettling influences in nearly all the Latin American societies. In some instances the Protestant radicals, particularly those from the evangelical groups, are as critical in their attacks upon their societies as the most radical Catholics have been. The organization Iglesia y Sociedad, based in Montevideo, Uruguay, for example, is vehemently anti-capitalist and anti-US, and ready to make common cause with any group with a similar orientation.

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### III. Present Alignments in the Church

Any attempt to divide the members of the Catholic hierarchy, clergy and laity into such categories as liberals, moderates or conservatives, is complicated by the tendency of many of the individuals involved to be vigorously liberal on one issue, noncommittal on another and quite conservative on a third, particularly where doctrinal matters are concerned. Since the terms liberal, moderate and conservative are all vulnerable to a wide range of interpretation, they will be avoided whenever possible. The typology that follows was selected for convenience primarily in discussing attitudes towards social, educational, economic and political reforms and is by no means definitive. It provides for three main groupings; Reactionaries, the Uncommitted, and the Committed, with the latter group subdivided into Progressives and Radicals.

#### A. The Reactionaries

The Reactionaries constitute only a relatively small minority in the Church but it is a noisy one which exploits to the hilt the reverence of many Roman Catholics for tradition. The Reactionaries give the pronouncements of Vatican II and the papal encyclicals of the past decade, except Humanae Vitae (Paul VI's views on birth control), as little publicity as possible. They frequently denounce all proponents of reform as radicals, if not Communists, and include Catholic priests and bishops as well as laymen in the latter category. The Reactionaries tend to resent the presence within their countries of foreign missionaries, whether Protestant or Catholic, particularly when the missionaries appear to be fostering such pernicious ideas as the necessity for making changes in the status quo. They look back to the days of the tri-partite alliance of Church, military and large landholders as a Golden Age. They are quick to welcome the leaders of conservative

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military coups, as in Brazil (1964) and Argentina (1966), with whom they are in full agreement as to the dangers posed by the agents and dupes of international Communism.

The Reactionaries have been able to recruit a limited following among younger age groups but their principal strength lies in their entrenched positions on the upper levels of the hierarchy and their close connections with the most conservative political and economic elements of their societies. Their major weakness, over the longer run, is that while they still have allies in the Curia Romana (the members of the papal court and other high officials of the Church in Rome), the main current in the Church is running against them. In recent years the appointments to key positions in the Latin American churches have included very few, if any, Reactionaries and their ranks are gradually being thinned by death and incapacitation.

Among the more prominent reactionaries are such Brazilian bishops as Dom Antônio de Castro Mayer, of Campos, and Dom Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, of Diamantina, who were two of the authors of a book, published in 1960, which rejected all aspects of agrarian reform as "socialistic" and denounced socialism as irreconcilable with true Christianity. These two bishops are prominent in the current revival of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Traditions, Family and Property (TFP), which was founded in São Paulo, in the late 1940s, and receives financial support from businessmen interested in suppressing reformist influences in the Brazilian Church. The leaders of the TFP have ties with similar organizations in Argentina and Chile. At times, Dom Jaime de Barros Câmara, the aged Cardinal Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, seems to be closely identified with the views of the Reactionaries, particularly with their fears of Communist influence. In the last year or so, however, he has been somewhat less active in opposing many of the changes proposed by less radical members of the Brazilian episcopacy.

In Argentina two aging Cardinals, Antonio Caggiano, Archbishop of Buenos Aires, and Nicolás Fasolino, Archbishop of Santa Fe, frequently have been close to the

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Reactionaries in their reluctance to accept changes in the status quo. At times, and particularly in recent months, Archbishop Caggiano has shown an awareness of the need for the Church to associate itself with public opinion on such issues as elections and representative government. In the interior, Archbishop Alfonso María Buteler of Mendoza is even less amenable to change than are the country's Cardinals, whose influence has been diminished by the appointment of more flexible bishops as coadjutors to handle all substantive functions for them. In Colombia the former Archbishop of Bogotá, Luis Cardinal Concha Córdoba, and the Archbishop of Manizales, Arturo Duque Villegas, are reactionaries who have had recurrent difficulties with the reformist elements among the priests under their jurisdictions. As in Argentina, the Papacy appointed a more flexible bishop, in this case, Aníbal Muñoz Duque, as Apostolic Administrator for the aged Cardinal. Recently when the Cardinal went into semi-retirement, Muñoz Duque was named Archbishop of Bogotá and is now the effective head of the Church in Colombia.

A larger proportion of the hierarchy and clergy in both Argentina and Colombia are natives than is the case in most other Latin American countries. Many of the native priests, particularly in rural areas in Latin America, tend to be more closely aligned with local opponents of change in the status quo than do their counterparts in the urban areas. Thus both countries have a larger proportion of priests and bishops, who are more in sympathy with the reactionaries than with the proponents of change, than one finds in the other major Latin American countries. In both countries, however, native as well as foreign priests are exerting pressure on their bishops to put into practice the precepts of Vatican II and other post-Conciliar documents. Although both Archbishop Juan Carlos Aramburo, the Coadjutor Archbishop of Buenos Aires, and Archbishop Muñoz Duque of Bogotá, are much more receptive to change than are Cardinals Caggiano and Concha, they are not moving nearly as rapidly as the more radical priests desire.

Chile is an interesting case in that it was the scene of some of the area's most bitter Church-State struggles in the last century and anti-clericalism was

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still a potent force in the first few decades of this century. It is also the country in Latin America where --except for Cuba--the Communist Party is most firmly established and has the most favorable prospects for coming to power by constitutional means.

In Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and other Latin American countries opposition to weak and disorganized Communist movements is a principal stock in trade of Reactionaries. In Chile, however, anti-Communism is not a major preoccupation with the bishops, none of whom is openly a Reactionary. There are, nevertheless, some members of the laity and lower clergy in Chile, who are as reactionary as their counterparts elsewhere in the area.

#### B. The Uncommitted

The Uncommitted comprise the great bulk of the members of the Catholic Church in Latin America, both clergy and laity. They tend to oppose sharp breaks with the past and prefer that change--if it must come--come gradually with as little disruption as possible. They too have a high regard for tradition but that includes an inclination to accept papal recommendations and instructions with as good grace as possible--even when they are personally distasteful. Thus the uncommitted bishops tend to vote for changes they know the Papacy wants, and to go along with the recommendations of CELAM, even though they may do as little as possible to carry out those changes in their own dioceses. On the other hand, however, neither will they resist such changes to the bitter end. As the situation in their particular country and diocese changes, and as they come into closer contact with the leaders working for change, more of the Uncommitted move into the ranks of the Committed than join the Reactionaries. In general, the Uncommitted--bishops, lower clergy and laity--are still reserving final judgment on the changes taking place in the Church. Thus this group could either accelerate the pace of change or slow it down so much that the advocates of evolutionary change would be discredited and the arguments of the proponents of revolutionary violence as the only vehicle for change would be enhanced.

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C. The Committed

The bishops, lower clergy and laity, who compose the Committed sector of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, agree on the need for change but hold a wide variety of views as to the kinds of change needed, the tactics to be used and the urgency with which change must be achieved. On some occasions the borderline between Progressives and Radicals is a shifting and even nebulous one. In general, however, the Progressives oppose the use of violence and try to work within the system to reform it, even though they acknowledge that, in some circumstances, violence may be justified. The Radicals, on the other hand, not only are ready to use violence; they are convinced that "the Establishment" will absorb non-violent efforts to reform it. In their view the system must be destroyed before meaningful change can be achieved. The Radicals are much more critical of the hierarchial structures of the Church and are demanding that the lower clergy, and laity as well, be consulted in appointments of bishops and other Church officials. They are also much more innovative than the Progressives usually are, particularly in challenging the hierarchy on appointments to bishoprics, and more insistent on the Church disposing of its material possessions and becoming a "Poor Church" as well as the "Church of the Poor."

1. The Progressives

The Progressives prefer to reform society, and the Church, by keeping the best of what is and replacing that which they consider outmoded. They tend to interpret "evolutionary," however, as really meaning token reforms carried out at a pace so slow as to be meaningless in terms of the situations and problems confronting them. Their preference is clearly for non-violent methods but they concede the necessity for resort to force when the non-violent way is closed. The Progressives emphasize the obligation of Roman Catholics to carry out the modernization of the Church and their own particular societies in the spirit of Vatican II and the papal

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encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI. The numbers and influence of the Progressives vary sharply from country to country and even within a single country.

In Chile, for example, the bishops are more united in their support for the post-conciliar movement than is the episcopacy of any other Latin American country. The transformation of the Chilean episcopacy, from its traditional alliance with the Conservative Party, into a close working relationship with a reformist and victorious Christian Democratic Party caused many observers to think that the Chilean phenomenon could be readily duplicated elsewhere in the area. The relatively short time in which the change occurred is misleading, however, since it was the result of an unusual combination of dedicated effort and fortuitous circumstances. Nevertheless, the Chilean experience does illustrate what can occur under such conditions.

A key factor was the presence of a few, highly-educated, Jesuit priests, progressionists who for several decades had been stimulating an interest in reforming society among small groups of young, upper-class Catholics. By 1938 these groups broke with the Conservative Party leaders (who had rejected their proposals for reforms based on the papal encyclicals), and formed the Falange Nacional. The leaders of this movement, which had no connection with the Spanish Falange--it participated in a popular front government--and which eventually became the Christian Democratic Party, continued their close association with socially-minded Jesuits who provided the religious legitimation for their reform programs. At the same time, these Jesuits were arranging for young Chilean Jesuits to receive advanced training abroad in the social sciences as well as in theology.

By the late 1950s the various components began to fall into place. A journal, Mensaje (Message), had been founded and was attracting a growing audience throughout Latin America; in 1957 Roger Vekemans, a Belgian Jesuit and sociologist, founded the Center for Research and Social Action (CIAS); and in 1959 the CIAS and Mensaje were united to form the Centro Bellarmino. In the Church the

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appointment of several younger and less traditionalistic bishops provided support for Manuel Larraín Errázuriz, Bishop of Talca and one of Latin America's most progressive churchmen. In 1961, the new archbishop of Santiago, Raúl Cardinal Silva Henríques, assumed his position as the country's Primate and used it to commit his fellow bishops to support of a wide range of social and economic reforms. The Jesuits at the Centro Bellarmino provided research studies, programs and advice for the Progressives and were the intellectual authors of a Pastoral Letter, issued by Archbishop Silva, which became a bench mark in Chilean history.

The Pastoral Letter, made public in September 1962, severely criticized the slow pace of reform and the complacency with which the wealthy viewed the existing widespread inequalities in the society. It warned that the social system had to be revised quickly to improve the lot of the millions of underprivileged Chileans: pointing out that in the cities over a third of the population were homeless and that while one-tenth of the population enjoyed more than half of the national income, a great part of the Chilean people suffered from malnutrition. While condemning the abuses of capitalism it also rejected the theories and practices of Communists, and forbade Catholics to collaborate with Communists.

Both the Right and the Left criticized the Pastoral Letter; in part, at least, because it seemed to place the Church firmly behind the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) whose leaders were known to hold similar views. When the Cardinal Archbishop refused to continue the Church's long and close association with the Conservative Party (which had required that its members be Roman Catholics), and the PDC adopted a program containing many of the ideas and much of the language of the Pastoral Letter, the last doubts as to the Archbishop's preferences vanished.

In 1963 the municipal elections held throughout the country revealed that the mood of the electorate was for change. The Christian Democratic Party, whose presidential candidate, Eduardo Frei, had run a poor third in

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1958, emerged as the second largest party, only slightly behind the Radical Party. While the Marxist parties (the Socialists and Communists) also gained slightly, the conservatives (Liberal and Conservative Parties) were the principal losers. In 1964 the Christian Democratic candidate, Eduardo Frei, won the presidential election by a clear majority. In 1965 his party won majority control of the Chamber of Deputies and a plurality in the Senate that enabled Frei to begin enactment of an extensive program of social and economic reforms.

While the Church leaders were careful not to identify themselves directly with the Christian Democrats, their implicit support undoubtedly contributed to the massive electoral swing to the Christian Democratic Party as an alternative to the discredited Right and the Socialist-Communist electoral coalition (FRAP). In office the PDC leaders have continued their close relationship with the Jesuits in the Centro Bellarmino and with the other Progressive elements in the Church. The various institutes and centers associated with the Centro have provided a brain-trust and training center on which the Frei Administration has drawn for ideas, programs and personnel. Indeed, by 1969, when many of the reforms urged in the 1962 Pastoral Letter had been enacted by the Frei Administration, the leaders of Christian Democratic Party and of the Church were being criticized by younger party leaders and priests demanding that the pace of change be quickened and insisting that even more radical reforms were needed.

The Brazilian Progressives have also secured the commitment of the country's bishops to a far-reaching program of reforms. However, they not only do not have a political movement able to implement it, they also face determined resistance on the part of the military government and of a vocal minority of bishops, clergy and laity, bitterly opposed to their views. In other countries, such as Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay, the Progressives have wrested agreements by the hierarchy to get on with the implementation of the changes recommended at Medellin, but, the amount of implementation by the pre-conciliar types among the bishops remains to be seen.

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In some places clashes have already occurred between pre-conciliar bishops and post-conciliar clergymen in their dioceses. The most publicized incident of this type occurred in Rosario, Argentina where some 28 priests refused to continue their pastoral duties under an archbishop whom they charged with opposing post-conciliar reforms. When Archbishop Bolatti went to Rome for support he waited for an audience with the Pope for several months before returning with a letter from Paul VI urging the priests to compose their difficulties with their archbishop so they could get on with their duties. When the priests declared they could not work with Bolatti and resigned, their cause was taken up by other priests and members of the laity. In turn, the Archbishop's supporters rallied to his side and the debate over it continues. In Trujillo, Peru, on the other hand, a pre-conciliar archbishop backed down when his diocesan clergy opposed his action in ordering reformist foreign priests out of his diocese. In these and other Latin American countries, progressive priests and bishops have combined to exert pressure on their hierarchies to support and to implement the resolutions that were approved by the CELAM at Medellín.

Probably the most dramatic and widely known figure among the Progressives is Dom Helder Pessoa Câmara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, whose brushes with the Brazilian military and with the Reactionaries among his fellow bishops have occupied headlines in Brazil and abroad. While Dom Helder is the idol of many of the Committed and is treated with respect by the Radicals, including non-Catholics as well, he probably has less influence among the Uncommitted, particularly the bishops in Brazil and elsewhere, than does Dom Eugênio Sales, Archbishop of Salvador and the Primate of Brazil. Dom Helder's forte is publicizing and demanding sweeping reforms, without advancing practical solutions for the problems he has raised, a tactic more likely to alienate the Uncommitted than to win them over. On the other hand, Dom Eugênio, who only a few years ago was a much less well known figure in the reform movement, has become particularly effective in securing the acceptance, by less reform-minded bishops in Brazil and other Latin American countries, of

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the changes proposed by the Progressives. Since early 1969 his stature has been further enhanced by appointment to the College of Cardinals.

Dom Avelar Brandão Vilela, the Archbishop of Teresinha and President of CELAM for the 1968-1969 period, is another of the traditionalists on the Brazilian hierarchy who has become firmly committed to the Progressives and exercises a great deal of influence, in Brazil and abroad, while advocating change by evolutionary, non-violent methods. In recent months, and particularly since he too was appointed to the College of Cardinals, Dom Vicente Scherer, the Archbishop of Porto Alegre, has also become more closely identified with the Progressives. The new Cardinal's statement that in some cases violence may be necessary to secure reforms is in sharp contrast to his former views on that subject, and he has come out strongly in support of agrarian reform.

Juan Cardinal Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima and Primate of Peru, is another example of the changes in attitudes that have been taking place within the Church during recent years. For centuries the hierarchy in Peru was closely aligned with the oligarchy in a society that even today retains many vestiges of the colonial period. Since Landázuri Ricketts was from a conservative upper class background, his appointment as archbishop, in 1954, signalled little prospect of change from the Church's past orientation. Nor was there much apparent change during the new archbishop's first years as the head of the Church in Peru. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he was careful to disassociate himself and the Church from the Peruvian Christian Democratic Movement's program which stressed radical reforms, including a sweeping redistribution of land, and had shrill anti-capitalist overtones. But since Vatican II a perceptible change has gradually taken place as the Archbishop has aligned himself with the advocates of reform, including a transfer, to the cleggy, in each of his archdiocese's 21 deaneries, of his powers to designate the deans who preside over each deanery. In Peru this is a sharp break with the past as has been the Archbishop's support for the agrarian reform decreed, in June 1969, by the military

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government. Also, when the reactionary Archbishop of Trujillo, Carlos Maria Jurgens Byrne, dismissed three Spanish priests for being agitators, and encountered sharp resistance from other priests in his archdiocese, he received no support from Cardinal Landazuri and soon backed down. In fact, when the Papal Nuncio intervened in the matter to attack several Peruvian priests supporting the Trujillo rebels, the Cardinal made it clear that he, and not the diplomatic representative of the Vatican, was in charge of the Church in Peru. The controversy between the Nuncio and the priests is illustrative of how rapidly the Peruvian situation has changed. Only a few years ago the same Nuncio was one of the prime movers in getting the post-conciliar movement started.

In other countries, such as Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, and Guatemala, the Progressives in the hierarchy are relatively few in number and are just beginning to make their influence felt. Yet there have been some striking changes within the Church, in certain countries, and in its relationship with the ruling groups in those countries. In Paraguay, for example, when a priest criticized the Stroessner dictatorship, several years ago, the Archbishop of Asunción rebuked the priest, sent him to Uruguay to rest, and indicated that the priest was suffering from mental instability. Over the last year or two, however, the Paraguayan episcopacy has become increasingly critical of the Stroessner dictatorship, resisting its efforts to secure the ouster of several Spanish Jesuits, insisting that political prisoners be given trials, and opposing Stroessner's maneuvers to control the administration of the Catholic University in Asunción. In April 1969, the Paraguayan Episcopal Conference expounded its views on Church-State relations, quoting excerpts from Gaudium et Spes, and from Populorum Progressio and other paper documents to support its insistence that "The Church cannot remain indifferent or insensitive" to the fate of Paraguayans.

An equally striking turnabout has occurred in Bolivia where, until the 1952 Revolution, the Church had been closely aligned with the "Rosca", the country's oligarchial group, which included tin mine owners and large land holders.

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After that Revolution the Church was careful to avoid any conflict with the government and continued to be a classic example of an Uncommitted, if not Reactionary Church. In recent years, however, the Church has become involved in supporting the tin miners in their labor disputes. In large part this new orientation has resulted from the pressures applied on the hierarchy by the native clergy, as well as by the post-conciliar foreign priests who had been the leaders in promoting change. Even in Ecuador, pressure from the lower clergy has finally resulted in the opening of a dialogue between priests and bishops regarding renovation of the role of the Church in Ecuador.

In countries such as Nicaragua, where most members of the hierarchy are still very attentive to the wishes of the Somoza family, and Haiti, where the Church was weak even before Duvalier's totalitarian controls were imposed, the Church's commitment to change in the spirit of Vatican II is so feeble as to be virtually non-existent. Despite the presence of a few Progressive clerics, it is not much stronger in other parts of Central America and the Caribbean. While individual bishops and an increasing number of the lower clergy are demonstrating the post-conciliar spirit in these and other countries of the area, the Uncommitted and Reactionary elements are still in control.

The recent appointment of Marcos McGrath as Archbishop (and Primate) of Panama, puts one of Latin America's most Progressive bishops in charge there. The Church, however, traditionally has had relatively little influence in Panama. In Mexico, a Progressive minority secured approval, in 1968, for a Pastoral Letter that was thoroughly post-conciliar in tone and content. In spite of this, the Mexican Church must move very carefully because the Mexican Government is determined to maintain its posture as the custodian of revolutionary change and the dispenser of any benefits for the masses.

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## 2. The Radicals

The Radicals are still a relatively small minority in the Church. Their importance is greater than their numbers indicate but is somewhat less than one might conclude from the attention their activities have attracted. While the intensity of their desire for change may vary sharply from issue to issue, the Radicals are virtually unanimous on the impossibility of securing basic reform by non-violent means and the necessity, therefore, of a root and branch destruction of the established system.

The major point of difference among the Radicals is over the tactics by which the establishment is to be brought down. Some urge resort to immediate violent action, e.g., guerrilla warfare, which involves leaving the priesthood. This was the course adopted by the Colombian revolutionary, who happened to be a priest, Camilo Torres. His death, which occurred in an engagement between his guerrilla comrades and government troops, has been converted into martyrdom by his admirers. Other Radicals, who also admire the Colombian priest turned guerrilla, advocate remaining within the Church and undermining the structure of the society by attacking its institutions from within. Strikes and mass demonstrations, neighborhood discussion, petitions, and passive resistance, and making the hitherto passive masses aware of their potential strength when united, are among the tactics being used to arouse support for moves against the status quo and the power structure.

One theme on which the Radicals and the Progressives agree is the necessity of arousing the lethargic masses from their apathy by making them aware of their own ability to bring about change. Thus the reformers have taken up conscientização, a process of making people aware politically and socially while teaching them to read, which was developed first in Brazil and has spread to other parts of the area. In the early 1960's it was taken up by militants in the Basic Education Movement (MEB), which was sponsored by the Brazilian Bishops Conference and the Goulart administration (1961-1964). Both the Radicals and the Progressives recognized the potential of such a

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process in achieving a revolutionary transformation of society. When Goulart was overthrown by a military coup, Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator who had pioneered in conscientização, found the military regime too hostile to his ideas and went into exile in Chile. There, as a consultant to the United Nations, he continued to develop his method which was adopted, by the Frei Administration (1965), for its programs in training illiterates to read. Other governments have not been so receptive but Radicals and Progressives both support conscientização as invaluable in preparing the way for basic structural changes in their societies--whether by violent or non-violent means.

The Radicals who favor direct action now are easy to identify. They are represented in such organizations as the "Camilo Torres Revolutionary Movement," which has been organized in Colombia, Uruguay, and Argentina, and has clerical and lay adherents scattered throughout the hemisphere. Although they are willing to cooperate with other extremists, these Radicals are generally scornful of the orthodox Latin American Communist Party leaders, and look to the pro-Maoist and Castroite splinter movements on the extreme left as their kind of revolutionaries. However, when the orthodox Communists are willing to back guerrilla warfare tactics, as in Guatemala, Radical priests such as Thomas and Arthur Melville, the former Maryknoll missionaries, have cooperated with them. At present, the influence of this group is limited because their numbers are few and their chances of success appear too slim to attract many new recruits.

The failures of Camilo Torres and the ignominious end of Che Guevara's guerrilla campaign in Bolivia, have strengthened the case for opposing the system while remaining in it. This is what has been called the Fourth Man theme, weakening the fabric of the institutions of a society to cause it to disintegrate from within. The Radicals who favor this method receive much less publicity than a Camilo Torres or a Juan Carlos Zaffaroni (the Uruguayan ex-Jesuit who publicly approved violent tactics and went underground to escape arrest). Because they remain within the Church and retain access to both the Committed and the Uncommitted groups, the non-violent Radicals pose an even greater threat to the "Establishment" than

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do the open advocates of violence who lack the numbers and means to achieve their goal.

Ivan Illich, the former Jesuit whose attacks on the role of the Church in Latin America have been condemned by Progressives as well as Reactionaries, is one of the most widely known of the Radicals who oppose direct action tactics as counterproductive. Illich's charismatic appeal, intellectual brilliance and zest for controversy tend to focus much more attention on him than on most other Radicals. The Center he established and directs at Cuernavaca, Mexico (Centro Intercultural de Documentación-CIDOC), has been one of the principal disseminators of revolutionary concepts among Catholic clergy and laity in Latin America. In late 1968, Illich was called to Rome to answer charges raised against him and was reprimanded for his activities. Subsequently Catholic bishops were instructed not to permit priests under their jurisdiction to be sent to the Center at Cuernavaca for training. Although Illich has left the priesthood he has avowed his determination to remain within the Church while continuing his efforts for radical change. The Center and Illich continue to attract Radicals and some Progressives to Cuernavaca for training in the philosophy and tactics of revolutionary change.

The borderline between the Radical priests and laity, who seek to bring about radical change from within, and many of the Progressives is often difficult, if not impossible to delineate. They share an antipathy towards the established order as precluding social justice. While the Progressive still thinks that some aspects of the society can be salvaged by reform, the Radical would destroy the present order of things even though he may have little or no idea of what would replace it.

While some exceptions, such as the ex-Jesuit Illich, the Radicals tend to be naive in their approach to economic and political questions, and seem to lack a sense of history. The impressive thing about them is the sincerity with which they devote themselves to serving the poor and unfortunate in their struggle for social justice. They have the zealous faith of the youthful participants in the Children's Crusade of medieval times and some of them may be equally as susceptible to exploitation and manipulation.

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The various Radical priest movements such as the "Young Church" in Chile, the "Priests for the Third World Movement" in Argentina, the "Golconda Group" in Colombia, and the Peruvian organization called the National Office of Social Information (Oficina Nacional de Información Social--ONIS), are attracting support from some Progressives among the clergy and laity. These are Progressives who are growing impatient with the slow pace of change in their societies but are not prepared to join with the extremists in the Camilo Torres Movement. They tend to be most sympathetic to the Radical attacks on injustices in the society and criticism of Reactionary and Uncommitted bishops. They are less receptive to actions such as those of the Young Church group in Chile involving the seizure of the Cathedral and the interruption of the ordination of a bishop. In general, it is the younger members of the clergy and of the laity who support the Radical movements.

These movements are still relatively small. In April 1969, the second annual assembly of the Argentine "Priests for the Third World" was attended by 80 delegates, from 27 dioceses, representing over 400 priests out of a total of some 4,500 in Argentina. In Colombia, Bishop Genardo Valencia Cano of Buenaventura, and the 49 priests who signed the Golconda Declaration criticizing the Colombian Church's ties with the "Establishment," probably have won recruits to their cause but the total of active members is not known. At any rate it is still a small portion of the more than 4,000 Catholic priests in Colombia. The "Young Church" in Chile now has about 150 active members, including laity, in a country with over 2,000 priests and over 6,000,000 nominal lay Catholics. The ONIS group in Peru, with some 200 or so of the country's approximately 2,000 priests, includes a large proportion of individuals who are closer to the Progressive than to the extreme Radical position. In each case the future of these groups depends heavily upon the course of reform in their countries. Elsewhere in the area similar groups are likely to be formed, if indeed this has not already occurred.

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Thus far the Radicals have not set up an organization to coordinate their activities throughout the area. The Camilo Torres Movements tried to play that role but their efforts were circumscribed by official action limiting the travel of known members of the organizations. Furthermore, and perhaps even more important in their failure, many of the individuals involved in the Camilo Torres Movements were neither reputable nor did they have the charisma of the Colombian revolutionary-priest. There have been some international contacts as individual Radicals have travelled to neighboring countries but a well-organized and adequately-funded organization has not been established. There are indications, however, that the Radicals not only recognize the need for such an organization, but are also taking steps to establish one.

There is a logical assumption that the various kinds of Communists and other extreme leftists are trying to penetrate the Committed sectors of the Catholic Church in Latin America. The example of Camilo Torres, the Colombian priest who put aside his cassock, went to the hills with pro-Castro guerrillas and was killed in a clash with government troops, is a dramatic example that such penetration is possible. In fact, some Radical priests may cooperate with extremists, including Communists, on projects of mutual interest and they may be naive in thinking that by cooperating with an individual Communist the latter may be converted--or reconverted--to the Church. They may identify with Castro in his defiance of the United States--the David and Goliath bit--and they may admire Camilo Torres for putting his life on the line when he believed that was necessary. But they tend to be little, if any, less suspicious of the Communists than they are of other political leaders. Such suspicions have not prevented a few Radicals from cooperating with Communists professing similar goals and some of them have been, and others probably will be, the victims of Communist manipulation. Despite the repeated charge by Reactionaries and others that such penetration is widespread, however, the hard evidence indicates that very few Committed priests have been subverted; perhaps because of their deep religious convictions and their widespread mistrust of political parties and ideologies.

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Because reactionaries have been making such charges against virtually all reformers for many years, the accusation is often ineffective if not counterproductive. In short, anti-Communism has almost no appeal among those opposed to the maintenance of the status quo in Latin America.

Nor is there much enthusiasm for the private enterprise system among the area's masses. In their view, and in the opinions of labor leaders, student activists, intellectuals and others, the capitalistic system--as they know it--is exploitive, has incited but not satisfied their expectations, and is multiplying rather than decreasing social injustices. State socialism, on the other hand, appears to promise simple and quick solutions to the mounting problems that are confronting their societies. The fact that such a panacea is denounced by the "haves" of those societies and by foreign interests makes it even more appealing in countries swept up in a rising tide of nationalist fervor. In view of the naivete of the more idealistic reformers on economic matters and their rejection of capitalism, as a system that had been tried and found wanting, it is not surprising that they are ready to give state socialism a chance no matter who is sponsoring it. They reflect a similar disillusionment in other parts of the world, particularly in the lesser developed areas. Eight of the 15 bishops, who signed the "Message to the People of the Third World" (1967), which insisted on the need for something better than capitalism, were Latin Americans.\* Speaking in London (13 April 1969),

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\*Archbishop Helder Câmara, of Olinda and Recife, Brazil  
Archbishop João da Mota e Albuquerque, of Victoria, Brazil  
Bishop Luís Gonzaga Fernandes, auxiliary of Victoria, Brazil  
Bishop Georges Mercier, of Laghouat, Algeria  
Bishop Michel Darmancier, of Wallis and Futuna, Oceania  
Bishop Amand Hubert, of Heliopolis, Egypt  
Bishop Angelo Cuniberti, of Florencia, Colombia  
Bishop Severino Mariano de Aguiar, of Pesqueira, Brazil  
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for example, Archbishop Helder Câmara, one of the seven Brazilian signers (the other Latin American was a Colombian), sharply criticized what he called the "exploitation" of the underdeveloped countries by the more developed ones. He also condemned the developed country's support of "institutionalized violence" (that is supplying arms to the military forces of the underdeveloped countries) to maintain the established order in their favor.

The suspicion with which the Radicals are regarded in some circles has also been fostered by the way in which the Communist press has publicized activities of the Radicals. El Siglo, the Communist daily in Santiago, Chile, for example, has given extensive publicity to the leaders of the Young Church in their campaign against the Church's leadership and institutions. In Brazil, Voz Operaria, the organ of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), has praised the Church's role in educating the masses and urged party militants to support the Church against the military government. An article in Peace, Freedom and Socialism (January 1968) hailed the role of the Church in Brazil in support of the masses and singled out several priests and a bishop for commendation.\* And Fidel Castro has added his opinion by declaring: "When we see sectors of the clergy becoming revolutionary forces, how shall we resign ourselves to seeing sectors of Marxism become ecclesiastic forces?"

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Bishop Franx Franic, of Split, Yugoslavia

Bishop Francisco Austregésilo de M., of Afogados de Ingazeira, Brazil

Bishop Gregori Haddad, auxiliary of Beirut, Lebanon

Bishop Manuel Pereira da Costa, of Campina Grande, Brazil

Bishop Charles Joseph van Melckebeke, of Ningsia, China

Bishop Antônio Batista Fragoso, of Crateus, Brazil

Bishop Etienne Loosdregt, of Vientiane, Laos

\*The bishop was Dom Jorge Marcos de Oliveira of Santo André, who is known as the "Worker Bishop" for his intervention in behalf of labor in his diocese.

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Furthermore, the attempts by European Catholic and Communist intellectuals to initiate a dialogue has also occurred in Latin America, particularly in Chile. The Communists have been quick to seize on those portions of Church documents and proclamations which urge the establishment of world peace and, directly or by implication, condemn the capitalist system. These include the papal encyclicals, particularly Pacem en Terris and Populorum Progressio, the resolutions of Vatican II and of the CELAM meetings, and pastoral letters issued by the episcopates of individual countries. The Communists stress these points as evidence of common interests refuting the view that there is an unbridgeable gap between Christians and Marxists. The younger Catholic priests, who reflect the disdain of their generation for the established order and who regard their elders as having been brainwashed by a sterile anti-Communism, see no great danger in collaboration with Communists on a case-by-case basis. Some of these priests accept Marxist interpretations of the past as valid and Marxist designs for the future as more suitable for their under-developed and developing societies than capitalism as they know it.

This susceptibility to Marxist viewpoints, perhaps as a result of disillusionment with the way capitalism operates in their societies, is evident in priests with widely divergent backgrounds. Francisco de Araújo, formerly Prior of the Seminary of the Dominican Order in São Paulo, has concluded that it is not possible to humanize capitalism.\* To the question "Is it possible to Humanize Socialism?", the Dominican's reply is: "I do not see why not.

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\*"There are in this regime vices which are deep-rooted and inhuman, such as the materialistic motivation for profit, the accumulation of material wealth, 'free competition,' which in turn believes in gigantic machinery for eliminating competition, stressing the game of violence by the strongest, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, etc., all of which makes the process of humanizing capitalism impossible." Mensaje (Santiago, Chile), July 1968, pp. 303-309.

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If we begin with the premise that Socialism is the socialization of the means of production, I fail to see why it would be unacceptable to a Christian, providing that this socialization can be effective." He pointed out that, while the errors and crimes of socialist regimes could not be justified, "Socialism appears as a way that is scientifically correct and morally valid for under-developed peoples." To the question as to whether a socialist revolution without ties with Soviet and Chinese imperialism was possible, Father Araújo replied in the affirmative declaring that he believed the destinies of the world depended on that possibility.\*

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\*Ibid. The Dominican summed up his view on Christian-Marxist cooperation as follows:

I firmly believe that the Church can and should survive in a socialist regime and that this possibility depends above all on the capacity and the leadership of the Christians. I will say more. The opportunity for Christians to become a propulsive force in history, at this time of the Twentieth Century, depends on the option to or not to accept the world socialization process. We do not ask that Marxists accept the spiritual principles of the Gospel against their deepest convictions. However, we have the right to demand that they respect our faith and our rejection of all forms of materialism.

A Christian can accept all that is scientific theory in the economic, political and social realities in Marxism. But a Christian can never accept Marxist ideology where it is in conflict with Gospel principles, such as the existence of a personal and creative God, the transcendental destiny of Man and history, and the right to worship Jesus Christ. A Christian could never be a materialist. There are, however, aspects in the Marxist humanitarianism which not only

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Another priest, René García Lizarralde, a parish priest and one of the signers of the Golconda Document in Colombia, expressed a similar view in telling a group of students that a fundamental opening towards Marxism was necessary because Marxism provided the methodology needed by Christian revolutionaries. Father García also warned his student audience that while the means of production was not in the hands of the people, but manipulated in the interests of the few, it would be impossible for his listeners to find an authentic culture of their own.\*

The Radicals, both clerics and laity, tend to react strongly against any indication of foreign influence in their country's economic and political as well as cultural affairs. At times this results in their being in accord with the Reactionaries on an issue such as birth-control, which both groups oppose as being a Yankee device to limit the numerical strength of the Latin Americans. On some occasions, such as the Peruvian Government's nationalization of the holdings of the International Petroleum Company, the Government's action has received support from all sectors of the Peruvian Church, including foreign missionaries from the United States. On an issue such as the Peruvian government's agrarian reform program, however, the reactions of the Uncommitted and the Reactionaries, who have close ties with members of the oligarchy affected by the reform, has been rather less enthusiastic.

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do not identify with materialism but are, in fact, Christian positions as well, such as the Marxist perspective on work as a transforming force in the world panorama. On the Christian side, there also exist practical materialisms which should be rejected in the name of the Gospel; for example, the lack of direction and dignity in the life of many.

\*Conference given in the Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Nacional on 11 April 1969.

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The Radicals are particularly antagonistic towards capitalism, whether domestic or foreign. These feelings, however, are also shared by Progressives who, while emphasizing the need for economic development to alleviate the area's economic problems, continue to denounce the iniquities of the "capitalistic system" and urge a redistribution of income to favor the poor. They appear unmindful of the degree to which almost all the Latin American governments are dependent upon foreign financing to carry out any far-reaching economic development program. They appear equally oblivious to indications that such statements not only discourage potential foreign investment, but also hasten the flight of domestic capital to a safer haven abroad.

In sum, the Committed sector of the Latin American Church has become increasingly critical of and determined to change the institutions and patterns of living in the area's societies. While the members differ over tactics, including alliances with non-Catholic forces, they are agreed on the necessity for basic change. The proportion of individuals urging open resort to violence is still small. The concept that the injustices of the status quo are being maintained by institutionalized violence, and can only be changed by counter-violence, however, is gaining wider acceptance among Progressives as well as Radicals. For better or for worse, the Roman Catholic Church, once a bulwark against revolutionary change in Latin America, is becoming more and more committed to basic structural changes. Whether those changes will come by peaceful or by violent means, and when, remains to be seen; the only certainty is that there will be change.

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#### IV. The Impact of the Committed Church on Church-State Relations

##### A. General

The changes in the Roman Catholic Church have caused reverberations in Church-State relations in much of Latin America. In some cases the impact of the Committed Church has been slight; for example, in Ecuador, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Honduras where the concept of a Committed Church is just beginning to win adherents and the established patterns of Church-State relations have not been significantly altered. In Cuba and Haiti, where the Catholic Church has long been weak, it appears to have become resigned to accepting the domination of dictators who have been in place for over a decade and who have made it clear that the Church either goes along with them or gets out completely. In other countries Church-State relations that had been harmonious have been subjected to increasing tension as a result of the changes in the attitudes of the Committed Church toward the societies its members serve.

##### B. Some Special Cases

###### Brazil

In Brazil Church-State relations have been severely strained, in recent years, by the arrest, alleged torture, imprisonment and deportation of post-conciliar priests committed to basic reforms and antagonistic to the military dictatorship that has ruled the country since early 1964. Until the post-conciliar reform movement began to gather momentum in Brazil, the Church for many years had had very little impact on politics, had usually cooperated closely with whatever government was in power, and generally had not been much concerned with economic, political or social problems. Possibly because the shift in the Church's role from non-involvement to a real commitment to change has come so quickly, some members of the military government have reacted by condemning the Committed Church as Communist-infiltrated and duped--a view

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stoutly endorsed by reactionary clerics and laymen.

The Brazilian situation, which has some of the aspects of a classic tragedy, appears to be the most serious in the area. The principal leaders of the Church and of the military regime do not want a Church-State confrontation. Extremists on both sides, however, have sought to provoke one. Under the best of circumstances the contradictory goals of the Committed Church and the military government would be apt to cause serious friction: the Committed Church wants social justice and unfettered personal liberty given first priority; the military regime puts economic development first, with social justice to come later in what amounts to the classic "trickle down" thesis. It also tends to regard any serious social disturbance or attacks on the status quo as subversive and to use harsh, repressive measures to hold the line.

Under such conditions crisis after crisis has resulted as members of the Committed Church have pressed for changes now--not in some distant future. The more realistic leaders of the Committed Church are continuing to work for change while trying to avoid provoking the government unnecessarily. Thus, at the July 1969 meeting of the National Council of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB), a group of bishops agitating for an anti-government statement were defeated when Dom Agnelo Cardinal Rossi, Archbishop of São Paulo and President of the CNBB, strongly opposed any political statement. The Church leadership realizes that the Church is in too weak a position to provoke a confrontation with the government; nevertheless, they are determined that when a confrontation does come the onus for it will rest squarely on the government.

#### Argentina

The sharp divisions in the Argentine society are reflected in the Church and are affecting Church-State relations. The Reactionary and Uncommitted elements in the Church welcomed the military coup of June 1966 so ardently that leaders of the Committed Church issued

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warnings against too close an alignment with the dictatorial regime. While the Church leaders then pulled back somewhat, they remained in much closer contact and cooperated more closely with President Juan Carlos Onganía than they had with his predecessor (Artur Illia, 1963-1966).

Over the last year, however, increasing strain has developed in Church-State relations as Committed priests and bishops have supported sugar workers and other groups in their conflicts with the Onganía regime. In early May 1969, even the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Antonio Cardinal Caggiano, the Primate of Argentina who had been closely identified with the Onganía regime, publicly referred to it as "a temporary, de facto but legitimate government and I am confident that normalcy will return in the future, and that the political parties will be able to function again. The country must return to normalcy, that is, to a constitutional and democratic regime."

Those would be commonplace observations under other conditions but in view of the Cardinal's close association with a dictatorial regime that had banned all political parties and precluded any discussion of setting even a tentative, distant date for holding elections, his words confirmed that there had indeed been a change in Church-State relations. A few weeks later, when conflicts between university students and the administration exploded into violent anti-government demonstrations, priests were alleged to be involved and a few were arrested. When the new Minister of Interior, General (R.) Imaz appealed for public assistance in restoring order (on 30 June 1969), his specific reference to the government's need for the "total support of the Church" appears to have received a cool reception. The Executive Commission of the Argentine Bishops' Conference sent the Minister its views on Church-State relations on 4 July; as of mid-August those views had not been made public. Moreover, the Priests of the Third World Movement have been openly anti-government in their active support of the workers and students.

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Even the less radical elements of the Committed Church have continued to criticize the government for its neglect of the nation's unfortunates and to support the 28 priests in the Rosario Archdiocese, who have resigned rather than serve under a pre-conciliar archbishop, Guillermo Bolatti. Lay members of Bolatti's archdiocese have supported the dissident priests by occupying parish churches, an action which has led to clashes with police sent to remove them. This kind of incident, if it spreads, can involve the national authorities of both church and state. Since the sympathies of the Onganía regime tend to be with the pre-conciliar bishops, the tensions in the society and the Church are likely to be exacerbated and cause a further deterioration in Church-State relations.

#### Peru

There are certain aspects of the present situation in Peruvian Church-State relations that make it particularly interesting and perhaps significant for the future. Until some three or four years ago the Peruvian Church was still one of the most reactionary in the larger Latin American countries. The majority of its bishops and priests are still pre-conciliar in attitude but a few bishops and a relatively small group of activist priests have secured approval of proposals for substantial reforms that are anathema to the country's oligarchs and reactionary churchmen. The Primate of the Peruvian Church, Juan Cardinal Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, has not only supported the changes in the clergy's attitude and provided an example of more austere living in line with the "Poor Church" concept; he has also accommodated to the revolutionary military regime which seized power on 3 October 1968.

Since the Peruvian Church has traditionally been closely aligned with the country's oligarchial groups, and those groups have also controlled the government, Church-State relations were seldom marred by the kind of tensions that developed in other Latin American countries. Indeed, the system of interdependence of State and Church has been described as "one of the most comprehensive and

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absolute in Latin America."\* A Reactionary Church and governments with scant concern for the welfare of the illiterate, downtrodden, Indian and mestizo masses tended to find little cause for disrupting their traditional harmonious relationship.

Against this background the balancing act Cardinal Landazuri has been carrying out assumes unusual significance. He has worked with the post-conciliar priests, now organized in ONIS, in getting their proposals accepted by the hierarchy which includes only a small nucleus of Progressive bishops. The Peruvian Primate has approved the wide ranging agrarian reform decreed by the Velasco government, which is opposed by the oligarchs with whom the Church--and Cardinal Landazuri--had long been aligned, and he has also rebuked that government for its repressive actions against university students protesting changes in university regulations. While the Cardinal probably has not moved as fast as the impatient ONIS group would prefer, he has gone much further to meet their demands than many of the Peruvian hierarchy and oligarchy have wanted him to.

Now the key question is whether the reform programs of the Committed Church and the military government will continue to be as compatible in other areas as they are on the nationalization of the International Petroleum Company, the defense of Peru's claim to sovereignty over the ocean for 200 miles from its shores, and the agrarian reform. There has been a built-in bias, among the members of the Committed Church, against the military; it is particularly strong among the Radicals, who are urging separation of Church and State. As of mid-1969

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\*J. Lloyd Meacham, Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Press, 1966, Revised Edition), p. 161.

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the conflicts with the U.S. over the petroleum company and the 200-mile limit, and the agrarian reform had improved the image of the military regime as defenders of national sovereignty, an important point to the intensely nationalist Radicals. Nevertheless, the Radicals are likely to want additional reforms to come faster than the Valasco government deems possible or prudent. Continued close co-operation of Church and State would considerably facilitate the carrying out of long over-due basic reforms. Over time, however, the question of priorities--social justice or economic development--may become as sticky a point as it has been in Brazilian Church-State relations.

#### Bolivia

Before 1952 the generally Reactionary Bolivian hierarchy and lower clergy were closely allied with the so-called "ROSCA", the owners of the tin mines and large land holdings, who dominated the government and the economy. The 1952 Revolution carried out by the Nationalist Revolution Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario-MNR) sharply disrupted the previous pattern of Church-State relations. Although the Church accepted the nationalization of the tin mines and the MRN's agrarian reforms with as good grace as possible, the Church was left in a considerably weakened role vis à vis the post-1952 governments. In recent years, however, a renovation of the Bolivian Church, initiated by foreign missionaries, has led to a much greater interest in improving the lot of the Indian masses. A few of the more progressive members of the hierarchy and a number of priests have supported the tin miners in their labor conflicts with the government-owned mining corporation, COMINBOL. In early 1968, when the negotiations between the workers and COMINBOL representatives reached an impasse, René Fernández Apaza, Bishop of Oruro, and Agustín López de Lamos, Bishop of Corocoro served as

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arbiters and achieved a settlement.\* This role, as intervenor for a group as hostile to recent Bolivian governments as the tin miners have been, is a delicate mission for the Bolivian Church. In view of the very fragile nature of what passes for political stability in Bolivia, such a role is a particularly sensitive one and capable of causing a sharp dislocation of the present *modus vivendi* in Church-State relations. In view of the fervor with which the Committed Church in Bolivia is pressing for basic reforms in the Church, and in the Church's attitude towards the injustices that are so deeply imbedded in the Bolivian society, increased friction in Church-State relations will be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid.

#### Paraguay

Until the last year or so the leaders of the Paraguayan Church had worked hand in glove with the dictatorial regime of President Alfredo Stroessner (1964). When a young priest was so rash as to criticize the government's arbitrary actions, the aged archbishop of Asunción, Juan José Aníbal Mena Porta, the Primate of Paraguay, sent the critic abroad to avoid any breach in Church-State relations. Now, however, a post-conciliar group among the Paraguayan clergy, composed of foreign missionaries and native priests, has succeeded in reversing that compliant attitude. Even the Archbishop has gone along with other bishops and the priests who have denounced economic and social conditions in Paraguay and called for the release or trial of political prisoners.

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\*When the agreement ending the conflict was signed the late President René Barrientos is said to have warned the Bishops that it had better be effective since it was their's.

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Although there are differences within the Church as to the pace and extent of change, there is virtually a united front in the Church as regards its criticism of the violation of human rights and the necessity for taking a stand on that issue.

In April 1969 the Paraguayan episcopate issued a pastoral letter describing its concern for the existent state of affairs in the society and stressed its determination to follow the orientation of Vatican II and the Medellin Conference. The bishops rejected the attempt of the present political leaders (read Stroessner) to exclude the Church from any participation in the process of change and to employ it as a pacifier to cover up differences within the country. They also rejected the efforts of opposition leaders to use the Church as a refuge against the regime and of extreme leftists to exploit the Church as a temporary ally. In emphasizing the Church's determination to avoid being used by Stroessner's opponents, the bishops probably were warning against the efforts of the Paraguayan Communists to secure the Church's cooperation; efforts which had resulted in exchanges of points of view between the Communists and a few members of the Committed Church.

C. Some Other Cases

In other countries, such as Mexico and Colombia, the emergence of churchmen committed to change seems to have roused the apprehensions of governments committed to economic development programs, which they do not want disrupted by any "share-the-wealth" campaign. Thus far Church-State relations have not been seriously affected since the leaders of the Mexican and Colombian hierarchies have been careful to avoid such conflict. In Colombia, where the Roman Catholic Church is the established Church, President Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1966-) has publicly warned the Radical priests that, while he too supports the reforms they seek, he will not permit the Radicals to disrupt the society and his economic development program. His warning underlined his administration's expulsion of a Spanish priest accused of

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meddling in domestic politics.

In Mexico, the hierarchy is committed to change but is wary of reviving the bitter anti-clericalism and even anti-religious fervor that marked the Mexican scene between 1910 and 1938. Since then a *modus operandi* has been developed to minimize Church-State clashes, under which the Mexican Church has carefully eschewed involvement in politics and has not publicized its activities in such sensitive areas as social welfare, and education. In recent months the Mexican press, which is readily responsive to official guidance, has given unusual prominence to the activities of the Archbishop of Mexico City, Miguel Cardinal Darío Miranda y Gómez, the Primate of the Mexican Church, who has not shown much enthusiasm for the concept of a Committed Church. While the activities of the Committed Churchmen have been given little publicity, El Día, a daily which often reflects the views of the Díaz Ordaz Administration, has emphasized the difficulties that could result from the Church becoming too involved in non-religious matters.

In Uruguay and Chile, where Church and State have been formally separated for several decades, two distinct situations have developed. In Uruguay the influence of the Church has long been almost negligible. State socialism is so far advanced--even if incompetently administered--that the Committed Church is largely deprived of the Nationalist theme of "foreign capitalist exploitation". When a real Radical, the ex-Jesuit Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, emerged to urge violent revolution he could rally very little support and was regarded as mentally unbalanced. Those Uruguayans with a preference for violence already had a much more attractive alternative--the Tupamaros Movement with its spectacular bank robberies and shoot-outs with the police. Furthermore, the pro-Castro groups and the Uruguayan Communist Party are much more influential among the Uruguayan youth and labor movements than the splintered Christian Democratic Movement and the Church are.

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The Chilean Church, on the other hand, has broken off its traditional ties with the country's conservative landed oligarchy and is unofficially but closely aligned with the Christian Democratic Party which came to power in the 1964 elections. The Church-State relationship in Chile is so harmonious at present that any change is likely to be for the worse. A change in administration, in 1970, either to the Nationalists, who represent the conservative interests affected by the Church's support of agrarian reform and income redistribution, or to the far left Socialist-Communist coalition (FRAP), which is also bitterly anti-Christian Democratic, would almost certainly bring in its wake a deterioration in Church-State relations.

The pattern of Church-State relation in the Dominican Republic has also been affected by the post-conciliar trend in the Church. What had long been a Reactionary Church, closely aligned with the upper classes, is now undergoing a gradual transformation under the influence of reform-minded members of the clergy. The majority of the clergy and the bishops is still not committed to the kind of reform program that has been adopted by the Church in other Latin American countries. When the Balaguer administration refused to readmit two resident foreign missionaries who had left the country, however, the Dominican Church refused to accept the action and put such pressure on President Balaguer that he permitted the two missionaries to return.

As in Brazil, even those Dominican bishops and clergymen who had not supported the Committed Churchmen, rallied to their defense against arbitrary treatment by the national government. The concept of a Church committed to the welfare of the masses is still in its initial stages in the Dominican Republic but the political situation is so fragile that the government tends to regard any movement seeking change as potentially dangerous if not subversive and may overreact again. By providing an issue upon which the Uncommitted and Reactionary clergy felt impelled to unite with the members of the Committed Church, however, the govern-

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ment has helped the latter to secure broader support for their earlier calls for more rapid social and economic reforms to aid the country's impoverished rural masses.

The Central American countries and Panama have been much less affected by the pressure for change within the Church. With some exceptions (notably Marcos McGrath, Archbishop of Panama, and, latterly, Luis Chávez y Gonzalez, Archbishop of San Salvador), the hierarchies in these countries tend to the Uncommitted and Reactionary sectors of the Church, and have long been closely aligned with the ruling political and economic power structures. When a few foreign Radical priests and nuns step out of line in Guatemala, for example, they are sent out of the country. In some cases transfers to other duties elsewhere serves to quiet down priests whom the local establishment considers to be troublemakers.

Occasionally, however, as occurred in El Salvador during mid-1959, an archbishop will stand up for Committed priests who became involved with local and national authorities. In the El Salvador case, what had been an imbroglio between three priests and the municipal authorities, in Suchitoto, was taken up by the official party, the National Conciliatory Party (PCN), and the opposition Christian Democratic Party (PDC). When Archbishop Chávez y González refused to transfer the priests for their criticism of local officials and efforts in behalf of the campesinos in the area, the national government appears to have become concerned that the opposition PDC was trying to exploit the situation for its own benefit. Subsequently, the border conflict by July-August 1969, with Honduras, pushed the Suchitoto affair into the background. In view of the sensitivity of the Salvadoran government to any stirring up of the campesinos, however, the activities of the Committed priests are likely to lead to other such incidents and further strains in Church-State relations.

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V. THE OUTLOOK

The role of the Committed Church in bringing about real basic change, the radical reforms needed to restructure most Latin American societies, will vary sharply from country to country. In much of the area the prospects for such changes over the shorter run of the next two or three years seem very dim indeed. The non-violent reform of the present systems, proposed by the Progressives, is likely to require a considerably longer period of time; the violent destruction of the system, advocated by many of the Radicals, is possible but not likely to occur--over the short run at least--because of the strength of the forces supporting the status quo.

The prospects, therefore, for the Latin American area in general, is continued and even widened public disorder as Radical priests and laity seek confrontations with both civil and Church authorities. Unless the Progressive forces can demonstrate the efficacy of non-violent tactics, a number of those now supporting such tactics are likely to become increasingly impatient with their lack of success and move over into the Radical camp.

If the Progressive forces in the Church are to succeed, they must first win over the bulk of those bishops and priests who are still Uncommitted. In Argentina, where a number of the Uncommitted and Reactionary bishops are well along in years, the death or retirement of a few key figures could result in the reorientation of the hierarchy in a relatively short time. The key factor would be the Papacy's criteria in choosing the new bishops--whether for commitment to economic and social change or for adherence to more traditional views on such matters as birth control, the role of the Curia Romana in administering the Church, and the position of the bishops vis à vis papal authority.

In any event, only when a Committed Church represents a clear majority of the Catholic hierarchy will it be able to make much progress in winning converts and support among the groups now resisting change. On present

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evidence this would appear to require a decade or more in most of the Latin American area. The more moderate Progressive leaders, however, are already under fire from their more impatient followers for lack of success in securing basic change. Such pressure will probably continue to increase. The danger for the Progressive leaders is that they will either be forced into a confrontation with the forces of an unsympathetic government before they are ready for it, or that in avoiding such a show down they will lose many of their followers to the ranks of the Radicals.

Thus far, a good deal of the impetus for change has come from members of the clergy who came to Latin America from North America and Western Europe. They have tended to be younger and much readier to break with tradition than were either their predecessors of 15 or 20 years ago, or the older members of the local clergy. In the United States, however, the dwindling number of seminarians, and the increasing number of priests renouncing their vows, has reduced the number of both regular and secular clergy. Unless this situation is reversed, and this appears unlikely over the foreseeable future, the numbers of priests being sent to Latin America will be sharply reduced.

A similar situation may be developing in Spain, the principal source of foreign priests for Spanish America. Furthermore, a change in the Spanish political scene might result not only in a reduction of the number of priests being sent abroad; it might also mean that more of the younger, Committed priests would be retained in Spain rather than sent out of the country, as now seems to be the case, to avoid clashes with the Fràncó regime. If fewer, and less Committed foreign priests are available for service, the Committed Church would lose valuable allies and perhaps would have to adopt much more radical positions to appeal to the younger generation of Latin Americans. In any event, the manpower problems facing the Church, in Brazil, for example, are causing Church leaders to make much wider use of laymen, and may force them to press hard for changes in

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Church regulations that would permit the secular clergy, at least, to marry and remain in the priesthood. At the same time, the role of women, both nuns and laity, is likely to continue to grow and they too will become more involved in the activities of the Committed Church.

If the Committed Church becomes more radical, it is likely to lose the financial support of not only the national authorities--where there is still a degree of union between Church and State\*--and the upper and upper-middle classes, but perhaps also the funds provided by the Church authorities in Western Europe. In that event, since the Church receives very little in the way of contributions from the lower and lower-middle class groups, the Church would be well on the way to becoming the "Poor Church" the Radicals are demanding. And while a "Poor Church" might indeed be closer to the masses, it would have fewer resources with which to continue--let alone expand--the services it now provides, and which most Latin American governments do not have the funds or personnel to assume.

In view of the residual strengths of the institutions and governments the Radicals are seeking to destroy, they are apt to be frustrated repeatedly and to become even more susceptible to the overtures of extreme leftists, including orthodox Communists as well as the Castroite and Maoist types. Almost certainly the Communist movements will continue and probably increase their efforts to penetrate the Radical Church groups and exploit their potential for creating tensions and divisions in the Church and society. In this regard the Communists' ability to provide an international network for transmitting communications, funds and supplies between widely separated areas, could be a useful bargaining point since the Radicals now lack such facilities.

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\*As in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela.

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The relationship of the Committed Church to a Latin American government is likely to be most tenuous in those countries under military dictatorships, or where the influence of the military leaders is an important factor in making and carrying out national policies. The emphasis of the Committed Church on personal freedom and social justice is usually on a collision course with a government dominated by military leaders whose first priorities are internal security and economic development. A possible exception might be a revolutionary military regime dedicated to carrying out the same kind of basic structural reforms that the Committed Church is seeking. If, for example, the Peruvian military dictatorship actually implements the agrarian reform it has decreed, and carries out other basic reforms, its relations with the Committed Church will be less strained. There would still remain, however, the problems inherent in such a regime's preoccupation with its own security and its tendency to overreact to criticism or opposition. If a military regime were able to combine basic structural reform with respect for personal liberties, and a commitment to social justice, the Committed Church would probably give such a regime its enthusiastic cooperation.

At present, however, the prospects for military regimes with that kind of orientation and program coming to power are rather slight. While the military leaders in the area have shown considerable interest in supporting economic development, only the military government in Peru, headed by General Velasco, has evinced much concern with basic structural reform. In most cases military governments will probably continue to view the Committed Church with suspicion and to regard its stress on social justice and personal liberties as divisive if not downright subversive. In Brazil, for example, where both Church and State leaders have sought to avoid a confrontation, Church-State relations would be likely to deteriorate still further if President Costa e Silva were replaced or succeeded by those military leaders urging a harder line towards all opponents or critics of the regime.

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Under such conditions the activities of the Committed Church are likely to produce increasing tensions in the Latin American societies and in Church-State relations. In short, what had long been considered an institution devoted to the maintenance of the status quo, is now a force for change in an area that has demonstrated little capability for dealing with the economic and political instability and social tensions that already exist there. Over the longer run the Committed Church may succeed in reducing those tensions and contributing to greater economic and political stability. Over the shorter run, however, its commitment to social justice is likely to impede present economic development programs and thereby contribute to greater economic and political instability.

The tendency of some leaders of the Committed Church to favor state socialism, to denounce U.S. private investment as exploitive and to support nationalization of U.S. holdings, almost certainly will continue. As younger, even more nationalistic individuals assume leadership roles, the hostility towards U.S. investment is likely to grow and to be an increasingly abrasive factor in U.S.-Latin American relations. Even more moderate members of the Committed Church are bitterly critical of what they refer to as "the niggardly contributions" of U.S.-owned enterprises to social justice in Latin America, particularly when they compare those contributions with the profits allegedly being remitted to the United States.

Finally, one of the few things on which the Radicals, some Progressives, and the bulk of the Uncommitted and Reactionary clergymen and laity, can agree is that birth control (or family planning) programs are the tactics by which U.S. officials and private interests are seeking to keep Latin America from having a much larger population than the United States does. This is also one of the few things on which nationalists of both the extreme right and the extreme left can agree. Thus U.S. efforts to bring population increases in line with resources are likely to encounter a broad range of opposition with which much of the Committed Church will be aligned.

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