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Explore one of the most dynamic movements of our time: liberation theology.

In the midst of widespread poverty, oppression, and political corruption, liberation theology emerged in twentieth-century Latin America as a beacon of hope. Believers wrestled with these profound social problems while simultaneously thinking about their faith in new and creative ways. Dramatic in its context and sweeping in its scope, liberation theology continues to offer fascinating ways to engage with issues such as poverty, inequality, violence, and ecological concerns.

With the election of Pope Francis, the first pontiff from Latin America, this fascinating theology remains vibrantly relevant in our own day. Now, An Introduction to Liberation Theology will give you the opportunity to understand its context and implications today. As you listen to this superbly taught course, you will explore how to address economic, political, and social liberation with a robust and meaningful faith.

In these 12 lectures, you will explore such questions as: What does it mean to understand Jesus Christ as a liberator? How is sin social as well as personal? How can the Church be of and for the poor? As you explore how the followers of liberation theology formed communities, read the Bible, and lived out their faith in sometimes dire circumstances, you will be invited to reflect upon your own faith and the meaning of the gospel today. In encountering the richness that is found in a spirituality of liberation, you will come to understand how the preferential option for the poor is a call for all believers worldwide.

Liberation theology prompts questions for all people interested in the pressing social issues of our day. In its thinking and in extraordinary examples lived out by those who affirmed it, liberation theology provides models for thinking about how to live responsibly in a world calling for justice, hoping for peace, and needing reconciliation.

This course will not only help you understand one of the most important modern theological movements, it will also teach you to see the world in new and powerful ways.
Topic 1. Introduction to Liberation Theology

Overview

Theology can be understood as the attempt by people of faith to connect their experience of the world and its circumstances (“situation”) with their faith (“tradition”). The connection and influence are mutual: one’s faith tradition affects how one responds to one’s situation, and one’s situation influences how one understands one’s faith tradition. Thus, liberation theology can be understood as the attempt by Christians to understand their faith tradition in a situation that cries out for liberation. In this context, Christians draw from their faith to respond to the challenges of poverty and oppression, while at the same time, the attempt to respond to that situation leads them to a deeper understanding of their faith tradition.

I. Guiding Questions

- What does it mean to talk about a theology, e.g., “liberation theology”? 
- What is the task of theology and how can it been seen/documented?
- What is the significance of the term “liberation” when talking about liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Define the term “theology” by identifying the theological task as a fundamentally correlational project, a bringing together of contemporary, experiential questions with one’s faith tradition.
- Identify the layers of meaning (economic, political, and social) behind the term “liberation” and see how the desire for liberation spurred important theological questions for those with religious (in this case, Christian) faith.

III. Theology

- What does it mean to talk about a theology?
  1. Etymology: “theo” = God; “logy” or logos = word.
     (i) Theology is a “word about God.” It is the way people think, express, and discuss the greater reality that humans encounter in faith.
     2. Study: like other “-ology” terms (biology, psychology, anthropology) it can mean the critical exploration of an object of study and the cumulative history of that exploration over time. Thus, theology is the study of God, of people’s experience of the divine, and the history of that study.
3. **Blueprint**: like the plans for a vessel, a blueprint for a building, or even an audit of a company, a ‘*logos*’ can also be a vision that pulls together many elements.

- What are some characteristics of theology?

  1. **Personal AND Communal:**
     - (i) There is a dimension to faith that is one’s own (and shared by no other).
     - (ii) However, it is simultaneously a communal project.
     - (iii) Example—**LANGUAGE**: Language is inflected personally, but it is learned communally. It has a “grammar,” but it changes over time. It is accented in various regions. It shapes our imaginations as it affords us ways to express ideas and name things in the world around us.
     - (iv) The theologian takes part not just in a contemporary conversation, but a conversation with figures from the past.

  2. **Intellectual AND experiential:**
     - (i) Theology is about ideas and so philosophy is often associated with it.
     - (ii) It is also about human experience and action.
     - (iii) Two-way street: Ideas often serve as basis for action, but action/experience often gives rise to new ideas or ways of thinking about what was once accepted.

  3. **Old AND New:**
     - (i) *Traditio* means to “hand on.” Theology often deals with what is passed from one generation to another, and so it implies a certain continuity.
     - (ii) The handing on (and the understanding & expression of what is handed on) takes place in history. So, often faithfulness to a tradition means finding new language—being traditional means changing. Finding the balance between “traditional” change and tradition-changing novelty will be a key theme of the course.

**IV. Theology as Correlation**

- Karl Barth: modern theology is done with “Bible in one hand and newspaper in the other.”
- Vatican II (through Bible): seeking out “the signs of the times.”
- David Tracy: mutually-critical correlation between tradition and contemporary situation.

| Faith tradition Present and Historical | Mutually-critical correlation | Contemporary Situation cultural, economic, political social, etc. |
v. Many Theologies in One Tradition

- Although different religions, or different denominations within a religion, have different theologies, even one tradition can have different theologies without contradictions. Examples:
  1. Scholastic theologies vs. monastic theologies—the shift in context from monasteries to universities meant different ways to talk about God and faith, but not necessarily contradictory.
  2. Religious orders—within Catholicism, there are religious orders marked by different theologies: Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit, etc., but again, they are not contradictory.
  3. Different times, locations, and needs have meant the expression of different theologies. This plurality of voices has enriched the Christian tradition.

- Can we juxtapose Liberation vs. Catholic theology? NO.
  1. A tradition like Catholicism has a number of theologies operative at a time—essentially anything that proclaims a “word about God.”
    (i) Prayer, ritual, painting, song, editorial, political positions all might contain the theological. Then, there is the academic work produced by professional theologians.

vi. From Development to Liberation

- In the late twentieth-century, the term “liberation” took on specific connotations in Latin America:
  1. Economic: from the oligarchic control that meant poverty & landlessness for majority of citizens
  2. Political: from dictatorships & security state repression
  3. Social: from racist, classist narratives; exclusion from participation in society

- Economic Connotations: Dependency Theory and Liberation
  1. Development:
    (i) After the success of the Marshall plan following WWII, American foreign policy in Latin America hinged on the diagnosis of the continent’s economies as “underdeveloped.”
    (ii) Thus, what was needed was investment (loans) that would “develop” the economies much like those of Germany & Japan. To that end, the Alliance for Progress was organized in 1961 (under the OAS).
  2. Development fails:
    (i) The failure of development projects in Latin America from post-war through the 1950’s leads economists and others to sour on their promises.
(ii) There is a desire for economic and political independence (in part, seen in Cuba). [Moreover, the “aid” dried up with US involvement in Vietnam & became just military counter-insurgency aid]

3. Dependency theory:
   (i) There begins to be a diagnosis of the situation as one not of underdevelopment, but dependence/oppression. The necessary step then is to engage in (revolutionary) struggle to gain control of one’s own destiny. [Key figures: A. Frank, T. dos Santos, C. Furtado, F. Cardoso]

4. Development to Liberation:
   (i) Thus, the goal changes from development to liberation.
   (ii) Could use the examples of: Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Camilo Torres (whom Gustavo knew at Louvain).

5. If the goal is a new society and new human being, then the oppressed must participate in their own liberation. [transition]

- Political Connotations: Rise of the National Security State & Revolutionary Liberation
  1. Security States: Populist governments in the 1950’s and 1960’s (e.g. Perón in Argentina, Vargas in Brazil, Cárdenas in Mexico) promote industrial development and inspire nationalistic pride.
     (i) Benefit upper class and a business class, but majority peasants face either rural marginalization or urban shantytowns.
     (ii) Unrest among the poorer classes provoke repression and the creation of national security states.
  2. Communism: In light of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the U.S. government supports dictatorships even if they are repressive, if they proclaim an anti-communist platform.

- Social Connotations: Education as Liberation in Community
     (i) His theory of education stresses “conscientization” (becoming conscious of what reality is and how it works).
     (ii) A view of popular education that moves away from the “banking” model of education and recognizes the value of the learner.
     (iii) The poor are recognized for their own dignity and worth as human beings.
VII. Birth of Liberation Theology

- Liberation theology then springs from the correlation between their Christian (mostly Catholic) faith and the contemporary situation of extreme poverty and oppression/repression for efforts to change it.

- This meant a way of looking at their situation differently because of their faith tradition, but also, a new way of looking at their faith tradition because of their engagement with their contemporary situation.

Church of San Andrés Xecul, Guatemala
Reflection Questions

1. How does one define theology? How can members of the same faith tradition have different theologies?

2. What were the meanings of “liberation” that spurred people to search their faith for answers and thus spark theologies of liberation?
Topic 2. From Colonial to Liberating Faith

Overview

Liberation theology in Latin America emerged not in a vacuum, but in the context of the colonial history of the continent. That history, in which Christianity (and particularly Roman Catholicism) became a dominant social and political, as well as spiritual, power, was supported in a strain of theology known as Neo-Scholasticism. Neo-scholastic theology served as a reaction to the forces of modernity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It took the notion of two “orders” from the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas to focus Christian belief and practice on the “other-worldly,” often ignoring the plight of those in radically unequal societies. The changes in theology that culminate in the Second Vatican Council open the door to a faith (and religious institution) that embraces the challenges of history and responds to the human desire for liberation. This is the setting in which liberation theology emerges.

I. Guiding Questions

- What sort of theology dominated in Latin America prior to liberation theology?
- What changes in Catholic thinking helped paved the way for liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Describe characteristics of the colonial Catholicism that prevailed in Latin America up to the twentieth century, particularly how it was predisposed to dualistic thinking.
- Identify major developments in Catholic thinking that open the door for liberationist insights.

III. Catholicism Comes to the Americas: Echoes of Spanish Counter-Reformation

- 15th century—Sword and Bible:
  1. Christianity comes with conquest. Church traditionally aligned with powers/military.
    (i) 1493: Pope Alexander VI grants petitions of the Catholic Kings of Spain & Portugal to give them titles to lands of the New World (while they promise to extend dominion of the Catholic faith).

- 16th century—Colonial Catholicism:
  1. 1530: Carlos I prohibits missionaries without royal permission.

Portrait of Charles V (Carlos I) with a Baton by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, 1605
(i) Liturgical, sacramental practices patterned after those in Sevilla.

2. Council of Trent (1545-7, 1551-2, 1559-63). Its changes are what become Tradition for the next four centuries.
   (i) Reaction to Protestantism
   (ii) Relationship of faith and works
   (iii) Dominion over Bible reading
   (iv) Emphasis on Eucharist, pilgrimages, saints/relics

3. 1569: Philip II (accepts Trent) establishes inquisitional tribunals in Spanish America

4. 1588: Defeat of Spanish Armada—Spain loses grip on its international dominance to England & France, but still retains Latin America

• 17th through 19th Centuries—Church and the Nation-State:
  1. 1648: Treaty of Westphalia (30 Years’ War) means rise of modern state system
  2. Prophets: e.g. Bartolomé de Las Casas, Antonio Montesinos speak out.
     (i) Jesuits are expelled in 1767.
  3. Early 19th century: Wars of Independence, e.g. Simon Bolivar (1783–1830)
     (i) Though there is break with Spain, situation of Church same: patronage merely shifts from crown → republics.
  4. Late 19th century—Church aligns with Conservatives:
     (i) As liberal leaders move to reduce Church power, it allies with “conservative” forces and tyrannical governments.
     (ii) 1869: Vatican I & secession of papal lands mean a greater emphasis on the dualism: Church is focused on the “soul”; government’s domain is politics.

• The Rise of Neo-Scholasticism:
  5. Thomas Cajetan (1469–1534) Italian Dominican priest, publishes widely read commentary on Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica*; Master of Dominicans during early Protestant Reformation (1508–1518).
  6. Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) Spanish Jesuit priest, teaching in Salamanca, his interpretation of Aquinas becomes very influential in Spain, Portugal, and thus the Americas.
  7. Pope Leo XIII’s encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, issued on August 4, 1879 established the study of Aquinas and Thomistic theology & philosophy as the standard for Catholic theology.

• What were the practical implications of the rise of this theology?
IV. Spirituality of Colonial Christendom

• **God:** is judge and an all-powerful ruler to be obeyed/feared. God ordained the status quo: cosmos, national, and personal.

• **Faith:** is orthodox profession of belief meaning eternal salvation of the soul (while there are works, they are governed by the Church, not orthopraxis).

• **Salvation:** Kingdom of God is other-worldly, deliverance into life after death.
  1. “Savages” are Christianized to save their souls.

• **Jesus:** Cristo Rey, but also suffering victim, with interiorized, emotional devotion.

• **Church:** inquisition/order: defending against threats (Protestantism, heresy, etc.).
  1. Participation less important than baptism/confession

• **Bible:** spiritual interpretation governed by Church dogma (by priests—reaction to Protestant popular reading)

• **World:** is viewed as a place of suffering; to be disdained for mystical union with God.

V. From Colonial Catholicism to the Modern World: Vatican II

• Pope John XXIII calls for an aggiornamento, an updating of the Church and an opening to the modern world.
  1. Second Vatican Council (1962–65) means most far-reaching changes in Catholic belief, worship, practices, and structure since Trent.
  2. Contrast *Lumen gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes* in terms of reception.

• Four Constitutions:
  1. Divine Revelation [*Dei Verbum*]—modern historical understanding of Bible.
  2. Sacred Liturgy [*Sacrosanctum Concilium*]—use of vernacular instead of Latin; priest facing congregation.
  3. Church [*Lumen Gentium*]—important images of the Church: people of God, sacrament of salvation. Led to recognition of laity’s role.
  4. Church in Modern World [*Gaudium et Spes*]—particularly important for our study, this document focuses on issues in the modern world and the role that the Church must have in response to them.
    (i) For an excerpt from *Gaudium et Spes*, see Supplemental Materials at the end of the study guide.

• Vatican II responds to:
1. Modernity—secularism, critical thought
2. Ecumenism and interreligious dialogue (esp. with Judaism)
3. World of the poor—Pope John XXIII & Cardinal Lercaro

(i) Good job on first two, but doesn’t finish work on the last. Medellín will take this up.
Reflection Questions

1. The spirituality developed in Latin America’s colonial history tended to focus on the other-worldly. How does this focus affect believers’ understandings of basic notions about God? About Christ? About the Church and history?

2. How can the Second Vatican Council be considered both new and profoundly traditional? What does the clash between the assumptions of neo-scholastic theology and those of the Council say about tradition in religious traditions?
Topic 3. Liberation Theology’s Method: See-Judge-Act

Overview

Historically, liberation theology fused Vatican II’s call to read the “signs of the times” with the methodology coming from Catholic Action (the see-judge-act method) to give voice to a theology that authentically reflected the reality and struggles of Christians throughout the Latin American continent. The power of liberation theology comes, in part, because of its inductive method. That is, instead of deducing theological conclusions from rigid, abstract ideas, liberation theology employs a method by which analysis of reality is followed by an interpretation of it in light of the gospel. This reflection flows necessarily into action, which in turn helps shape a new reality that requires analysis and so on in a circular fashion.

I. Guiding Questions

- How is liberation theology’s starting point different from earlier theologies?
- How does liberation theology integrate thought and action?

II. Objectives

- Identify the immediate historical circumstances that gave rise to liberation theology in Latin America in the late 1960’s, in particular, the influence of Catholic Action and the CELAM II conference (in Medellín).
- Describe liberation theology’s method in terms of the see-judge-act methodology. By examining the landmark text of CELAM II, one will be able to articulate how that method gets carried out.

III. Vatican II and Medellín

- While Vatican II was going on, much was happening in Latin America as well. Theologians were meeting and working out new ways to reflect theologically [beyond the Neo-Scholasticism mentioned in the previous lecture]:
     (i) Gutiérrez defines theology as “critical reflection on praxis”
  2. 1965 conferences in: Havana, Cuba; Bogotá, Colombia; Cuernavaca, Mexico.
  3. 1968 (July—one month before Medellín): Chimbote, Peru.
     (i) Gutiérrez delivers lecture “Toward a Theology of Liberation.”
4. These conferences indicate the reflection that would come to fruition at Medellín.

- Medellín (August, 1968)—CELAM, The Latin American Bishops’ Conference (*Consejo Episcopal Latino Americano*),

- Analysis: Medellín in comparison to Vatican II.
  
  1. Although it was meant as a reflection on Latin America in light of Vatican II, it turned out to be reflection on Vatican II in light of Latin American reality.

    (i) Vatican II responded positively to modernity (with some criticism).

    (ii) Medellín reflects experience of people for whom the modern world meant oppression and exploitation.

  2. Principles of Vatican II that Medellín adopts:

    (i) Universality of salvation

    (ii) Unity between creation and salvation; salvation history and human history

    (iii) Church as sacrament of salvation in world

  3. Yet, Medellín read these from perspective of poor and discovered new focal point: intrinsic link between Christianity and poor based on God’s will and manifested in Jesus Christ.

- How did the CELAM fathers arrive at these conclusions?

**IV. From Catholic Action to Medellín**

- **Catholic Action**: Movement suggested by Pius X and actively encouraged by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) seeking “participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy” in order to turn society back to its Christian foundations.

  1. Key to this enterprise was Pius XI’s intention of abandoning the Catholic political parties that had sprung up at the end of the 19th century (in the face of rabid anti-clericalism and general anti-Catholicism).

    (i) Catholic Action was social, not political, action.

  2. Church, as spiritual, interacts with the temporal indirectly, through the laity. Priest forms Catholic Action, which forms consciences of laity, which serves them in the world and in their political commitments.
(i) In Latin America, many seminarians who study in Europe return with this model of pastoral organizations for urban and university settings.

- **Pastoral Work**: In 1950-60’s, there is much pastoral work in the rural areas of Latin America that begins to address the frustrations and marginalization of the peasants.

  1. The SEE-JUDGE-ACT methodology of Catholic Action is implemented.

  2. A *conscientization* style of pastoral work that put the peasants as having value (will cover this in more detail in subsequent lecture).

v. **See-Judge-Act Method**

- Antecedent moment: first step is living faith commitment, participating in the liberative process (importance of praxis).

- Basic schema of the Method (from Clodovis & Leonardo Boff):

  1. **SEE—socio-analytic mediation**: contemplates world of the oppressed to understand why/how they are oppressed.

     (i) How to understand poverty? (empiricist, functionalist, dialectical)

     (ii) The history of the poor and their struggle

     (iii) Instrumental/critical use of Marx: what does he tell us about the poor?

     (iv) Broadening concept of the poor: racial, ethnic, sexual

  2. **JUDGE—hermeneutic mediation**: contemplates the word of God to understand divine plan with regard to the poor.

     (i) Bible of the poor (who provide privileged reading); incorporating poor’s reading.

     (ii) Prioritizes application over explanation

     (iii) Prefers books: Exodus, prophets, gospels, Acts, Revelation

     (iv) Recovers tradition through criticism & rehabilitation

     (v) Sees Church’s social teaching as complementary

     (vi) Constructs new syntheses and produces new theoretical work

  3. **ACT—practical mediation**: contemplates the aspect of activity to discover appropriate lines of operation for overcoming oppression in conformity with God’s plan.

     (i) Projects/programs: proposals of viable objectives

     (ii) Strategy/tactics: define concrete means for reaching objectives

     (iii) Ethical and evangelical level: assess means in terms of morality and faith
(iv) Performative level: discourse of direct action

VI. Fusion of Two Methods

• From “signs of the times,” we see the importance of naming the reality—as the reality of the poor.
  1. Thus, Church of the Poor is not a sociological designation (vs. Church of rich), but a statement about the orienting reality of believers

• From the “See-Judge-Act” method we see the circularity of the process; the importance of praxis (and how it informs knowledge/interpretation)

VII. Text Review

• Medellín documents on justice & peace as examples of See-Judge-Act:
  1. Message to the Peoples of Latin America (notice it is addressed to all)
  2. Awareness of Latin American reality
  3. Mission of Church is “integral advancement of humanity & human communities”
  4. See-judge(diagnose)-act methodology as way to carry out “signs of the times” scrutiny (the call of Gaudium et Spes, no. 4)
  5. End of the dualism resulting in the separation of faith and life
  6. Church to live by “scriptural poverty” (which will be explained in that document)

• Introduction to final documents:
  1. God desires to save the whole person, body and soul
  2. Quoting of Exodus as historical example

• Document on justice (notice the outline as see-judge-act):
  1. SEE:
     (i) Reality of Latin America as injustice that cries to heaven (Cain & Abel)
  2. JUDGE:
     (i) Injustice = sin
     (ii) Need for conversion that kingdom may come (structures + humans)
     (iii) Salvation = action of integral human development and liberation
     (iv) Love as dynamism to seek justice
     (v) Avoid dualism that separates temporal—sanctification
3. ACT:
   (i) Need for intermediary structures
   (ii) Rejection of liberal capitalism and Marxism as the only two alternatives
   (iii) Small basic communities

- Document on Peace
  1. Different forms of marginalization; power unjustly exercised; oppression as violence
  2. A Christian notion of peace?
     (i) Peace ≠ absence of violence, but is the fruit of justice
     (ii) Peace is permanent task (includes conversion)
     (iii) Peace = fruit of love
     (iv) Could compare call to powerful with C. Torres

VIII. Three Forms of Liberation Theology

- These are the forms of liberation theology, unified by a faith capable of transforming history:
  1. Professional: university professors, teachers, theologians
  2. Pastoral: ministers (lay, religious, and priests)
  3. Popular: members of base communities
Reflection Questions

1. How was the CELAM conference at Medellín both the fruit of Vatican II and a judgment on it?

2. How does the see-judge-act methodology encourage a new understanding of concepts such as justice and peace?
Topic 4. The Biblical Roots of Liberation Theology

Overview

Literary and critical studies have shown that interpretation is not simply the act of “entering into the mind” of an author. Rather, interpretation involves an encounter between a text and a reader’s world of experience. The latter brings out meaning in a text. Liberation theology’s interpretation of biblical texts emerges from the reading of texts by marginalized people. The location of poverty and oppression gives new insights into texts whose original locations and audience were in many ways closer to the situation of poverty and oppression than one of power.

I. Guiding Questions

- What is the role of location in the process of interpretation that yields new meanings?
- Are there precedents in the Bible for liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Describe the interpretive process in terms of “location” in relation to the text. Thus, naming the newness of liberation theology as an interpretation from the experience of poverty.
- Identify “classic” biblical texts that represent a core of liberation theology interpretations.

III. Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory

- Carlos Mesters (Brazil), “Use of the Bible in Christian Communities of the Common People” describes three situations in which people might interact communally with Scripture:
  1. Gather to discuss the Bible
  2. Gather as community, and then read the Bible
  3. Gather as community, read the Bible, and inject their reality into discussion

- He voiced preference for the latter, and this means there are three important components:
  1. Text (Bible)
  2. Context (Community)
  3. Pre-text (Reality)

- Hermeneutics—from *hermeneia*, means to translate, to give the meaning in another language. So, it also means to interpret.
• This begs the questions of what it means to find meaning in a text. There are three moments of interpretation:

1. **Behind the Text:** Author’s context
   
   (i) History
   
   (ii) Biographical information

2. **In the Text:** Literary methods
   
   (i) Form
   
   (ii) Language
   
   (iii) Genre

3. **In Front of the Text:** Fusion of horizons
   
   (i) Contemporary situation

• The key to liberation theology is that it reads the Bible from the location of poverty/oppression (in front of the text), and in doing so, both brings new meaning and also retrieves contextual meaning from texts that were composed in a setting of poverty/oppression—e.g. Exodus.

**IV. “Classic” Biblical Passages of Liberation Theology**

• Exodus 1:1-22; 3:1-20
  
  1. (1:8-14) sin = historical oppression of Israelites
  
  2. (3:7-10) God = as one who hears cries/stops oppression
  
  3. (3:19-20) salvation = Moses called to confront oppressor and lead to historical liberation

• Isaiah 1:10-23, 42:1-9
  
  1. (1:10-17) true “religious practice” = ending injustice; sin = economic injustice
  
  2. (1:19-20) prophecy = prediction based on behavior
  
  3. (42:1-9) salvation = reign of justice [prediction applied by Christians]

• Matthew 19:16-24; 25:31-46
  
  1. Jesus’ call to poverty; difficulties of the rich one
2. Last Judgment—works of mercy to poor

  1. Good Samaritan
  2. Rich man and Lazarus

- Summary: Bible passages
  1. Sin: is seen as historical, revealed in social injustice
  2. God: desires there to be justice
  3. Salvation: a promised reign of justice and peace
  4. Poor:
     (i) God/Israel defined by hearing/caring for poor
     (ii) NT: direction is to poor; woe to rich


Reflection Questions

1. How is the social location of a reader influential in the process of interpretation?

2. What are some examples of biblical characters/events/passages that reveal the importance of liberationist themes?
Topic 5. Social Sin and Liberation

Overview

Contemporary notions of sin tend to focus exclusively within a privatized and individualist model. In addition, legalism and spiritualism have served to divorce the notion of sin from consideration of great social ills that afflict the planet. Liberation theologies have developed the notion of social or structural sin as a way to talk about the violation of God’s will for communion and human flourishing that is implicit in great social ills such as racism and poverty. Liberation, which operates at socio-economic, psychological, and spiritual levels, represents a contemporary understanding of salvation that more fully integrates all dimensions of human existence.

I. Guiding Questions

- How does the structural reality of phenomena like poverty and racism challenge the traditional notion of sin?
- What is social sin and how is liberation related to it?

II. Objectives

- To articulate the meaning of the term “social” or “structural” sin as it is used in liberation theologies (and Catholic Social Teaching).
- Contrast the notion of social sin with a “traditional” privatized view of sin, and correlated, the notion of liberation from sin with salvation.

III. The Problem of (Thinking About) Sin

- Scenarios for consideration:
  1. In Chile, the dictator General Augusto Pinochet, under whose regime thousands upon thousands were tortured and murdered, considered himself a faithful Catholic who went to Mass weekly and the sacrament of reconciliation regularly.
  2. An owner of a logging corporation in Brazil hires bands of thugs to harass and intimidate indigenous peoples living on Amazon lands they want cleared. It is estimated that over 2,000 people have been killed (including the famous 2005 murder of U.S. nun, Dorothy Stang).
  3. Average Americans purchasing clothes from large retailers who contract the work from companies in underdeveloped countries that utilize “sweatshop” labor.
- For various reasons, the modern notion of sin has focused on:
1. Interiority—with the rise of individualism, attention to sin has concerned the individual and individual choices/sentiments.

2. Legalism—sin is often tied to a legal sense of “breaking rules.”

3. Spiritualism—in neo-scholastic theology, sin is defined as an “offense against God.”

   (i) While this preserves the importance of grace, it can also obscure the question of effects on other persons or the world.

   • In his work on sin and grace, José Ignacio González-Faus, S.J., speaks about the “sin crisis” in the First World: blindness to responsibility.

     1. Human beings do not just sin—they are Sinners. The emphases are on:

        (i) Importance of works.

        (ii) Humans are not fully corrupt, which leads to a neutrality; human being is neutral in face of good and evil.

   2. Liberation theology’s anthropology is dialectical—humans are both infected by evil and enveloped by grace.

iv. Structural Sin

   • Arguments for structural sin:

     1. Structural insight—the human community is always more than the sum of single human beings.

     2. Biblical notion of “sin of the world” (John); “principalities/powers” (Paul).

     3. Example: Oscar Romero identifies social sin as “the crystallization of individuals’ sins into permanent structures that keep sin in being and make its force felt by the majority of the people.”

   • Arguments against (e.g. then-Cardinal Ratzinger):

     1. Not fruit of personal choice

     2. Is not a repudiation of responsible freedom

   • Counter-argument:

     1. What about original sin? It is collective and without individual responsibility.

     2. Shift from God’s will as rule to God’s will as the flourishing of human life.
(i) Thus, conditions below human dignity = sin.

3. Is the situation of the world today not sin?

- The language of “structures of sin” has entered into the mainstream of Catholic teaching.
  1. Even Pope John Paul II, who was in many ways very wary of liberation theology, forcefully utilized the notion of “structural sin” in documents such as his *Solicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987).

**v. Liberation, (from) Sin, and (for) Salvation**

- Recall the socio-political connotations for “liberation” that were present in these years:
  1. Political—from dictatorships and military-repressive regimes
  2. Economic—wide disparities in income; many living below minimum standards
  3. Social—no participation; marginalization in civic organizations, political voice, etc.

- If sin = violation of God’s will for human flourishing & communion, then in his seminal work, *A Theology of Liberation*, Gustavo Gutiérrez understands liberation as occurring in three realms:
  1. **Socioeconomic realm and survival**: Structures that hinder human fulfillment must be radically changed to put them at the service of human realization [scientific knowing].
    (i) **Aim**: human beings should be living above standards of basic dignity.
  2. **Realm of human realization**: History is a process in and through which humanity conquers new levels of freedom and continually pushes itself toward higher levels of realization.
    (i) **Aim**: Creation of new humanity in new society of solidarity [utopian-philosophical].
  3. **Realm of sin and relation to God**: Redemption, has its source in God’s gratuitous love through Christ. There is no integral liberation without Jesus Christ [faith interpreted in theology].
    (i) **Aim**: Fullness of communion with God and others.

- Because “integral” liberation = fullness of communion with God and others that operates within all three realms, liberation = salvation.
Reflection Questions

1. How is it possible to talk about social sin without a sense of personal guilt?

2. How does the three-fold understanding of liberation help avoid the caricature of liberation theology as concerned with ‘only’ the material/economic?
Topic 6. The Preferential Option for the Poor

Overview

The Christian tradition is replete with language that praises poverty. However, the reality of poverty as de-humanizing raises deep questions about this language. Poverty is a multi-dimensional reality in which its material reality as human deprivation (negative) must be differentiated from metaphorical understandings about human dependence and solidarity (positive). Liberation theologians developed the language of the “preferential option for the poor” as a way to account for the ambiguity of poverty and to speak to the way that human beings should participate in acts of solidarity. Ultimately, for Christians, the preferential option is not simply a virtuous attitude or action, but a reflection of the very nature of God.

I. Guiding Questions

- What is the proper way to deal with the ambiguity of poverty: a reality that is at once about human suffering and indignity, but also a revered concept in the Christian tradition?
- How does the preferential option for the poor incorporate both the work for justice and a spirituality?

II. Objectives

- Articulate an understanding of poverty in the Christian tradition as both negative and positive.
- Define the “Preferential Option for the Poor” as an imperative for human behavior, but one rooted in an understanding of the full graciousness of God.

III. The Problem of Poverty

- Historically, the Christian tradition has had many beautiful things to say about poverty:
  1. “Blessed are the Poor” (Luke 6:20, cf. Matthew 5:3)
  2. St. Francis was “married to Lady Poverty.”
  3. Religious often take a vow of poverty.
- PROBLEM: This does not square with the experience of Latin Americans as they view the reality of poverty in their continent: malnutrition, disease, unemployment, lack of dignity/hope, etc.
- Marx’s Diagnosis—The famous critique of religion voiced by Karl Marx was that it served as an “opiate of the masses.”
1. In this line of thinking, religion, and particularly its promises of an after-life, serves as a way to mask the present reality and delude those who are oppressed with a future promise that keeps them from trying to change the world in the present.

2. For many in Latin America, where the institutional Church was often aligned with the tyrannical governments, repressive militaries, and wealthy oligarchies, the analysis rang true. For Christians, this meant a challenge: a new way of understanding poverty was needed.

IV. Three-fold Understanding of Poverty

- Liberation theologians reflect on this problem, and we see a three-fold understanding of poverty that differentiates between:

  A. **Evil**

     1. Material poverty—lack of material needs; situation below that of basic human dignity.

        (i) Accident vs. sin—material poverty is not simply a condition that “happens,” it is a sin (cf. previous lecture), a violation of God’s will for humanity.

        (ii) Endured vs. removed—in terms of practice, material poverty is no longer something to be tolerated in the hope for the next life, but should be struggled against and removed from the world.

  B. **Good**

     2. Spiritual poverty—attitude of availability; openness/dependence on God.

        (i) Bible—throughout the Bible, the greatest sin is pride; attributing to oneself that which is properly from God (e.g. Kings).

        (ii) For all—spiritual poverty is the call of every believer and is to be cultivated as an attitude and a way of life.

     3. Poverty as commitment—solidarity; it brings the previous two definitions together where one:

        (i) Voluntarily assumes conditions of the needy in order to bear witness to its evil.

        (ii) While possessing a spiritual liberty in the face of material goods.

        (iii) *Kenosis*—the self-emptying that models that of Jesus.

V. Preferential Option for the Poor

- More than any other liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez has written on the preferential option for the poor (calling it 90% of liberation theology).

- “The Preferential Option for the Poor” is a very thick phrase that needs to be unpacked:
A. The Poor

- Irruption of the poor: the new fact that contextualizes the retrieval of old (biblical) themes
  
  1. World of the Poor:
     
     (i) Poverty = death—one cannot romanticize the reality of poverty. As Gutiérrez says, “It is death, death before one’s time.”

     (ii) Complexity of poverty—while much of the early reflection on poverty was done in economic terms, we need to recognize that poverty is a complex phenomenon with many different forms and many different causes.

     (iii) Marginalization—poverty is insignificance; it is being considered a non-person, and the effects of that on a person (or class of people) are devastating.

     (iv) Poverty and gender, race, sexual identity/orientation, etc.

  2. Going to the Causes:

     (i) Social sin—complexity of poverty means that overcoming it goes beyond (but does include) individual acts of charity.

     (ii) It is essential to identify and resist structures

     (iii) There is thus a need for social-scientific tools.

B. Option

- Option does not mean optional, but optative. It expresses commitment (needed from the poor too).
  
  1. Option for poor = option for God of Jesus’ Reign.

- In their document on the U.S. economy, Economic Justice for All, the U.S. Catholic Bishops state:

  “The ‘option for the poor,’ therefore, is not an adversarial slogan that pits one group or class against another. Rather it states that the deprivation and powerlessness of the poor wounds the whole community. The extent of their suffering is a measure of how far we are from being a true community of persons. These wounds will be healed only by greater solidarity with the poor and among the poor themselves.”

  — Economic Justice for All, #88

C. Preferential

- Theo-centric option:

  1. Preference: this is not exclusive, but points to whom should first have our solidarity.

  2. Theocentric option: It is an option because God is God—fully gratuitous.
• Last shall be first.

1. Four biblical examples used to illustrate above point:

(i) Late laborers in the parable

(ii) Poor (ptochoi), hungry (peinontes), weeping (klaiein) of the Beatitudes

(iii) Children, weak, “ignorant”

(iv) Wedding banquet: invited/uninvited guests

(v) Jesus’ interactions with the righteous/sinners
Reflection Questions

1. What are some of the difficulties inherent in the Christian tradition’s praise and use of the language of poverty?

2. What are the key elements of the preferential option for the poor? How is it different than the call to be kind or generous to others?
Topic 7. Jesus the Liberator

Overview

Christianity, as its name implies, is centered on belief in Jesus Christ. For centuries, the reflection of Jesus Christ’s nature (Christology) has been a source of doctrine and practice. With the modern developments in biblical scholarship, a new appreciation for the New Testament Gospels emerged. In particular, their portrayal of Jesus’ ministry deepened Christology by evoking a model for Christian living tied to the characteristics of healing and mercy He showed. Liberation theologies have contributed to this portrait by emphasizing Jesus as a liberator.

I. Guiding Questions

- What are the implications of shifting attention from Jesus’ nature to His ministry?
- How is Christology different in light of the image, “Jesus the Liberator”?

II. Objectives

- Define the term “theology” by identifying the theological task as a fundamentally correlational project, a bringing together of contemporary, experiential questions with one’s faith tradition.
- Identify the layers of meaning (economic, political, and social) behind the term “liberation” and see how the desire for liberation spurred important theological questions for those with religious (in this case, Christian) faith.

III. History of Christology

- Christology is reflection on the person of Jesus Christ and His meaning for believers.
  1. Fundamental to this task is articulating what it means for Jesus Christ to be Savior.
- In the New Testament we find many different images of Jesus (not a recorded history in a modern sense, but faith presentations of the meaning of Jesus).
- For the first five centuries of Christianity, essential aspects of Jesus Christ were debated.
  1. Was He God? If so, is there more than one God? If not, how could He truly save?
  2. Was He born a human then elevated to a divine status?
  3. Did He truly suffer?
- Many councils attempted to work out language: e.g. Nicea (325), Ephesus (431).
• Council of Chalcedon (451) after many debates becomes the standard language for talking about Christ:
  1. It spoke more about “what you cannot say” than “what you must say.”
  2. Chalcedonic formula: Jesus = fully divine + fully human
  3. Is this 50/50? NO. It is 100/100.
  4. Christ has two natures and one person.
     (i) Nature (ousia) = [Latin for essence/substance]; are not two varieties of the same thing.
     (ii) Person (hypostasis, prosopon) = [Latin for persona; subsistence] not the modern center of consciousness, but rather philosophical term for order of being; it is an ontological term.

• Jesus in the Neo-Scholastic paradigm:
  1. Interpretation of Chalcedonic formula with emphasis is on Jesus’ divine nature (or at least where the humanity of Jesus is an intellectual principle but not well-developed).
  2. The Christological mysteries: Incarnation—Crucifixion—Resurrection—Return
  3. For all of the richness of this reflection, there is an obvious gap: What happens to Jesus between the Incarnation (birth) and Crucifixion (death)? Jesus’ ministry is nearly left out.

IV. The “Historical” Jesus vs. the History of Jesus

• The 20th century sees waves of reflection in light of historical consciousness:
  1. Jesus became human: dignity of human, biblical study reveals gospels as faith portraits of early Christianity.
     (i) Quest for “historical Jesus” is way to understand the person of history—what the Christian, Rabbi, and atheist can agree on.
  2. What kind of human?: Jesus in history—the way He is portrayed in the gospels as a revelation of who He was [but different from “nature” debates].
     (i) Jesus has a concrete history and that is what we put in dialogue with our lives.
     (ii) So, not just birth-death, but also life and ministry.

V. Jesus’ Story

• Ministry: Preaching
  1. Reign or kingdom of God is theme
     (i) God’s will: our well-being—justice, peace, fullness of life.
     (ii) It is near, breaking in; it is Good News with an urgency.
(iii) It is also a “message with teeth”; it is a call to repent, and a denunciation of evil.

- **Ministry: Behavior**
  1. Called people to follow Him; called them to conversion (change of mind)
  2. Showed partiality to marginalized; not just curing, but healing.
  3. Formed community; breaks bread with people—restoration of dignity.
  4. Both faithful and free in regard to Jewish tradition (the danger of anti-Judaism, but also the recognition of the abuse of religion-state relations in their own context).
  5. Rooted in prayer (may seem muted because it is often taken as a given in the pious context of Latin America).

**VI. Jesus the Liberator**

- **(Key points from Leonardo Boff)**
  In Jesus, we see a life, ministry, death, and resurrection that reveals Jesus to be the liberator of all humanity.

- **Reign of God**: preached by Jesus. Anticipates in history now, the future (eschatological) full union with God and others.
  1. “Thy Kingdom come … on earth as it is in heaven.”
  2. This is a kingdom/reign of justice and peace.

- **Jesus’ Praxis**: His ministry as establishing God’s love in the world (including structures/systems: grains of wheat; moneychangers at Temple).

- **Conversion**: as the exigency of liberation; transformed both personally AND in social relations.

- **Death**: imposed by others, but as an expression of Jesus’ freedom and commitment to God and others

- **Resurrection**: an anticipator irruption of the definitive liberation.

- **Discipleship**: following Jesus = actualizing His liberation.
  1. Note a Spanish play on words: *seguir* “follow” and *proseguir* “carry forward”
Reflection Questions

1. How does Christian reflection on Jesus Christ change in the twentieth century?

2. What elements of Jesus’ ministry as portrayed in the gospels contribute to a view of Him as a liberator?
Topic 8. Salvation, Suffering, and Martyrdom

Overview

Christianity’s message of salvation centers around the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the source of redemption; reflection that historically has been called soteriology. Since the Middle Ages, redemption has been understood as the vicarious atonement won through the crucifixion of Jesus. That is, Jesus as the undeserving and divine victim of death serves as the vehicle of redemption for sinful (and undeserving) humanity. Liberation theologians have sought to understand the crucifixion (and thus redemption) of Jesus in a new way. Though the death of Jesus as redemptive and salvific remains at the center, the historical and political reality of Jesus’ death reveals that it is intimately connected to His liberating ministry. As such, they cannot be separated. The notion of the “crucified people” attempts to reflect on the mystery of unjust suffering borne by the innocent. It reflects on the vast swath of humanity that suffers due to unjust structures and causes not of their own making and directs Christians to act in “taking them down from their crosses” as a central act of discipleship. Finally, liberation theology helps to reinterpret the notion of martyrdom in the contemporary world. From the experience of repression, one sees how dying in “hatred of the faith” that has been at the heart of defining the martyr is recognized in a different way.

I. Guiding Questions

- What is the meaning of “salvation”?
- What is the task of theology and how can it been seen/documentated?
- What is the significance of the term “liberation” when talking about liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Define the central characteristics of soteriology—the reflection on salvation at the heart of the Christian tradition.
- Analyze the symbol of the “crucified people” as a way to explore the notion of redemptive suffering and to correlate the fate of marginalized people with that of Jesus of Nazareth.

III. Salvation and Soteriology

- Salvation—easiest way to stump a class of undergrads: ask about the nature of salvation.
  1. It is the central belief of Christianity, yet the most difficult to articulate
  2. Not simply “heaven”—in the Bible and Christian teaching, salvation is described not simply as destination in afterlife; somehow humans can experience (at least a foretaste of) it now.
• Soteriology—the theological discipline that studies and attempts to articulate the meaning of salvation (for Christians, in and through Jesus Christ).
  1. Early Christianity has a number of models for how to speak about salvation: recapitulation, soul’s return (neo-platonic influence), etc.
• Medieval theology—Anselm of Canterbury (Cur Deus Homo?) portrays salvation in terms of atonement.
  1. Atonement is the buying back of humanity accomplished by the innocent death of Jesus.
    (i) This concept, vicarious atonement, became (and in many circles continues to be) the dominant image in salvation.

IV. Why did Jesus Die vs. Why was He killed?

• In his work on soteriology, Ignacio Ellacuría asks what the difference is in asking two questions:
  1. Why did Jesus die?
  2. Why was Jesus killed?
• On the surface, they seem like the same question, however a closer look reveals that the distinction is crucial.
  1. To ask why Jesus died means to ask:
    (i) What is the reason for Jesus’ death and what is its meaning?
    (ii) Problem: the answer (particularly of 2nd half) can be any invention one wants
  2. To ask why Jesus was killed means to ask:
    (i) Who killed him? What sort of death did He experience? What precipitated His death [i.e. what did Jesus do so that He would be executed]?
    (ii) This question directs one to the historical reasons why Jesus was killed. It forces one to enter into the drama of His life—with all social, political ramifications of that.
• Historic necessity of Jesus’ death—not natural necessity because of the resistance of oppressive powers to those who proclaim the Kingdom of God.
  3. Making His death “natural” would:
    (i) Eliminate responsibility of those who kill/crucify Him.
    (ii) Put everything in “God’s hands,” concluding that humans should stop caring about history.
• Only when “why He was killed” is answered can one then turn and ask “why He died.”
  1. Jesus is killed because of the historic life He led (not simply as expiatory victim for our sins leaving history untouched).
2. Jesus lived this life because that was truly proclaiming the Kingdom of God, not seeking a redemptive death. Therefore, what is salvific can’t be separated from what is historic.

3. Historic soteriology is a matter of seeking where and how the saving action of Jesus was carried out in order to pursue it in history.

4. Worship, including Eucharist, is not the whole of the presence and continuity of Jesus; there must be a continuation in history that carries out what He carried out in His life and as He carried it out.

V. The Crucified People

- How can we avoid the kind of interpretations that sanitize the scandal of Jesus’ death?

- The proclamation of the death of Christ for our sins refers not directly to our individual/ethical sins, but to the Sin that rules in history collectively, which grounds and makes possible the individual sins of everyday people.

1. Ellacuría’s definition of the crucified people:

   “That collective body, which as the majority of humankind owes its situation of crucifixion to the way society is organized and maintained by a minority that exercises its dominion through a series of factors, which taken together and given their concrete impact within history, must be regarded as sin.”


   (i) This is a collective designation not unlike the “people of Israel” which runs against modern hyper-individualism.

2. The crucified people help us to de-romanticize the passion of Jesus, while the passion of Jesus helps us to see the salvific importance of the crucified people.

- The key is to recognize that Jesus maintained a hope for the Reign of God, but one that was tied to His proclamation/life, not removed from it. Thus, this hope for the Christian people is not for a trans-historical resurrection, but of a working for the Kingdom of God now.

1. Resurrection points back to crucifixion—He is raised because He was crucified. Since His life was taken away for proclaiming Reign, then He receives a new life as fulfillment of Reign.

2. Jesus’ death helps us to see that crucifixion is not salvific (or what brings about resurrection and life). Salvation must be seen as “won in a process of following His steps.”
3. Jesus’ death is not the end of the meaning of His life, but the end of that pattern that must be repeated and followed in new lives with the hope of resurrection.

VI. Martyrdom

- There are three aspects of the classic definition of martyrdom:
  1. Violent death
  2. Willingly accepted
  3. Killed in hatred of the faith (*odium fidei*)

- **Violent death**
  1. There is a stark reality of repression in Latin America:
     (i) Argentina’s “dirty war”
     (ii) Brazilian national security state
     (iii) Guatemalan genocide
     (iv) Salvadoran context

- **Willingly accepted**
  1. There is a degree of difficulty with “acceptance”
  2. NOT true of “crucified people” Sobrino calls “Jesuanic martyrs”
     (i) Insight into willingness as “continuing path despite persecution.”
  3. NOTE: reflects back on Christian understandings of Jesus and real faith in God

- ***odium Fidei*** (difficulties)
  1. Are the deaths “political”?
  2. What about when killers are Christian?

- Martyrs for Solidarity
  1. Medellin’s understanding of poverty: material, spiritual, and commitment provides way to understand and delineate martyrdom and address concerns raised.
     (i) Material—the sense of the “crucified people” as a negative sign; God is not a party to nor desiring of this suffering.
     (ii) Spiritual—sense of sacrifice (with the important caveats about not letting the metaphor stretch too much); and the universal call to martyrdom.
     (iii) Solidarity—OR shows how to bring the prior two together.
(iv) The “preferential option for the poor” grounds the sense of martyrdom that is Romero’s legacy.
Reflection Questions

1. What is the theory of vicarious atonement? How does the political character of Jesus’ crucifixion affect Christian reflection on redemption?

2. Is it possible to make sense of suffering on a massive scale? Can the notion of “crucified people” focus attention on the need to address the suffering of people without making that suffering somehow “beneficial” for others?
Topic 9. The Church of the Poor

Overview

One of the most practical consequences of liberation theology was the formation of base ecclesial communities. These groups, which functioned primarily within existing ecclesial structures, were a way to both evangelize those who were often neglected or marginalized in the past. However, in addition to ministering to them, the participants gained a new sense of dignity and challenged the Church to respond to their reality. The ecclesial base communities represent one the most significant ecclesiological developments in how Christians have self-reflected on their identity as Church. As political repression mounted against the communities, and a more conservative hierarchy and generation of pastors began to view them with suspicion, the communities found themselves more and more outside of the Church/parish structures.

I. Guiding Questions

- What is ecclesiology? How do images of the Church inform its mission & action?
- What is an ecclesial base community? Is it a different church or subset within the Church?
- Why use the language of the “Church of the poor”?

II. Objectives

- Define the term “ecclesiology” by identifying significant images for the Church used in the ecclesial documents of the last century.
- Describe an ecclesial base community and consider its role within the Church in terms of identity, authority, meaning, and action.

III. Ecclesial Reality vs. Ecclesiology

- The juxtaposition of terms, “ecclesial reality vs. ecclesiology” refers to the difference between the lived reality of the Church and the theoretical/theological understanding of the Church.
- The developments of the twentieth-century:
  1. *Societas perfecta*—the neo-scholastic image of late 19th century.
     (i) With ceding of Papal States, ecclesiology emphasizes the “different plane” on which the Church exists (and has ultimate/exclusive authority).
  - *Mystici corporis*—Pius XII’s (1943) encyclical
     1. Meant to provide new image for the Church to replace *societas perfecta.*
(i) Positive: biblical image (body); takes into account laity; acknowledges the historical.

(ii) Negative: still lends itself to spiritualist, hierarchical priorities.

2. Though it meant to present a new “standard” image; ultimately ushers in multiplicity of images that come with Vatican II.

- Vatican II images—the Dogmatic Constitution on Church [Lumen Gentium] provides many images of the Church, but the most significant for liberation theologies.
  1. People of God: biblical image; corporate nature; lifts up the full integrity of laity as Church; “pueblo” resonates in Spanish
  2. Sacrament of Salvation: sacrament is manifestation of unseen reality.
     (i) If salvation = liberation, then the Church is a sacrament of liberation.

- Church of the Poor—John XXIII in a radio address a month before Vatican II, called for a “Church of the poor.”
  1. “Of” is not a sociological category (i.e., the Church’s membership consists in only those who are poor), but a theological priority—the priority of the Church is on the world of the poor because that is where God self-reveals most clearly.
     (i) Jesus’ ministry is with the outcasts
     (ii) God of the Bible is portrayed as attentive to those who suffer, those on the margins.
  2. Thus, Pope Francis (2013) invoked the notion of “a poor Church and for the poor”

IV. Base Ecclesial Communities As Ecclesial Reality

- When talking about scriptures (see lecture 4), it was noted that the re-reading of the Bible done by the poor in Latin America was in the context of the base ecclesial communities.

- Comunidades Eclesiales De Base
  1. Small lay-led communities that see themselves as part of the Church and that are committed to working together to improve their communities and to establish a more just society. They are a response to a pastoral experience:
     (i) Many rural areas and shantytowns have a ratio of 1 priest for every 20,000 Catholics.
     (ii) 5% or fewer of baptized Catholics actually attend Mass.
     (iii) Delegates of the Word—lay people who take leadership within communities

- Each word in this concept of the Base Ecclesial Community is rich with nuance:
  1. BASE (or Basic):
     (i) Basic cell of the Church
(ii) Back to basics of Christianity
(iii) Belong to base of society—the poor
(iv) Belong to base of Church—laity

2. ECCLESIAL:
(i) Integral part of the Church; for some, “a new way of being Church”
(ii) Though active (socially, politically, etc.), the basis for activity is in prayer/teaching

3. COMMUNITY:
(i) Composed of people who know and support one another.
(ii) Everyone’s voice matters [elderly Salvadoran woman—“First time anyone asked me”].
(iii) Leadership is organic [de facto vs. de jure]

V. Historic Examples of the Base Ecclesial Community

- 1950’s in Brazil, come out of three convergent forces [Marcello Azevedo]:
  1. Use of lay catechists in Rio to teach people about faith and organize liturgical services where priests were not available.
  2. Basic Education Movement helped educate, evangelize, and address social concerns.
  3. Lay movements/apostolates that concentrated on personal renewal.
- 1960, Paraguay: the Christian Agrarian Leagues began in rural Jesuit parishes
- 1963, Panama: San Miguelito experiment
- 1965, Brazilian bishops joint pastoral plan:
  1. “There is an urgent need to decentralize the parish, not necessarily in the sense of creating new juridical parishes, but in the sense of awakening and activating basic communities within the parish territory. In them, Christians would not be anonymous persons seeking merely the performance of a service or the fulfillment of an obligation. They would be faithful members feeling accepted and responsible as an integral component, living in communion with Christ and all their brothers and sisters.”
     – As cited in Basic Ecclesial Communities in Brazil, by Marcello Azevedo p. 28.
- 1965, Solentiname: Ernesto Cardenal organizes a community in Nicaragua that takes on artistic expression (after the Sandinista victory he becomes Minister of Culture)
  1. Shows art as fruit of communities, example of biblical reading, and correlation.
1970’s, El Salvador: Rutilio Grande and others trained in Pastoral Institute of Latin America (Quito, Ecuador) where teaching along guidelines of Medellín was taking place. His method:

   (i) Divided town into 10 mission zones and countryside into 15 other zones
   (ii) Talked with people about their personal and community problems and tried to find location for mission centers in each zone. [Thus, a socio-economic, religious, and cultural survey of each zone (cf. SEE of Catholic Action method)]
   (iii) Began evangelization sessions with children and adults, giving them guidelines to celebrate Word of God on their own [a process of “self-evangelization”]
   (iv) There were over 700 baptisms in first 9 months.

   (i) 10 urban and 27 rural CEB’s elected/trained 326 catechists/delegates
   (ii) Content was pastoral, not explicitly political
   (iii) Outside of this work, many peasants become involved in organizations (e.g. FECCAS) the repression of which leads to their radicalization into political-military groups

3. Effects: La Cabaña sugar mill strike
   (i) May 24, 1973: 1,600 workers on strike for 6 hrs. for not receiving orally-promised raise.
   (ii) FECCAS membership increased dramatically in the area, Grande was blamed.
   (iii) Mid-1975: a phantom group, Conservative Religious Front, were calling the pastoral team “subversives.”


VI. Base Ecclesial Communities as Church?

- **Medellín**: full endorsement
  1. CEB’s = “the first and fundamental ecclesiastical nucleus” and represent “the initial cell of the ecclesiastical structures.”
     (i) So, seen as being primarily a sub-division of parish.
     (ii) Different from lay movements because they are an integral part of the parish system and ultimate responsibility of parish priest/bishop.

- **Puebla**: mixed evaluation [speaks to composition of conference]
  1. Positive: “important ecclesial event” and the “hope of the Church” (quoting Evangelii Nuntiandi, 629)
2. Negative: “Not enough attention has been paid to the training of leaders … some have been turned into ideological radicals and in the process of losing any authentic feel for the Church.” \textit{(Evangelii Nuntiandi, 630)}

3. So, Puebla emphasizes:
   (i) Integral part of local Church
   (ii) Subject to its bishop
   (iii) Finding its home in context of parish system

- **Santo Domingo** (1992): seen in some sense as a reversal of the trajectory of Medellín/Puebla.
  1. CEB’s are viewed as:
     (i) “Living cells of the parish”
     (ii) Whose animators “must be in communion with their parish and their bishop”
     (iii) If communion not maintained, then they cease to be ‘ecclesial’
  2. According to Boff, CEB’s:
    1. “Reinvent” the Church from the grassroots
    2. Do not restructure the parish, they replace it
       (i) Parish is too large and institutionalized; only small groups can keep alive communitarian nature of Church
       (ii) Institution does have a role; however, generative priority belongs to the grassroots
       (iii) Charism—is real organizing principle of what it means to be Church
    3. CEB’s allow laity to exercise charisms and share in leadership
       (i) Grounding categories: People of God, \textit{koinonia}, prophecy, \textit{diakonia}
  3. Boff’s conclusion:
     1. CEB’s can claim to be “fully Church” (and not just possessing “ecclesial elements”) because:
        (i) If historically the parish has been seen as the basic cell of the diocese [the smallest of the ecclesiastical structures that qualifies theologically for being considered “Church”]
(ii) Then CEB’s participate in universality and catholicity of Church in same/better way than parishes do

2. Other liberation theologians either ignore this model or criticized him for it [Dussel refers to it as “ecclesiastical narcissism”].

Photo courtesy of George Martell-The Pilot New Media Office
Reflection Questions

1. What are some of the most important images for the Church that have been used in the last century? How do these images for the Church relate to how the Church’s mission and action in the world is understood?

2. What is a base ecclesial community? How do they function in relation to larger institutional forms of Church?
Topic 10. Spirituality: Faith, Politics, and Discipleship

Overview

Though many think of liberation theology exclusively in political terms, the reality is that there is a profound spirituality at the heart of liberation theology. The difficulty with many previous spiritualities was the temptation to escapism or individualism that would encourage the believer to avoid confronting the serious problems affecting the world. Liberation spirituality understands the life of the believer as responding to certain demands of the gospel. With the ministry of Jesus as portrayed in the gospels as a model, believers are seen as being called to denounce sin in the world—from the personal to the structural—and to participate in having the world more closely resemble the reign of God that Jesus preached. It is action and prayer that ground a spirituality of liberation. The political dimension of faith consists in addressing faith in the public square, it is not participation in a political party, but it is being engaged in the real life of the polis.

I. Guiding Questions

- What sorts of behaviors or lifestyles are incumbent on one who adopts liberation theology?
- How have liberation theologies contributed to the contemporary notion of discipleship?

II. Objectives

- Delineate different spiritualities by both the beliefs that ground them and the ensemble of practices that characterize them.
- Identify how liberation spiritualities have attempted to ground a way of being Christian in the world that is profoundly “spiritual” while engaged with the pressing social issues in the world.

III. Spirituality

- Spirituality is a term with various meanings in our culture, but generally is defined through negation of another concept. Spirituality can refer to the:
  1. Non-material—spirituality as interior; often understood individualistically.
  2. Non-institutional—spirituality as opposed to organized religion; e.g. “spiritual, not religious.”
  3. Non-ordinary—spirituality as separated from daily or mundane activity.
- However, in reality, spirituality should be understood as against these three understandings:
1. Material + interior—spirituality consists in certain practices that inform (as much as they are informed by) interior convictions.

2. Communal—spirituality is profoundly personal, but it is characterized by group/communal expression.

3. Ordinary—spirituality is tied to a way of life and cannot be separated from it.

- Throughout this course, we have seen how liberation theology emerged as a corrective to dualistic theologies that separated the “natural” and “supernatural” in such a way that faith became escapist and other-worldly.

- Challenge to liberation theology:
  1. Overcome spirituality of escapism (fuga mundi) or individualism (focus only on “personal” spirituality).
  2. Identify an understanding of transcendence as ‘God-in-the-world’ while not denying the “more,” or “beyond.”

IV. Spirituality: Faith in the World

- Faith as immersing oneself in the world, not cutting oneself off from it.
  1. It is in the polis.
  2. Correlation: repercussions of faith on world, and repercussion on the faith.
  3. So, the first position of liberation theology regarding politics is that Christians MUST be involved inasmuch as it means being in the world:

- Church has always had influence on world.
  1. The question is not “if,” but “how.”

- World of the Poor:
  1. The world is accurately seen when viewed as the world of the poor:
     (i) As the majority, illuminating the “really real” of the world.
     (ii) As the weakest, revealing the “strength of the chain.”

- Incarnation in World of the Poor:
  1. Sin—with an understanding of sin as including the social.
  2. Incarnation—like Jesus (vertical and horizontal) the Church must be incarnate.

- Proclaiming Good News to Poor:
  1. Offering hope and support in their struggle for liberation.
2. Commitment to defend the poor.

3. Enduring persecution for serving the poor.

- Political dimension is “the Church’s response to the demands made upon it by the de facto socio-political world in which it exists.”

V. Oscar Romero

- The political dimension of faith—honorary doctorate given at theological school in Belgium [he had also been nominated for the Nobel Peace prize, but lost to Mother Teresa]; he had to speak to an audience at one of the traditional centers of Catholicism.

1. This work is about making connections to the on the ground experience of the people in question.

- Defense of Archdiocese against three charges:
  1. Charge one: The Church preaches hatred.
     (i) Calling for the end of institutionalized violence is not violent.
  2. Charge two: The Church has become Marxist.
     (i) No, but it also condemns the abuses of capitalism.
     (ii) There is danger of turning any ideology into absolute.
  3. Charge three: The Church is meddling in politics.
     (i) Not in party politics, but it is speaking out against institutional injustice.

- The actions of the archdiocese come from faith, but “faith itself has been deepened” by action.

1. Awareness of sin—sin involving death:
   (i) Sin as partly social/structural (not just individual rules)
   (ii) Idolatry—not of a statue, but of money/wealth

2. Incarnation and Redemption:
   (i) Incarnation is in the world of the poor. It unmasks false universalism, false pacifism (of resignation and inactivity). It calls for the necessity of justice for the majority.
   (ii) Redemption is our hope. A position between this earth as final hope, but not without some sign in history (cf. Isaiah. 65:21).

3. Deeper Faith—the truths of faith become radical when the Church enters into the life of its people.
   (i) Fundamental choice is life or death [life that begins with bread, roof, job].
• Christian Spirituality: The Following of Jesus in the Option for the Poor [Jon Sobrino]
  1. Following vs. imitation
  2. Option for the poor as the way to follow Jesus authentically today
  3. Destroy anti-Reign; build up Reign
  4. Contemplation—seeing the presence of God in the world

• Following Jesus in the Option for the Poor focuses us on:
  1. Incarnation: The Holiness of Poverty
  2. Mission: The Holiness of Love
  3. Cross: Political Holiness
  4. Resurrection: The Holiness of Joy
Reflection Questions

1. What are the temptations latent in spiritualities that focus on “fleeing the world” or the interior soul in relation to others?

2. How do liberation spiritualities advocate for a certain lifestyle without falling into mere politics?
Topic 11. Liberation Theology and Its Critics

Overview

There have been various critics of liberation theology over the years, but because the majority of the early liberation theologians were Latin American Catholics, the Vatican has been the critic with the most influence. The history of the Vatican and liberation theology is a mixed one with both tentative approval and deep suspicion of the ideas put forward by liberation theologians. The central critiques of liberation theology concern a temptation to reductionism whereby things transcendent or divine are “reduced” to material or human entities. Moreover, the specter of Marxist thought is a continual suspicion in liberation theologians’ social analysis. Despite these cautions, there has never been a condemnation of liberation theology, and with the papacy of Francis, it appears that there has been openness to liberation theology moving into the future.

I. Guiding Questions

- What has been the Vatican’s attitude toward liberation theology through the years?
- How do those who have experienced different forms of marginalization serve to enrich the thinking of liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Map out the history of positions taken by the Vatican on liberation theologians throughout its history.
- Identify the central points of concern or critique of liberation theologies as valid expressions of Christian principles.

III. The Vatican and Liberation Theology

- 1972—CELAM: In a meeting in Sucre, Bolivia, Cardinal Alfonso Lopez Trujillo is voted Secretary General.
  1. He purges CELAM of the liberationist voices that made Medellín possible.
  2. Unsuccessfully tries to keep liberation theologians from the Puebla (1979) meeting.
  3. Eventually moves to Rome where he is instructive in influencing the Vatican against liberation theologians and the appointment of bishops who might be sympathetic.
IV. International Theological Commission

- 1974—the commission (that included Joseph Ratzinger and Bonaventura Kloppenberg) set up subcommittee to study liberation theology. Two years later, presented 4 reports:
  1. Methodological and hermeneutical (by Karl Lehmann)
  2. Biblical (by Heinz Schürmann)
  3. Ecclesiological (by Olegario González de Cardedal)
  4. Systematic (by Hans Urs von Balthasar)

- 1977—the commission gave their “Declaration on Human Development and Christian Salvation”
  1. Positive:
     (i) **Salvation/liberation**: sees unity linking salvation and the “efforts undertaken for the welfare and rights of humankind.”
     (ii) **Mission of Church**: Church should “make a critique of the social order under the guidance of faith” including “a strong kinship with the poor.”
     (iii) **Discipleship/deeds**: faith can be “fructified and perfected only by deeds.”
  2. Negative:
     (i) **Consolidation**: danger of “some theological movements” that “consolidate gospel of Jesus Christ…with secular history.”
     (ii) **Reductionism**: what the document calls a “uni-dimensional” version of Christianity.
     (iii) **Praxis ≠ changing conditions**: cannot reduce faith’s action to only the changing of society.
     (iv) **Institutional sin**: document does not find this concept legitimate because it does not spring from personal decision-making.

V. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith

- 1982—Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger becomes Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith
- 1983—Ratzinger composes “10 Observations on Theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez” and invites bishops of Peru to examine GG’s work and condemn it:
  1. Uncritical acceptance of Marxist interpretations of truth, history, social relations.
  2. Selective reading of Bible, political interpretations of texts (e.g. Exodus, Magnificat).
  3. Reduces growth of Kingdom of God to spread of justice; sin as only social sin.
  4. Orthopraxy is placed over orthodoxy; makes Christianity mobilization for revolution.
5. No theological reflection on violence; doesn’t examine Beatitudes in their ‘true’ meaning.

- Though individuals support this effort, there are also prominent bishops who support Gutiérrez. In the end, they refuse. Before he dies, Karl Rahner writes Peruvian Cardinal Ricketts in support of Gutiérrez.

- 1984—*Libertatis Nuntius* (Instruction on Certain Aspects of the “Theology of Liberation”) by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith
  1. Reductionism—the “temptation to reduce the gospel to an earthly gospel”
     (i) Political interpretation of Jesus’ death, denying value for salvation
  2. Reliance on Marxist thought
     (i) Confusing “poor” of Scripture with “proletariat” of Marx
     (ii) Adopts positions of class struggle in its analysis

- 1985—Leonardo Boff is silenced by the Vatican.
  1. The silence is partly repealed because of international pressure in 1986.

- 1986—*Libertatis Conscientia* (Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation) by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith

- 2006—Notification on the works of Jon Sobrino

- 2012—Pope Benedict XVI appoints Gerhard Muller as Prefect for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.
  1. Muller co-wrote a book with and has been a vocal supporter of Gustavo Gutiérrez. A recent collaboration with Gutiérrez had a preface written by Pope Francis as well.

Reflection Questions

1. How has the Vatican’s mixed relationship with liberation theology impacted the development of this tradition?

2. What are the primary concerns expressed about liberation theology by its critics, and do you think these concerns are valid?
Topic 12. Liberation Theologies: Expanding the View

Overview

Liberation theology is a truly universal phenomenon as marginalized peoples from around the world have taken up the challenge of responding to situations of oppression drawing upon the resources of their faith. Though Latin America is where liberation theologies first grew and spread rapidly, marginalized peoples around the world have taken up this kind of theological reflection. In the United States, feminist theology, black theology, and Latino/a theology represent vibrant schools of theological thinking that both challenge and deepen the insights covered throughout this course.

I. Guiding Questions

- How have liberation theologies emerged in different contexts than Latin America?
- How have different liberation theologians both voiced new concerns and opened up ways to deepen the insights of the first generations of liberation theology?

II. Objectives

- Identify the variety of liberation theologies that have emerged in different contexts, particularly among marginalized peoples in the United States.
- Define some of the central methodological features and questions of these various liberation theologies.

III. Expanding the View

- 1975—Detroit conference “Theology in the Americas” brings together Latin American liberation theologians with those who represent North American groups of theologians. We will explore three central currents that have developed in the United States:
  1. Black Theology
  2. Latino/a Theology
  3. Feminist Theology
- Black theology—Is Latin American liberation theology just white theology? [race]
  1. Liberation theologians ask: Is the goal of Black Theology to become mainstream U.S. citizens (an empire that oppresses Latin America)?
IV. Black Theology

- Civil rights movement—especially the experiences of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference).

  1. Black religion didn’t have real Christian theological content because of separation from white church. Thus, the question: What is black religion?

- Black Power movement
  1. Transition from Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to union with Black power (from freedom now to black power).

- Development
  1. 1966-1970: within churches
  2. Early 1970’s: from churches to universities/seminaries
  3. Since 1975: establish links with others minorities and (through the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians) with international (and especially African) theologies

- James Cone—*A Black Theology of Liberation*

V. Latino theology

- Marginalization more than economic [ethnic].

- Virgilio Elizondo asks, “What is the significance of Galilee?”
  1. Experience of “double rejection” → Jesus as “Mestizo”
  2. Experience of injustice → Prophetic Jesus
  3. Experience of worship/devotion → Celebration

- Galilean Journey Contributions/Legacy
  1. Virgilio Elizondo’s Correlation
     (i) Situation: *mestizaje*—naming experience of cultural marginalization
(ii) Faith Tradition: 2 Principles—new insights to the “preferential option for the poor” and prophetic/praxis faith

2. Legacy of reception of the first generation of liberation theology: mestizo Jesus; liberating Jesus; accompanying Jesus; popular religiosity, etc.

- Critiquing the Map
  1. Critique of Galilean Journey
     (i) General: suspicions on mestizaje, mapping, etc.
     (ii) Specific: JP Ruiz & biblical sources/discourses
  2. Response I: logic error and wealth of Galilee research (Freyne)
  3. Response II: horizon of understanding and its fusion w/ Mestizo Jesus
     (i) Identifying religious resistance is not anti-Semitism, but a recognition of powers.

VI. Feminist

- Feminist critique: Is Latin American Liberation Theology just male theology? [gender]
  1. Also critique of womanist theologians and Latinas who ask about “women’s” experience

- Theological Feminism within U.S. Feminism
  1. First-wave: particularly the suffrage movements of late 19th & early 20th centuries
  2. Second-wave: deepening the critique into larger cultural realm of “women’s role”
     (ii) Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) women are victims of a false belief system that requires them to find identity and meaning in their lives through their husbands and children. Such a system causes women to completely lose their identity within that of their family.

- How do these correspond to theological moments?
  1. 1943: graduate program in theology for women (religious) at St. Mary’s College.
  2. 1954: Women admitted to Harvard Divinity School (Letty Ruse one of the first group, of 3, to graduate in 1958).
  3. 1968: Mary Daly publishes *The Church and the Second Sex*.

- Bottom line: what has passed for “universal” has actually been partial because of the exclusion of women.

- Johnson’s Method:
  1. Critique (name/analyze) problem
  2. Search the tradition for alternative
  3. Reconstruct the tradition

- The Results:
  1. Distorting the Christ—the issue: the particularity of sex is interpreted in sexist theology and practice (Jesus’ maleness is lifted up and made essential for Christology).
     (i) Sees maleness as essential characteristic of divine being itself.
     (ii) Justifies/legitimizes men’s superiority over women because God chose male sex for “Himself.”
     (iii) Casts both God and humanity in androcentric mold (female humanity is not assumed; therefore, not saved [problem of dual anthropology].
  2. Discovering Wisdom
     (i) Sofia texts as possible alternative naming
     (ii) Offers field of metaphors with which to interpret saving significance of Jesus Christ
  3. Retelling the Story of Jesus
     (i) Death is not seen as repayment.

**VII. Third Wave Feminism**

- The third wave functions as a critique of second wave feminism on two central fronts:
  1. It presented an essentialized view of women (assuming a universal biological category).
  2. “Women’s experience” as giving voice only to white middle class women’s experience
     (i) THUS, Latina theology, Womanist theology, and Asian theologies now proliferate.

- Post-colonial Feminist Rethinking of Jesus/Christ [Kwok Pui Lan]
  1. Hybridity
     (i) Authority and representation [Freud’s “repression” is moved socially so that the colonized awaken anxieties about a troubled past.]
(ii) Double inscription: not as multicultural mix (because in fact there are no “pure” cultures).

(iii) Destabilizes binaries: because borders are blurred.

2. Jesus/Christ as Hybrid Concept

(i) NT Christology as pluriform

(ii) Colonization as double and mutually-inscribing process—the colonizer is constructing identity “over against” native “savage.”

3. Critical Observations:

(i) Jesus Christ as hybridized since the beginning: no original/pure/culture-less image

(ii) Explosion of images at end of 20th century because of independence (and these are becoming more nuanced as time passes).

(iii) Suffering—appropriation of the value of suffering

(iv) Guard against anti-Judaism

(v) How does gender/sexuality open avenues for thinking?

VIII. Ecological Theology—Companions With Other Creatures In Earth Community

- Summary of principles:
  1. Intrinsic value of every creature
  2. Commitment to praxis of reverence for life
  3. Value on human persons; ecology, and justice
  4. Discernment of competing life-forms; creature's consciousness
  5. Systems as wholes have ethical weight
  6. Sustainability is only proper theological response [how is this traditioned?]

- What it is Not:
  1. Egalitarianism: refusal to discriminate among creatures
2. Hierarchy: needs and humans above other creatures in every situation

- As worldview:
  1. Non-Christian sources: aboriginal, Native American
  2. Christian sources: recover mystical traditions, e.g. St. Francis
Review Questions

1. In what way have marginalized groups in the United States articulated their own liberation theologies?

2. How have these theologies served to deepen the insights of Latin American liberation theologies?
Excerpts

Excerpts from The Second Vatican Council’s

PASTORAL CONSTITUTION ON THE CHURCH IN THE MODERN WORLD 1965
[GAUDIUM ET SPES]

“The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts. For theirs is a community composed of men and women. United in Christ, they are led by the Holy Spirit in their journey to the kingdom of their Father and they have welcomed the news of salvation which is meant for every person. That is why this community realizes that it is truly and intimately linked with humanity and its history.

…

The Church seeks but a solitary goal: to carry forward the work of Christ Himself under the lead of the befriending Spirit. And Christ entered this world to give witness to the truth, to rescue and not to sit in judgment, to serve and not to be served.

To carry out such a task, the Church has always had the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions which people ask about this present life and the life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other. We must therefore recognize and understand the world in which we live, its expectation, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics.”

Bibliography


