

undoubtedly represents Wojtyla's most decisive intervention into Latin America, he earlier attempted to mediate a dangerous dispute between Argentina and Chile, dispatching Cardinal Antonio Samore to both countries as his personal representative.

Most indicative, because most controversial, have been Pope John Paul's activities and pronouncements in relation to the communist countries of Eastern Europe and the communist movement in the West. As he told the reporters in January, "the task of Vatican diplomacy is to serve the cause of peace," proposing that full official relations be established between the Vatican and the socialist countries. Since that time, negotiations between the Vatican's negotiator and Poland have reportedly yielded significant results, and the Italian press now predicts that official relations will be established between the two probably before the end of the year. Much will depend on the Polish visit which Wojtyla now plans for May, a trip first discussed shortly after Wojtyla's election. The Pope also granted a lengthy audience to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on Jan. 24, which was described as extremely cordial.

Especially indicative of his willingness to pursue Paul VI's course of open dialogue with communists was the exchange between Wojtyla and "Vaticanologist" Santini, the correspondent for the Italian Communist Party newspaper. Interviewed by Santini on an airplane headed for Mexico, Wojtyla pointedly said that "the first newspaper I read in the morning is the leftist press, starting with *Unità*. This newspaper makes some criticisms, and I like it." He continued: "The Church lives in reality everywhere, in Poland as in Italy, as in Mexico. The Church wants to serve everybody if it wishes to be what it must be. The aim of the Church is the common good, and to further that unity, that solidarity which you were speaking about."

Pope Wojtyla has made several significant gestures to socialist Europe, all of which have led his former anti-communist admirers to speculate publicly in the press whether the Pope is not in fact "a left winger" despite earlier predictions to the contrary. For example, on Jan. 18, John Paul sent a message of good will to the Polish government noting that "he wishes their cooperation in the common task of securing peace," a message the Polish government published in all major national media.

In the following report, *Executive Intelligence Review* examines the Vatican's policy, including quotations from the encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, which charted the Church's recent role in favor of industrial progress, statements by Pope Wojtyla, and a report on the CELAM III conference. And we provide a profile of the policy's opposition, featuring an in-depth report on the movement behind Lefebvre — the first in a general circulation English-language publication — by our European desk chief, Vivian Zoakos.

## CELAM III: policy is science, growth

The Third Episcopal Conference of Latin American Bishops, held in the Mexican city of Puebla, concluded earlier this month with a programmatic victory for those forces within the Catholic Church that are viewed by friend and foe alike as the "Paul VI" faction. Despite much public fanfare in the United States and Latin American press over a supposed factional battle within the Church, the reality is that the medievalist tendency associated with both the Marcel Lefebvre forces on the "right" and the "Theology of Liberation" forces on the "left" was soundly trounced.

The crucial issue: the sanctity of the human mind.

According to the Message to the People of Latin America issued at the close of CELAM III, "God's power requires that man contribute his maximum efforts to the fruition of his labor of love by all means possible: (through both) spiritual force and conquests of science and technology in favor of mankind." By the exercise of his creativity in the service of God, man will foster a "Civilization of Love" characterized by peace, industrial and scientific development, and respect for his fellow man. This is man's "transcendental vocation" and thus man will "live to the fullest his divine filiation."

### Medellin, 1968

The battle fought out at Puebla had been defined much earlier, in fact 11 years earlier, at the historic CELAM II conference in Medellin, Colombia in 1968. At that conference, forces allied with Pope Paul VI succeeded in splitting the Latin American church away from the so-called traditionalists, those encrusted reactionary layers within the Church hierarchy largely identified with Latin America's land-holding oligarchy, the latifundists. Pope Paul, the first Pope to travel to Latin America, made an unprecedented intervention to inaugurate the conference. CELAM II had been chosen by Paul VI as the springboard for his revolutionary encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, and through this statement, he provided the small core of humanist bishops who took control of CELAM with a potent instrument for reforming or even "revolutionizing" the powerful Latin American Catholic Church.

*Populorum Progressio* defined the rights of man as being social and economic as well as spiritual but, more significantly, defined creativity — the use of man's intellect to perfect the world around him — as primary to the evolution of a new humanist world order. "The Bi-

ble, from the first page on, teaches us that the whole of creation is for man, that it is his responsibility to develop it by intelligent effort and by means of his labor to perfect it, so to speak, for his use."

*Populorum Progressio* also explicitly identified the role that science and technology must play in pursuit of this new humanism. "It is sufficient to promote technology to render the world a more human place in which to live ... Far from being the ultimate measure of all things, man can only realize himself by reaching beyond himself."

Under the title "Development is the new name for peace," Paul VI's encyclical demonstrated how commitment to progress can be actualized through global development based on technology transfer, industrialization, and mutual human understanding.

### Theology of Liberation

Paul VI's success at Medellin was a bitter pill for the oligarchists within the Church to swallow. Counter-insurgent networks, largely trained by those elements within the Jesuit order associated with the medievalist Archbishop Lefebvre, were activated inside Latin America to counter *Populorum Progressio* with an anti-humanist, countercultural reinterpretation of Paul VI's initiatives.

Using a "left" cover, the "Theology of Liberation" was spawned, its "preachers" interpreting *Populorum Progressio* as a call for armed insurgency against "capitalism": i.e., industrialization, urbanization, advanced technologies, anything which threatened the controllable narrow universe of the superstitious Latin American peasant. The "Liberationists" were lavishly funded by U.S. and European foundations that specialized in sociological profiling of target populations, as well as by Church funding organizations, such as Adveniat and Misereor of West Germany, which financed the Church's right wing in such adventures as the overthrow of Chile's Allende.

The Theology of Liberation was created as a cult by the very oligarchists it alleges to oppose for one primary purpose: to channel the discontent and the hopes of the Latin American population into violent anarchist upheavals where possible, and if not, into general defense of the World Bank's genocidal no-growth policies.

It was the Theology of Liberation, which had falsely claimed Medellin as *its* victory, which was defeated at CELAM III.

### The divinity of Christ

The issue of the divinity of Christ was made the central polemic at the Puebla conference as the most effective way of addressing, in theological terminology, the attack on the Church's humanist policy of industrialization mounted by the Theology of Liberation. The "Liberationists" premise their "theology" on the asser-

## The Cristero heresy in Mexico

For those Mexicans at CELAM III, Pope John Paul II's challenge to the proponents of the Theology of Liberation held a special historical significance. Fifty years ago, the Cristero movement was launched, a shock troop of backward peasants and displaced rural layers deployed in opposition to those secular and clerical forces that waged Mexico's progressive revolution of 1910.

A decade after the Revolution, President Calles implemented legislation to grant substantial government authority over Mexican oil. In the interests of the British and American oil companies, the oligarchist faction within the Mexican Church deployed the Cristeros for three years of armed and bloody warfare. Their slogan: "Viva Cristo Rey" — "Long Live Christ the King." The cardinal who led the uprising was a Knight of Malta.

Only when President Cardenas took power was the Cristero movement defeated. With a popular mass movement behind him, Cardenas was able to enforce the 1938 nationalization of Mexico's oil.

But the antiurban, antitechnology Cristero tradition has survived. In the 1950s, remnants of the Cristero movement and the oligarchists of the Monterrey Group conducted book burnings throughout the country. Mexican Bishop Arceo, the renowned "Red Bishop" and a leading spokesman of the Theology of Liberation in Mexico, was identified with the Cristeros for his book burning orgies. He led one of the more virulent antigovernment religious groupings.

In the 1970s, the Cristero tradition merged with the Theology of Liberation, advocating cultural relativism, and the brainwashing of peasant recruits to carry out "revolutionary violence" against the established governments of Latin America. Their heresy is identical: the "theology" of medievalism, the worship of rural life, and a hatred of any industrial and technological progress.

## The Theology of Liberation

Liberation Theology, the organized opposition to the industrial development policies of the late Pope Paul VI, first appeared in 1968 to disrupt the Pope's influence at the second Conference of Latin American

Bishops (CELAM). To free the Latin American peasantry of the "imposition" of the cultural and material benefits attendant on industrialization — cultural relativism — is the trademark of Liberation Theology, a counterorganizing method dating from the 1950s work done at the Louvain University in Belgium, a stronghold of the Action Française movement. There, Father François Houtart trained a nest of counterinsurgents in sociological profiling of peasant populations. Among his better-known graduates are the counterinsurgent priest Camilo Torres, and one of the earliest proponents of Liberation Theology, the Jesuit Roger Veckman.

Veckman, together with other primarily Jesuit collaborators, helped to found numerous institutions of sociological profiling and terrorist subversion throughout Latin America, including the Theology for American Development and Integration in Bogota, Colombia, the Latin American Pastoral Institute in Quito, Peru, and others.

The role of these and similar institutions has been to profile populations for potential terrorist belief structures which can be channeled into outright "guerrilla" and related acts which undermine the Vatican's aid in the industrial development in Latin America.

A spokesman for the Liberation Theology Center for American Development and Integration in Bogota, Colombia told *Executive Intelligence Review* in a recent interview that man is an "insatiable animal" and never satisfied. A new world economic order to provide man with a higher material standard of living, he insists, will only whet the appetite for more. Thus, economic development must be opposed.

An excerpt from a statement issued by Liberationist spokesman Ismael Silva Fuenzalida suffices to indicate the essence of Liberation Theology:

... Therefore, we are presented with a picture in which masses of people, whose forms of cognition are basically preindustrial, are experiencing a growth in their expectations, masses who, without possessing 'rational' controls, proceed to act in accordance with that newly acquired potential... Thus, the neo-Liberal tendency, in the effort to overcome the ills of underdevelopment through large-scale industrialization and its allied human resource qualification programs, has not proved operationally useful in Latin America..."

tion that Christ was mortal, a revolutionary. By denying Christ his divinity, and thus his unique relationship to both God and man, the Liberationists deny the possibility of bridging the void between man as a biological entity and man as "God-like," self-perfecting, and capable of self-perfection expressed through scientific discoveries. Universal law (God) becomes unknowable, unreachable, and man is condemned forever to be the bundle of animal impulses the Liberationists portray him to be. Christ himself is relegated to the role of "subversive of Nazareth," as Pope John Paul II observed, and the moral imperative which he represents in Church doctrine is reduced to a single historical moment.

At CELAM III, Pope John Paul II's inaugural presentation countered the Theology of Liberation with a polemic on Christ: "In some cases either the divinity of Christ is silenced, or is made an object of erroneous interpretation. Christ would only be a 'prophet,' an announcer of the reign and love of God, but not the true son of God ... Any silence, neglect, mutilation or inadequate emphasis on the integrity of the mystery of Jesus Christ ... cannot be the valid content of evangelization...."

Finally, CELAM III concluded with an unmistakable reaffirmation of Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* as it was meant to be understood. In the Message to the People of Latin America, representing the prelude of the conference's final document, CELAM asserts that "a civilization of love" cannot exist as long as "fundamental human rights" — the right to a livelihood, and education, to culture, to physical and mental integrity — are violated. It calls on "all men of good will, and those who have missions in all the fields of culture, science, politics, education, labor, the communications media, the arts ... to become the builders of the 'civilization of love'."

And in an appeal for universal cooperation in the creation of Paul VI's "new world order," the message urges the advanced nations not to stand in the way of the development of the Third World, but rather "to help us, with a higher purpose, to break the barriers of our underdevelopment, respecting our culture, our principles, our sovereignty, our identity, our natural potential. Within this spirit, we will grow together as brothers, members of the same universal family."

— Valerie Rush