LATINAMERICAN MAN--AND HIS REVOLUTION

The anthropologico-cultural background for a Latinamerican theological understanding of the concept of revolution

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I. Putting the Problem in Focus

When we reflect on the importance of the Industrial Revolution, or that distant day when agriculture was begun or, even earlier, when men first used language, the assertion that "we are living in one of humanity's most revolutionary ages"[1] seems less than self-evident. The assertion is more convincing, though, if we take into consideration (advert to) present-day mastery of atomic power, or other scientific and technical advances in every branch of human knowledge, or the speed with which drastic changes (physical, socio-political, religious) take place and become known, or the possibility of investigating basic human questions (origins, goals, value systems, structures) with more facts to judge by and less likelihood of mythical interpretations.

Latin America has become one of the principal points of reference for the "greatest revolution in human history", as President Kennedy called it. Difficulties arise, however, when we try to determine in what (specifically) the specific essence of this Latin American revolution consists. In other words, what is its peculiar and distinctive contribution to the world-wide revolution (taking that term in a more radical sense than Wendland gave to his term Weltrevolution, as a synonym for rapid modernization)[2].

It seems clear, indeed, that Latin America has special qualifications for collaborating in and even, as Dom Helder Camara has written[3], for taking the lead in the human struggle to liberate the First, Second and Third Worlds.

In this paper we hope to (present) an explanatory essay on what, ultimately, prompts the thought and revolutionary activities of Ibercamerica, in its world view, its value system, its particular way of relating, its history and its typical realizations that characterize man in himself, his life style and view of that phenomenon we ambiguously somewhat call "revolution." We will also see how the Latin American contribution bears directly on the greatness of the ongoing human revolution, which does not aim at a radical physical change in man (in his anatomy) nor at a materio-cultural one (in his technology), but in his discovery and appreciation of his personality (his ability to develop and decide, his "transcendent" riches, liberty, friendship, etc.) in the midst of a vast complex of changes.

II. Methodological Presuppositions

This inquiry will take Latinamerican man as its center and point of departure, in virtue of our anthropologico-cultural presuppositions, of our theologico-political presuppositions, and of the basic presupposition of applied anthropology, i.e., that local man is the principle, center and end of revolutionary change--"a change purposefully produced (human)... rapid and radical... affecting (in some way) all basic structures (political, juridical, social and economic)"[4]. It will be an approach from three different but intimately related perspectives.

A. Latinamerican man is the center and point of departure of this study because

of our anthropologico-cultural orientation, inasmuch as anthropology is by definition the integral study of man as he is found, naturalistically and comparatively. Not only in his physical aspect but also in his activity, work, behavior and aspiration: all that is embraced by the term culture. With E. A. Hoebel, we define culture as the "integrated system of those acquired forms of behavior that characterize a society and that are not the result of biological inheirtance"[5].

B. At the same time, however--paradoxical as it may seem--Latinamerican man is the center and point of departure of this study inasmuch as it is an essay in political theology. By its etymology, theology implies a discourse or discussion about God. God is the object of theological learning, but as grasped by man who has heard Him in His historical, in-the-world revelation (in the polis, the society of men). In that sense all theology is bipolar, both anthropocentric and theocentric. Let us stress that the center and point of departure of theological investigation is not some anonymous scientific man who has fabricated (perfect tense) theology, but concrete man who experiences in his world the word of God and tries to formulate that experience by a kind of systematization, in a definite cultural-mental conformation. Thus, because theology is art and wisdom, it is something being created. Its historical, geographic, ecclesio-communitarian conditioning is a vital aspect of this formulation. Latinamerican man is not just a particular chapter in theology, however. He is at the very heart of every authentic theological discussion in Latin America. No doubt many theological studies in Iberoamerica have been satisfied heretofore to repeat the artificial constructs that went with the understanding of God in other cultures and ages. They don't

tell us much any more either about God or about contemporary man in his concrete life. They are devoid of meaning for our continent and would have to be translated into 20th century language. Latin American man's theology, on the other hand, will have to evolve out of his existential situation (the description of which is a hermeneutic matter) and in his historical unfolding. "Only when man knows himself as 'being addressed' by God (angesprochen) in his own life does it make sense to speak of God as Lord of reality"[6].

C. Finally, Latinamerican man is the point of departure, center and goal of revolutionary change, and we place this affirmation in the context of applied anthropology. That is to say, man in Latin America has to plan, direct and carry out cultural, social, indeed total change. He does this, of course, by communication and dialogue (contact, conflict and adaptation) with other ethnic and cultural groups across the world. But "he" is the focus (conscious or unconscious) of the selection, planning and execution. Unless Don Adams' fable applies here. "Once upon a time a monkey and a fish were caught in a flood. The monkey, spry and experienced in dangers of all sorts, managed to scramble up a tree. Looking down, he noticed his friend the fish, who was having trouble in the tumbling waters. Moved by humanitarian compassion, he decided to help his companion in distress. At great personal risk and effort, he finally succeeded in pulling the fish out of the water. Imagine his surprise, then, when he found the fish resenting the help"[7]. George Foster makes some practical applications of the fable in his book Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change[8]. It is his basic conclusion, of course, that interests us here much more than the fable itself.

All the foregoing, then, ought to make Latinamerican man face up to the crucial obligation he has to know more about himself, decide what he is, what he is doing,

his values and objectives, contrasting himself with what others are and do and value, in different existential situations, with different roles in history.

The terms "revolution," "development" and "co-operation"--in their relationship to the being, activities and aspirations of the specific, concrete man--take meaning, and thus are to be understood, from and in relation to that man. The opposite is not true, as when man is examined to see how he can be made to welcome a revolution or development devised for other cultures. Like Charles Erasmus, we find it ironic (though few advert to the incongruity) that organizers and experts in community development programs are often brought in to make individuals in the community, whose felt needs are supposed to justify the development, aware that they have needs[9].

Since the time of Vatican II, Latinamerican theological writings have focused on interpreting the signs of the times (e.g., Bishop Marcos McGrath, of Panama, in his articles on the general topic of revolution). Yet there has never been a thorough study of that principal sign of the times in this continent: Latinamerican man of today in all his unity and diversity. It is so easy to pass over what is right under one's nose.

It may be helpful to adduce here three witnesses who have spoken of this need, whose testimony can guide us.

1. Dom Helder Camara has insisted that before we have a revolution in structures we need a cultural revolution--a sort of personal conversion, a change in attitude, a metanoia[10].

2. This was also the most revolutionary affirmation of the CELAM Medellín, Declaration, which may have been inconsistent on other points, as various later

reaction seem to have indicated, but was lucidly clear on this one:

> As Latinamericans, we share in our people's history. Our past stamps us definitively as Latinamericans; our present places us in a crucial moment; our future requires of us a creative role in our process of development... Our peoples yearn for liberation and growth in humanity through the incorporation and participation of all in a shared involvement in the personalizing process.... The Latinamerican Church... focuses its attention on the man of this continent as he lives through a decisive moment in his historical process. Thus the Church, conscious that "to know God one must first know man"[11], by no means turns its attention away from man, but rather turns toward him.

At the same time, truth obliges us to state that in many places, and for many individuals, both Vatican II and Medellín are still little more than words, manifestoes, documents, notable statements in history's witness; they are still not accepted as real events.

3. Finally, the educational method of Paulo Freire (Educacão como Prática de Liberdade), stressing the sense of "realization" (toma de conciencia) that this CICOP conference aims at, can help resolve this revolutionary restlessness. As a contribution to the effort to reach this "self-realization" (auto-toma de conciencia) of Latinamerican man, we offer the following observations on his value system as the core of his revolutionary thought and stance. In A Theology of Hope Human, Ruben Alves developed this approach through the complex of language.

III A Necessary Limitation

One might object that these are all generalizations, restricted to the lofty pl: ne of vagueness and flouting the required anthropological methodology because n(specific cases or data are given to justify our assertions. On the one hand, v ith Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, we criticize--from a Latinamerican point of \ iew--the particularist and somewhat conservative approach to applied anthropology found in the United States and Europe. For we feel that general studies like this, with categories and applications on a national and even continental scale, are more appropriate and constructive than those limited to particular communities. It seems more opportune, after all, to offer at this juncture the conclusions of the study rather than its detailed process[12].

We presuppose, of course, a certain intellectual and affective familiarity with Latin America's internal pluralism: Its differences in nationality, geography and language: its wide range of cultures and subcultures. We take for granted, too, a knowledge of the various typologies that have been published on the Latinamerican area: the volumes of DESAL[13], the article of Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris[14], the essays of Roger Vekemans and Juan Luis Segundo[15].

On balance, though, we prefer to speak of a "Latinamerican revolution." For within that basic and controlling pluralism, certain common elements stand out that justify use of the term "Latinamerican culture." Besides, that is the term both the revolutionary literature and Medellin itself use. This integrationist approach, despite our sense of nationalism, is part of our genius and one of the key factors in our revolutionary phenomenon.

The values we shall enumerate below as characteristic of Latinamerican man have been pointed out in a number of field works based on different population samples up and down both Americas. We have noted a certain continuity in them, despite notable differentials between, for example, the campesinos of northeast Argentina (1966), certain mestizos of Paraguay (1967), gente de barrio from Córdoba (1964-1966), Mexican-American obreros in Chicago (1968-1969), Puertorican families in New York (1969), Latinamerican immigrants of all classes and nationalities in Washington (1968-1969), as well as in Chile, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Though there have been different kinds and processes of acculturation, greater or lesser exposure to the Iberian conquest[16] and subsequent immigrations, certain easily detectible common traits stand out. These values become evident also through an analysis of revolutionary manifestoes and articles in a representative cross section of magazines: Mensaje (Chile), Víspera (Uruguay), Cristianismo y Revolución (Argentina), Frente Unido (Colombia), etc.

A number of Northamerican and Latinamerican anthropologists have gone into this research into value systems. In a series of articles John Gillen, for example, studied middle-class values[17], campesinos[18], ladinos and indígenas[19], revealing points of similarity. Horacio Godoy, Jorge Mejía and Aristides Calvani, among others, touched on this matter in their essays contained in the 1968 CICOP volume Cultural Factors in Inter-American Relations[20]. Rodolfo Stevenhagen qualified these observations with great perspicacity in his article "Seven Erroneous Theses About Latin America" in Latin American Radicalism[21], a book in which different contributors approach the topic from a variety of perspectives. In Oscar Lewis' vivid accounts of families from varying cultures (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba), the same panorama appears.

Angelina S. de Roca has synthesized for us the value systems of Puerto Rican society[22], as the often quoted work of Octavio Carlos Bunge did for Argentina[23].

It is these kinds of studies of personality and value systems that our present paper hopes to imitate, as it investigates what is the content of "revolution" for the Latinamerican.

IV. The Revolution: A Latinamerican Point of View

The Latinamerican revolution is an ideal of man and a concrete mode of realization, the awareness of which, in various kinds of oppressive situations, postulates and eventually carries out a profound and rapid change in all basic socio-political structures, for the people's good, in their aspirations toward humanization.

According to this descriptive definition, the revolutionary phenomenon is readily distinguishable from those frequent occurrences in Latin America that we classify as: garrison revolts, coups d'états, uprisings, rebellions, various sorts of subversion (guerrillas), seditions or reforms, which may or may not be part of a genuine revolution. Our definition adopts, with modifications, the concepts contained in the manifesto of the Chilean Iglesia joven, Hacia una Definición[24]. and in that pioneering review Mensaje[25], plus certain insights of Antonio Perez Garcia. We include in it, too, the ideas expressed in the well-known Letter of 15 Bishops of the Third World[26], those of Dom Helder Camara and of sociologists like G. Perez Ramirez and Charles Johnson[27].

Let us develop further the terms of our definition.

1. The revolution in Latin America is thought of primarily as an ideal; it issues out of a characteristic idealism. Carlos Alberto Floria has written: "Latin America is today the 'paradise of revolution' principally because it is the

'paradise of ideals' "[28]. Idealism, a "dream" in something far off, is typical of Latinamerican realism. Hence it is quite ridiculous to think that the reality we are living is total reality. Paradoxically, therefore, even while we avert our attention from it, we still keep up the illusion of a change. It is not precisely a utopian, fantastic illusion, but an operative, present projection in our manner of being, thinking and acting. As H. Davis has perceptively pointed out, "the historical forms of Latinamerican thought, seen in their variety and myriad currents, betray a revolutionary essence or social cast"[29]. Let us not, though, be deceived by the change. Some will interpret it as the typical traditionalism of pre-industrial cultures on the threshold of transformation. This is not a very acceptable explanation of the phenomenon for Latin America, where affirmation of one's traditional values as against perspectives of change is a constituent of its ethos and eidos.

This idealism--eschatological, if you will (i.e., already here and definitively operative, but not yet in its plenitude)--is part of the typically Latinamerican anthropocentrism. Such anthropocetrism is characterized by a strong concept of the dignity of the human person (his interior and unique value). From this there results a heightened subjectivism and individualism. These, taken with the machismo-caballerosidad complex, can explain caudillismo and other personality traits easily detected in ambiental situations and systems that might seem to clash with, and to favor by reaction the acceptance of, these congenital traits. Thus everything gravitates around the individual man (even more: around what is most intimate and noble in him) as contrasted with the world outside, which often seems "antihuman" or imposes broadly subhuman living conditions.

On the other hand, this same idealism, so vigorous and so frustrated, so paradoxically present in more or less revolutionary expressions, has been shaped historically by religious influences. It is an idealism that thrives on the platonic, gnostico-manichean dichotomy body vs. soul, so evident in the post-Tridentine theology and evangelization of Mediterranean Christianity, competing with Nordic, Protestant Christianity. It is also linked with the platonic dichotomy between this world (shadow, prison, imitation) and the other world (the home of ideal reality), which to many immediately suggests a sort of clash of goals, ideals, etc., so that one may almost say that success in one world means failure in the other. Certain gospel phrases, taken in isolation and uncritically, seem to justify this mentality. The words of certain songs too, as Hector Borrat has shown[30], reveal this kind of popular eschatology. All this may help to explain in part--but only in part--the Latinamerican's ideal mistrust of the indisputable advantages of technology, or at least his reluctance to get too involved in it.

Let us note, however, that this idealism contains a stress on man, on his intimate, personal dignity, his subjective value, above everything else. This means, not exactly that all men are equal (a Northamerican would conclude that way, but a Latinamerican considers himself at heart "classist"), but rather that each individual is different, typical, and should be dealt with accordingly. This is the explanation of personalism in relationships, in contacts and in the politico-social world. In a certain sense, everything shares in the family glow that characterizes the "immense" Latinamerican family. Though we note in him a significant "internal independence," the Latinamerican ideally keeps up a very strong external dependence: family, circle of friends (his class, place of work, bar, neighborhood), real or imaginary family systems, system of home and family gatherings (parties), the

cogent bond of human respect. This dependence determines the special attitude of the Latinamerican toward authority: certain evidences of familiarity with it (search for a friendly contact when dealing with bureaucracy, "arrangements," a highly personal way of obeying the law, etc.). On the other hand, an attitude of "respect," within a paternalistic setting and from a strictly hierarchic angle, for various kinds of authorities (familial, civil, religious). For historical reasons, a certain wariness has come to prevail in the relations between the individual and government authorities.

Based on this analysis, we maintain that when a Latinamerican rebels against the existing system or politico-social structures, he does so principally because they are causing situations that clash oppressively with his ideal, or somehow reflect a world vision and value system at variance with the specific Latinamerican idiosyncracy as particularized in his country. Only an elite in Latin America today can understand, and prosper under, the capitalist-technocratic system that has come to prevail. Whereas capitalism, communism and technocracy are all looked on as imported products, the social organization of certain flourishing indigenous groups and the attitudes and practices of the masses (network of family relations as a factor of progress) might very well serve to guide in formulating authentically Latin-american socio-political systems. Perhaps at this point we should undertake a theological-political consideration of the Latinamerican man's ultimate vocation. Only in that way will our reference to eschatological hope and love as justifying a revolutionary militance in Latin America fit into our argument and have some intelligible content. For the ideal, with all its characteristics that we have enumerated, is the central point in the Latinamerican's eschatological vocation, giving meaning to his political stance, his understanding of his role in the world,

his relationship with others, and the content of his revolution.

As Latinamerican's, we can hardly accept Denis Goulet's statement that "the moral justification of the revolution is its necessity," even though we agree that inevitability is one of its marks[31]. Nether does revolution fit into the long list of the Latinamerican's needs and wants. Nor indeed can we devise, as Moltmann[32] and Metz[33] try to do, a Latinamerican theology based on some futurology, or vision of the future. For in our culture, past and present play predominant roles, whereas the "future" and the notion of "newness"--so vivid, apparently, to Anglo-Saxon cultures--are for us only an extension or idealization of the present. Time is not so important as the task in hand. Perhaps the newness of the future is that "man should be more fully a man"--that concrete man that one is, in familiar relationship to one's ambience and one's fellowman.

In that event, the Latinamerican revolution will be seen, in general, as the revolution of the human ideal and the fundamental affirmation of that ideal against the dogmatism and oppressive activism of a purely technological ideal, or a capitalistic monetary ideal, or even the ideal of some Holy Empire. It could be instructive to read in this light, e.g., the news reports of the events of May and June, 1969[34]. We are dealing here, as noted above, with an operative ideal, which transforms indeed, but which has known many historical frustrations. Perhaps, at bottom, its very configuration explains why it functions somewhat spontaneously and improvisedly, destroying itself, cancelling itself out in failure.

2. A realization (toma de conciencia) of the content and meaning of that ideal is a second cardinal element in the revolutionary phenomenon, which, as we have shown, comprises the ideal, a reality directly or inversely related with it, and

a process. Indeed, a number of revolutionary starts came to grief precisely because the people, on account of their marginality, were unaware of their needs. In this respect, we should look closely at all the fundamental changes taking place in Latinamerican political, economic and social institutions--legislation that, thanks to the cosmopolitanism of the governing class, has been borrowed in recent years from the United States and Europe, without any influence from or upon the masses of the people. This gradual realization is producing its fruit in the steady growth of a markedly regional thought and literature, a fresh statement of the socio-economic problems and solutions.

This sort of realization or awareness necessarily provokes a crisis (a demand for decision, according to the etymology of the word). The same crisis is affecting the Latinamerican Church, which finds itself suddenly separated (like a "sect"?) not only from a culture (which of itself, inasmuch as it is a saeculum, must be distinguished), but also from its own mission as prolongation of the salvific Christ event. Culture and Church have been confused before, at given historical moments (Caesaropapism). How can we be surprised then if both of them, culture and Church, are now repudiated together even though that "cultural Catholicism" Redfield has written of still perdures? The Church was unable to relate itself to culture, which became more and more alien and hostile to it. Tensions have always existed, of course, between Church and culture. But what is tragic here is that the Church failed to "deny itself" so as to continue incarnating itself in history, but rather "consecrated" (separated and declared untouchable) elements in its mission that were only relative. This "pseudo-incarnation" obstructs the Church's eschatological

mission, makes it suspect and in time fossilizes it. A genuine incarnation in culture is postulated by its eschatological, salvific mission: that eschatology and that incarnation, even while implying the Absolute, relativize it. Latinamerican theology too suffers from shock: it has suddenly found itself disincarnated and out of the proper eschatological perspective. This kind of realization (toma de conciencia) is not meant to launch a revolution, a culture, a theologically secular city, but rather to creatively convey an understanding of God by discussing the revolutionary phenomenon, culture and city that presently exist and in which we dwell in reciprocal influence. The shift in emphasis is no mere subtlety, but implies grave consequences.

If we can judge by current literature and experiences, this realization (toma de conciencia) enables Latinamerican man to see himself as both protagonist and victim, despite his legal liberty, of a double colonialism: internal and external, as G. Casanova[35] has shown from a socio-political point of view, and Dom Helder Camara[36] from a pastoral point of view.

The development and full expression of the human resources of the Latinamerican will not automatically follow upon the transition from a traditional, archaic, conservative society to a modern one made up, as R. Stevenhagen describes it[37], of "the sort of social relations that sociologists term secondary, determined by interpersonal actions flowing from rational, utilitarian purposes, by functionally directed institutions and by a rather flexible social stratification." People will become aware that the possibility of a worthy human expression by individuals in our present "modern" society came about at the cost of an impoverishment of the so-called conservative or traditional society: its cheap labor force was exploited, its capital funds and professionally trained individuals

were exported by the inhuman push-pull process of profit and loss. And as its citizens stumbled helplessly about, they lost sight of their national purpose and created a culture of poverty. The diffusionist theory that progress spreads out from the cities to the hinterland can hardly be applied to Latin America without doing serious violence to the facts.

In order to understand fully and properly this growing awareness, then, we will have to reopen the pages of Latinamerican history and see how well we are living up to the ideal of independence that inspired our great liberators. Historically, as Germán Arciniegas has declared[38], the Latinamerican revolution for independence started out as an intellectual experiment, but very soon turned into a military one.

This awareness will also lead us to a thorough examination of the Latinamerican man's relation to his world, his present situation and future possibilities. Man will take a responsible place in the world, not only as its master but also as a vital part of it. In that way he will adopt an anthropocentric view of his world, not a mythical or "ontocratic" one as if it were a sacred or ontic thing, mysterious and untouchable, with its own interior "nous," almost threatening to him. The typical Latinamerican fatalism-resignation toward bad luck and death and "the way things are" hint at such a mentality--though Providence has a positive, optimistic face also, richly productive of human activity. And yet, we must respect the ambience that depends on us just as we depend on it (problems of ecology and theo-ecology): the Latinamerican is an individual who enjoys life and revels in his surroundings. What we call creole laziness is indeed at times reluctance to do work, or inertia, or lack of ambition for money and other niceties. But it can also be the result of his

friendly coexistence with his surroundings, his tendency toward contemplation. The Latinamerican befriends and personalizes things (as the gaucho does with the tree in his field) and vital cycles (birth, death). He winces, though, at the "cold" mathematics behind today's mechanization, fearing it as a slavery that would rob him of his dearest possession: his personality, and time for chatting and thinking.

With this fresh awareness, he will recognize the ongoing process of the world's transformation, its evolutive aspect, the possibility of change, and thereby too the reasons for it. He will understand likewise revolutionary changes, i.e., not spontaneous ones produced by evolution, but radical ones, deliberately brought about at key moments in the process of evolution. In any event, Latin America's planning is going to be unique and original, as Dom Helder Camara emphasizes[39].

Oppressive and frustrating situations will incubate and accelerate the revolutionary advance in Latin America, but they will not be its ultimate explanation.

3. Earlier, we defined the revolutionary phenomenon as an ideal of man and his existence, the awareness of which demands, and eventually produces, radical and rapid changes for the people's common good, in their aspirations toward humanization. There is always a demand, though the production of what is held to be ideal is not always possible. Besides, the Latinamerican finds it easier, in general terms, to define, draw up and discuss his plans, to draft complicated juridical outlines, than to put them into practice. So it is that the Latinamerican revolutionary attitude often doesn't get beyond the stage of demand and proclamation, even though we are today approaching, by and large, the execution stage. It would be quite impossible--indeed it would tell the readers of this paper nothing new--to trace out the history or geographic map of the revolutionary movements and undertakings presently existing in Latin America[40].

It is noteworthy, though, as P. L. Geschiere and H. G. Schulte Nordholt have remarked[41], that Latinamerican revolutionaries, including Fidel Castro, all agree in calling the revolutionary process irreversible and irresistible. The notion is implicit in the slogans "Venceremos" and "Hasta la victoria siempre." It may well be that this is the only trait carried over from the original use of the word "revolution" in astronomy, meaning the inevitable motion of the stars.

We have here, not a fatalistic point of view, but a sense of goal, of direction, which compels our certainty even while we work out the intermediate steps. One might even identify the linear interpretation of history proper to Judeo-Christianity as that which belongs also to the revolutionary attitude and theology, i.e., there is an element in the historical process that literally transcends it, thereby giving it a meaning, a direction, a purpose. Latinamerican man personalizes time, as Augustine did. Man creates time, whereas God transcends it. But even as man creates and senses time, he too transcends it and thus can talk fictitiously of a past, present and future.

The revolutionary change, we also said, will be for the common good of the people. In the words of G. Perez Ramirez, the first radical change is to be in man-to-man relationships; changes between men and things come later[42]. If we can bring about a certain human fraternity, we will have fundamentally achieved the people's common good, since what impedes socio-cultural changes--and conversely what facilitates them--are principally the patterns of human behavior, organization and thinking. Revolution does not take place, really, when systems change technically--but only when the individuals who staff the systems change.

Systems are incidental, while human attitudes are of primordial importance. Man and system mutually influence each other: the revolutionary change requires the radical transformation of both.

The notion of revolution as "ideal" makes possible a critical posture toward relative and partial achievements. Absolutizing, setting things up definitively, is the antithesis of what is revolutionary. In that sense, from the Christian, in-the-world point of view (political theology), eschatology is to be seen as the relativizing, and therefore desacralizing, element.

4. If our explanation is correct, then, the following preferences, issuing from a genuine sense of awareness (toma de conciencia), can be accepted as genuinely revolutionary from the Latinamerican's point of view:

a) not so much a progressist program of economic expansion, but rather a change of system, adapting the economy to the personality and values of the Latinamerican man--not vice versa;

b) not so much the "mobilizing of human resources," as the technocratic system does), but rather the creation of a broadly human society;

c) not so much a neutrality, but rather a personal commitment making possible the freest expression of explicit, cogent values in every person[43].

These three preferences or postures, which reverse the logic and value systems contained in, and preached by, the so-called Industrial Revolution or modernization, have implications for:

- ecological change or transition (how preindustrial and post-industrial man relates to his ambience);

- demographic change or transition (how preindustrial and postindustrial man populates: rise in urban density, drop in infant mortality, birth control);
- economic change or transition (how preindustrial and postindustrial man produces, distributes and consumes goods and services);
- cultural, socio-political and psychological change or transition, which apparently evolve multilinearly toward an industrial society with all its values, institutions and schemata[44].

V. It would take a lot of volumes to cover all aspects of the revolution today. Even a semantic discussion on varying usages of the word in different areas of Latin America would be a gigantic undertaking. In general, though, the following can be affirmed:

1. As he gains an understanding (toma de conciencia) of himself and his ideal, Latinamerican man finds that he is out of key with the prevailing system, which indeed is alien to the Latinamerican idiosyncracy and in need therefore of a radical, revolutionary change. The need for change is endogenous (caused by requirements internal to his society) rather than exogenous (based on factors external to it--but frequently in past years imposed on it). It is not our purpose here to assign guilt, but merely to analyze the phenomenon from a particular angle and to venture a few predictions. We Latinamericans tend to depreciate ourselves because we don't really know ourselves: we have a high regard, on the other hand, for Europeans, Asiatics and Northamericans--those foreigners who figure so

prominen ly in our family trees. (This tendency is not found in areas where indigenou s peoples predominate, although even there rivalries, e.g., in Mexico, sometim s crop up between indigenism and hispanism.

2. I evolution is in close relation to Latinamerican man, and should be so underst od. In fact, it is now a commonplace among revolutionaries that the goal of revo ution is to humanize, to enable man, in an irreversible process, to be fully man. Not to be man in some abstract way, however, but with all his values, aspira ions and concrete characteristics intact. As Che Guevara wrote in his Bolivi an diary: "This sort of struggle gives us a chance to make ourselves revol utionaries--that loftiest achievement of the human race--but also to become com lete human individuals"[45].

3. But this presumes a revolution in the methodology of Latinamerican the logical thinking also. Its point of departure must be Latinamerican man; ot erwise we are absurd to talk of a Latinamerican theology. Not simply that the m an involved have been born on Latinamerican soil, though. Theology arises in, t akes shape in, a particular culture: it studies God as found in a given history--in the men who made that history. Those who describe the passage from an essentialist to an existentialist theology maintain that since man is an in-the-world, social being who participates in a community and an ambience, theology is necessarily political, not private, with as one of its basic hypotheses the relativization of all that is not absolute from an eschatological perspective. Anthropology offers scientifically a considerable part of the a posteriori on which theology builds. Anthropology and theology, despite their interrelation, are

distinguished by their different objects, methods and basic suppositions: both have in themselves the criteriological elements to be able to complete themselves discriminatingly. Like God and man, they grasp each other by distinguishing each other.

4. This procedure, far from denying God's salvific initiative,situates it. This situation is essential for the understanding and historical realization of His initiative. A situation within the human possibility and divine initiative can be differentiated, but in fact they require each other.

5. Latin America's contribution to the present revolution is its insistence that the outcome should be that man become more fully man, with the capacity for identifying himself and expressing himself fully. This is a rediscovery of human values that surpass the preindustrial and postindustrial states of society, although a shift in emphasis, a lesser transparency, can be noted. In this sense, then, Latin America is called on to be a leader, protagonizing and giving body to this "human revolution" among the rapid transformations we are witnessing. An encounter with man, not precisely in the materiality of his industry, technology, language or physique, but in the riches of his personality. The man whom Borges, for instance, even though blind and with all the limitations of that shortcoming, seems to have discovered and described so poignantly in his Elogio de una Sombra[46].

6. We don't think that this essay can be criticized, as earlier studies in applied anthropology have been, as traditionalist, conservative and contrary to global programs. We have simply tried, following the lead of as great a Latinamerican scientist as Bonfil Batalla[47], to avoid making the conceptualization of that revolution and progress, imply the destruction of the identity and aspirations of the agent--as happened to the well-intentioned but ill-informed monkey in the fable.

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FOOTNOTES

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3. Dom Helder Câmara, The Church and Colonialism (Dimension, 1969), p. 90.

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25. Cfr. Nos. 115 (1962), 123 (1963), 153 (1966) and 174 (1968).

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32. J. Moltmann, Religion, Revolution and the Future (Scribner, 1969).

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36. Dom Helder Câmara, The Church and Colonialism (Dimension, 1969).

37. H. Stevenhagen, art. cit. p. 103.

38. Germán Arciniegas, "Nuestra América es un Ensayo," Tres Ensayos sobre Nuestra América, p. 17.

39. Dom Helder Câmara, op. cit., pp. 58-59, 112-130.

40. Many magazine or popular articles, sometimes sensationally and superficially, group "revolutionary events in Latin America indiscriminately, despite obvious differences in their importance. Such articles draw a picture of an explosive Latin America, but fail completely to distinguish between completely disparate episodes.

41. Art. cit., n. 2., p. 324.

42. Art. cit., n. 27, p. 128.

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44. Jasper Ingersoll, "Mekong River Basin Development," Anthropological Quarterly (July, 1968), pp. 147-167. The article describes the transition from a traditional society to modernization in one region of Southeast Asia. The same general pattern or model is observable by anthropologists everywhere, even in Latin America, if we allow for certain particular variations, as noted on many pages of this paper.

45. Diary of Che Guevara (Ed. Ramparts, 1968): entry for, August 8.

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47. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "Conservative Thought in Applied Anthropology: A Critique," Human Organization, 25 (1966), pp. 89-92.

"Thanks."