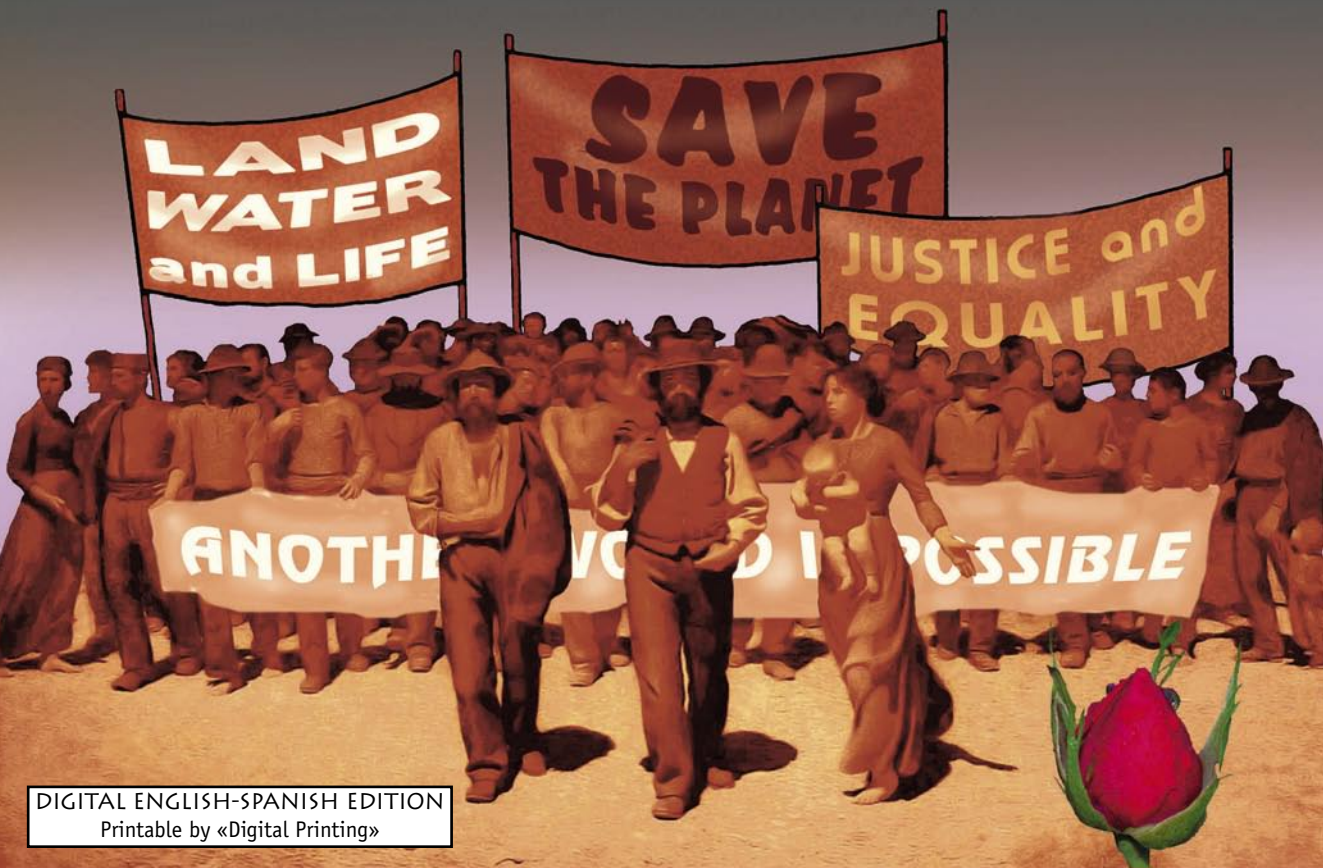


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# LATIN AMERICAN

agenda

2009



DIGITAL ENGLISH-SPANISH EDITION  
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TOWARDS A NEW SOCIALISM  
UTOPIA CONTINUES



**Our Cover:**  
**Towards a New Socialism. Utopia continues**  
**of Maximino Cerezo Barredo**

Hace siglos que la Humanidad viene forjando mediaciones para realizar la política, conflictivamente, tanteando, en experiencias históricas, contradictorias, y a veces hasta inhumanas.

En esta Agenda de 2009 queremos avanzar, con coraje de aventura, preguntándonos sobre la mediación sistémica para una política verdaderamente humana y mundial...

La Utopía está en construcción, somos obreros de la Utopía.

## This year we remind you...

**Continúa aumentando el número de concursos convocados:** Este año son once. Algunos son ya una verdadera tradición, en campos como literatura militante, relaciones de género, ecología, relectura bíblica, teología, compromiso jurídico en favor de los pobres... Estamos abiertos al patrocinio de otros concursos por parte de otras entidades convocantes.

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El **próximo año** enfocaremos la temática de la Agenda desde la perspectiva de la Ecología: no sólo la «ecología del cuidado», sino la «ecología profunda», y de la «ecología urgente»; de ahí la formulación del lema: «¡Salvemos el Planeta!», no sólo frente a la catástrofe, sino frente a su actual alienación.

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# H o l i s t i c   v i s i o n   o f   t h e W o r l d   L a t i n   A m e r i c a n   A g e n d a ' 2 0 0 9

Happy 2009!

Once more—we are 18 already!—with great affection we dedicate the 2009 Agenda to all those who make up our large international family.

As our readers know, our objective is not to produce yet another “agenda,” something to just put on a desk... In our case, the adjective is the true noun: “2009 Latin American.” What is special about our Agenda is it chooses, suggests, and gives an account of where our “Latin American” hope is leading, combining it each year with an urgent topic for teaching and learning. The best signatures of our “spiritual continent” are united on these pages, meeting yearly with all of us who vibrate with the “Great Causes of the Patria Grande,” which is our global homeland.

As we announced in the last edition, Social Utopia is the focal point of this 2009 edition.

The “brotherly introduction” of Pedro Casaldáliga, as always, presents the theme and opens up the Agenda. The list of the most important martyrial anniversaries of 2009, the announcement of

the prizes won in the contests of last year, and the announcement of new (eleven this time!) contests for 2010 complete the introduction to this edition.

Unshakably faithful to the “Latin American Method,” we begin with SEEING reality through the analysis of the current situation by the masterful José Comblin. João Pedro Stédile contributes his perspective, and Eduardo Hoornaert tells us about the historical origins of Utopia.

The section on JUDGING brings together the perspectives of the most qualified specialists to examine the principal questions—classical and new—raised by the challenges of Utopia and “new socialism.”

We next call attention to a few HOT POINTS.

The third section, TAKING ACTION, seeks to focus our entire project on returning to the earth, landing, beginning our work.

The Agenda concludes with its habitual final section: the winning entries in the categories of “Latin American Short Story,” “Neobiblical Pages,” and “Gen-

der Perspectives,” a link with pedagogical resources on the theme, several smaller notices, information on Servicios Koinonia—sponsors of this agenda, and the unforgettable “Points of Encounter” with our readers.

The 2010 Agenda will take up a topic that has been critical for many years, a “holistic ecology” that goes far beyond simple “conservation” of the environment. Several thousand years ago, human civilization broke its communion with the Earth and with Nature, converting them into “objects” of use and abuse, and, in the process, losing a nourishing source of wisdom for our spirituality. This has caused us to destroy our environment and we now are realizing we have nearly reached the point of no return. Our most basic and fundamental cry is “Let’s Save the Planet,” because, unless there is a change, all types of Life will no longer be possible.

We await your commentaries, suggestions, and even criticisms. Thanks, until then.

Fraternally/sororally yours,

José María VIGIL

### **Pedagogical Use of the Agenda**

In addition to personal use, this Agenda is designed to be a pedagogical instrument for communicators, public educators, pastoral agents, group leaders, and activists...

The texts are always brief and agile, presented under the pedagogical concept of one page, formatted such that they can be directly photocopied and distributed as “work material” in schools, group meetings, adult literacy programs, or on literature tables. They can also be published in the bulletins of organizations or in local magazines.

The format of the texts is dictated by an “economic” criterion which possibly sacrifices aesthetics in the form of white spaces and illustrations in favor of a greater volume of message. This also allows us to keep a low price so the Agenda is more accessible.

### **Ecumenicism**

This agenda is dictated by a “total ecumenicism,” not a “remainder ecumenicism.” Because of this, we do not eliminate what is only Catholic or only Protestant, but we unite the two. Thus, in the list of the Saints, the Protestant and Catholic commemorations have both been included. When they do not coincide, the

Protestant commemoration is in cursive. For example, the Apostle Peter is celebrated by the Catholic Church on February 22 (“the Chair of Peter”), and for the Protestant Churches on January 18 (“the Confession of Peter”); the differences can be distinguished typographically.

Kindly, the Lutheran Bishop Kent Mahler, in an earlier version of the Agenda, presented us with the “Protestant Saints.”

The Agenda is aconfessional, and, above all, “macroecumenical.” The world of common references, beliefs, values, and utopias among peoples and men and women of good will—which Christians call “the Reign”—is shared by all who are partners in this humble, serving, brotherly, and sisterly search.

### **A Non-Profit Work**

In many countries, this Agenda is edited by popular and non-profit organizations that use the money received from the sale of the agenda to support their work for popular service and solidarity. These centers ensure the non-profit character of each edition.

In all cases, the Latin American Agenda, in its central coordination, is also a non-profit initiative. It was born and developed without help from any

agency. The money generated by the Agenda, after adequately compensating the authors who write in its pages, is dedicated to works of popular alternative communication and international solidarity.

Servicios Koinonia, permanently maintained, constantly improved, and freely accessible around the world, the “Tiempo Axial” Collection, and some of the prizes financed by the Agenda are the most well-known.

### **A Collective Agenda**

This is a collective work. Because of this, it has gotten to where it is today. We continue to gladly receive suggestions, materials, texts, documents, and new bibliographic material as we enter into the process of creating the 2010 Agenda.

We welcome and will make a space in these pages for those entities that want to offer their service to the Continent by sponsoring a prize or contest to stimulate whatever aspect of our continental consciousness.

In this way, it will continue being a “collective work, a community patrimony, an annual anthology of the memory and hope of our spiritual Continent.”

*By way of friendly introduction*

# TOWARDS A NEW SOCIALISM

## UTOPIA CONTINUES

Our Agenda was born and continues to journey under the light and stimulus of Utopia. It twists and turns with time, but it is unwaveringly linked to our commitment to an integral and complete humanism.

Every year, the Agenda has had a central theme. Specialists reflect on and approach the theme from different angles. The themes have been grand and ambitious: intercultural dialogue, the media, democracy, politics, the indigenous world, migration, external debt, and our *Patria Grande* ...I say they are grand topics because they encompass peoples and nations, our Continent and the Third World, solidarity with the First World and the transformation of international institutions.

Last year's theme was another grand theme, urgent and conflictive: we considered the politics that have died or that need to die. We then proposed another politics based on justice, equality, and dignity, diverse in its concrete expressions but authentically global in the face of the perverse globalization of neoliberal capitalism.

For centuries, humanity has created ways of doing politics—conflictively and fumblingly—in concrete historical experiences. Sometimes these ways are contradictory and even inhumane.

Logically, talking about politics meant talking about citizenship, co-responsible participation, systems, governments, and political parties. In this 2009 Agenda, with a trembling spirit of adventure, we ask ourselves how we can create a systemic approach that leads to a truly humane and global politics.

Today the emperor has no clothes. The Third World, above all, has bitterly experienced the iniquity of this homicidal and ecocidal system: a capitalism that has become neoliberal and global. Mário Soares suggests that “the neoliberal system is showing clear signals of exhaustion and incapacity: a new economic world order is required.” With indignation and nostalgia, attached to so many dreams and struggles, and responding to the disfigured dignity of the majority of our human race, we turn again to socialism: a new socialism, as the title of the Agenda prays. Obviously we are not trying to repeat experiments that—too many times—have culminated in deception, violence, dictatorship, poverty, and death. We do not want to “look back with anger” and we do not want to return to models that have been surpassed. We try to revise, learn from the past, update our strategies, and avoid becoming complacent. In doing so, we seek to live, here and now, locally and globally, the ever new Utopia.

The subtitle of the Agenda categorically proclaims that Utopia continues on, that it is not a chimera but a challenge. Thus, we ask how we are doing with Utopia. Preoccupied by the daily construction of politics as the art of the possible, have we lost sight of what seems impossible but yet is truly necessary? Do we have to content ourselves with electing somewhat leftist governments and continue, submissive and defeated, under the same right-wing capitalist system? What has happened to the old capitalist-socialist disjunctive? (Of course plenty of people say that the times of left and right have now passed. To which the satirist responds: “Just because there isn't a left and a right anymore doesn't mean that there's no up or down.” Cervantes would say “the haves and the have-nots.”) Is socialism still possible? Or are we too late? Isn't Utopia still just as necessary as “our daily bread”?

But which socialism or socialisms? We advocate a new socialism. One that corresponds to the newness of radicalized democracy—universal and encompassing the economic, social, and cultural realms. “No longer will there be socialism,” states Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “but socialisms. They will share the common understanding that the definition of socialism is democracy without end.”

The Agenda asks us: what changes have we experienced as a result of the lessons history has taught us? What attitudes and actions should we take today for a militant socialism? Nobody is born a socialist; socialists are made, personally and communally. There are basic referential values that are the foundations of the new socialism: human dignity, social equality, liberty, co-responsibility, participation, the right to food, health, education, housing, work, and a healthy environment, and the desabso-lutization of private property because of the recognition that it is part of a greater “social mortgage.”

“No socialist structure,” insists Frei Betto, “can produce, by mechanical operation, people of generous character and willing to share. Rather, a pedagogy must be adopted that is capable of permanently promoting this moral development; this pedagogy must be capable of making socialism the political name for love.” It is a voluntarist illusion,” warns Wladimir Pomar, “to establish rigid forms for the necessary transformations and for the radicalization of democracy...These, the transformations, depend on many factors that transcend our simple desires and they demand time and sweat. Without a clear vision in respect to each socialism, we run the risk of descending into either chaotic democratism or authoritarianism.” Clearly, a socialism that deserves the name rejects, by definition, all dictatorship and imperialism; it also rejects any democracy that is merely formal.

Agustí de Semir emphasizes that “given the failures of democracy, there are many who place themselves outside of the system and speak about working in networks. They begin their struggle from another point of departure, with social forums, land occupations, the welcoming of migrants, the creation of alternative media, etc. Working in networks means working in a horizontal but coordinated way, growing from below and in a decentralized manner, strengthening local control and direct action.”

“Socialism,” affirms Paul Singer, “signifies an economy organized in such a manner that all people or groups of people enjoy access to credit to acquire the means of production that permit them to engage in the activities of their choosing.”

Socialist François Houtart proposes four principles/objectives for a new socialism:

- Priority on using natural resources in a renewable manner
- The predominance of the value of use rather than the value of exchange
- Democratic participation in all sectors of collective life
- Interculturality

Utopia continues on, despite its many challenges, scandalously outdated in this hour of pragmatism, of production at all costs, of chastened postmodernity. The Utopia of which we speak we share with the millions who have preceded us—giving even their blood—and with the millions who today live and struggle and march and sing. This Utopia is being constructed: we are the artisans of Utopia. We proclaim it and we make it happen: it is the grace of God and our achievement. With this “utopian agenda” in our hands and in our hearts, we want to “give a reason for our hope.” We announce and we intend to live—with humility and passion—a coherent, creative, and subversively transformative hope.



# ANIVERSARIOS MAYORES DE 2009

## MARTIROLOGIO LATINOAMERICANO

### 1969: 40 años

- 26.5: Enrique Pereira Neto, sacerdote, 28 años, mártir de la justicia en Recife, Brasil.  
13.11: Indalecio Oliveira Da Rosa, sacerdote, 33 años, mártir de los movimientos de liberación uruguayos.

### 1974: 35 años

- 21.1: Mártires campesinos de la masacre de Alto Valle, Bolivia.  
20.2: Domingo Laín, sacerdote mártir de las luchas de liberación, Colombia.  
11.5: Carlos Mugica, sacerdote, mártir del pueblo de las «villas miseria» en Argentina. Antes de morir dijo a una enfermera: “ahora, más que nunca, voy a estar junto al pueblo”. [www.carlosmugica.com.ar](http://www.carlosmugica.com.ar)  
25.10: Antonio Llidó Mengua, sacerdote diocesano español, detenido y desaparecido por la dictadura de Pinochet, Santiago de Chile. [www.memoriaviva.com/Desaparecidos/D-L/antonio\\_llido\\_mengual.htm](http://www.memoriaviva.com/Desaparecidos/D-L/antonio_llido_mengual.htm)  
10.8: Tito de Alencar, dominico, torturado hasta el suicidio, Brasil.  
26.9: Lázaro Condo y Cristóbal Pajuña, campesinos mártires del pueblo ecuatoriano, líderes cristianos de sus comunidades en lucha por la reforma agraria, asesinados en Riobamba, Ecuador.  
30.9: Carlos Prats, general chileno, y su esposa, testigos de la democracia, en Chile. Asesinados en Argentina. Comenzaba la operación Cóndor, ideada por Pinochet, coordinando a militares chilenos, argentinos, uruguayos, brasileños, bolivianos y paraguayos.  
1.11: Florinda Soriano, «Doña Tingó», campesina analfabeta, dirigente de la Federación de las Ligas Agrarias Cristianas, mártir del pueblo dominicano.  
23.11: Amilcar Oviedo D., líder obrero, Paraguay.

### 1979: 30 años

- 2.1: Francisco Jentel, defensor de los indios y campesinos, víctima de la Seguridad Nacional en Brasil.  
20.1: Octavio Ortiz, sacerdote, y 4 estudiantes y catequistas: asesinados por la policía y el ejército durante un encuentro religioso, El Salvador  
4.2: Benjamín Didincué, líder indígena mártir por la defensa de la tierra en Colombia.  
4.2: Masacre de Cromotex, Lima (Perú). 6 obreros muertos y decenas de heridos.  
6.4: Hugo Echegaray, 39 años, teólogo de la liberación,

sacerdote peruano, totalmente dedicado a los pobres.

- 2.5: Luis Alfonso Velázquez, niño de 10 años, mártir de la dictadura somocista, Nicaragua.  
31.5: Teodoro Martínez, campesino mártir en Nicaragua.  
9.6: Juan Morán, sacerdote mexicano, mártir en defensa de los indígenas mazahuas.  
20.6: Rafael Palacios, sacerdote, mártir de las comunidades de base salvadoreñas.  
1.8: Masacre de Chota, Perú.  
4.8: Alirio Napoleón Macías, sacerdote mártir en El Salvador, ametrallado sobre el altar, mientras celebraba la eucaristía.  
1.9: Jesús Jiménez, campesino, Delegado de la Palabra, mártir de la Buena Noticia a los pobres en El Salvador, asesinado.  
20.9: Apolinar Serrano, «Polín», José López «Chepe», Félix García Grande y Patricia Puertas, «Ticha», campesinos y dirigentes sindicales, El Salvador.  
27.9: Guido León dos Santos, héroe de la clase obrera, muerto por la represión policial en Minas Gerais, Brasil.  
30.10: Santo Dias da Silva, líder sindical, 37 años, metalúrgico, militante de la pastoral obrera, mártir de los obreros brasileños.  
1.11: Masacre de Todos los Santos, en La Paz, Bolivia.  
18.12: Masacre de los campesinos de Ondores, Perú.  
18.12: Masacre de campesinos en El Porvenir, Opico, El Salvador.  
27.12: Angelo Pereira Xavier, cacique de la nación Pankararé, en Brasil, muerto en la lucha de su pueblo por la tierra.

### 1984: 25 años

- 7.5: Idalia López, catequista, de 18 años, testigo de la fe y servidora humilde de su pueblo, El Salvador. Asesinada por miembros de la defensa civil.  
21.6: Sergio Ortiz, seminarista, mártir de la persecución a la Iglesia en Guatemala.  
14.8: Mártires campesinos de Pucayacu, departamento de Ayacucho, Perú.  
15.8: Luis Rosales, líder sindical, y compañeros, mártires de la lucha por la justicia entre los obreros bananeros de Costa Rica.  
4.9: Andrés Jarlán, sacerdote misionero francés, muerto por una bala disparada por policías mientras leía la

- Biblia en la población La Victoria, Santiago de Chile.
- 10.9: Policarpo Chem, delegado de la Palabra de Dios, catequista y fundador de la cooperativa de San Cristóbal, Verapaz, Guatemala, secuestrado y torturado por las fuerzas del gobierno.
- 10.11: Alvaro Ulcué Chocué, sacerdote indígena páez, asesinado en Santander, Colombia.
- 26.11: Mártires campesinos de Chapi y Lucmahuaycco, Perú.
- 16.12: Eloy Ferreira da Silva, líder sindical, en San Francisco, MG, Brasil

### 1989: 20 años

- 13.2: Alejandra Bravo, médica mexicana, cuatro enfermeras y cinco heridos salvadoreños, asesinados en un hospital de campaña en Chalatenango, El Salvador.
- 28.2: Teresita Ramírez, religiosa de la Compañía de María, asesinada en Cristales, Colombia.
- 28.2: Miguel Angel Benítez, sacerdote, Colombia.
- 18.3: Neftalí Liceta, sacerdote, y Amparo Escobedo, religiosa, y compañeros, testigos del Dios de la Vida entre los pobres de Perú.
- 23.3: María Gómez, maestra y catequista, mártir del servicio a su pueblo Simití, en Colombia.
- 5.5: María Cristina Gómez, militante de la Iglesia Bautista, mártir de la lucha de las mujeres salvadoreñas.
- 15.4: Madeleine Lagadec, enfermera francesa en El Salvador, torturada y asesinada juntamente con los salvadoreños María Cristina Hernández, enfermera, Celia Díaz, educadora, el lisiado de guerra Carlos Gómez y el médico argentino Gustavo Isla Casares.
- 21.4: Juan Sisay, militante de la vida, mártir de la fe y del arte popular en Santiago de Atitlán, Guatemala.
- 8.5: Nicolás van Kleef, sacerdote vicentino, panameño de origen holandés, asesinado por un militar en la comunidad de Santa María, Chiriquí, Panamá.
- 1.6: Sergio Restrepo, jesuita, mártir de la promoción humana y la liberación de los campesinos de Tierralta, Colombia.
- 6.6: Pedro Hernández y compañeros, líderes indígenas, mártires del reclamo de la propia tierra en México.
- 15.6: Teodoro Santos Mejía, sacerdote, Perú.
- 13.7: Natividad Quispe, anciana indígena de 90 años, Perú.
- 9.8: Daniel Espitia Madera, campesino luchador del pueblo colombiano, asesinado.
- 12.9: Valdicio Barbosa dos Santos, sindicalista rural de Pedro Canario (ES), Brasil.
- 23.9: Henry Bello Ovalle, militante, mártir de la soli-

- dadidad con la juventud de su barrio, en Bogotá, Colombia.
- 2.10: Jesús Emilio Jaramillo, obispo de Arauca, Colombia, mártir de la paz y del servicio.
- 8.10: Muere Penny Lernoux, periodista estadounidense, defensora de los pobres de América Latina.
- 25.10: Jorge Párraga, pastor evangélico, y compañeros, mártires de la causa de los pobres, Perú.
- 29.10: Masacre de los Pescadores de El Amparo, Venezuela.
- 31.10: Mártires de la Federación Nacional de Sindicatos de Trabajadores Salvadoreños, FENASTRAS, en la ciudad de San Salvador, El Salvador.
- 16.11: Ignacio Ellacuría y compañeros: Segundo Montes, Ignacio Martín Baró, Amando López, Juan Moreno y Joaquín López, jesuitas, profetas de la liberación de su pueblo; y sus dos empleadas domésticas, Julia Elba y Celina. En la UCA de San Salvador.
- 23.12: Gabriel Félix R. Maire, sacerdote francés, asesinado en Vitoria, Brasil por su opción por los pobres.

### 1994: 15 años

- 2.1: Daniel Arrollano, militante de la vida, evocador constante de la memoria de los mártires de su pueblo argentino.
- 2.5: Sebastián Larrosa, estudiante campesino, mártir de la solidaridad y la justicia entre los pobres de Paraguay.
- 30.5: María Cervellona Correa, franciscana misionera de María, paraguaya, defensora de los indígenas mby'a y profeta de la denuncia en su tierra.
- 28.8: Es asesinado en Puerto Príncipe Jean-Marie Vincent, montfortiano, opositor de la dictadura de Duvalier, activista de desarrollo comunitario de cooperativas, derechos humanos.
- 19.12: Alfonso Stessel, 65, sacerdote de origen belga es asesinado en una colonia marginal de Guatemala por una «mara» en conexión con órganos de seguridad del Estado.

### 1999: 10 años

- 3.8: Tí Jan, sacerdote comprometido con la causa de los pobres, asesinado en Puerto Príncipe, Haití.
- 27.8: Fallece Helder Câmara, hermano de los pobres, profeta de la paz y la esperanza.
- 18.11: Iñigo Eguiluz Tellería, cooperante vasco, y José Luis Maso, sacerdote de la diócesis de Quibdó, asesinados el 18 de noviembre de 1999 en el río Atrato, en Quibdó, Chocó, Colombia.

# Premios otorgados en los certámenes...

• El **Primer Premio** del Concurso de **Páginas Neobíblicas**, dotado con 500 euros, ha sido concedido a la Reverenda **Beatriz CASAL** (ines@fquh.cu), pastora y teóloga, de La Habana, Cuba, por su página neobiblica «Una cubana llamada Rut», actualización del libro de Rut. Publicamos en esta edición el texto ganador. Véase la pág. 232.

Una amplia antología de «Páginas Neobíblicas» (ya acercándonos al centenar) recibidas para el concurso en éste y otros años, continúa siendo publicada como una sección de los Servicios Koinonía: [servicioskoinonia.org/neobiblicas](http://servicioskoinonia.org/neobiblicas)

Convocamos la XIVª edición de este Concurso en esta Agenda Latinoamericana'2009. Vea la pág. 17.

• El Premio de **Cuento Corto Latinoamericano** (500 euros) lo ha ganado el cuento «Esperanza subversiva», de **Marco Antonio CORTÉS FERNÁNDEZ** (subgusyver@yahoo.com.mx), de Medellín de Bravo, Veracruz, México. Lo publicamos en esta misma edición de la Agenda (pág. 230).

El jurado ha otorgado también un «accésit» (100 euros) al cuento «El pueblo sin nombre», de **Jeackson Antonio VARGAS BENÍTEZ**, de San Salvador.

Convocamos para el año que viene la XVª edición del Concurso. Véase la pág. 17.

Una amplia antología de «Cuentos cortos latinoamericanos» -ya más de sesenta-, no sólo los ganadores, sino los mejores de entre todos los que se presentan a concurso, está siendo puesta en línea como una sección de los Servicios Koinonía, con los mejores cuentos recibidos en todos estos años. Aquí: <http://servicioskoinonia.org/cuentoscortos>

• El jurado del Concurso de Género sobre el tema «**Equidad de género y participación política**», patrocinado por el Centro de Comunicación y Educación CANTERA, de Managua, Nicaragua, ha otorgado un primer premio, de 300 US\$, a **Paulina Andrea VÁSQUEZ**, de Quito, Ecuador ([vasquezpaulina@hotmail.com](mailto:vasquezpaulina@hotmail.com)), por su trabajo «El poder en lo cotidiano» (lo publicamos en la

página 234), y un segundo premio a «La revolución del hogar y la participación política de las mujeres», de **Juan Carlos ARCE**, de Nicaragua ([camposley@hotmail.com](mailto:camposley@hotmail.com)), con 200 dólares.

Con las mismas bases bajo un nuevo enfoque, queda convocado el certamen para el año que viene, con el tema de «Nuevas relaciones de género... nuevas relaciones de poder». Véase la pág. 17.

• El Certamen de **Novedades Ecoteológicas**, convocado por el grupo de investigación «Ecoteología» de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá, ha quedado desierto. Con nuevo tema y con las mismas bases, queda convocado para 2010. Véase la pág. 20.

• En el Certamen «**Emergencia ecológica planetaria y misión cristiana**», el jurado ha declarado desierto el premio. Con las mismas bases, la misma dotación (mil euros) y la misma temática, el Instituto Missio de Aquisgrán y la Agenda Latinoamericana convocan la VIIIª edición del Certamen. Véase la pág. 19.

• En el certamen convocado por el **Colectivo Ronda de Abogados de Barcelona**, sobre «La lucha por los derechos de las mujeres», el Jurado ha concedido el premio, de mil quinientos euros, al **Centro de Defensa da Criança e do Adolescente, CEDECA**, de Belém (Pará), Brasil, como reconocimiento a los proyectos duros y difíciles que lleva a cabo para evitar la explotación y los abusos que sufren las mujeres y menores en defensa de sus derechos en la Amazônia Paraense, destacando al mismo tiempo el nivel de organización que ha desarrollado para la realización de tales proyectos.

El concurso es convocado para el próximo año, en su VIIª edición, con nueva temática. Véase la pág. 18.

• La **Revista Alternativas** y la **Fundación Verapaz** ha otorgado el **Premio Antonio Montesinos**, en su XIIIª edición, a **Pedro CASALDÁLIGA cmf**, en honor a los méritos de toda una vida consagrada al servicio de la Buena

Vea estos premios, concedidos a quienes concursaron en los certámenes convocados por la Agenda de 2008, en:

<http://latinoamericana.org/2009/premios>

Vea las convocatorias para el año 2009-2010 en: <http://latinoamericana.org/2009/convocatorias>

Noticia dada a los pobres de América Latina, como prolongación del gesto profético de Antonio Montesinos en defensa de la dignidad humana. Véase la pág. 15.

Recordamos que para este Premio se puede presentar a candidatos para la consideración del Jurado; véase la convocatoria, renovada para su XIVª edición, en la página 17.

- En el concurso **Independencia y Unión**, convocado por el Grupo de Reflexión «Converses a sa serena» ha resultado ganador **Elder GONCALVES**, de Caracas, sociólogo, por su trabajo «Independencia, soberanía y unión desde la ciencia y la tecnología. Retos para América Latina». El premio está dotado con 500 euros.

Con un nuevo tema, y con mayor dotación, el premio es convocado para 2010. Véase la pág. 16.


- El concurso sobre **Agua y saneamiento en América Latina**, para microvideo, convocado por la Fundación ECODES (ecodes.org) ha declarado ganador al microvideo titulado «Agüita», de **Rubén GUTIÉRREZ**, del Colectivo Samka Sawuri, g\_ruben777@hotmail.com, con un premio de 500 euros. Felicitaciones.

Con una nueva temática, es convocado de nuevo para este próximo año. Véase la pág. 21.

- Llamamos la atención de nuestros lectores hacia la convocatoria de dos nuevos concursos, sobre la «**difusión de los principios del Decrecimiento**», convocado por la **Comissió Agenda Latinoamericana**, de Girona (véase la pág. 21), y el convocado por **Redes de Solidaridad**, de Puerto Rico. Véase la pág. 16.

De un año a otro, algunas de las convocatorias de estos concursos de la Agenda Latinoamericana pueden estar siendo publicitadas en las «sedes virtuales» de las instituciones convocantes antes de que aparezca la Agenda en papel...

**FELICITACIONES** a todos los premiados, y nuestro **AGRADECIMIENTO** a todos los que han participado. Les esperamos un año más...

Cada año, los premios de los concursos de la Agenda latinoamericana se publican en la edición siguiente, y también, el primero de noviembre, en su sede virtual: <http://latinoamericana.org> 

La Revista «**ALTERNATIVAS**»  
y la Fundación **VERAPAZ**,  
de Managua, Nicaragua, otorgan el

«**PREMIO ANTONIO MONTESINOS  
al gesto profético en defensa de  
la dignidad humana**»,  
en su XIIIª edición, a:

**Pedro CASALDÁLIGA cmf**  
obispo emérito de  
**São Félix do Araguaia, Mato Grosso, Brasil**

El homenajeado en esta edición del **Premio Antonio Montesinos** no necesita nuestra presentación sobre esta página. Invitamos más bien a los lectores a seguir cualquiera de estas pistas:

- **Página de Pedro Casaldáliga**  
[servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga](http://servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga)
- **Obras de Pedro Casaldáliga**  
[servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga/obras](http://servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga/obras)  
(aquí mismo pueden recogerse las obras que están digitalizadas y disponibles).
- **Página de la Prelatura de São Félix:**  
[www.prelaziasaofelixdoaraguaia.org.br](http://www.prelaziasaofelixdoaraguaia.org.br)
- **Libros:**  
**VARIOS**, Pedro Casaldáliga. *Las Causas que dan sentido a su vida. Retrato de una personalidad*, Nueva Utopía, Madrid 2008, 390 páginas.  
**Francesc ESCRIBANO**, *Descalzo sobre la tierra roja. Vida del obispo Pedro Casaldáliga*, Editorial Península, Barcelona 2005, 198 páginas.
- Y por cierto: no deje de consultar **Google** (más de 60.000 referencias) y **YouTube** (más de 20 videos).

## CONCURSO: «SOÑANDO CON LA UTOPIA»

*¡Tan sólo hay un problema, sólo un problema, en todo el mundo!  
Devolver a los hombres un significado espiritual, inquietudes espirituales.  
Hacer que caiga sobre ellos una lluvia que se asemeje a un canto gregoriano.  
Antoine de Saint-Exupéry*

### IIª Edición

«El Cielo en la tierra». ¿Utopía?

*Cierra los ojos...*

y déjate llevar por la imaginación. Por un momento desaparecen de la tierra todas las guerras... Todos los seres humanos pueden ir de un lugar a otro, sin que nadie les ponga ninguna dificultad... ni por el color de su piel, ni por su credo religioso, ni por problemas de género, ni de orientación sexual... La gente ha olvidado las ofensas y los odios, las envidias, los enfrentamientos sociales... Se vive en armonía con el medio ambiente...

Todos están contentos con lo que tienen, y no desean otras cosas, porque tienen todo lo necesario: la felicidad absoluta, el mundo utópico.

*Abre los ojos...*

y te encuentras con la triste realidad de cada día: guerras, luchas, odios, explotación, hambre...

Y piensas: ¿qué podría hacer yo para conseguir la utopía? ¿A qué estaría yo dispuesto a renunciar, de lo que ahora tengo, para conseguirla? ¿Por dónde empezar? ¿Cuáles son las urgencias?

¿Podremos algún día concentrarnos a debatir lo importante porque hemos solucionado las urgencias?

Y con los pies en el suelo podemos pensar:

¿Cómo lo haremos para coger el camino que nos conduzca en dirección a la Utopía?

¿Hará falta empezar por mi entorno, o será mejor planificar a nivel mundial?

¿Tendremos que confiar en políticos profesionales, o será mejor que con la participación e imaginación de todos, confiemos la dirección a políticos de vocación?

Evidentemente, cambiar el mundo no es tarea fácil. Es posible que ante el ingente trabajo que queda por hacer, uno renuncie antes de empezar. Pero no nos desanimemos. Hagamos todo lo que podamos y sigamos «soñando con la UTOPIA».

**Extensión:** entre 5 y 8 páginas, ó 10.000 y 16.000 pulsaciones (caracteres más espacios).

**Género:** libre.

**Idioma:** se puede utilizar cualquier idioma siempre que se incluya una traducción a una de las lenguas siguientes: catalán, castellano, portugués, italiano o inglés.

**Primer premio:** 800 euros. El jurado podrá otorgar uno o dos premios más, de 200 euros.

**Enviar** antes del 31 de marzo de 2009 a: [conversescanserena@yahoo.es](mailto:conversescanserena@yahoo.es) y a [agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org)

**Convoca:** Grupo de reflexión «Converses a sa serena» (Conversaciones al sereno) y la Agenda Latinoamericana.

### Premio Mons. Antulio Parrilla Bonilla, «Las Casas del siglo XX en Puerto Rico»

El día 3 de enero de 2009, el mismo día del Grito de Coayuco, de Agüeybaná el Bravo, se cumplen 15 años del fallecimiento de Mons. Antulio Parrilla Bonilla... el llamado «Las Casas del siglo XX en Puerto Rico»...

«REDES, Redes de Esperanza y Solidaridad» (antiguo «Guerra contra el hambre»), organismo de la diócesis de Caguas, Puerto Rico, convoca a historiadores, pastoralistas, teólogos... y también a todos los que lo conocieron, a colaborar en el rescate de su figura, aportando documentación, testimonios, estudios... en cualquier género.

Se invita a participar especialmente a los puertorriqueños, del interior y del exterior.

El premio está dotado con 500 dólares y un diploma de REDES. Se otorgará un certificado a los participantes.

Enviar antes del 31 de marzo de 2009 a: [redes@prmail.net](mailto:redes@prmail.net) y a [agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org)

## Concurso de «Páginas Neobíblicas», XIVª edición

La **Agenda Latinoamericana** convoca la XIVª edición del Concurso de «Páginas neobíblicas»:

1. Temática: tomando pie en alguna figura, situación o mensaje bíblico, sea del Primero o del Segundo Testamento, los concursantes intentarán una «relectura» desde la actual situación latinoamericana o mundial.
2. Los textos no deberán exceder de 9000 pulsaciones. En castellano o portugués o catalán, en prosa o poesía, teniendo en cuenta que, supuesta una calidad

básica en la forma, lo que se premia es el contenido, el acierto y la creatividad en la «relectura» de la página bíblica escogida.

3. Los trabajos habrán de llegar antes del 31 de marzo de 2009 a: [agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org)
4. Premio: 500 euros y su publicación en la Agenda'2010. Será hecho público el 1 de noviembre de 2009 en <http://latinoamericana.org/2010/premios>

## Concurso «Género y compromiso político», XIVª edición

El **Centro de Comunicación y Educación Popular CANTERA** y la Agenda Latinoamericana convocan la XIVª edición de su concurso «Perspectiva de género en el desarrollo social». Las bases son:

1. La cuestión de género, ¿es un sueño de cambio de relaciones entre mujeres y hombres, o busca un cambio de sistema desde la perspectiva de género? Tema propuesto: «Nuevas relaciones de género... nuevas relaciones de poder». En estilo de ensayo.

2. Extensión e idioma: Máximo de mil palabras, ó 6000 pulsaciones. En castellano, portugués, o en otros idiomas adjuntando una traducción al castellano.

3. Los trabajos habrán de llegar antes del 15 de marzo del año 2009 a: Cantera, Apdo. A-52, Managua, Nicaragua, [cantera@ibw.com.ni](mailto:cantera@ibw.com.ni), tel.: (505)-277.53.29
4. El texto ganador será premiado con 500 US\$. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, pero podrá también conceder uno o varios accésits de 100 US\$.

## Premio Antonio Montesinos al gesto profético en defensa de la dignidad humana, XIVª edición

La **Revista «Alternativas»** y la **Fundación Verapaz** convocan esta XIVª edición del «Premio Antonio Montesinos al gesto profético en defensa de la dignidad humana en América Latina». Bases:

1. Se quiere significar con esta distinción a la comunidad, grupo humano o persona cuya defensa de los derechos humanos actualice mejor hoy el gesto profético de Antonio Montesinos en *La Española* cuando se enfrentó a la violencia de la conquista con su grito «Estos, ¿no son seres humanos?».

2. Cualquier grupo, persona o comunidad puede presentar candidatos a este premio, razonando los motivos y acompañándolos con firmas si lo cree oportuno, antes del 15 de abril de 2009, a: Fundación Verapaz / Apdo. P-177 / Managua / Nicaragua / tel.: (505)-265.06.95 / [revista\\_alternativas@hotmail.com](mailto:revista_alternativas@hotmail.com)

3. El jurado admitirá a concurso tanto acciones puntuales, cuanto trabajos duraderos o actitudes proféticas mantenidas a lo largo de largo tiempo.
4. Premio: 500 US\$. Podrá ser declarado desierto.

## Concurso de «Cuento Corto Latinoamericano», XVª edición

La **Agenda Latinoamericana** convoca esta decimoquinta edición del Concurso, con las siguientes bases:

1. Puede concursar toda persona que sintonice con las Causas de la Patria Grande.
2. Extensión e idioma: máximo de 18.000 pulsaciones. En castellano o portugués.
3. Temática: el cuento debe tratar de iluminar, desde su propio carácter literario, la actual coyuntura espiritual de América Latina: sus utopías, dificultades, motivaciones para la esperanza, alternativas, la interpreta-

ción de esta hora histórica...

4. Los textos deberán llegar antes del 31 de marzo de 2009 a: [agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org)
5. El cuento ganador será premiado con 500 euros, y será publicado en la Agenda Latinoamericana'2010 (en unos 18 países). El fallo del jurado será hecho público el 1 de noviembre de 2009 en <http://latinoamericana.org/2010/premios>
6. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, pero también podrá conceder accésits de 100 euros.

# LA PROTECCIÓN DEL MEDIO AMBIENTE EL CRECIMIENTO SOSTENIBLE

El *Col·lectiu Ronda*, de Barcelona, como asesoría jurídica laboral económica y social al servicio de las clases populares, viene convocando este premio desde 2003. Este año 2009 convoca una nueva edición, el séptimo Premio, sobre una temática hasta ahora no abordada, y con carácter monográfico: *la defensa jurídica de los pobres y de la naturaleza*.

Desde el mundo rico desarrollado no se pretende, en general, cambiar el sistema de producción que genera tantos beneficios a unos pocos y que ha dañado y sigue perjudicando tanto el medio ambiente. Como máximo, se intenta paliar los daños que se producen, con unas políticas de lavado de imagen.

En el mundo pobre y en vías de desarrollo la mayoría de las políticas de crecimiento copian el sistema imperante en los países desarrollados y de economía con ánimo de lucro para los pocos que detentan el poder económico. Se producen así nuevas agresiones al medio ambiente y se deterioran, marginan o eliminan, las formas de producción autóctonas, lo que afecta especialmente a las economías más pobres.

Por ello *la protección jurídica de los pobres en el marco de un sistema productivo sostenible y respetuoso con la naturaleza* aparece como una necesidad imperiosa.

Precisamente el premio para el año 2009 se dirige a las iniciativas o proyectos que se estén desarrollando en América Latina y que impulsen la defensa jurídica de los pobres y de la naturaleza como un derecho irrenunciable y un patrimonio a conservar para las generaciones futuras aunando *el grito de los pobres y de la Tierra*. Por eso, el Colectivo Ronda de Abogados,

## CONVOCA:

a las entidades que se especializan en este tipo de defensa jurídica de los pobres a participar en un concurso, con las siguientes

## BASES:

**Informe** a presentar: se pide un informe claro, concreto y preciso, y no demasiado extenso, sobre la experiencia, el contexto jurídico de la sociedad en la que se inscribe, las actividades realizadas, la evaluación de los resultados obtenidos.

**Idioma:** castellano, portugués o catalán; o cualquier otro en el que se publica la Agenda acompañando traducción a cualquiera de los citados.

**Envío y plazo:** Deberá ser enviado, antes del 31 de marzo de 2009, a: [agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org) y a [jpujol@cronda.coop](mailto:jpujol@cronda.coop)

**Premio:** 1500 (mil quinientos) euros, más su publicación en la Red. Podrá ser declarado desierto, y también ser concedido algún accésit.

CERTAMEN  
AGENDA/MISSIO INSTITUT  
VIIIª EDICIÓN

# EMERGENCIA ECOLÓGICA PLANETARIA Y MISIÓN CRISTIANA

## Planteamiento

Desde hace varios decenios la ecología ha ido haciéndose presente más y más en la conciencia de la Humanidad. Y también en la conciencia de la teología, aunque menos de lo que hubiera sido deseable. Pero el enfoque que ha dominado hasta ahora ha estado centrado en el «cuidado» de la naturaleza «al servicio del ser humano»...

La actual visión de la «ecología profunda» postula un cambio radical: abandonar el antropocentrismo y la visión utilitaria de la naturaleza en función del ser humano. La nueva perspectiva es el biocentrismo, desde el que el ser humano es percibido objetivamente como una parte de la red, un miembro de la comunidad vital, donde todo forma un único sistema vital y en el que nadie está en el centro.

El año 2007 ha significado un cambio importante respecto a nuestro conocimiento ecológico. El Panel Intergubernamental sobre el Cambio Climático (PICC) dejó establecido definitivamente que el ser humano es el causante de la acelerada degradación del Planeta, y que estamos ante la inminencia de una catástrofe ecológica irreversible.

*¿Por qué todas estas realidades no tienen una presencia mínima dentro del mensaje y de la vida de los cristianos? ¿A qué obedece esta «ceguera ecológica» del cristianismo? ¿Cuáles son sus raíces bíblicas? Si la vida misma y el planeta están grave e inminentemente amenazadas de destrucción, ¿qué valor tiene un mensaje cristiano que no introduce a la ecología como una perspectiva fundamental? ¿Qué nuevas tareas teológicas aparecen? ¿Cómo queda desafiada la misión cristiana ante esta emergencia ecológica planetaria?*

La **Agenda Latinoamericana**, en la octava edición de este certamen, **CONVOCA** a los teólogos y teólogas, y les invitan a elaborar teológicamente esta temática, sobre las siguientes

## Bases:

-Pueden participar teólogos/as de cualquier país y de cualquier confesión o religión. Se valorará especialmente la participación de las teólogas, aunque sin discriminación de género hacia los teólogos.

-Extensión mínima: 15 páginas (30.000 pulsaciones).

-Los trabajos, que han de ser inéditos y originales, serán presentados en castellano, portugués o catalán, pero se puede participar en cualquier otra lengua siempre que se adjunte una traducción a una de éstas.

-Entrega: antes del 31 de marzo de 2009, por correo-e, a la **Agenda Latinoamericana** ([agenda@latinoamericana.org](mailto:agenda@latinoamericana.org)), con copia a [raul.fornet@mwi-aachen.org](mailto:raul.fornet@mwi-aachen.org)

-El premio, patrocinado por el **MWI, Missionswissenschaftliches Institut** de Aachen (Alemania), consistirá en 1.000 (mil) euros, más la publicación del texto en papel o telemáticamente.

-Al participar, los concursantes otorgan a los convocantes el derecho a publicar adicionalmente los textos ganadores, en cualquier medio, tanto de papel como telemático.



# CONCURSO DE IMAGINARIOS ECOTEOLÓGICOS APORTES PARA UN NUEVO SOCIALISMO

Vª Edición

El equipo de investigación «ECOTEOLÓGÍA», de la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá, Colombia) **CONVOCA** al concurso «IMAGINARIOS ECOTEOLÓGICOS: APORTES PARA UN NUEVO SOCIALISMO», cuyas bases son:

1. **Participantes:** El certamen tiene un enfoque macro-ecuménico, por tanto pueden participar, sin ningún tipo de restricción, todas las personas, comunidades e instituciones que sintonicen con las Causas de la Patria Grande.

2. **Temática:** Los trabajos serán clasificados en dos modalidades: a) Aquellos que socializan experiencias reales de prácticas novedosas de organización social, inspiradas en imaginarios ecoteológicos por ejemplo, a nivel de educación ambiental, agroecología, ecoturismo, la pastoral ecológica, etc. b) Aquellos que sueñan y diseñan una nueva manera de sociedad a través de lenguajes alternativos (narraciones, poesías, canciones, entre otros), en los que se expliciten contenidos ecoteológicos que ayuden a vislumbrar horizontes y utopías creativas, a partir de un socialismo que propicie la justicia, la paz y la armonía con toda la Creación.

3. **Componentes:** Cada trabajo, deberá presentarse a través de un texto descriptivo o narrativo, e incluir, fundamentalmente, una reflexión ecoteológica (nuevas imágenes de Dios, resignificaciones doctrinales, reorientación de prácticas religiosas que brotan del replanteamiento de las relaciones entre seres humanos entre sí y el resto de la Creación) con el fin de propiciar el diseño e implementación de políticas ecoambientales. Además, el texto debe explicar las motivaciones, logros, retos, desaciertos, surgidos desde la experiencia expuesta (modalidad a) y las utopías, sueños, innovaciones, transformaciones que se constituyen en novedad para el pensamiento ecoteológico y la política ecoambiental (modalidad b). La extensión máxima para el documento completo es de 10 páginas (20.000 caracteres), en castellano o portugués (Si el trabajo está en otro idioma debe incluirse una traducción al castellano). También es viable anexar otro tipo de materiales impresos, fotográficos, audiovisuales, informáticos... que contribuyan a precisar el enfoque ecoteológico del trabajo.

4. **Plazo y envío:** Los textos deberán llegar antes del 31 de marzo del 2009 a [ecoteologia@gmail.com](mailto:ecoteologia@gmail.com) con copia a [acaceres@javeriana.edu.co](mailto:acaceres@javeriana.edu.co) o a la Carrera 5, n° 39-00, piso 2 Edificio Arrupe, «Equipo Ecoteología», Facultad de Teología, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C., Colombia.

5. **Premio y publicación:** El texto ganador en cada modalidad será premiado con 100 US\$ y un paquete de materiales ecopedagógicos. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, así como conceder uno o varios accésits. Así mismo, los mejores trabajos serán divulgados a través de la página de la Universidad Javeriana, desde el enlace de Ecoteología. La Agenda Latinoamericana Mundial definirá si publica total o parcialmente aquellos trabajos que mejor contribuyan a impulsar el diálogo entre ecología y teología en nuestro *Oikos*: la Creación. □

## PREMIO A LA DIFUSIÓN DE LOS PRINCIPIOS DEL «DECRECIMIENTO»

La «Comisión Agenda Latinoamericana», de Girona, Cataluña, España,

**C O N V O C A** este concurso, con las siguientes bases:

- Temática:** El «decrecimiento», como alternativa al «crecimiento ilimitado» (véase la página 154 de esta Agenda).
- Contenido y formato:** Se premiará a la persona, comunidad o entidad que, mediante trabajos escritos, organización de cursos o conferencias, trabajos de investigación, realización de material audiovisual, creación de material pedagógico para adultos o escolares, ejecución de acciones directas, etc., haga una mejor difusión de los principios del «decrecimiento».
- Plazo y envío:** Los trabajos o memorias de los actos organizados tendrán que llegar antes del 31 de marzo del 2009 a: Comisión Agenda Latinoamericana, calle Santa Eugènia 17, 17005-Girona, España. Tel.: + 34 - 972 219916. Correo-e: [llatinoamericana@solidaries.org](mailto:llatinoamericana@solidaries.org)
- Idioma:** en cualquiera de los idiomas en que es publicada esta Agenda: catalán, castellano, portugués, inglés o italiano.
- Premio:** 500 euros. El jurado lo podrá declarar desierto, pero también podrá conceder uno o más accésits de 100 euros. La decisión del jurado se hará pública el 1 de noviembre de 2009 en: [latinoamericana.org/2010/premios](http://latinoamericana.org/2010/premios)

## CONCURSO SOBRE «¡SALVEMOS EL PLANETA!» PARA MICROVIDEO

IIª Edición

**ECODES**, Fundación Ecología y el Desarrollo, y la Agenda Latinoamericana,

**C O N V O C A N** este concurso, con las siguientes bases:

- Objetivo:** concienciar sobre la urgencia del problema ecológico en su dimensión planetaria, y sobre la incapacidad de nuestra sociedad para modificar su estilo de vida depredador ante la inminencia de un «punto de no retorno» en el camino hacia la destrucción de la vida.
- Formato:** los trabajos han de venir en sencillos videos caseros, elaborados con simples teléfonos móviles (o cámaras fotográficas que incluyen prestación de video), pudiendo estar elaborados posteriormente en el computador, pero sin medios profesionales.
- Dimensiones:** hasta una duración máxima de 1 minuto, y hasta 10 Mb de peso.
- Idioma:** Se puede utilizar cualquier idioma de aquellos en los que es publicada la agenda: catalán, castellano, portugués, inglés e italiano.
- Presentación de trabajos:** los videos deben ser enviados, antes del 31 de marzo de 2009, a: [concursoagenda2008@gmail.com](mailto:concursoagenda2008@gmail.com) indicando en el asunto: «Concurso microvideo». Se adjuntará un texto con el nombre del autor/autores, el correo-e, la dirección postal, el título del video y una descripción del trabajo en un máximo de tres líneas.
- Primer premio:** 500 euros.
- Publicación:** los mejores trabajos serán expuestos y disponibilizados gratuitamente en la red; la participación en el concurso implica la cesión de derechos de autor sobre los videos.

# THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM

**JOSÉ COMBLIN**

João Pessoa PB, Brazil

Various theories of socialism appeared in the 19th century. Their authors seemed to have a very clear concept of it. Marx was the least definitive, as far as the method of arriving at socialism. In a general way, the basic idea was that the property of the bourgeoisie, the means of production, was to be given to the workers. The means of production were the factories with the machines.

The path was the nationalization of the factories so that the means of production were given to the workers. There were variants, but this was the basic idea. That way, the exploitation of the workers would end, and they would be able to direct production in the most advantageous way for all the society. This idea was at the base of the Paris Commune of 1871, but the Commune was overcome by conservative forces and bloodily repressed. Thousands of workers were shot. In the 19th century, socialism was revolutionary because it completely changed class relations in society. At that time, the object of the revolution indeed was the transformation of class relations.

In the 20th century, socialism divided between revolutionary and reformist wings. This was during the Second International and the revolutionary Third International. Neither revolutionary socialism nor reformist socialism wanted to hand over the economy to the workers. In the union called Soviet, the Soviets lasted hardly a few months. There was no time to establish an organization that could direct production. Then came Stalin. He nationalized the entire economy, land and industry, commerce and transport. Everything was centralized and directed by a state bureaucracy. The same model was established in the countries that adopted Russian style communism. In this conception, socialism means property in the hands of the State and direction of the economy by the State.

The Russian model fell at the end of the decade of the '80s and left the memory of a model of property concentrated in the hands of the State. Since it was abandoned by the elite leadership of Russia, who adopted the capitalist model, the revolutionary socialist model was left very much discredited. The model still exists in Cuba, in spite of the problems caused by the transformation of the Soviet world. Even so, the Cuban

regime has had to make concessions to capitalism, mainly in tourism. In Asia and Africa, regimes exist that still call themselves socialist, but they practice an exacerbated capitalism inside of a dictatorial state. The only country faithful to the communist revolution is North Korea.

In the 8th decade of the 20th century, the hypercapitalism of the neoliberal model triumphed. The invasion was a tsunami. Neoliberalism conquered the elite classes of almost the whole world and almost all the mass media. It conquered the universities and it dominated almost all the governments called democratic... It was adopted by almost all economists. It was adopted also by the parties that still call themselves socialist or social democratic. Lionel Jospin, the most recent socialist prime minister of France, did not dare to pronounce the word "worker" any longer. In Brazil, Social Democrat Fernando Henrique Cardoso practiced the most pure form of neoliberalism.

With these circumstances, socialism was totally discredited. Until the year 2000, no intellectual even dared to pronounce the word "socialism." They would have been considered a troglodyte.

Starting in 2000, great international protests began to be organized in the places where the seven leaders of the world-wide economy met. In 2001, the first of the World Social Forums took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Now, tens of thousands of activists and intellectuals from around the world meet to express their rejection of the dominant neoliberal model. Criticism is beginning to emerge publicly. The mass media tries to avoid speaking of the subject, but it is not possible for the criticisms to be ignored. Criticism appears also from high-level civil servants or former civil servants of the great world-wide institutions that have themselves imposed neoliberalism—the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO...

Many publications have begun to comment on "post-capitalism" or "post-neoliberalism." They point out all of the unfortunate consequences of the neoliberalism that had promised development for all: growth of social inequalities, wage adjustment, growth of unemployment, increase of the informal economy, political pressure against social laws, slum growth in

the great cities, etc. There has been great economic development, but only a few have benefited.

On the other hand, the word “socialism” continues to be a taboo word even among those most critical of the neoliberal system... Why this resistance?

First of all, nowadays the question that Lenin posed—“is socialism possible in a single country?”—is scarier than it was long ago. Lenin already had committed himself, left the shore, placed his bet on the possibility. Nevertheless, in the midterm, the ideological pressure of capitalism was so strong that the Soviet Union’s own leaders stopped believing in socialism.

The first socialists had the certainty that a socialist society would create a stronger economy than that of capitalism. This did not occur because capitalism retains all the human and financial resources so as to develop indefinitely. Fewer resources are kept for the workers. A socialist regime places more attention on the workers and has fewer resources to win in unchecked competition, unlike those regimes which dominate society today. The same Soviet Union had to renege on socialism and practice state capitalism, and even so, was not able to keep up with the pace of the USA.

A more and more important part of the world-wide economy belongs to the great transnational corporations. These work with components that come from many different countries. To nationalize a factory that makes some isolated component would not bring any advantage, because that factory would not sell anything. National governments depend on the multinationals which dominate agriculture, industry, commerce, the mass media, and transportation. Only a world-wide institution could impose conditions on the multinationals.

Countries depend more and more on world-wide markets. An isolated socialist country has to endure important restrictions. In Cuba, it was possible to achieve it because at the time of the revolution almost a million Cubans, all the bourgeoisie, fled to Miami. They thought that they were going to be able to return quickly, expecting the regime of Fidel Castro to fall in a short time. He did not fall, and they still are in Miami. The absence of all that upper class meant that a forceful opposition movement within the country was never articulated. It would be difficult for something similar to happen again.

Still, no country exists with a participatory democracy, no country of Soviets. For this reason, it is difficult to make minimally concrete forecasts.

For all that and many other considerations, it would be very difficult to say what socialism would mean. Therefore, many pull ahead to a “post-capitalism,” without saying what it would consist of.

Many consider socialism a government in which pensions, free health services, free education within reach of the poorest, a popular housing program, systems of cheap transportation financed by the municipality, decent wages etc., are realized. All these have already been accomplished by social democracy, that is to say, by a reformist policy. All of this also is fought by neoliberalism, which considers it an obstacle to the promotion of productivity and free competition.

Opponents of neoliberalism fight against the hollowing out of those social laws that come from social democratic reforms. They are more on the defensive than on the offensive. It happens that those social laws never were approved in the USA, which wants to impose its model on all countries. It is a socialism on the defensive.

A more participatory economy would demand world-wide agreements with a world-wide authority in charge of their application. Meanwhile, the United States exerts an almost total domination of the world-wide economy and is never going to tolerate measures that can create obligations on its companies. We are looking forward to the next period, when the power of the USA will be balanced by other powers. Even in that case, the USA could initiate a new cold war.

In light of these difficulties, Fidel Castro always repeats that he does not have advice or direction to give and that he does not have a prescription for other countries.

In Latin America, the last attempt at classic socialism, according to the socialist scholars, was the government of Salvador Allende in Chile. It will never be known if this regime was sustainable or not. In any case, the opposition by the bourgeoisie was so strong that it got a military coup to end the experience. The conclusion was that socialism would not be possible without the collaboration or consensus of the Armed Forces. In the Latin American countries that experienced some (limited) social transformations—Peru and Ecuador—the militaries that occupied power were more nationalistic than in other countries. The role of the Armed Forces is predominant in Latin America. In Africa it is stronger yet. And in Asia it is decisive as well.

For that reason, it is no wonder that socialism reappears in the sphere of power in Venezuela, thanks

to a military man. A civilian never could do what Hugo Chávez is doing. The army would not permit it. With Chávez the word “socialism” reappears in the political world. It has emerged from the very miniscule minorities in which it was confined for almost thirty years. Chávez proclaims himself a socialist and affirms that he wants to install a socialist society.

Nevertheless, socialism is not the main element of his ideology. The dominant word of his ideology is Bolivarianism. He has given the name “Bolivarian” republic to the country, not “socialist.”

Bolivarianism is traditional Latin American nationalism, conscious that its main enemy is the United States. Bolivarianism tries to organize a Latin American community, or at least a South American one, independent of the USA. Domestic politics takes as its priorities popular education, public health, housing, and agrarian reform. These are the priorities of social democratic reformism.

Chávez’ greatest battle was regaining control over petroleum, the great national resource that was in the hands of a corrupt administration. Bolivarianism did not touch the banks, industries, and mass media that remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Except for land, private property was not touched. In this respect, socialism remains projected towards the future.

The impatient wanted socialism to stop just being a promise. They wanted action now. So far this is not spoken of. Chávez is constructing a popular society parallel to the capitalist society that it maintains. Even so, it confronts a radical opposition. But, with petroleum resources, it can make many social advancements that improve the condition of the masses. He does not need to socialize the property of the banks, of industry, or of mass media. The people do not wish so much. Their expectations are more limited. But the Bolivarianism of Chávez has opened the doors to the socialist imagination.

Neither Evo Morales in Bolivia nor Rafael Correa in Ecuador have adopted socialist language. They announce a radical transformation of society, but the actual transformations do not go beyond reformism. Both recovered control over petroleum and gas. In this, they are nationalistic.

Lula in Brazil and Néstor Kirchner in Argentina have achieved high levels of popularity without resorting to the word “socialism.” They know that today’s excluded masses do not enter into the socialist imagination.

But this imagination is becoming visible again. The subject of class warfare does not stand out. Of course, the return to Marxism has still not taken place. The new socialism is more of a utopian type, pre-Marxist. It is the announcement of a society of equals, of participation by all, an economy at the service of the people, of a developed popular education that embraces all citizens. Like the systems at the beginning of the 19th century, socialism is first of all a social ethic. It does not offer a model of a new society, with a new economy, new politics, and new education. Everything follows as if the objective conditions that will make feasible this new society do not yet exist. This socialism is humanism. But it does not offer revolution.

Consciously or unconsciously, all remember the story of socialism in Russia. When Bolsheviks took the power, they did not know what to do with that power. They lost view of the masses as subjects of the revolution. They established a model of forced modernization directed by the State. They created an immense bureaucracy that did not have any idea what socialism could be. But the Soviet Union’s Communist Party tried to control the socialist imagination. It presented itself as the fulfillment of socialism, which discredited the socialist imagination for great sectors of the population, preventing its development in the new popular groups. The result was that many parties maintained the adjective of “Socialist” while ending up being ultra-capitalist in their program and their political behavior. The imagination had been confined to some very restricted circles.

Stimulated by Hugo Chávez, the socialist imagination reappears, although still in a very moderate way.

This imagination is inspired more by the figure of Che Guevara than by the figure of Lenin. In this it can be noted that there is a Latin American tradition of an ideal figure. More than the ideology, what attracts is the hero, Che. He represents a humanist socialism—pure, demanding, and radical. It could be a Christian humanism, if he were not atheist. Socialism would be a society of brothers and sisters who share everything, are austere, but unwavering on principles: a heroic society, represented so well by the death of the hero. Che is a pure revolutionary, who does not make any concessions to capitalism. He is so pure that he dies in the fight for the world-wide revolution. Those that do not view themselves as socialists even adopt Che as the ideal image of a human being. He occupies the place

characteristic of the saints of Christianity. The renewal of the socialist imagination could not fail to also begin a new growth of the ideal of Che.

The socialist imagination is going to prosper again. The ominous consequences of neoliberalism manifest themselves with increasingly more virulence. International financial institutions—the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO—are more and more discredited. The prestige of the USA never was so low. The criminal disaster in Iraq, the policy of extermination of the Palestinian people on the part of Israel, etc., are causing the USA to become more and more isolated. A new, rising public opinion feels indignant over the policies of George W. Bush.

In the face of this situation, socialism appears as anti-Bush or anti-neoliberalism, the only alternative. Certainly, the socialist imagination is going to grow. Nevertheless, it will be difficult to give substance to this socialism. What would be the economic alternative to the present world situation? What would be a socialist alternative nowadays? Looking at the powers of the future—China and India—we remain perplexed. Both countries went through socialist phases, or, at least, a socialist discussion. But the real content of what they have given to socialism worries us a little. Will the future of humanity be Chinese society or Indian society? It is clear that their role will be determinative by the end of this century. What should we think of this perspective?

Could Latin America be an alternative? Could it offer another version of socialism? I do not know what to say.

What will be the position of the Church in this respect? Benedict XVI already has made strong critiques of the dominant global system. Until now, it has remained at a very general level and it has not motivated Catholics to join social transformation movements.

The Latin American Bishop's Conference's document from their recent assembly at Aparecida proclaims very enthusiastic support for the democratic systems that were installed after the fall of military governments. That enthusiasm for democracy is still a little suspicious. It comes at the moment in which criticisms multiply as to the way so-called Latin American democracy works. The suspicion increases when the document makes critical remarks about the Government of Venezuela and those which follow the same path. It does not cite Venezuela, but the text is clear.

However, the Church hierarchy was at the head of coup that wanted to depose President Chávez, who was elected in accordance with the rules of the established democracy. The cardinal was first in recognizing the head of the rebels as the new president. And the Papal Nuncio was in support. Suspicion increases when it is known that the Venezuelan hierarchy said nothing about the immense corruption of the government of Carlos Andrés Pérez and those before him. The Church hierarchy supports corrupt democracy, but not when those elected do not please to them.

In Bolivia and Ecuador, the hierarchy seems more reserved but does not show support for the causes at hand. In Bolivia, it is the native people who are struggling. In Ecuador, for the first time, a democratically elected government was freed from the grip of the oligarchy that brought ruin to the country and forced a third of the population to emigrate to the USA and Europe.

In those countries, a great part of the clergy and religious also strongly support the opposition, taking the side of the large land owners and the most corrupt members of the society.

At the moment I am writing, the Paraguayan elections still have not happened. The popular candidate, Lugo, is a former bishop. The hierarchy of Paraguay does not seem to be very excited. On the other hand, the other candidates do not inspire anyone with confidence. If, by a miracle, Lugo wins, it is impossible to expect that he is going to have strong support from the official Church.

Confronted with strong movements of opposition to neoliberal system, the Church has remained very low key. It has not participated in the world-wide Social Forums which occurred in Brazil and Venezuela. This silence on the social doctrine of the Church—denounced more than 10 years by Father Calvez, who was not any extremist—still continues.

In Chile, since the fall of Pinochet, the "Agreement" between Christian Democrats and socialist parties has remained faithful to the most orthodox expression of neoliberalism. And the majority of Catholics support parties of the right, more neoliberal still. It is true that the Chilean Church has been controlled by the nuncio Angelo Sodano. A great part of the somnolence of Latin American Church is due to him. We will have to wait to see what the papacy of Benedict XVI will bring.

# THE CURRENT SITUATION OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

JOÃO PEDRO STÉDILE

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During the middle of the 19th century, Marx, Engels, and other working class thinkers exposed—through philosophy, sociology, history, and economics—the perverse nature of capitalism as it actually functioned. They described in detail the laws that governed this mode of production. They denounced this mode of organizing production in society because it is based on the exploitation of the labor of those who produce everything of value. Capital commercializes everything. From this base, it exploits labor and continues to accumulate wealth at an increasing rate.

But they also discovered that this mode of organizing society also brought with it insurmountable contradictions. Goods are produced by the majority (those that live from their work), but their benefits are only enjoyed by a few (capitalists). Because of this, capitalist societies produce more and more poor people and fewer and fewer rich people (including millionaires).

They foresaw that we should create a new method of organizing production, a method in which workers would be the owners and beneficiaries of their own work. They called this “socialism,” since at its base was the “socialization” of all created wealth such that it would provide for the needs of the entire society.

They also insisted that this transition from capitalism to socialism would not be accomplished by the will of an idealistic, intellectual, or friendly guide. Rather, it would only be possible if the workers organized, fought, and won the changes themselves. This is the origin of the slogan: “The emancipation of workers will only be possible as a result of their own organization!”

Many decades passed. Many class struggles occurred. There were many attempts at creating socialism. There were social revolutions that were admired by humanity for their scope and generosity, including the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions.

Many of these failed. There is ample analysis concerning the causes of these failures. Perhaps we could summarize the main lesson learned by saying that, in the majority of these countries, capitalists were replaced by the State. They succeeded in creating universal access to education, housing, health, and employment, but, in practice, the workers still were not constructing socialism as a society in which wealth and power

belonged to everyone. They did not succeed in ensuring that this socialization was truly **democratic**.

When workers as a class failed in their historical experiences, capitalism was not stalled, but, instead, advanced even further.

In the past 20 years, capitalism reached a **new phase**: the predominance of internationalized financial capital over the entire economy and over every country. Today—according to the experts—only 500 transnational companies control more than 60% of the world’s wealth but they only provide employment for 5% of the world’s population. Among these companies, the largest control wealth greater than the national economies of more than half of the countries in the world.

Now capitalism is under the control of the banks. Capital has become international. It has its centers in developed countries and from here it controls production, labor, and commerce throughout the entire world. Because of this, capital breaks down laws and national sovereignty. It imposes its own rules. It uses international organizations, replacing governments and countries. Today, the UN, FAO, WTO, ILO, World Bank, IMF, and the multilateral free trade agreements are just instruments to give even greater freedom of action to this international capital. For this reason it is called “neoliberal.” That is, it demands a new and greater freedom for the circulation of capital throughout the entire world.

But, just as the classic thinkers had warned, all these forms of exploitation of capital bring **contradictions** with them. These are contrary effects that cause this system to be denounced and to elevate the level of consciousness of the exploited over their exploiters.

Capitalism has conquered the world, including old Russia and populous China. Capital controls governments, borders, everything! Nevertheless, its richness also generates huge contradictions, evermore disturbing. It is becoming increasingly clear that capitalism is incompatible with the conservation of natural resources—which are finite—with the environment, with the resources that we have on the planet with which we survive. By transforming everything into merchandise—plants, seeds, water, rivers, genes, culture, habits, knowledge—it exploits everyone and everything. It puts our very survival at risk.

The predominance of financial capital prioritizes the accumulation of wealth in circulation, every time further removed from work. Because of this, **it does not generate employment**. Every year 5 million factory workers lose their jobs throughout the world. Millions of people emigrate from their countries in search of survival. Capital has left our planet to fend for itself. But the consequences are now beginning to appear at a rapid rate. In global warming, in pollution, in the lack of water, food, employment, and housing...

In the heart of the empire, the economy of the United States **is beginning to rust**. The monster is beginning to cough. It will bring many victims down with it. The reaction of capitalist logic, in every crisis, is always to appeal to a **military solution**. Lenin, Bukharin, and Rosa Luxemburg explained to us that, since war destroys merchandise (arms, ammunition, real estate, human work, human beings...), capital uses this tactic to open up space for a new period of expansion of capital. This is what is now happening in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Iran, Korea, Kosovo, Somalia, Haiti, Kenya, and Colombia.

Today there are lessons that were not so clear in the 19th and 20th centuries. Workers are learning that the form of exploitation of capital and the domination of capital is more and more internationalized. They realize that this is being done with the same methods throughout the globe. Now workers will have to **fight and mobilize at the international level** in order to confront their common enemy. Before, exploitation was basically experienced in the factory. Today, since exploitation is centered in the sphere of circulation, capital exploits everyone, charging absurd interest rates, paid even by the poor person who buys an electric iron on installment. The people are exploited through having to pay the value-added tax that is placed on all merchandise. The State collects it and passes it to the banks, like a payment of an internal pseudo-debt, invisible and unpayable. The peripheral countries spend about 15-30% of their public budget on interest payments for their internal and external debt, which is administered by the banks.

Capital—with its transnational companies—charges exorbitant rates for electricity, cellular fetishes, the necessary consumption of water, and public transportation. Now it is not just the industrial worker who is exploited; all the popular classes are exploited, including those who lack work. Because of this, the objective conditions are ripe for the people to realize the reality of the

exploitation of financial capital and the subordination of governments to these policies.

But, if the exploitation of capital and its accumulation are advancing in the entire world, without limits, the same is not happening, unhappily, with the conscience and capacity of organizing the people. We still live in a long period of the defeat of the working classes. The world hegemony of capital provokes a convergence of adverse forces. These cause discouragement, apathy, and hopelessness. It is as if the people have perceived the size of the monster and have become frightened, frozen, unable to react.

But a **new wave of mobilization** will come with new generations, and now, with new lessons learned. In the past, we believed that the way to reach socialism was simply to follow a party. Or else that it was sufficient to take over the government by force. We have learned that people have to organize themselves in every possible manner—in the neighborhoods, schools, factories, rural communities, churches, and unions. The party is only one instrument. Its job is to debate and articulate projects for society. But popular organizations must involve themselves in every sphere of life.

We have also discovered that it **is insufficient to elect governments**. Changing society—socialism—does not just consist in taking control of the government, in controlling the State. Socialism means deep structural changes in the very functioning of society. It means changing the owners of mass media; it means ensuring workers receive a just salary. Changes so that we overcome all types of discrimination and prejudice among ourselves, related to the color of our skin (pseudo-races because there are no races among human beings), gender, age, cultural, religious, and sexual differences... Socialism is a political regime in which the people actually have decision-making power.

Socialism means reorganizing our production in order to attend to the basic needs of ALL the people. It signifies a society that directs a large part of its time to culture, so that all people have the opportunity to cultivate art, in its innumerable forms. It signifies that the State will be at the service of the interests of the majority, in order to be successively transformed and eventually, one day, disappear.

All of this seems distant, but globalized capital is shortening the path. Believe me, in the next few years there will be huge changes in humanity. New winds are beginning to blow.

# A «FUNCTIONAL UTOPIA»

## CHRISTIANITY AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY

**EDUARDO HOORNAERT**

Lauro de Freitas, BA, Brazil

The similarity between Primitive Christianity and utopian socialism was highlighted by various communist intellectuals prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917. In 1908, after the death of Friedrich Engels (1895), the German author Karl Kautsky (1854-1938)—the most important theoretician of the German Social Democracy—wrote a book about “Christian Origins.” The conclusion of that much pondered study is today accepted by the majority of scholars: that Christianity from its origins was a “socialist utopia” turned toward the working classes (slaves, emancipated slaves, artisans, merchants).

The churches however do not accept with ease Kautsky’s conclusions, because they enter into confrontation with the way in which Christianity is organized today, with its hierarchical structure and its corporate (business) character. In the future, much will depend on the sincerity that Christians will have—or not have—to look face to face at their own origins, and the energy that they will find—or not—to change the course of contemporary Christianity. It will certainly be a hard job, since it is difficult to accept that the church has, in fundamental aspects, turned from the path delineated by Jesus. Even more difficult will be to correct the roadmap delineated (by the church) for centuries now.

Something that might be of help is knowing the concrete actions of Christians of the first generations, which have much similarity with what today some Christian groups do in our communities. In general, to evoke the origins of Christianity is strange to the majority of Christians. Catholics, for example, used to seeing the head of their church, the Pope—occupying a palace like all the dignitaries of the world and identifying with them in his way of speech and of presenting himself—will have a difficult time imagining the origins of Christianity. It is strange to read that the men and women of the first Christian generations habitually opened their homes to those that traveled from the inlands looking for work in Rome or other metropolises of the empire such as Alexandria or Antioch and that they would risk their lives to care for the ill during times of epidemics.

In a Latin American Agenda (calendar) that focuses on the proximity between the Socialist dream and the Christian dream, it is worthwhile to focus on some examples of daily life from within the depths of Christianity, at the end of the first century, seventy years after the death of Jesus. The action of these Christians can be called “a functional utopia” since it effectively formed human communities that were fraternal and just. These miniscule Christian actions, in the outer fringes of the social body of those days, apparently did not change the course of history. However, they gave vigor to a structure that later, to our sorrow, went in a different direction and began to dream of power, status, and the honor of social positions. The praxis of those Christian communities should not be mistaken with dependency, as it was not the rich giving a hand out to the poor; it was the poor themselves who were helping each other mutually, and gave each other a hand. Thus we speak of “beneficiaries” within a circularity of services: today’s beneficiaries are quickly called to become the benefactors when they choose to participate in Christian groups.

Ernst Bloch, the German author of *The Principle of Hope*, a communist himself, classified the Christianity that emerged at the turn of the first century, and also much later, as one of the most impressive examples of “A Functional Utopia.” This is a very valuable affirmation, since Bloch was not Christian nor was he sympathetic to the church. With his evaluation, Bloch brought to life a story that was not told by historians of that time (Tacitus or Suetonius), because historians were not aware of what happened at the grassroots of society. Daily life was also absent from church history because it preferred to focus on questions of internal structural organization. Here, we will evoke just a few examples because otherwise the topic would be rather long. The Communal Cash Box. Saint Paul, around the year 50, recommended that, on the first day of the week (Sunday), all the coins left over from the weekly expenses planned for the family should be set aside in a jar. These coins were for the poor, the widows, the orphans, the sick, and the disabled who were financially supported by the local Christian nucleus or center (1

Cor 16:2). Paul himself would gather the money to take to the poor of Jerusalem's Christian Center in the year 49. In his Apology (67: 5-6), Justin described in detail how the Christians of Rome practiced this in the midst of the second century. There is mention, in the Apostolic Tradition written in 218, of organized meals, especially for the poor. These practices must have lasted for centuries. By the fourth century, when the emperor Julian wanted to correct the policies of his predecessor Constantine (who was the protector of Christianity) and tried to restore paganism as the official religion of the empire, he recommended that the local authorities continue the Christian model and that they create places for social assistance and lodging. This shows the deep penetration of Christianity in popular culture.

**Foreigners.** The Christian centers were active in the assistance to persons without Roman citizenship, called foreigners or "paroikoi" (people without land, without citizenship, without a recognized social position; this is where the term "parish" comes from). These foreigners were given a sense of belonging, of dignity, and of social identity. The foreigner would feel at home in the Christian centers.

**Widows and Orphans.** A social group that was particularly benefited was that of widows and orphans. The care of these people was part of the inheritance of the synagogue; this was maintained throughout the centuries in an impressive structure of shelter for widows and orphans. This was so impressive that the emperor Julian wrote in the fourth century: "One does not see one single Jew begging in the streets." The great difference between Jewish and Christian charity was in its reach. While the synagogues cared for the needs of their community only, the Christian centers attended to everyone within their reach. The letter attributed to James, circulated in Syria toward the end of the first century, defined the religion in the following way: "To visit orphans and widows and aid with their needs and to keep oneself clean of the corruption of this world" (James 1:27). In Roman society, widows were numerous and young. The Christian centers gave them identity. For example, in a letter of Bishop Dionysius of Rome, dated in 251, he related how that church sustained "more than 1500 widows and homeless."

**The Dead.** Another area of Christian action was that of burial of the dead. Yet again the Emperor Julian informs us about the persistence of this service into the fourth century. The cemeteries of Rome, Alexandria,

and Antioch continue to be visited and constitute to this day some of the most visible evidence of the vitality of the Christian movement of the time.

**The Persecuted.** Those that were arrested by the authorities and interrogated and yet did not renounce their faith were highly esteemed and praised. They had a seat of honor in the meeting place. It was not strange to suffer imprisonment and to have property confiscated by the imperial authorities. The memory of those that died without renouncing their faith is forever recorded: "Persons that suffered because of the name of the Son of God." Their names remain today in the lists of martyrs.

**The Liberation of Slaves.** A social service highly appreciated by slaves and emancipated people was the paying of fees for the liberation of prisoners of war, who had been reduced to slavery. The term given to that practice of rescue which was maintained for centuries, was "redemption of captives," or simply "redemption." During the Middle Ages, there were religious congregations specifically dedicated to the rescue of slaves (especially from Muslim captivity). The keeping of slaves by those who would buy them from "barbarians" was a custom tolerated by the Roman jurists. Christianity did not tolerate that form of abuse; the Christian Centers did all that was possible to promote "redemption." This brought great sympathy toward Christians. Clement the Roman wrote around the year 100: "We know many among us that turn themselves over to chains (of slavery) to liberate others. Not a few give (sell) themselves as slaves and with the price of the sale, they feed others."

**Epidemic Diseases.** The action of the Christian centers was exceptional and it was felt during times of epidemic diseases that generally came along with endemic outbreak of hunger. Eusebius related how the Christians were the only ones to visit, help, and bury the victims of a plague that extended throughout the city of Alexandria in 259, during which many people died. On that occasion, according to Eusebius, the people would leave the sick out on the street for fear of getting contaminated. But Christians would bring them into their homes. This was again repeated during 305 and 313, during a plague that was followed by great hunger. This behavior by the Christians gained general admiration. Eusebius stated: "The facts speak for themselves. All exalt the God of the Christians and admit that they are the only ones that are truly religious."

# WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

## SOCIALISM IS THE JOURNEY OF THE PEOPLE

Socialism—we can call it something else if the name is repugnant or puts us off—is the journey of people who desire their liberation and organize themselves in order to get it. “Desiring liberation” is easy to say, but it is laborious because it contemplates and combines complex practices. By liberating ourselves, we come to personal integration, and, in this way, we radiate self-esteem. Self-esteem is what enables us to relate to each other as neighbors in a shared endeavor. Self-esteem is learning to love ourselves with others and for others. Shared endeavors, where everyone is enriched and grows personally, cannot be achieved, cannot even be imagined, without self-esteem. Self-esteem is evangelical, and for this reason, human, in the degree to which human beings come to recognize themselves and accompany others as creators. A shared endeavor is, for example, a couple’s relationship. But it is also the political and cultural production of the species, today a biological species, but not yet human. “Socialism” is a name for this multi-hued hope: I am capable of humanely constructing a relationship with my partner. I am capable, because I commit my self to constructing with others—with millions—the loving, fructifying articulation of the human species. I am capable, with many, of constructing my people, my nation. Socialism is a name for the process of constructing, today, an alternate future. That is, if humanity desires to even have a future. There isn’t any other alternative.

**Helio Gallardo,**  
San José, Costa Rica.

## THE FUTURE WILL BE SOCIALIST OR THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE

Utopia is explained in Acts 2:44-45: “And all who shared the faith owned everything in common; they sold their goods and possessions and distributed the proceeds among themselves according to what each one needed.” It is not a waste of time to repeat this well-known verse because it encapsulates, with words for all ages, a definition of socialism that we Christians should not forget.

Socialism is, in my opinion, a human ideal in our journey towards the future that, in the ultimate instance, in a conscious or unconscious manner, has to do with the establishment of the already present Reign of God on earth.

Apart from the experiences that the tradition and history of Primitive Christianity bring us, and despite all of the other attempts that have been made, it has never been possible to construct a true socialism with its essential features: humane, free, democratic, decentralized, without any type of strongmanship, self-sufficient, prioritizing the human being, cooperative, and Christian in inspiration. These are the characteristics that, for me, define new socialism in its essence, which in reality coincides with the socialism that should have been and has never been achieved, despite being so clearly within reach as the better world that we need so much in order to avoid the destruction of everything. Our formula: struggle without rest, without egoism, and without blandness. Activists always and never bystanders “lite.”

**Félix Sautié Mederos,**  
Havana, Cuba.

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The poet Cavafy wrote that Ithaca doesn’t exist; what exists is the voyage towards Ithaca. The same could be said about socialism. And one could also say that—despite the shipwrecks—the voyage is worth it.

**Eduardo Galeano,** Montevideo, Uruguay.

## SOCIALISM: A SOCIETY OF FREE MEN AND WOMEN

Capitalism has succeeded—through violence, the concentration of wealth, and the monopolization of scientific and technical advances—in globalizing its domination, transforming everything in existence into privatized merchandise. This hegemonic culture imposes a bourgeois owner, racist, patriarchal, bellicose, normalizing its many oppressions.

Returning to dream about socialism is an invitation to reject the commercialization of all of the dimensions of our life, the privatization of the riches of nature and culture, and to democratize social relations, creating links based in solidarity, in the right to life, and in the right to liberty.

The challenge is in revolutionizing our practices, theories, and daily gestures in order that they become a factor of subversion of “common sense” and of the ideologies that pretend to explain the world, legitimizing its injustices.

The distance between the socialist dream and the attempts made in its name underline the necessity of not sacrificing the ideal on the altar of social pragmatism—that ideology turned dogma in the “currently inexistent” dogmas of socialism that fell with the Berlin Wall.

“Either we invent or we err,” Simón Rodríguez taught us in the 19th century. Mariátegui told us in the 20th century that “socialism will not be a calculation or copy but rather a heroic creation of the people.”

The challenge is in reinventing socialism as a popular project, formed from the earth, nourished by the memory of all the many resistances, in a territory reappropriated by the men and women who, with their lives, are writing a true history as we appear the disappeared and raise high our shredded flags. We do this so that new generations can patch and reweave the fibers of our traumatized society of free men and women, in harmony with nature, from which we come, and which we know and feel we are a part.

**Claudia Korol,**  
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

## SOCIALISM: THE ARCHETYPICAL MODEL OF SOCIETY

Socialism is a great ideal. It does not have anything to do with, or very little to do with, the parties and political systems that, through the course of history have called themselves socialist.

The Acts of the Apostles describes some of the essential characteristics that the term socialist attempts to express. It tells us that in the first communities of the Church, Christians “lived as brothers and sisters. They were of one heart and soul. All who shared the faith owned everything in common; they sold their goods and possessions and distributed the proceeds among themselves according to what each one needed; they lived in joy and happiness” (Acts 2:42-47).

Here we have a few of the essential and characteristic features of the great socialist project that has inspired so many politicians and so many parties that, in some way, tried to bring it into practice but without much success.

This is because true socialism is not power, but service; it is not domination, but brotherhood and sisterhood; not elitism, but equality; not individualism, but community; not confiscation, but personal renunciation of wealth; not sectarianism, but solidarity; not class warfare, but social complementarity.

Socialism is a utopia, the great humanist project, the permanent journey of our people towards a land without evil. Something necessary, but not entirely attainable. It is like the horizon that guides and stimulates the journeyer. It is the idealized project of the society in which the protagonist is the community itself. It does not fall into the falsity of so many political systems that primarily seek to “flip the tortilla.” It is something much deeper and more revolutionary: giving society a new scale of values, one based on the logic of the Gospel.

Socialism is the primacy of ethics over technical capacity, of liberty over oppression, of labor over capital, of testimony over promises, and of justice over order.

**Gregorio Iriarte,**  
Cochabamba, Bolivia.

# RETHINKING SOCIALISM IN LIGHT OF NEW PRACTICES

**IVONE GEBARA**

Camargibe, PE, Brazil

In these two pages, I do not want to ask the philosophers or sociologists, political experts, or religious and political leaders for a new definition of socialism or a new ideal model that we should pursue. Instead I want to express intuitions originating in the lives of some groups that move in Latin America. I wish broadly to explain that which is animating the life and organization of groups that I consider to be significant in the present historical context, in line with the affirmation of social justice.

The point of departure and the criteria that orient these intuitions is the life of persons, the sense of daily life with its necessities and demands more or less satisfied. Daily life is something extremely complex, signifying not only the right to work or to access available goods, but also the right to thought, to good symbols, to self-determination, to creativity, to pleasure, to sexual and cultural diversity, to many other inherently good things, and to human life. To say this means not establishing beforehand an idealized society or an ethical model of society in which people could be more or less happy, wrapped up in a utopic theory capable of comforting their dreams. From this perspective, there is no model that could be imitated, nor even a point of arrival. There are not prefixed stages through which we reach socialism or the communism of which we dream. Socialism is a renewable practice constructed in community.

My question to different groups that try to survive in the midst of disillusionment with revolutionary theories or the promises of their governments, in the midst of the crisis of the parties and unions, and in the midst of the alienation growing in churches, has to do with that which mobilizes their daily struggles. In other words, the question can be how the people continue waging on their lives, and what they are doing collectively.

I assert that the commencement of the fight is not the implanting of a social project offered by others, but instead is my need to survive economically, emotionally, and psychologically. The source of the struggle is in the unbearable pain of hunger, of the lack of land, of aggression, of invisibility, of multiple forms of violence. The source is also this kind of instinct for survival,

instinct for human dignity, for mutual collaboration, for love of life simply because it is our life. It is for this that we rise early, leave in search of work or create activities that guarantee our survival for today. And through this and because of this we search for friends... even alcohol and drugs.

Who guarantees my bread today? Who guarantees water, housing, health, school? The response of the majority is this: we ourselves are searching, fighting, borrowing, counting on the little power that we have. We ourselves are knocking at doors, frequently receiving a "no" and occasionally a "yes".

Who guarantees my bread today? The trader, the deputy thief, the religious relief worker? The politician without scruples who will give me a dose of medicine, a basketful of food, my surgery? The government with its social projects? We accept these only in order to survive. The pure intellectuals cannot tell me that this is a weakness of the people... It is ambiguous survival, without doubt, but still it is survival. But is it ethical to accept the bread of the oppressor when life is in danger of being extinguished? Does all of this tend towards socialism? To what socialism? That of the leftist intellectuals conforming to the metanarratives of Marxism? The socialism of the Churches? That of the socialist political parties? To restate the matter, can the means and the ends even be analyzed from a linear and pure ethical perspective?

The abyss between the proletariat classes and the elite intellectuals, politicians, economists, and religious leaders continues to grow. Even our language and ways of experiencing the world are not the same, in spite of the fact that we use nearly the same words.

I feel that the real situation in which we exist is not yet of the State as the sole guarantor of the common good, but instead one of the self-determination of individuals organized into interest groups and guided by ethical convictions. For this reason, I prefer to imagine a socialism understood as a path constructed collectively and not dictated by a central authority, a party, a union, a Church, or a State deemed socialist.

The State should be the executor of the common good, the facilitator through which different groups get that which they need to survive. The State has to be

Translated by Margi Ault-Duell

in our service rather than us in service to a State that functions well for an elite and that becomes bureaucratic when dealing with the lives of the poorest.

In spite of their institutional fragility, many groups are emerging that intend to foster new paths of self-conduct, searching for alternative resources, new forms of survival. And, again, here arises the question of decentralization. Now they cannot accept that bureaucratic States obstruct social life, impeding the simplest things that can be accomplished in an hour of truth. We must learn to facilitate the lives of people, above all in a world in which the high technology of communication can sometimes hinder access to the most basic information. We are all familiar with those long waits on the telephone, that irritating music, those voices that repeat information about which we have not inquired. What is there to say of this in the vast slums of the periphery in our own America and in the distant interior of the continent?

In all the years of seeking democracy, we have learned the horror of the bureaucratic democracy that impedes the health and education of thousands, that ties up proceedings, that favors impunity. For this reason, self-conduct, self-determination, and decentralization go together in the experience of some groups. I have felt this in the different organizations of farmers, of professors, of domestic employees, of artesans, and of peripheral women in all of Latin America. "The one who knows forces the hour, does not wait for it to happen," sang Geraldo Vandré in the time of the Brazilian military dictatorship. We are already seeing something of this, in spite of the sorrows.

The preestablished definitions of socialism have become today a shirt stretched too tightly for many; some set themselves up as judges of others if they do not see this shirt following the decisions of the heads of high thinkers, almost always masculine heads. They perpetuate hierarchies, most of the time useless and bureaucratic.

In the majority of social movements, the ideologies that began especially in the 19th century and that illuminate many social struggles are no longer sustained. The spirit of our time is no longer that of waiting for tomorrow, in order to see it arriving along with heaven or justice over all the earth... The grand masculine utopias, woven in the big narratives of the past and that cradled the dreams of many, no longer serve as historical models for those that could exist today. The ideals of socialism have been converted into values to

be lived in daily relations. And these values are not perfectly materializable and foreseen certainties; they are a gamble each day—orientations, criteria, qualitative relations that spring forth from daily life together.

If socialism signifies the concrete possibility of autonomy, discussion, decentralization, and diminution of bureaucracies...then this is the socialism that is emerging slowly in our midst. If socialism is the daily struggle against the perversity of the actual economic system managed by world elites, we can say that something is brewing in us. If socialism is the affirmation of human dignity—feminine and masculine in its diversity—then something is occurring in our midst, over time and in many places.

Who is making or living this socialism?

The response is not simple, given that it depends on our point of view and our political ideology. In my opinion, I believe that there is much here pointing toward a socialism without a finished form, without a closed model, without catechisms or treatises, without leaders to be followed and revered.

Socialism lives in the movement led by Bishop Luis Capio against the emptying of the Rio São Fransico; the movement of women from various countries in Latin America intending to overcome the social and cultural inequalities of gender.

Socialism lives in the peripheral youth of cities who organize musicals together, and who, without knowing the classical theory of socialism, denounce the perversity of elite capitalists.

Socialism lives in the artists of street theater and cinema that multiply in the cities and are capable of reflecting with the public about greatly different social problems, like the students that make barricades and reclaim new relations in the school and the university.

Socialism lives in the anti-violence organizations, the organizations of victims of medical errors, the consumer defense organizations, the mothers and grandmothers of the disappeared persons, the indigenous groups, the black communities in search of recognition, and the groups that fight for respect for sexual diversity.

Socialism lives in the ecological groups in defense of the Amazon, of the Atlantic forest, of the decontamination of rivers, of the artists that reclaim and recycle trash.

# SOCIALISM OR SOCIALISMS?

**SERGIO FERRARI**

Argentina - Suiza

Yesterday and today. Pre-Berlin Wall and Post-Berlin Wall. That which was and that which should have or could have been... Untangling the topic of the socialist experiments in the world constitutes an unlimited challenge because of its dimensions and significance:

- It implies introducing conceptual elements, in order to try to understand what is actually meant by socialism. With such a great diversity of expressions that range from the social democratic model of the Scandinavian type to the more holistic realities of the Cuban model, questions about what the socialism of the future should be are enormous.

- It forces us to revise historical equations, that is, to differentiate between those societies that were socialist experiences in the past and those that continue to define themselves as socialist nations in the present.

- It demands an intellectual flexibility adequate to be able to understand the diverse transitions which the chief socialist nations have been implementing for thirty or forty years. Among these are China—from the end of the 70s, Vietnam—from the 80s, and Cuba itself, when it began to apply certain reforms starting at the end of the 80s.

- It requires examining the possibilities of integrating—in practice and conceptually—the compatibility between socialism and the market.

- It should question the always complex relationship between socialism and democratic policies. Additionally, it questions the relationship between progressive or revolutionary parties and social and popular movements.

- Additionally, it must confront the daily world reality, in which the near-complete hegemony of the capitalist model, in its neoliberal variant, daily threatens more and more the ecological and social future of the planet. In other words: the primacy of capitalism over socialism that dictates the “scenario” of the worn-out, tired, threatened Earth because of the prevailing consumerist and bellicose logic.

Socialism is neither a dogma nor a scheme. It is a

perspective in construction.

For the Argentine writer Abelardo Castillo, “it isn’t utopian because it is a project.” His reflection goes a step further: “with the fall of authoritarian socialism in the East, another capitalist idea of history also fell. Socialism did not fall when the Wall fell. For me, it was more a management problem than a historical problem... Socialism has not disappeared from reality or from thought. In this moment, there is no socialism in the world and, nevertheless, the world probably lives in the worst condition that it has ever lived in since the beginning of the 20th century” (Rebelión, Lorena Betta, October 2005).

José Carlos Mariátegui, one of the fathers of Latin American socialism, foresaw at the beginning of the last century that Indian-American socialism should be a heroic creation based on the combination of the traditions of resistance to colonialism and the achievements of socialist-communist thought.

He fought for the right to a new construction, where our ancestors, myths, and individual and collective experiences would be incorporated coherently into this socialist project. But he did not forget the international articulation.

“Mariátegui, by standing outside the schools that see internationalism and nationalism as dichotomous entities, attempts to reconcile the national question with the international socialist movement, trying to close the distance between these two realities. In this approximation, ‘non-rational’ arguments are used, as is myth (religious faith) to recuperate the indigenous past and integrate it into the socialist future situated in the present. History is not seen as a mere lineal sequence of facts, but as simultaneity, the condensation of the past and the future in present time,” emphasizes Lorena Betta (La Nación, Argentina, interview with Raquel San Martín, 2/25/2006).

Eighty years later, the updated discourse of Mariátegui expresses the right to a construction starting from national realities, of concrete and innovative practice, of the accumulation of power through social movements.

The right to an undogmatic or predesigned socialism is gaining force. With its own national conditioning, it reinforces its relation with international solidarity. What this necessarily implies is a clear understanding of the Nation and anti-colonialism. It is fed by new ideas about how to engage in politics, how to construct networks, how to promote a new planetary citizenship, which are so essential for the mindset of the other possible world. This is being reinforced by the concrete experience of the World Social forums (and continental, regional, and national forums).

### **The Transition from Certain Socialisms**

With this idea of construction, how should we understand the process of transition that certain socialist nations have undertaken in the past decades?

This is the essential question that *Alternativas Sur* magazine asks in an issue devoted to the topic (VIII, 2001,1). After a detailed analysis of the reforms undertaken by China, Vietnam, and Cuba—"the three main socialist states today"—the central goal of the editors is to consider the compatibility between socialism and the market, a key topic in both theoretical reflection and practical action.

According to this Belgian publication, the reforms in China are creating a unique method of opening up to the market, which is successively conquering the economic sphere. At every moment, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the political powers to control the market, which is calling into question the possibility of a "socialist market society."

Vietnam, after three decades of war and destruction without any type of compensation, began to implement reforms in the 1980s. The economic results were impressive, but the social effects have become very worrying.

Turning to Cuba, the fall of the USSR and the US embargo provoked a crisis without precedent, forcing a controlled opening to the international market, but without the "conditions" that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund customarily impose. "This difficult and progressive recovery in the last ten years, which did not put in jeopardy social and cultural gains, surprised the entire world," writes *Alternativas Sur*. Foreseeing that one day the embargo will be lifted, the magazine predicts that "this will create a situation in which economic and cultural realities will demand a new definition of Cuban socialism and, probably, new concessions to the market."

The synthesis enumerates four conditions for compatibility between socialism and the market: privileging use value over exchange value; limiting private accumulation; socializing (which does not necessarily mean nationalizing) the principal means of production; and maintaining the non-commercial nature of the sectors of the economy which correspond to fundamental human rights and culture. The final reflection is clear: "achieving the compatibility of socialism and the market signifies a long struggle, where the undertaking is immense and the resisting forces are very powerful. But doubting the compatibility can only bring us to barbarity."

Even more problematic than this is the relation between socialism and democracy. This requires us to deepen our reflection on the one party system, the model that has predominated, by and large, in socialist experiences. The role—and the eventual autonomy—of popular movements in all this construction must be considered.

### **Towards the Future**

Is socialism an alternative/option/way out for the current planetary situation? If this is the case, what type of socialism are we talking about? Should the alternatives to the dominant model seek to reform the current system, or should they be entirely outside of the system?

The theoretical debate is important. At the same time, Latin America is becoming one of the most fertile places for the search for real alternatives.

From above, several governments, with their own labels and self-characterizations, are trying to take audacious steps forward towards self-determination, regional integration, and a new geopolitical continental paradigm.

From below, there is a new multitude of experiences, of urban and rural, local and national, of vibrant social movements becoming global.

These multiple experiences share a common element: none of them, individually understood, surpass the limits of being singular and incomplete realities. Because of this, none can proclaim themselves the definitive model or paradigm for the new definition of socialism. Tirelessly resisting the "the old," they insist upon something new, something defined by the complexity of real life. They work to break down old oppression and give form to a new and different liberating dream.

# THE QUESTION OF PROPERTY

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## 1. How Capitalism Functions Today

With the advent of capitalism propelled by neoliberalism, both profit and property are becoming increasingly concentrated. Society is polarized between an absurdly rich pole, formed by heirs of fortunes, senior executives of transnational corporations, successful artists and athletes, etc., and another pole of the miserably poor, comprised of those who are excluded (the outsiders) from economic activity through chronic unemployment, age, illness, and other causes of incapacity (not to mention the millions living in remote areas far away from development).

Most people move between these two poles, driven by the ambition to become wealthy and famous or by the fear of falling in poverty. Few escape this competition for education (when young), for employment (when adults), or for a decent retirement (when older). Many have the illusion that they move by their own force, without realizing that they are oscillating toys in the national economy, almost always conditioned by the vicissitudes of the global economy.

What drives capitalism is the accumulation of capital, conditioned by competition between companies, and exacerbated by scientific progress, which accelerates the increase in productivity and creates new needs and habits of consumption. Capitalism is also driven by the movement of productive capital throughout the world, always hunting for new places where the costs of production are lower and access to the global market is easier. These tendencies result from the conflict between the search for the maximum rate of profit by capitalists and the struggles of workers for decent wages and protection against the risks posed by health, insecurity, and old age. To escape the demands of workers, capitalists try to put their money in fiscal paradises and their factories in "social paradises."

In capitalism, many are called to the market in search of work, but few are chosen. Those who are left behind and continue to seek jobs actually help out those who control capital because it means that those who have jobs work hard to avoid trouble and to conform so they do not lose the little they have. With massive unemployment, unions cannot incorporate those without jobs into the struggle for a fair share of the benefits of their work. Private capital takes full advantage of this reality.

## 2. The Alternative of Another World

But massive unemployment and ever-increasing social exclusion are being challenged by their victims through the gradual construction of another economy totally different from the capitalist economy. This economy is known as the solidarity economy (or 21st Century Socialism). Its members are organizing into collective companies and competing in the markets against capitalist companies. The companies of the solidarity economy are owned collectively by those who work in them, who manage them in a democratic manner, involving everyone in decision-making processes where everyone has one vote. Profits are shared by all according to rules established by consensus. In this way, they are escaping from misery, from the demoralizing competition for scarce jobs, and from subjection to precarious conditions of work.

The question of property arises in relation to this possibility. In order to produce, companies owned by workers need to possess the means of production, either owned or rented. And for this, they must have access to money. But this is exactly what workers lack. The wealth produced by society is monopolized by the capitalist financial system, which only seeks to serve those who already have capital. This monopoly of access to surplus wealth is what ensures that the owners of capital maintain their control over

the non-owning classes. Workers are encouraged to deposit their money in the very banks which refused to fund them when they asked for credit to start their own companies.

Nevertheless, workers have succeeded in breaking this monopoly on capital surplus through their unremitting struggle. One of the most notable successes is the election of governments committed to transferring the means of production to organized groups of workers.

Another is the struggle for agrarian reform, which promotes the redistribution of land to those that lack it. This is what is already happening in Brazil, Venezuela, and other countries. Public policies are capitalizing cooperatives of garbage recyclers, campesinos, fishers, tailors, coconut workers, artisans, technicians, electronics recyclers, musicians, and other artists.

An increasingly successful tactic is being used by employees of failing companies. Organizing themselves into a cooperative, they obtain a lease on the demised part, which allows them to recover the company, which they later acquire in public auction. Associations and cooperatives of autonomous and familial producers are also multiplying. These organizations are then able to acquire the means of production through micro-credit (today, in Brazil, made official by federal law).

### **3. Another Regime for Property and Investment in Productive Activity: Collective Property and Self-Management**

As the solidarity economy increases and qualitatively improves, access to the ownership of the means of production by the workers should no longer depend exclusively on the government. It is essential that the resulting surplus from productive activities in the solidarity economy be capitalized to expand and improve existing companies and to create new ones.

To accomplish this, it is necessary to construct another financial system in which funds are directed towards the development of the solidarity economy and the building of a society in which access to social surplus is democratically accessible to all.

In the past few years, a system like this has begun to be created, composed of revolving funds, credit cooperatives, and community banks. What characterizes these financial entities is self-management: they are operated and directed by their own members, who deposit their earnings in them and obtain from them the financing they need.

The historical struggle of socialists against capitalism sought to eliminate the private ownership of the means of production, socializing them. Since it was unclear how society could take control of all the means of production, the concrete proposal was to nationalize them. This is what happened in many countries in the past century. Only Yugoslavia gave workers the chance to self-manage state enterprises. In the other countries, the nationalized means of production continued being controlled in an authoritarian way, no different from the management styles used by private capital. Sometimes, competition between businesses was entirely eliminated by the centralization of all decisions through the rigid state management of the national economy. The result was a system in which "everything not forbidden was compulsory." That is, the civil and political liberties of citizens were practically nonexistent.

In reaction to these experiences, at the dawn of the 21st century, a new socialist proposal is arising: retain the right to ownership of the means of production, but make ensure that this right is accessible to society as a whole.

This means dismantling the monopoly that the capitalist class holds over financial and credit systems and developing a self-managing system owned by the workers and users who deposit their savings into this same system.

All this can be done to create a new property regime. But building the solidarity economy requires other institutional changes: making public administration much more participatory, supplementing representative democracy with mechanism for direct democracy, developing ways to coordinate, plan, and promote economic activities on the community level, and, above all, making programs of profit distribution permanent, possibly through profit-sharing to each citizen that will guarantee the right to life, health, and other basic needs.

# SOCIALISM AND LIBERTY

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During the 1980s I had frequent opportunities to visit socialist countries: the Soviet Union, China, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, on a number of occasions each year, Cuba. I was also in Sandinista Nicaragua. All these trips were upon the invitation of the governments of these countries, interested in the Church-State dialogue. They believed that people involved in liberation theology might have a contribution to make to this conversation.

Although I am not a theologian, my interest in the faith-politics relationship and the dialogue between Marxism and Christianity, extending even beyond my pastoral experience with Ecclesial Base Communities and popular education, the wombs of liberation theology, were my credentials for this type of work.

From what I observed during those years, I concluded that neither socialism nor capitalism had solved the dichotomy between justice and liberty. All in all, by socializing access to basic material goods and fundamental rights (food, health, education, work, housing, free time), socialism provided, for the larger part of the population, a more just system than capitalism did.

Although incapable of avoiding social inequality and, therefore, unjust structures, capitalism, apparently, succeeded in fostering liberty—of expression, association, movement, belief, etc.—which I did not see in those socialist countries governed by one party (communist), whose citizens were subject to “democratic centralism.”

Might the ideal be a system capable of joining social justice—more prominent in socialism—with the individual liberty that prevails in capitalism? I have pondered this question for many years. Clearly the dichotomy is inherent in capitalism. The practice of liberty that predominates in it does not mesh well with the principles of justice. It is enough to remember that its underlying paradigms—competition, individual initiative, the autonomy and sovereignty of the market—are antagonistic to the socialist (and Gospel-based) principles of solidarity, the defense of the rights of the poor, and the primacy of life over material goods.

## **A Few Rich, Many Poor**

In capitalism, the accumulation of wealth, whether individual, family, or corporate, is a right protected by law. And arithmetic and common sense teach that when one person appropriates, many are deprived. The

opulence of the few arises from the deprivation of the many. The history of wealth in capitalism is a series of wars, colonial oppression, pillaging, robberies, invasions, annexations, speculations, etc. One just has to look at what occurred in Latin America, Africa, and Asia between the sixteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Today, the wealth of the majority of the developed nations comes from the so-called emerging countries. Even today the parameters that regulate the WTO clearly favor the central nations and discriminate against those countries that export raw materials and cheap manpower.

A capitalist country that would act according to just principles would commit systemic suicide, since it would no longer be capitalist. I remember that, in the 1980s, when I was a member of the Swedish Human Rights Commission, in a conference in Upsala, they asked me how it was that Brazil, with so much wealth, was unable to eradicate misery while a much smaller Sweden had done so. I asked them “How many Brazilian companies are there in Sweden?” There was a prolonged silence. At that time, there was not one Brazilian company working in Sweden. I then asked, “Do you know how many Swedish companies there are in Brazil?” Everyone knew there were Swedish names throughout Latin America, such as Volvo, Scania, Ericsson and SKF, but they did not know precisely how many there were in Brazil. “Twenty-six,” I answered. (Today there are 180.) How can you speak of justice when one side of the commercial scale is obviously favorable to the exporting country to the detriment of the importing one?

Yes, social injustice is inherent to capitalism. But anyone could admit that and then go on to object, “Isn’t it true that what is lacking in justice is more than made up for by liberty? Don’t the capitalist countries predominate when it comes to a pluralism of political parties, democracy, and universal suffrage? Don’t they grant freedom to their citizens to express their criticisms, beliefs, and opinions? And can’t they travel as they please and even choose to live in another country, without having to imitate Cuban boatpeople?”

But the fact is that in capitalist countries, liberty exists only for a few, the class that enjoys power and wealth. What exists for the rest is a regimen of tolerated and virtual liberty. What does freedom of expression mean to a cleaning lady, a small farmer, a worker? It is

but a virtual liberty because they do not have the means to express it. If they criticize the government, their dream is but like a drop of water lost in the overwhelming wave of mass media—TV, radio, internet, newspapers, magazines—in the hands of the elite who try to influence public opinion with its vision of the world and its criteria for values. Included in this vision is the idea that the marginalized and poor are free.

Why don't the votes of these people ever bring about structural changes? In capitalism, thanks to the abundance of goods in the market and the overwhelming power of advertising on behalf of wasteful consumer goods, anyone who has just a bit of money is free to choose between different brands of soap or beer stacked on supermarket shelves. But what happens if one tries to choose a government favorable to the poor? What about attempts to change the sacrosanct "right" to private property (based on the theft of this right from the majority)? Why do Europe and the United States close their borders to immigrants from poor countries? What's left of freedom of movement?

### **The Contradictions of Socialism**

Structurally, socialism is more just than capitalism. However, experience demonstrates that it has not been able to establish an equilibrium between individual and collective liberty. Surrounded by capitalist countries and pressure, Soviet socialism committed the error of abandoning the original project of proletarian democracy, based on the Soviets, in favor of continuing the cursed inheritance of the imperial Czarist structures, now euphemistically called "democratic centralism." In countries like China, people are denied the liberty that is granted to capital. There, socialism assumes the character of "State capitalism", with all its problems, such as social inequality, pockets of poverty and misery, and the super-exploitation of workers, etc.

It is not surprising that real socialism collapsed in the Soviet Union, after seventy years of existence. Excessive state control created paradoxes such as the Russians being pioneers in the conquest of space while at the same time being unable to provide their people with decent basic consumer goods, an efficient retail market, or a pedagogy for forming the increasing number of "new men and women."

In the midst of all of this, Cuba is an exception. I am talking of a country that is an island in four different ways: geographically, politically (it is the only socialist country in the history of the Western Hemisphere), economically (due to the criminal blockade imposed by the US government), and in its status as an orphan (the

1989 fall of the Berlin Wall left it without the support of the former Soviet Union).

The Cuban regime is exemplary when it comes to social justice. Proof of this is that it occupies the fifty-first position on the Index of Human Development established by the United Nations (Brazil is seventieth), does not have pockets of misery (although there is poverty), and does not have a class of rich and privileged. If there are those who take to the sea with the hope of a better life in the United States, it is due to the demands—never easy—of the current system of solidarity. To live in Cuba is like living in a monastery: the community takes precedence over the individual and this demands a spirit of real altruism.

As for individual liberties, these have never been denied to its citizens, except when they have represented a threat to the security of the Revolution or when there have been economic business initiatives outside of state control. It is undeniable that the Cuban regime has had, throughout its five decades (the Revolution will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in 2009) its periods of secularism, due to its closeness to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, religious denominations have never been suppressed, nor have churches been shuttered, nor have priests and pastors been persecuted for their faith. Pope John Paul II's 1998 visit and his positive appreciation of the gains of the Revolution, especially in the fields of health and education, are proof of this.

For its part, the Cuban system gives indications that it could better balance "socialism and liberty" through more democratic methods of popular representation in the government, flexibility concerning the one-party state, and a better rotation of those in power so that critics of the regime can attain more important positions in government without being accused of being counter-revolutionary. Above all, in the economic field, Cuba will have to rethink its model, making it easier for the population to produce and consume goods ranging from bread from the corner bakery to products from businesses in a mixed economy with foreign investments.

In socialism, one cannot speak of "liberty from" without also speaking of "liberty for" so that the inalienable right to be human is not overrun by those capitalist vices where the liberty of one is increased at the expense of the liberty of others. The principle "to each, according to his needs; from each, according to his possibilities" ought to underlie the construction of a socialist future in which the communitarian project becomes fact and promotes personal and family happiness.

# A NEW STATE FOR A NEW SOCIALISM?

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Is a new understanding of the socialist state actually necessary for the new experiences of socialism being constructed? If we think that classic Marxist analysis continues to have validity, the answer is no. Let us remind ourselves of some of the essential features of this classic theory.

Marx and Engels, in *The Communist Manifesto*, wrote that “the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State... Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production.” The *Manifesto* itself suggests the need for a period of transition between capitalism and communism, that is, socialism.

The 1871 Commune of Paris required that the conception of a new society be more clearly defined. Engels says, in a text from 1891, that “precisely the oppressive power of the old centralized government—the army, the secret police, and the bureaucracy....had to be overthrown in all of France, like it has already been in Paris. The Commune had to realize from the first instant that the working class, upon gaining power, could not continue governing with the old State apparatus; that in order to not lose its newly gained domination, the working class had to, on the one hand, erase the entirety of the old repressive machine that had been used against it, and, on the other, keep control over its own representatives and functionaries, declaring all of them, without exception, removable at any moment.”

In the celebrated text on *The Civil War in France*, Marx highlighted how the working class recognized its own errors, emphasizing that such a posture is one of the characteristics of a workers’ democracy. It is important to note that—despite its short duration—the Commune permitted aspects of the new society to flourish, aspects which could even be seen as utopian: “The transformation that the Commune produced in Paris was truly marvelous. No signs of the prostituted Paris of the Second Empire remained....

There were no longer corpses in the garbage, night assaults, or even robberies. For the first time since the days of February 1848, one could walk with security through the streets of Paris, without the protection of any type of police whatsoever.”

Nevertheless, the ethical perspectives of the new society that captivated Marx and Engels did not prevent them from understanding the congenital limitations that would take place during the socialist transition, that is, the period of transition from capitalism to communism. This perception appears clearly in *Critique of the Gotha Program*, in which Marx emphasizes that this period of transition only constitutes progress because of the continuance of some aspects of the old mode of production. The law of value still would remain in effect although now subordinated to the laws of the planned economy such that the right to equality would now become the ordering principle of society. But this principle would not yet totally overcome bourgeois rights because individuals are not equal, either physically or intellectually, and equal rights is, in principal, a bourgeois right. Equality would continue to be measured by work, since each one would work in accordance with his or her capacity for production.

Marx says: “Law can never be superior to the economic structure nor to the cultural development of the society conditioned by it.” He continues, “in the later stages of the communist society, when the enslaving subordination of individuals to the division of labor and the opposition between intellectual and manual labor shall have disappeared...only then will it be possible to completely overcome the wide horizon of bourgeois law, permitting the new society to write its own banner: “from each according to their capacity; to each according to their need.” For Marx, socialism represented a transitional phase “where the State cannot be anything other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.” Engels affirmed this, signaling that “a new generation, educated in new and free social conditions will be able to get rid of all the remnants of the old state.”

In synthesis, the classic thinkers perceived that socialism was a transitory period of struggles between antagonistic classes; the successes would be gradual; the old machinery of the State would need to be destroyed; the functionaries and representatives removable; the financial and productive system controlled by the new power.

Socialism would triumph in developed societies on an international scale. Socialism would not just be the result of a triumph of moral superiority but, above all, a historical necessity, a product of the process by which human beings would gain dominion over nature and themselves. Communism, the true superior stage of the evolution of society, presupposed high development in productive forces, the replacement of scarcity by abundance, the disappearance of social classes, and the disappearance of the State itself as it would become superfluous. Finally, all repressive apparatuses would be dismantled and what remained would be in charge of things instead of people...At the end, individuals would truly be free, owners and lords of their own destiny. This would be the jump from "the reign of necessity to the reign of freedom," as Engels said in his *Anti-Dühring*.

As we can see, we are dealing with a beautiful utopia. Nevertheless, it is a necessary utopia because only by means of it will it be possible to truly understand the nature of capitalist production. Like E. Preobrazhenski said in his book, *For a Socialist Alternative*, *Das Kapital* could have only been written from a communist perspective, "since a detailed classification of the capitalist system in its totality inevitably demands a confrontation between capitalism with that economic structure that capitalism journeys by absolute necessity."

Lenin, when he planned the State and the revolution, before the October Revolution triumphed, orthodoxly systematized the insights of Marx and Engels. At that point, it was impossible to imagine that the vicissitudes of the class struggle, in a backwards country, with strong feudal vestiges, isolated and decimated by wars, would lead to the foundation of a proletarian State, rather than a "Worker-Peasant State with a strong bureaucratic deformation." It made sense that it ended up where it did.

Nevertheless, the terrible failures of the first socialist experiences (without failing to take into

account the significant responsibility of the large capitalist countries for this failure) have not eliminated the crucial challenge posed to humanity. This is the crucial necessity of overcoming the capitalist system in favor of a social form regulated by reason, intellect, intelligence, and science. In the intermediate phase, this cannot be anything but the socialist society.

This society, in order for it not to be an unrealizable utopia, should not depart from the "utopia" dreamed of by Marx and Engels, sketched by the Paris Commune. Otherwise it would lose its viability. That is to say, it cannot just be—as has been highlighted—a mere step forward. It is a progress that is more urgent than ever. Only the planning of social and economic life inherent in socialism is capable of confronting the challenges of a world threatened by misery, inequality, injustice, and ecological disaster.

To bring this reflection to a close, it is important to remember that the existence of the State cannot be confused with society. From here comes the division of society in classes, whether in feudal, bourgeois, socialist, or other types of societal divisions.

Just like the bourgeois State can transform itself from the most democratic forms to the most repressive ones (like fascism for example), the proletarian State will be able to perfect the most democratic form of its domination. All democracy is dictatorial and all dictatorship is democratic: the difference is "for whom." In capitalism, the dictatorship is exercised over the majority. In socialism it is exercised over the minority.

In reality, history does not question the Marxist theory of the State, but the concrete experiences of the construction of the socialist States. However, to question is not to disqualify the merits of the achievements won in these historic experiences. In order for some revolutions to triumph in countries with more well-developed socio-economic structures—as has been the case in Brazil, momentarily putting aside the absurd inequality of the distribution of profit—democratic aspects, without a doubt, will have to prevail by demonstrating the enormous superiority of the new society.

In this sense, despite the limitations, this new State will indeed be a new socialism, unknown until this time in the experience of humanity.

# ECOLOGY AND SOCIALISM

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In 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the agency of the United Nations which studies Planet Earth, confirmed that the warming of the Earth is due to the irresponsible practices of human beings. These practices are tied to industrial processes world-wide that have occurred for more than three centuries. Human societies have sought to exploit all of the resources of Earth in unlimited form. They have launched more than 27 billion tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere annually, the density of which is equivalent to a mountain 1 kilometer high and 19 at the base. How can the Earth digest such pollution? It is giving signs that it cannot continue to do so.

With the loss of self-regulation, the temperature has risen and the final consequence will be devastating—droughts in some areas and floods in others, the thawing of polar ice caps and mountain snows, typhoons, and the disappearance of thousands of living species. Where are we going? This is the question with which we all are confronted. If this process continues, we are going towards a disaster with millions of human victims and a generalized degradation of the biosphere.

Industrial voracity has been put into practice historically by two models: the capitalist model and the socialist model.

The so-called real socialism of the Soviet Union and other bureaucratic states devastated and produced great tension in ecosystems. But this type of practice was not figured into the original ideals of socialism. It is true that Marx did not include ecological concerns in his analyses because, in his epoch, the permanent capacity and unlimited regeneration of the Earth system were a given. Socialist ideals announced a reconciliation of human beings with themselves, with others, and with nature. The forces of production, in themselves, would not be destructive. They would be at the service of more equality and more justice for all.

In all cases, the balance of real socialism in terms of ecology is negative. But there remains the proposal of an integrated relationship of human beings with nature. Socialism in its physical and political senses is anti-ecological only accidentally. Between original socialism and ecology there is a true affinity and not an incompatibility. They are both based on inclusion

and in the overcoming of all types of exploitation.

The same cannot be said of capitalism. It is essentially anti-ecological because of its proposition to use nature and exploit the human work force in order to accumulate riches in the shortest time possible, with the least investment possible and the best competitive capacity possible. Capitalism has transformed everything into merchandise: natural resources, human organs...even going so far as to invent a "market for pollution rights." That is, if a country does not reach the quota of pollution to which it "has rights" (in reality, no one has this right), it can sell it to another. How can money be made with something that, in itself, is perverted and contrary to nature? But this is the logic of capitalism.

Marx, in *Das Kapital*, sensed that the tendency of capitalism is to destroy the two columns that maintain it: human work—that which is replaced by machines—and nature, exhausting it totally. Because of this, he predicted the final tragedy of capitalism. Today we are seeing the truth of Marx's prediction.

Actually, the capitalist mode of production is that which dominates the globalized world. If carried to the end, it can destroy us all and gravely wound Gaia, the living Earth. Because of this, it is urgent that it be ethically and politically delegitimized and that it be stopped historically. This implicates proposing an alternative to capitalism.

It is in this context where socialism revives itself as a political, social, and ecological project, capable and ready to save the Earth. Not in the sense of a socialist utopia, in the sense of something limited to an unforeseeable future. Rather it is a resurgence of a project that can already be realized now in history. That is, if we truly want to break free of the impasse that global capitalism has imposed on all systems of life...

What will this ecosystem be like? In the first place, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the basic intuition of socialism. It is to place society and "we" in the center of human concerns and not the individual or "me." This signifies that the economic project must be at the service of the social project and the ecological project for the sustaining of all life. The economy

should be subject to the political and the political should be subject to the ethics of solidarity and the participation of the greatest number of persons possible.

Understanding this, socialism represents the radical realization of democracy. In this democracy, society is alike in that all, not just the elites, are made subjects of political action. It is a democracy without end, as expressed by the Portuguese thinker Boaventura de Souza Santos: a participative democracy, not only representative or delegative; a democracy alive in the family, in the community, in social organizations and in the formation of the State.

Behind the democratic ideal is an ancestral idea: whatever is of interest to all should be debated and decided by all. Thus, democracy is the active participation of everyone in all areas of life.

Fundamentally, democracy should also be carried out in the productive process. However, in the capitalist system, democracy stops at the door of the factory. Inside, the dictatorship of the owners and their technologies reigns. Democracy in the productive process would require that workers not merely be producers but also that they be human agents who discuss and decide amongst themselves how to produce: subordinating the value of exchange to the value of use; organizing production to meet social needs; and safeguarding the environment.

This is how the Brazilian-French theorist of ecosocialism Michael Löwy puts it: "Ecological socialism would be an ecologically rational society, founded in democratic control, in social equality, and in the predominance of the value of use; such a society supposes the collective ownership of the means of production, a democratic planning that allows society to define the objectives of production and investments, and a new technological structure for the means of production" (*Ecology and Socialism*, Cortez Editora, Sao Paulo 2005, 49).

Walter Benjamin—a Marxist who enriches Marxism with humanist thought—starting from the victim's perspective and with a view of a society integrated with nature and citing Fournier, one of the founders of utopian socialism, puts it this way: "we dream about work that, far from exploiting nature, allows her to give birth to the sleeping creatures in her womb."

Thus, work no longer becomes just merchandise to be bought or sold. Work reclaims its function. It becomes the way in which human beings create themselves and mold nature so that it sustains humanity

without being used up and destroyed in the process.

In this context, a basic question begins to have increased relevancy for all of society: energy. Ecosocialism proposes the use of renewable and perennial energies like the sun, the wind, and the tides. This is especially true of solar energy, which is despised by capitalism because the sun cannot be made into a business because it is a free resource. A current has even arisen that is called "solar communism."

Translated into practical terms, ecosocialism emphasizes solutions that are born from the base and which save natural resources and reduce atmospheric pollution. Here, for example, insisting upon free public transportation would withdraw thousands of cars from the streets and would thereby avoid the pollution which produces global warming. Through valuing the simple struggles of the population, it would oppose the growth of an industry that pollutes our lands and waters and brings deforestation and increases carbon dioxide.

From a broader perspective which seeks a new paradigm of civilization capable of responding to the present ecological clamor, ecosocialism envisions overcoming the current political configuration which is based on the supremacy of nation states. A unified humanity with one common cause, the Earth, requires a center of organization for natural resources. This center must be accountable to the entire population of the planet. It needs planetary governability. We must distribute with equality scarce natural resources. Otherwise, the Earth will not be able to satisfy the voracity of consumers and may enter into a process of chaos that will affect us all without exception. We must make ourselves socialists for ethical-political motives (or just statistical motives) or we will suffer the disastrous consequences of the unsustainability of the Earth.

One of the icons of ecosocialism is Chico Mendes. He joined the struggle of the people of the forest—indigenous, rubber tree tappers, and those without land—with the universal ideals of socialism. He wants an ecological socialism that does justice for all, beginning with the victims of the prevailing systems, but also doing justice to the nature that is attacked and devastated. He died a victim of a dream that continues living in all those who do not accept the destruction of the future caused by global capitalism and who believe that another better Earth and another better Humanity are possible.

# SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY NEED FEMINISM

MARÍA LÓPEZ VIGIL

Managua, Nicaragua

When, in 1978, we finished writing “A Certain Jesus,” I had the opportunity to personally meet Juan Mateos, an expert in the Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic languages that connect us to the original message of Jesus of Nazareth. I asked him to characterize, with modern concepts, the “political project” of Jesus. He paused for a minute and answered me with no uncertainty: “anarchistic socialism.” Socialism—he told me—because Jesus always appealed to the community. And anarchistic because he always questioned power and confronted the powerful.

Community is not constructed with inequalities. The egalitarianism of “real socialism” that we knew was not only a fallacy, but it also failed. That socialism, the one that fought against “capitalist power,” organized a new powerful caste: that of functionaries, administrators, and interpreters of the people’s desires.

Today it is our turn to think about power and equality from new perspectives. From a feminist perspective. I think that the most profound inequality that exists in Latin America is that of gender, without letting myself forget that our continent holds the world record in social inequality. (I am assuming of course that we understand “gender” not just as a “women’s issue” but instead everything that has to do with the unequal relationship between women and men by reason of our sex.)

I think the most ancient inequality (and because of its oldness, the one with the deepest roots) that we confront today as human beings, the most unjust and complex to overcome, is not the one that separates poor from rich—as Liberation Theology accustomed us to think—but instead the one that separates men from women.

I see on a daily basis that the stories of women are generally stories in which they tell of the power that they had to do certain things and of the power that was denied them to do other things. Almost all of the story of any woman is constructed before, below, fitting within, with, against, out of, from, in, in between, towards, for, by, according to, without, over, behind... power. All these prepositions have a specific function and all of them have to be analyzed in order to understand the story of women, throughout the millennia of a culture that has subordinated them.

I believe, see, and feel, in addition, that the most hidden and ancient root of this inequality is in religion: in a millennial interpretation of Christianity that has made God into a Man; religion that has buried in oblivion Jesus’ revolutionary feminist attitudes and the “female characteristics” of God’s personality and project; a Christianity that does not distance itself from the profoundly machista and patriarchal bias that crosses the whole Bible; one that has granted male priests a monopoly on divine representation. Such abundance of masculine symbols linked to “the sacred” has social and political consequences, is reflected in how we understand power and community, and is relevant to how we construct socialism.

Liberation Theology embraced textbook Marxist analysis that circulated in pamphlet form and predominated amongst leftist Latin Americans. Within this simplistic Marxism, everything was explained by distinctions of class. In Liberation Theology, God was in favor of the poor, but was Male. In an expression as innovative as the Nicaraguan Peasant Mass, God is an architect and engineer, not a craftswoman or saleswoman in the market. And we “see him” at gas stations checking the tires of a truck and patrolling highways, but not washing or cooking, much less breast feeding.

And Mary? Certainly, the Mother of Jesus is always there, divinized, as a “restricted version of the ancient Goddess,” who returns, responding to the needs of the human psyche. However, in a string of dogmatic juggling acts, Mary has been converted into an inimitable model of a woman dispossessed of her sexuality: mother being virgin, wife not knowing sexual relations with her husband...For that reason, she is “pure.” For that reason, she is only imitable in her submissive “surrender” to God.

Some years ago, I discovered that “where God is a Man, men believe themselves gods” and I realized that the religious root of machismo not only generates inequality but also violence, even more if we imagine God as an omniscient judge and punisher, a Providential Lord that designs and controls our lives, a King with inscrutable desires and plans.

Today, we’re learning to rectify such grave myopias. But we cannot be content with just a few changes, with invoking God as “Father and Mother” and with

throwing out a few sexist words and expressions, abusing phrases like “all men and all women” and “his and hers.” Or, even worse, inserting the nefarious “@” all over the place. [@ is used to represent both ‘o’ (the masculine ending) and ‘a’ (the feminine ending) in an unpronounceable attempt at gender-inclusive language—Trans.]

One cannot be a socialist without being a feminist. And being a feminist, like being a socialist, is a massive challenge. It forces one to think, look, act, and speak in another manner. With what frequency, for example, do we speak of civic insecurity as a current characteristic of structured violence within our countries! And we even blame this insecurity on neoliberal capitalism. But do we keep in mind that United Nations studies have demonstrated that the most insecure place for Latin American women is in their own home? According to the UN, violence against women represents the leading cause of mortality and disability among the world’s women ages 15 to 45 and provokes more deaths than traffic accidents, cancer, and wars.

How often, for example, we speak of the omnipresent impunity in our justice systems and our societies! But, do we pay as much attention to the impunity that reigns inside of Latin American homes? Where men physically and sexually attack women and girls, where mistreatment, sexual abuse, and incest is an authentic epidemic that affects one in four women? Where women suffer sexual abuse even in infancy?

This impunity—the most common—has the most long-lasting consequences, is the most silenced, and is the most “naturalized.” With what ease do we tolerate leaders—in charge of governments, parties, and unions in the socialism of the 20th century and now of the 21st—who fight against unjust power in public spaces but themselves abuse masculine power in private spaces! With what “naturalness” do we accept them as “oil lamps in the street and darkness in the home”? Feminism teaches us that “the personal is political.”

A “gender perspective” should stem from the body, from sexuality. In traditional Christianity, nothing is more minimized, feared, discriminated against, and rejected than the body and its instincts—especially that of the woman—and nothing more sacralized than the dead body.

All us women live in an “existential insecurity” that is born of the insecurity that our own body provokes, both hungered for and rejected by the patriarchal culture. That sensation is not known by men, who have

learned, from their birth, that their power is derived from their body and their sex and that with their body and sex, they can dominate. This culture, which makes all women insecure and emboldens men, captivates men even more than women, because men are forced, culturally and socially, to constantly express their virility, often in reference to their genitalia. Here is another root of sexual abuse.

From a perspective of gender, every path will lead us towards topics of sexuality. Gender discrimination has foundations in our interpretations of the body, of sex, and of sexuality. Traditional theology did not talk about “that” and when it did it was only to reproach and condemn it. Liberation Theology did not keep it in mind. But if we want to build socialist societies, in which we transform unequal power relations, we must learn to talk about sexuality.

There are hopes. For the first time, humanity speaks of gender relations with more freedom and more frankness. The fact that acts of violence against women are now more frequently reported does not mean that these acts are new, that they did not occur in the past. It means that there is a new awakening of female consciousness around the world. It means that there are “more women with less fear of male violence and more men afraid of fearless women,” as noted by Eduardo Galeano.

This is a long road to take. In order to advance, we must read a lot, inform ourselves, question our own ideas, and consider the ideas of those men and women who are further along than we are... We need to imagine. In the magnificent movie “Solas,” by Benito Zambrano, we hear that “people should live twice, one time as a poor individual to know what the poor suffer and one time as a wealthy individual in order to enjoy life.” I think that perhaps we should live twice: one life as women and another as men. We would learn a lot; we would grow as Humanity.

Feminism is a profound form of humanism because it seeks to overcome antagonism and the most firmly rooted inequity in the history of humanity. Feminism is a new culture. It is causing earthquakes in the cultural ground we’ve been standing upon for thousands of years. Feminism— which feeds so many women’s movements and the reflections of many of our female theologians—is a comprehensive proposal for change for our societies. It is so expansive and comprehensive that it allows us to do something revolutionary: to walk towards utopia, every day of our lives.

# 2009: UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL YEAR...

RECONCILIATION, ASTRONOMY, HUMAN RIGHTS LEARNING, NATURAL FIBERS

## INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF DE LA RECONCILIATION ecological awareness

It has become a tradition in the international community to dedicate each year to a particular issue or cause with the aim of raising public awareness about the matter.

We understand reconciliation to be a profound process of coming together by parties in conflict, a process which leads to the recognition of the Other in their differences, interests and values and which entails the repair of the damage or the injustice that caused the rupture in the society or between the nations in question. Reconciliation also implies the creation of institutions capable of establishing a new type of relationship, as well as the promotion of a new culture that will ensure the irreversibility of peace.

This proposal aims to foster the creation in the world of an enabling environment for reconciliation activities and initiatives at the various levels of human society: between States; between Governments and their citizens; between religions; between the North and the South; between cultures, genders, ethnic groups, generations and individuals; and between humans and the environment.

### Actions to be promoted

While an infinite number of actions might be promoted, and any action taken will have to be adapted to the realities of each society, we should like to suggest, by way of example, the following possible initiatives:

- Between Governments and citizens: amnesty for political prisoners, programmes to eradicate critical poverty
- Between States in conflict: measures to foster trust, ceasefires, negotiations and other means of settlement; lifting of sanctions, embargoes, etc.
- Between genders: programmes to eradicate violence against and promote equal rights for women
- Between generations: programmes to promote respect for and recognition of the rights and specific needs of children and young people and of older persons
- Between humans and nature: promotion through educational systems and the communications media of environmental education and activities to encourage environmental conservation and the development of

ecological awareness

- Between the North and the South: initiatives for total or partial forgiveness by the countries of the North of the debt of the poorest and least developed countries of the South

- Between religions, ethnic groups and cultures: systematic programmes aimed at promoting tolerance, dialogue, knowledge, exchange and understanding between different groups, and reparation for the injustice that indigenous peoples have suffered in relation to their lands and cultures

### *The General Assembly...*

1. *Expresses* its steadfast determination to pursue reconciliation processes in those societies that are affected and/or divided by armed, economic, social or cultural conflicts;
2. *Decides* to proclaim 2009 the International Year of Reconciliation;
3. *Invites* concerned Governments and international and non-governmental organizations to support reconciliation processes among affected and/or divided societies and to plan and implement adequate cultural, educational and social programmes to promote the concept of reconciliation...

## INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF ASTRONOMY

### *The General Assembly...*

*Aware* that astronomy is one of the oldest basic sciences and that it has contributed and still contributes fundamentally to the evolution of other sciences and applications in a wide range of fields,

*Recognizing* that astronomical observations have profound implications for the development of science, philosophy, culture and the general conception of the universe,

*Noting* that, although there is a general interest in astronomy, it is often difficult for the general public to gain access to information and knowledge on the subject,

*Conscious* that each society has developed legends, myths and traditions concerning the sky, the planets and the stars which form part of its cultural heritage,

*Convinced* that the Year could play a crucial role, inter alia, in raising public awareness of the impor-

tance of astronomy and basic sciences for sustainable development, promoting access to the universal knowledge of fundamental science through the excitement generated by the subject of astronomy, supporting formal and informal science education in schools as well as through science centres and museums and other relevant means, stimulating a long-term increase in student enrolment in the fields of science and technology, and supporting scientific literacy,

1. *Decides* to declare 2009 the International Year of Astronomy; (...)

3. *Encourages* all Member States, the United Nations system and all other actors to take advantage of the Year to promote actions at all levels aimed at increasing awareness among the public of the importance of astronomical sciences and promoting widespread access to new knowledge and experiences of astronomical observation.

## INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF HUMAN RIGHTS LEARNING

*The General Assembly...*

*Acknowledging* that non-governmental organizations play an important role at the national, regional and international levels in the promotion and protection of human rights through education and learning,

*Considering* that the sixtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 2008 is a suitable occasion to redouble the Organization's efforts to promote a human rights culture worldwide through education and learning,

*Welcoming* the adoption by the Human Rights Council on 28 September 2007 of a resolution entitled 'United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training',

*Convinced* that every woman, man and child, in order to realize their full human potential, must be made aware of all their human rights and fundamental freedoms,

*Convinced* that human rights learning should serve to transform the holistic vision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into a way of life for people everywhere and a standard to measure the legitimacy of Governments,

1. *Decides* that the year commencing on 10 December 2007 shall be proclaimed the International Year of Human Rights Learning, devoted to activities to

broaden and deepen human rights learning as a way of life, on the basis of the principles of universality, impartiality, objectivity and non-selectivity, constructive international dialogue and cooperation, with a view to enhancing the promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development;

2. *Also decides* that the Human Rights Council shall promote the effective coordination and creative development of human rights learning among Member States and within the United Nations system;

3. *Calls upon* Member States to cooperate among themselves to promote human rights learning and to undertake throughout the year and beyond, at local, national and international levels, activities aimed at ensuring the universal knowledge and implementation of human rights...

## INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF NATURAL FIBERS

*The General Assembly...*

*Noting...* that the diverse range of natural fibres produced in many countries provides an important source of income for farmers, and thus can play an important role in contributing to food security and in eradicating poverty and hence in contributing to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals,

1. *Decides* to declare 2009 the International Year of Natural Fibres;

2. *Invites* the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to facilitate the observance of the Year, in collaboration with Governments, regional and international organizations, non-governmental organizations, the private sector and relevant organizations of the United Nations system, and also invites the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to keep the General Assembly informed of progress made in this regard;

3. *Calls upon* Governments and relevant regional and international organizations to make voluntary contributions and to lend other forms of support to the Year;

4. *Invites* non-governmental organizations and the private sector to make voluntary contributions to and to support the Year;

5. *Encourages* all Governments, the United Nations system and all other actors to take advantage of the Year in order to increase awareness of the importance of these natural products.

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24	25	26	27	28	29	30

**December'2010**

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

1 T	<b>1 S</b>	<b>1 S</b>
2 F	2 M	2 M
3 S	3 T	3 T
<b>4 S</b>	4 W	4 W
5 M	5 T	5 T
6 T	6 F	6 F
7 W	7 S	7 S
8 T	<b>8 S</b>	<b>8 S</b>
9 F	9 M	9 M
10 S	10 T	10 T
<b>11 S</b>	11 W	11 W
12 M	12 T	12 T
13 T	13 F	13 F
14 W	14 S	14 S
15 T	<b>15 S</b>	<b>15 S</b>
16 F	16 M	16 M
17 S	17 T	17 T
<b>18 S</b>	18 W	18 W
19 M	19 T	19 T
20 T	20 F	20 F
21 W	21 S	21 S
22 T	<b>22 S</b>	<b>22 S</b>
23 F	23 M	23 M
24 S	24 T	24 T
<b>25 S</b>	25 W <small>Ash Wednesday</small>	25 W
26 M	26 T	26 T
27 T	27 F	27 F
28 W	28 S	28 S
29 T		<b>29 S</b>
30 F		30 M
31 S		31 T

## April

## May

## June

1 W

2 T

3 F

4 S

**5 S**

6 M

7 T

8 W

9 T

10 F

11 S

**12 S** Easter

13 M

14 T

15 W

16 T

17 F

18 S

**19 S**

20 M

21 T

22 W

23 T

24 F

25 S

**26 S**

27 M

28 T

29 W

30 T

1 F

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**10 S**

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18 M

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21 T

22 F

23 S

**24 S**

25 M

26 T

27 W

28 T

29 F

30 S

**31 S** Pentecost

1 M

2 T

3 W

4 T

5 F

6 S

**7 S**

8 M

9 T

10 W

11 T

12 F

13 S

**14 S**

15 M

16 T

17 W

18 T

19 F

20 S

**21 S**

22 M

23 T

24 W

25 T

26 F

27 S

**28 S**

29 M

30 T

## July

## August

## September

1 W	1 S	1 T
2 T	<b>2 S</b>	2 W
3 F	3 M	3 T
4 S	4 T	4 F
<b>5 S</b>	5 W	5 S
6 M	6 T	<b>6 S</b>
7 T	7 F	7 M
8 W	8 S	8 T
9 T	<b>9 S</b>	9 W
10 F	10 M	10 T
11 S	11 T	11 F
<b>12 S</b>	12 W	12 S
13 M	13 T	<b>13 S</b>
14 T	14 F	14 M
15 W	15 S	15 T
16 T	<b>16 S</b>	16 W
17 F	17 M	17 T
18 S	18 T	18 F
<b>19 S</b>	19 W	19 S
20 M	20 T	<b>20 S</b>
21 T	21 F	21 M
22 W	22 S	22 T
23 T	<b>23 S</b>	23 W
24 F	24 M	24 T
25 S	25 T	25 F
<b>26 S</b>	26 W	26 S
27 M	27 T	<b>27 S</b>
28 T	28 F	28 M
29 W	29 S	29 T
30 T	<b>30 S</b>	30 W
31 F	31 M	

1 T

2 F

3 S

4 S

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29 S Advent, Year C

30 M

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18 F

19 S

20 S

21 M

22 T

23 W

24 T

25 F

26 S

27 S

28 M

29 T

30 W

31 T

# 2009

December 2008

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	29	30	31				
15	16	17	18	19	20	21							

<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
			<b>1</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>



29 Monday

30 Tuesday

31 Wednesday

January


**AÑO 2009:**

**Año 6722 del período Juliano.**

**Año 5768 de la era de los judíos** (5769 comienza el 19 de septiembre de 2009).

**Año 1430 de la Hégira** (1431 comienza el 18 de diciembre de 2009).

Hay un conversor de fechas cristiano-islámico en [www.islamicfinder.org](http://www.islamicfinder.org)

**Año amazig 2958** (2959 comienza el 13 de enero de 2009).



# 1 Thursday

Num 6, 22-27 / Gál 4, 4-7  
SI 66 / Lc 2, 16-21

- 1508: Comienza la colonización de Puerto Rico.
- 1804: Independencia de Haití. Fiesta nacional.
- 1959: Triunfo de la revolución cubana. **50 años.**
- 1977: Mauricio López, rector de la Universidad de Mendoza, Argentina, miembro del Consejo Mundial de Iglesias, desaparecido.
- 1990: Maureen Courtney y Teresa Rosales, religiosas asesinadas por la Contra en Nicaragua.
- 1994: Levantamiento indígena zapatista. **15 años.**
- 2003: Lula toma el poder presidencial en Brasil.

**Jornada mundial por la Paz**

# 2 Friday

1 Jn 2,22-28 / SI 97  
Jn 1, 19-28

- Basilio Magno
- Gregorio Nacianceno
- J.K. Wilhelm Loehe
- 1904: Desembarco de marines en Rep. Dominicana «para proteger intereses estadounidenses».
- 1979: Francisco Jentel, defensor de indios y campesinos, víctima de la Seguridad Nacional, Brasil.
- 1981: José Manuel de Souza «Zé Piau», labrador, víctima de los «grileiros» de Pará, Brasil.
- 1994: Daniel Rollano, militante, evocador constante de la memoria de los mártires de Argentina. **15 años.**

# 3 Saturday

1 Jn 2,29 - 3,6 / SI 97  
Jn 1, 29-34

- Genoveva
- 1511: «Grito de Coayuco», rebelión de los taínos encabezada por Agüeybaná el Bravo, Puerto Rico.
- 1981: Diego Quic, indígena, catequista, líder popular, desaparecido, Guatemala.
- 1994: Antulio Parrilla Bonilla, obispo, luchador independentista y de la causa de los perseguidos, «Las Casas» del siglo XX en Puerto Rico. **15 años.**

# 4

Epifanía  
Is 60,1-6 / Sal 71  
Ef 3,2-6 / Mt 2,1-12

Rigoberto

- 1975: José Patricio León «Pato», animador de la JEC y militante político, desaparecido en Chile.
- 2005: La Corte Suprema autoriza procesamiento de Pinochet por la Operación Cóndor.

Creciente: 11h56m en Aries



# 5 Monday

1Jn 3,22-4,6 / Sl 2  
Mt 4,12-17.23-25

Telesforo y Emiliana  
*Kaj Munk*

1534: Guarocuya «Enriquillo», cacique cristiano de La Española (Rep. Dominicana), primero en rebelarse en defensa de sus hermanos.  
1785: La Reina María I manda suprimir toda industria brasileña excepto la de ropa para esclavos.  
2007: Fallece Axel Mencos, héroe de la resistencia y la pastoral comprometida, Guatemala.

# 6 Tuesday

1Jn 4,7-10 / Sl 71  
Mc 6,34-44

Melchor, Gaspar, Baltasar

1848: Los guaraníes son declarados ciudadanos paraguayos por decreto de Carlos A. López.  
1915: Reforma agraria en México, fruto de la revolución, primer reparto de latifundios en A.L.  
1927: Tropas de EEUU ocupan Nicaragua para combatir a Sandino. Sólo saldrán en 1933.  
1982: Victoria de la Roca, religiosa guatemalteca, mártir de los pobres, desaparecida.  
1986: Julio González, obispo de El Puno, Perú, muerto en un accidente sospechoso.  
1992: Augusto María y Augusto Conte, militantes, mártires de la solidaridad y DDHH en Argentina.

# 7 Wednesday

1Jn 4,11-18 / Sl 71  
Mc 6,45-52

Raimundo de Peñafort

1835: Victoria de Cabanagem. Los rebeldes toman Belém y asumen el gobierno de la provincia.  
1981: Sebastião Mearim, líder rural en Pará, Brasil, asesinado por «grileiros».  
1983: Felipe y Mary Barreda, cristianos revolucionarios asesinados en Nicaragua.  
1999: Bartolomé Carrasco, obispo de Oaxaca, México, destacado en la opción por los pobres. **10 años.**

Series of horizontal lines for writing notes.



# 8 Thursday

1Jn 4,19-5,4 / Sl 71

Lc 4,14-22a

Severino

1454: El papa Nicolás autoriza al rey de Portugal a esclavizar a cualquier nación del mundo africano, siempre que se administre el bautismo.

1642: Muere Galileo Galilei, condenado por la Inquisición. El Vaticano lo «rehabilitará» tres siglos y medio después.

1850: Es ahorcado Juan, líder en la Revolución del Queimado, Espíritu Santo, Brasil.

1912: Fundación del Congreso Nacional Africano.

1982: Domingo Cahuec Sic, indígena achí delegado de la Palabra, en Rabinal, Verapaz, Guatemala.

# 9 Friday

1Jn 4,5,5-13 / Sl 147

Lc 5,12-16 Aldo

Eulogio, Julián, Basilia

1662: Lisboa ordena la extinción de los indios Janduiem en Brasil (Estados CE, RN y PB)

1858: Primera huelga conocida de Brasil, de los tipógrafos, pioneros de la lucha obrera allí.

1959: Nace Rigobertha Menchú en Chimal, Departamento del Quiché, Guatemala.

# 10 Saturday

1Jn 5,14-21 / Sl 149

Jn 3,22-30

1911: Huelga de 5 meses de los zapateros de São Paulo por la jornada de 8 horas.

1920: Se crea la Liga de las Naciones, tras las masacres de la Primera Guerra Mundial.

1978: Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, periodista, luchador por las libertades, contra la dictadura somocista.

1982: Dora Azmitía «Menchy», 23 años, maestra, mártir de la juventud estudiantil católica, Guatemala.

1985: Ernesto Fernández Espino, pastor luterano, mártir de los refugiados salvadoreños.

# 11

Bautismo del Señor

Is 42,1-4,6-7 / Sl 28

Hch 10,34-38 / Mc 1,7-11

Higinio, Martín de León

1839: Nace Eugenio María de Hostos, luchador por la independencia de Puerto Rico. 70 años.

Llena: 03h27m en Cáncer



# 12 Monday

Benito, Tatiana  
1694: 6500 hombres comienzan el asedio a Palmares, que resistirá hasta el 6 de febrero.  
1948: La Corte Suprema de EEUU proclama la igualdad de blancos y negros en la escuela.

Hb 1,1-6 / SI 96  
Mc 1,14-20

# 13 Tuesday

Hilario, Jorge Fox  
1825: Es fusilado Frei Caneca, revolucionario republicano, héroe de la Confederación de Ecuador.  
1879: Roca inicia la campaña del Desierto en la Patagonia argentina.  
2001: Terremoto de 7,9 Richter en El Salvador, con 1200 muertos, 4200 desaparecidos y más de 500.000 damnificados.

Hb 2,5-12 / SI 8  
Mc 1,21-28

# 14 Wednesday

Fulgencio  
1988: Miguel Angel Pavón, director de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos, y Moisés Landaverde, Honduras.  
1997: Marcha de 700.000 surcoreanos en las huelgas contra la flexibilización de los derechos sociales.

Hb 2,14-18 / SI 104  
Mc 1,29-39

Idd Inneyer, año nuevo amazig: 2959



# 15 Thursday

Hb 3,7-14 / Sl 94  
Mc 1,40-45

Ef시오

- 1929: Nace Luther King en Atlanta, Georgia, EEUU. **80 años.**
- 1970: Leonel Rugama, en la lucha revolucionaria contra la dictadura de Somoza. Nicaragua.
- 1976: El gobierno de Bahia (Brasil) suprime los registros policiales para los Candomblés.
- 1981: Estela Pajuelo Grimani, campesina, 55 años, 11 hijos, mártir de la solidaridad, Perú.
- 1982: La ley constitucional de Canadá incluye los derechos de los indios.
- 1990: Desplome del real brasileño.

# 16 Friday

Marcelo

- 1992: Firma de los Acuerdos de Paz de El Salvador.
  - 2004: Comienza en Mumbay el 4º Foro Social Mundial.
- Día internacional contra la esclavitud infantil**  
En memoria del niño Iqbal Mashib, antiguo esclavo, que unido al Frente de Liberación del Trabajo de Pakistán, consiguió cerrar varias fábricas de niños esclavos (solidaridad.net).

# 17 Saturday

Hb 4,1-5.11 / Sl 77  
Mc 2,1-12

Antonio Abad

Hb 4,12-16 / Sl 18  
Mc 2,13-17

- 1961: Es asesinado en el Congo Lumumba, héroe de la independencia de África.
- 1981: Silvia Maribel Arriola, enfermera, primera religiosa mártir en la revolución salvadoreña.
- 1981: Ana María Castillo, militante cristiana, mártir de la justicia en El Salvador.
- 1988: Jaime Restrepo López, sacerdote, mártir de la causa de los pobres, Colombia.
- 1991: Comienza la guerra del Golfo Pérsico.
- 1994: Terremoto en Los Angeles.
- 1996: Fallece en Uruguay Juan Luis Segundo, teólogo de la liberación.

# 18

Domingo 2º Ordinario  
1Sm 3,3b-10.19 / Sl 39  
1Cor 6,13c-15a.17-20 / Jn 1,35-42

Beatriz, Prisca

La confesión de Pedro

- 1535: Fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima).
  - 1867: Nace en Metapa, Nicaragua, Rubén Darío.
  - 1978: Germán Cortés, militante cristiano y político, mártir de la causa de la justicia en Chile.
  - 1981: José Eduardo, líder sindical de Acre, Brasil, asesinado por encargo.
  - 1982: Sergio Bertén, religioso belga, y compañeros, mártires de la solidaridad, Guatemala.
- Menguante: 02h46m en Libra



# 19 Monday

Mario, Marta

*Enrique de Upsala*

1897: Batalla de Tabuleirinho: los sertanejos contienen al ejército a 3 km de Canudos, Brasil.

Hb 5,1-10 / Sl 109

Mc 2,18-22

# 20 Tuesday

Fabían y Sebastián

1973: Amílcar Cabral, anticolonialista de Guinea Bissau, muerto por la policía portuguesa

1979: Octavio Ortiz, sacerdote, y cuatro estudiantes y catequistas, mártires en El Salvador. **30 años.**

1982: Carlos Morales, dominico, mártir entre los campesinos indígenas en Guatemala.

Hb 6,10-20 / Sl 110

Mc 2,23-28

# 21 Wednesday

Inés

Día del Sacrificio en el Islam (Eid-al-Adha).

1972: Gerardo Valencia Cano, obispo de Buenaventura (Colombia), profeta y mártir de la liberación.

1974: Mártires campesinos de Valle Alto, Bolivia.  
1980: María Ercilia y Ana Coralia Martínez, estudiantes, socorristas de la Cruz Roja y catequistas, mártires de El Salvador.

1984: Se funda en Cascavel (PR, Brasil) el MST, Movimiento de los Trabajadores sin Tierra. **25 años.**

2000: Levantamiento indígena y popular en Ecuador.

Hb 7,1-3.15-17 / Sl 109

Mc 3,1-6



# 22 Thursday

Hb 7,25-8,6 / Sl 39

Mc 3,7-12

Vicente

1565: «Tata» Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de Michoacán, precursor de las reducciones indígenas.

1982: Masacre de campesinos en Pueblo Nuevo, Colombia.

2006: Evo Morales, indígena aymara, asume la Presidencia de Bolivia.

# 23 Friday

Hb 8,6-13 / Sl 84

Mc 3,13-19

Ildefonso

1914: Revuelta de Juazeiro, Brasil. Victoria de los sertanejos, comandados por el P. Cícero.

1958: Caída del último dictador de Venezuela, General Marcos Pérez Jiménez.

1983: Segundo Francisco Guamán, quechua, mártir de la lucha por la tierra en Ecuador.

# 24 Saturday

Hb 9,2-3,11-14 / Sl 46

Mc 3,20-21

Francisco de Sales

1835: Los negros malês organizan en Salvador la mayor revolución urbana de Brasil.

1977: Primer Congreso Indígena de Centroamérica.

Series of horizontal lines for writing.

# 25

Domingo 3º ordinario

Jon 3,1-5.10 / Sl 24

1Cor 7,29-31 / Mc 1,14-20

Conversión de san Pablo

Jornada por la Unidad de los cristianos

1524: Parten de España los «doce apóstoles de México», franciscanos.

1554: Fundación de São Paulo.

Series of horizontal lines for writing.

# 26 Monday

2Tim 1,1-8 / Sal 95  
Lc 10,1-9

Timoteo, Tito y Silas

1500: Vicente Pinzón desembarca en el Nordeste brasileño, antes que Pedro Alvares Cabral.

1813: Nace Juan Pablo Duarte, héroe nacional, precursor de la independencia dominicana.

1914: José Gabriel, «Cura Brochero», sacerdote profeta entre los campesinos de Argentina.

2001: Terremoto en India con 50.000 víctimas.

**Eclipse anular de Sol, visible en África, Antártida y SE de Asia**

Nueva: 07h55m en Acuario



# 27 Tuesday

Hb 10,1-10 / Sl 39  
Mc 3,31-35

Ángela de Mérci

Lidia

1554: Pablo de Torres, obispo de Panamá, primer exiliado de A.L. por defender al indio.

1977: Miguel Angel Nicolau, sacerdote salesiano, mártir de la solidaridad y de la entrega a la juventud argentina, desaparecido.

# 28 Wednesday

Hb 10,11-18 / Sl 109  
Mc 4,1-20

Tomás de Aquino

1853: Nace José Martí en La Habana.

1979: Inauguración de la Conferencia de Puebla. **30 años.**

Lined writing area for notes.



# 29 Thursday

Hb 10,19-25 / Sl 23  
Mc 4,21-25

Valero

1895: José Martí comienza la guerra por la independencia de Cuba.

1985: Primer congreso nacional del MST.

1999: El dólar llega a 2'15 reales: momento álgido de la caída de la moneda brasileña.

2001: Pinochet es procesado como autor de los crímenes de la "caravana de la Muerte".

# 30 Friday

Martina

1629: António Raposo, bandeirante, destruye las misiones guaraníes de Gualiá PR, Basil y esclaviza a 4.000 indígenas.

1948: Muere asesinado Mahatma Gandhi.

**Día de la No-Violencia y la paz**

# 31 Saturday

Juan Bosco

1865: La enmienda 13ª de la Constitución declara abolida la esclavitud en EEUU.

1980: Masacre de 40 quichés en la Embajada de España en Guatemala: María Ramírez, Gaspar Viví y Vicente Menchú y compañeros.

Hb 11,1-2.8-10 / Int.: Lc 1  
Mc 4,35-41



Series of horizontal lines for writing.

# 1

Domingo 4º ordinario  
Dt 18,15-20 / Sl 94  
1Cor 7,32-35 / Mc 1,21-28

Cecilio, Viridiana

1870: Jonathan Jasper Wright es elegido a la Corte Suprema, primer negro que alcanza un puesto tan alto en la judicatura de EEUU.

1932: Es fusilado en San Salvador, Agustín Farabundo Martí, junto con Alonso Luna y Mario Zapata, en vísperas de una gran insurrección campesina.

1977: Daniel Esquivel, obrero paraguayo, mártir, del Equipo de Pastoral de inmigrantes, Argentina.

Series of horizontal lines for writing.

# TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

## FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

**JUNG MO SUNG**

São Paulo, SP, Brazil

In our struggle to overcome the capitalist system and to build a new social system, more just and human, we need to keep in mind some important issues.

1. The ideologues of capitalism insist that there is no other way besides capitalism, that “what we have, we have,” and that it cannot be any other way. We should only think about the evolution of what we have, and not in the possibility of creating something different. This discourse seduces many people, because it gives a false sense of security, that the future is not threatening because it is already “written.”

But many people resist this seduction and fight for the world that “ought to be.” Between “what is” and “what ought to be,” we find “what can be.” What ought to be is not always possible, because it may be beyond the limits of what is historically achievable. We are beings capable of imagining and desiring realities that are beyond our human possibilities.

The ideologues of capitalism insist on the “evolution of the same,” that is, “of what we have.” The critics, who do not want to take on human reality, focus only on “what ought to be” and become accustomed to taking only a position of negative criticism. The groups that struggle not only for the ideas of what ought to be, but to improve the concrete lives of people and society, recognize that in between “what we have” and “what ought to be,” “what can be” exists, and they assume a posture of constructive criticism, proposing and seeking possible and concrete alternatives.

2. The new economical-social system, as every system, needs to resolve the basic concerns of the coordination of the countless tasks and factors that constitute a social system. In order to better understand the problem of the coordination of the social division of labour, let us take as an example this issue of the Latin American Agenda. I am writing this text because I was invited by the coordinators of this

project. The invitation came to me by e-mail, which means they were in a place with a computer, electricity, and an internet connection. The infrastructure that permits these contacts is not produced by the team of the Agenda. In other words, the production of the Agenda is a process of work inserted into a larger system, on which it depends and which it feeds.

I am writing now to meet the assigned deadline, because I know that if I fall behind the entire elaboration of the Agenda would be delayed. When it receives the contributions from the most diverse places, interconnected by the web, the team of the Agenda will have to do the translating, editing, formatting, pre-printing, printing, distribution, and promotion... And for that it will make use of other networks of contacts, sources of information, infrastructure, etc.

This example, which is an infinitesimal part of what constitutes the entire array of tasks done in the national and global economy, shows us how systems need to have their parts interconnected, with a flow of materials, information and labour adequate for the infrastructure, equipment and utilized technologies, within a well calculated “chronogram of time.” A fundamental challenge for any big and complex social system is precisely the coordination of the entire group of tasks needed for reproducing life in the system.

3. Besides the systemic coordination, socio-economic systems need to produce at least the minimum necessary goods for their reproduction. In other words, the coordination needs to be effective. In older smaller societies, the meeting of the “elders” coordinated the process of deciding what, where, when, and who would plant, hunt, etc. It was a conscious form of coordination and planning. But, for example, when it did not rain in season or enough, production fell below the minimum necessary requirements and the people suffered hunger. From there emerged the need to improve the techniques for increasing produc-

tion. The growth of technology meant an increase in the division of labour and the complexity of the system, until we reached the level of technology and complexity we have today.

Neoliberal capitalism intends that the free-market be the only instrument coordinating the economy, without intervention from the State or Civil Society. Proponents defend the idea that free competition in the market makes the system more efficient, because those who are inefficient ultimately will be eliminated. Besides, the system of prices of the free market would be the best way of indicating what, how much, and for whom to produce. When a product is overproduced, prices fall, thus indicating to producers that they must decrease production. When the supply of products is less than the demand (the desire to purchase by those who can pay for the merchandize), prices rise and this signals to producers that they need to increase production. We know that monopolies, oligopolies, and other mechanisms manipulate prices. Neoliberals also know this, and they say that the solution is not intervention, but to remove those mechanisms of manipulation, which guarantee free competition.

The result of the imposition of the market as the main or only coordinator of the economy in the world has been the increase of efficiency and production. It has produced great profit and the concentration of revenue. But it has also increased the social exclusion of people that do not find a place in that market, or that cannot compete with the economic powers.

The alternative created by the Soviet model of socialism was centralized planning as the mechanism of coordination of the entire economy. Production and distribution was left in the hands of the State, and the economy was controlled by the decisions of the State, under the regime of one party. The model of planning is useful for the solution of grave social problems, in the measure in which production is not directed to satisfying the wishes of consumers (even when these are useless) but to respond to the basic needs of the population. But, in the medium term, the absolutization of planning creates other problems. To be efficient, planning needs at least two things: the knowledge of all the factors implicated and the stability of such factors that permit the prediction of future events.

The problem is that it is impossible to recognize all of the factors that are implicated in large socio-economic systems. For example, variations in the weather that affect production or the emergence of new technologies that modify the entire productive process are factors that occur but that cannot be anticipated by either medium or long term planning. When planning is absolutized and economic agents (like private or public companies, liberal professionals, workers, etc.) are not free to adapt to new conditions, the system becomes inefficient and production falls below the minimum necessary for the survival of the population and of the economic system itself.

In addition, humans are beings of desires and needs. Production for the satisfaction of “needs”—which are more stable, although not immutable—can be planned in a centralized way by the State, but “desires” are not basic needs and therefore are not foreseeable. Therefore, an economy based only on planning is not capable of satisfying the desires of the population. This generates a high degree of dissatisfaction. In our struggle against capitalism, we cannot forget that we are beings of desire and that among these desires is the desire for freedom and a better life.

4. The project of a new society cannot reproduce the neoliberal obsession of absolutizing the mechanisms of the market and becoming hypersensitive against everything that has to do with the market. Today it is impossible for such a large and complex economic system as the world economy to function efficiently without a minimum degree of competition between mercantile relations, without the freedom to make decisions by economic agents, or without a sense of technological innovation. But the absolutizing of the market (the idolatry of the market) also results in the destruction of environment and social relations. It is necessary to find an adequate relationship (always in tension) between: a) the market (with diverse types of companies and properties, workers and consumers); b) the State, with its role of regulating the market and its social goals; and c) Civil Society, as the space where we struggle to create and sustain a culture in which peoples’ rights to a dignifying and happy life is the foundation of the values of society.

# 2009

January

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
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12	13	14	15	16	17	18							

<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>
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M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	March
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9	10	11	12	13	14	15	30	31						

# FEBRUARY

Friday <i>Viernes</i>	Saturday <i>Sabado</i>	Sunday <i>Domingo</i>	
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# 2 Monday

# 3 Tuesday

# 4 Wednesday

Presentación del Señor Mal 3,1-4 / Sal 23  
Hb 2,14-18 / Lc 2, 22-40

Blas y Oscar

1976: José Tedeschi, sacerdote obrero, mártir de los «villeros» en Argentina. Secuestrado y muerto.

*Ansgar de Hamburgo*

1795: Nace Antonio José de Sucre.

1989: Es derrocado Alfredo Stroessner, dictador de Paraguay mediante un golpe militar incruento. **20 años.**

1929: Nace Camilo Torres. **80 años.**

1991: Expedito Ribeiro de Souza, presidente del Sindicato de Trabajadores Rurales, en Río María, Pará, Brasil, asesinado.

Creciente: 23h13m en Tauro



Hb 12,1-4 / Sl 21  
Mc 5,21-43

Andrés Corsino

1794: Liberación de los esclavos en Haití. Primera ley abolicionista en América Latina.

1927: La columna Prestes se refugia en Bolivia.

1979: Benjamín Dincué, líder indígena mártir por la defensa de la tierra en Colombia.

1979: Masacre de Cromotex, Lima (Perú). 6 obreros muertos y decenas de heridos. **30 años.**

1981: Masacre de Chimaltenango (Guatemala). 68 campesinos muertos.

1992: Intento de golpe de estado en Venezuela.

Hb 12,4-7,11-15 / Sl 102  
Mc 6,1-6



# 5 Thursday

Hb 12,18-19.21-24 / Sl 47

Mc 6,7-13

Águeda

1977: La Guardia Somocista destruye la comunidad contemplativa de Solentiname, comprometida con la revolución de Nicaragua.

1988: Francisco Domingo Ramos, líder sindical en Pancas, Brasil, asesinado por encargo de los «fazendeiros».

# 6 Friday

Hb 13,1-8 / Sl 26

Mc 6,14-29

Pablo Miki

1694: Zumbí y los suyos, asediados en Palmares, ya sin pólvora, huyen a la selva.

1916: † Rubén Darío, nicaragüense, príncipe de las letras castellanas.

1992: † Sergio Méndez Arceo, obispo de Cuernavaca, México, Patriarca de la Solidaridad.

1997: El Congreso ecuatoriano destituye al presidente Abdalá Bucaram en dos días de huelga nacional masiva.

# 7 Saturday

Hb 13,15-17.20-21 / Sl 22

Mc 6,30-34

Ricardo

1756: Masacre de Sepé Tiarajú y 1500 indios de la República Guaraní, en Caiboaté, São Gabriel, RS, Brasil, por el ejército de España y Portugal.

1974: Independencia de Granada. Fiesta nacional.

1986: Abandona Haití Jean Claude Duvalier, después de 29 años de dictadura familiar.

1990: Raynal Sáenz, sacerdote, Perú.

Horizontal lines for writing notes.

# 8

Domingo 5º ordinario

Jb 7,1-4.6-7 / Sl 146

1Cor 9,16-19.22-23 / Mc 1,29-39

Jerónimo Emiliani

1712: Rebelión de los esclavos en Nueva York.

1812: Gran represión contra los habitantes de los quilombos de Rosario, Brasil.

Horizontal lines for writing notes.

# 9 Monday

Gn 1,1-19 / Sl 103  
Mc 6,53-56

Miguel Febres Cordero  
Comienzo del Año Chino (Yüan Tan).  
1977: Agustín Goiburú, médico, Paraguay.  
1985: Felipe Balam Tomás, religioso misionero, servidor de los pobres, mártir, Guatemala.  
1995: Diamantino García Acosta, cura jornalero andaluz identificado con los pobres, fundador del Sindicato de Obreros del Campo, «Entrepueblos» y la Asociación pro DDHH de Andalucía.

**Eclipse penumbral de Luna, visible en Europa, Asia y Oeste de Norte América.**



Lena: 14h49m en Leo

# 10 Tuesday

Gn 1,20-2,4a / Sl 8  
Mc 7,1-13

Escolástica  
1986: Alberto Königsnecht, obispo de Juli, Perú, muerto en accidente sospechoso, amenazado de muerte por su opción por los pobres.

# 11 Wednesday

Gn 2,4b-9,15-17 / Sl 103  
Mc 7,14-23

Lourdes  
1990: Tras 27 años de cárcel es liberado Nelson Mandela, exponente máximo de la resistencia negra internacional contra el Apartheid.  
1998: Las comunidades Negras del Medio Atrato (Colombia) consiguen título colectivo de 695.000 Has de tierra.

**Día mundial del enfermo**

Lined writing area for notes.



# 12 Thursday

Gn 2,18-25 / Sl 127

Mc 7,24-30

Eulalia

- 1541: Pedro de Valdivia funda Santiago de Chile.
- 1542: Orellana llega al Amazonas.
- 1545: Llegan los conquistadores a las minas de plata de Potosí, donde morirán 8 millones de indios.
- 1817: San Martín derroca a las fuerzas realistas en Chacabuco.
- 1818: Independencia de Chile.
- 1894: El ejército nicaragüense ocupa Bluefields y anexiona el territorio de la Mosquitia.
- 1905: Nacimiento de Federica Montseny.
- 2005: Dorothy Stang, mártir de la ecología, asesinada por orden de los terratenientes, Anapú, Brasil.

# 13 Friday

Gn 3,1-8 / Sl 31

Mc 7,31-37

Benigno

- Año Nuevo Tibetano.
- 1976: Francisco Soares, sacerdote, mártir de la justicia entre los pobres de Argentina.
- 1982: Santiago Miller, hermano de La Salle norteamericano, mártir de la educación liberadora en la Iglesia indígena guatemalteca.

# 14 Saturday

Gn 3,9-24 / Sl 89

Mc 8,1-10

Valentín, Cirilo y Metodio

- 1992: Rick Julio Medrano, religioso, mártir de la Iglesia perseguida de Guatemala.
- 1998: Manuel Pérez Martínez, sacerdote español muere en la guerrilla colombiana del ELN.

Día de la amistad



# 15

Domingo 6º ordinario  
Lv 13,1-2,44-46 / Sl 31  
1Cor 10,31-11,1 / Mc 1,40-45

Claudio

- 1600: José de Acosta, misionero, historiador y defensor de la cultura indígena. Perú.
- 1966: Camilo Torres, sacerdote, mártir de las luchas de liberación del pueblo, Colombia.
- 1981: Juan Alonso Hernández, sacerdote mártir entre los campesinos de Guatemala.
- 1991: Ariel Granada, misionero colombiano asesinado por las guerrillas en Massangulu, Mozambique.
- 1992: María Elena Moyano, dirigente popular mártir de la paz, en Villa El Salvador, Perú.
- 2003: «Primera manifestación social mundial»: 15 millones de personas en 600 ciudades, contra la guerra de EEUU contra Irak.

# 16 Monday

Gn 4,1-15.25 / Sl 49

Juliana y Onésimo

Mc 8,11-13

Fundadores Servitas

1981: Albino Amarilla, líder campesino y catequista, muerto a manos del ejército, mártir del pueblo paraguayo.

1985: Alí Primera, poeta y cantor venezolano de la justicia para el pueblo latinoamericano.

1986: Mauricio Demierre, cooperante suizo, y compañeras campesinas, asesinados por la contrarrevolución, Nicaragua.

Menguante: 21h37m en Escorpión



# 17 Tuesday

Gn 6,5-8;7,1-5.10 / Sl 28

1997: 1300 militantes del MST parten de São Paulo rumbo a Brasilia, por la reforma agraria.

1997: Muere Darcy Ribeiro, escritor militante, antropólogo brasileño, senador.

# 18 Wednesday

Gn 8,6-13.20-22 / Sl 115

Simeón

Mc 8,22-26

1519: Hernán Cortés parte de Cuba para la conquista de México.

1546: Muere Martín Lutero en Alemania.

1853: Félix Varela, luchador de la causa de la independencia cubana.

1984: Edgar Fernando García, activista social, capturado ilegalmente y desaparecido en Guatemala. **15 años.**



Lined writing area for notes.

Lined writing area for notes.



# 19 Thursday

Gn 9,1-13 / Sl 101

Mc 8,27-33

Alvaro y Conrado

1590: Bernardino de Sahagún, misionero en México, protector de la cultura de nuestros pueblos.

1990: Los estudiantes toman la Universidad del Estado de Tennessee, tradicionalmente afroamericana, para exigir igual tratamiento económico.

# 20 Friday

Eleuterio, Rasmus Jensen

1524: Hoy, «el día 1-Ganel, fueron destruidos los quichés por los hombres de Castilla», testimonia el Memorial de Sololá.

1974: Domingo Laín, sacerdote mártir de las luchas de liberación, Colombia.

1978: El decreto 1142 ordena en Colombia tener en cuenta la lengua y la cultura de los indios.

# 21 Saturday

Hb 11,1-7 / Sl 144

Mc 9,2-13

Pedro Damián

1934: Augusto C. Sandino, líder popular nicaragüense, asesinado a traición por Somoza.

1965: Es asesinado Malcom X, líder liberacionista afroamericano, en EEUU.

1985: Campesinos crucificados en Xeatzan, en medio de la pasión del pueblo guatemalteco.



Series of horizontal lines for writing notes or reflections.

# 22

Domingo 7º ordinario

Is 43,18-19.21-22.24b-25 / Sl 40

2Cor 1,18-22 / Mc 2,1-12

Cátedra de Pedro

1910: Intervención de los marines en Nicaragua.

1979: Independencia de Santa Lucía, Caribe. **30 años.**

1990: Campesinos mártires de Iquicha, Perú.

Series of horizontal lines for writing notes or reflections.

# 23 Monday

Bartolomé, Policarpo,  
Ziegenbalg

Sir 1,1-10 / SI 92  
Mc 9,14-29

1936: Elías Beauchamp e Hiram Rosado del Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico ajustician al coronel Riggs, por la muerte de cuatro nacionalistas.  
1970: Independencia de Guyana.

# 24 Tuesday

Matías Apóstol, Sergio.

1821: Plan de Iguala. Proclamación de la Independencia de México.  
1920: Nancy Astor, primera mujer elegida parlamentaria, hace su primer discurso en Londres.

Sir 2,1-13 / SI 36  
Mc 9,30-37

# 25 Wednesday

Justo y Valero,

*Isabel Fedde*

Día Nacional de la Dignidad de las víctimas del conflicto armado, Guatemala.

1778: Nace José de San Martín.  
1980: Golpe militar en Suriname.  
1982: Tucapel Jiménez, 60 años, mártir de las luchas de los sindicalistas chilenos.  
1985: Guillermo Céspedes, militante y revolucionario, mártir de la lucha del pueblo colombiano.  
1989: Caincoñen, indio toba, asesinado por defender su tierra, en Formosa, Argentina. **20 años.**  
1990: Derrota electoral del FSLN en Nicaragua.

Nueva: 01h35m en Piscis



# 26 Thursday

Dt 30,15-20 / Sl 1

Lc 9,22-25

Paula Montal, Alejandro  
1550: Antonio de Valdivieso, obispo de Nicaragua, mártir en la defensa del indígena.  
1885: Las potencias europeas se reparten entre ellas el continente africano, en el acuerdo de Berlín.  
1965: Jimmie Lee Jackson, activista negro de los derechos civiles, muere golpeado por la policía.  
1992: Muere José Alberto Llaguno, obispo, apóstol inculturado de los indios Tarahumara, México.

# 27 Friday

Is 58,1-9a / Sl 50

Mt 9,14-15

Gabriel de la Dolorosa  
1844: República Dominicana se independiza de Haití. Fiesta nacional.  
1989: El «caracazo»: 400 muertos y 2000 heridos. **20 años.**  
1998: Jesús M<sup>o</sup> Valle Jaramillo, 4<sup>o</sup> presidente asesinado de la Comisión de DDHH, Antioquia, Colombia.  
2005: 40 de los 57 países miembros del Convenio Mundial contra el tabaquismo comienzan a quedar jurídicamente vinculados.

# 28 Saturday

Is 58,9b-14 / Sl 85

Lc 5,27-32

Román  
1924: Los marines ocupan Tegucigalpa.  
1985: Guillermo Céspedes Siabato, laico comprometido en Cristianos por el Socialismo y las CEBs, obrero, maestro, poeta. Asesinado por el ejército, Colombia.  
1989: Teresita Ramírez, de la Compañía de María, asesinada en Cristales, Colombia. **20 años.**  
1989: Miguel Angel Benítez, sacerdote, Colombia.

March

# 1

Domingo 1<sup>o</sup> Cuaresma

Gn 9,8-15 / Sl 24

1Pe 3,18-22 / Mc 1,12-15

Rosendo, Albino

Jorge Herbert

1739: Se firma en Jamaica un tratado de paz de 15 puntos entre cimarrones y blancos.

1954: Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Andrés Figueroa y Rafael Cancel atacan el Congreso de EEUU para llamar la atención sobre Puerto Rico colonial.

1959: Nacimiento de la CLAR, Confederación Latinoamericana de Religiosos. **50 años.**

# NEW SOCIALISM: THE DEEPENING OF DEMOCRACY

**JOAN SUBIRATS**

Institute of Government and Politics  
Autonomous University of Barcelona  
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## 1. Democracy?

Today democracy is a word, an expression, a term that is used both near and far. But each time it explains less. The use and abuse of “democracy”—its apparent invincibility—converts it into an increasingly redundant concept, something that doesn’t distinguish anyone politically anymore. We all see how large international and multinational institutions, world powers, all countries, and all political actors everywhere use the term, contorting it to justify what they do or fail to do. But, what is certain is that if we recuperate its original sense—the profound transformative sense it once had—we would recognize that democracy should not so frequently come out of the mouths of political, economic, and social leaders who, in reality, are barely democrats if we pay any attention to their methods and the interests that they serve.

We cannot confuse democracy with the basic norms that regulate the elections of representatives (representative assembly, one person one vote, a free choice between candidates and parties that compete amongst each other, decisions taken by majorities with respect to minorities, government accountability).

These norms are certainly important but they do not fully exhaust the profound meaning of democracy. The struggle for the democratization of our societies has been long and intense. Here, when we talk about democratization we are talking about one of its historical meanings: equality—not just juridical but also social and economic.

We cannot forget that when the bourgeoisie succeeded in putting an end to the absolutist monarchs in the French and English Revolutions there were people and groups that fought to achieve real and deep liberty and equality. The first democrats were

clear adversaries of the strictly liberal and representative vision of politics. They reinvigorated the quest for a social utopia, the real equality of people from all walks of life.

Since then, in the changes of the past few years, in the great period of transition that we are living through, the vices of this strictly formal and representative vision of politics have become increasingly apparent. We cannot confuse the fundamental value of democracy—a passion for equality—with strict and formal compliance with a set of rules that many times function precisely to justify rampant inequality.

In many cases, the vision of democracy as just “elections and parties” accompanies a growing emptiness in our capacity to influence the actions of our governments. This is even the case when we maintain our formal position as citizens (although this does not always occur: we should remember the millions of immigrants who perform their duties as citizens but do not have the political rights of citizens). All of this contributes to our decreasing capacity to influence and impact decisions that affect us enormously. Thus, a good part of the legitimacy of democracy is being lost at the same time as its formal rites and institutions are maintained.

Additionally, economic globalization has caused public powers to lose their capacity to regulate economic and business activities. Rather, corporations continue influencing and pressuring existing institutions to stop playing the role that they traditionally played in regulating the economy.

In sum, what now predominates is a “low-intensity democracy,” in which there is an increasing awareness of the severe limitations that governments encounter in the new scenario of economic globalization. At the same time, political actors and institutions seem to be more and more ensnared in their own closed universe.

## 2. Socialism and social transformation

Democracy has no reason to consider itself an end in itself. What is in play, the question we should ask is, “How do we advance towards a more just world, a world in which the ideals of liberty and equality can be reached with more success?” I do not think that there is any other answer than democracy. But it must be a democracy that recuperates the transformative, egalitarian, and participatory sense it had years ago. This democracy must overcome the utilitarian and minimalist vision which hides the profound inequality and exclusion in many parts of the world. It must respond to the new economic, social, and political realities we confront. It must force us to question the capitalist economic system that enabled such a restrictive and formal vision of domesticated democracy to develop.

In effect, we must remember that capitalism and democracy have never been terms that lived together easily. The egalitarian force of democracy has been stuck in a bad marriage with an economic system that considers inequality as something natural and unavoidable and any attempt to change it as a distortion of the optimal functioning of the market. By this, we do not want to say that democracy and the market are incompatible. In fact there are market mechanisms that have existed for thousands of years. But what is much more recent is the totalizing vision of capitalism that has turned everything into merchandise and that turned the economy into something divinized and natural, like the rain or an accident of geography. We cannot accept their answer when they say that any alternative “is not economically feasible” because they have decided that there is only one way to do things. The economy is a human construct that should be at the service of people; people should not be at the service of the economy. We have to look for development models that, far from just using the resources made available by the market, recuperate the capacities of our government to regulate and put limits on apparently limitless corporate power through the world, with increasing rates of inequality and hopelessness for many persons and groups.

To do this, we need to recuperate the dignity and the transforming sense of socialism as a renovated social utopia.

We have to bring the debate about democratization to a level that, up to now, has not been possible. What do we mean by growth? What do we mean by development? Who defines costs and benefits? Who wins and who loses in the face of each apparently objective and neutral economic option? We need to recuperate the transformative political meaning of many social experiences that today seem simply “curious” or resistant to the dominant individualism. We should understand that there is a lot of “politics” in what might simply be defined as “new social dynamics.”

Politics does not end with institutions. Politics means the capacity to give a response to collective problems. Therefore, it is important to advance new forms of collective participation and democratic innovation that are not separated from concrete changes in the lives of people. It does not make much sense to continue talking about participative democracy—of new forms of political participation—if we limit ourselves to the narrow institutional field or how we improve the channels of communication between representative political institutions and society. Transformative democracy and new socialism are today inevitably united in this renovated search for social justice.

Finally, I would like to highlight a few other points from my perspective. The tradition in which the Western Left has inscribed itself has tended to connect processes of social transformation with processes of change that have basically come from “above,” and from the resources and knowledge of “the experts.” At this moment, these two perspectives clearly limit the perspective of egalitarian democratization that we are reflecting upon. It is useful to remember that there are many types of knowledge and understanding and that it is therefore essential to recuperate the “memories” of transformation and social change, recuperating and valuing the tacit and implicit knowledge of many social actors and many social sectors that aspire not just to be objects of political attention and transformative concern, but also become political subjects with their own voices. The transformative, participatory, and egalitarian democracy for which we advocate should recover its voice, its presence, and the knowledge of those who have traditionally been excluded from making the decisions which affect them.

# 2009

February

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
						1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
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<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
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<b>30</b>	<b>31</b>		



# 2 Monday

Lv 19,1-2.11-18 / SI 18  
Mt 25,31-46

Simplicio

Juan y Carlos Wesley

1791: Muere John Wesley en Inglaterra.

1897: Tercer ataque contra Canudos, Brasil.

1963: Goulart promulga el Estatuto de los Trabajadores, un avance en el momento, Brasil.

# 3 Tuesday

Is 55,10-11 / SI 33

Mt 6,7-15

Emeterio, Celedonio, Marino

1908: Natalicio de Juan Antonio Corretjer, poeta puertorriqueño, fundador de la Liga Socialista.

1982: Hipólito Cervantes Arceo, sacerdote mexicano mártir de la solidaridad con los exiliados.

1982: Emiliano Pérez Obando, delegado de la Palabra, mártir de la revolución nicaragüense.

2000: Regresa a Chile el dictador Pinochet después de 503 días de detención en Londres.

2005: La OMC condena los subsidios de EEUU a su algodón, que perjudican el libre comercio.

# 4 Wednesday

Jon 3,1-10 / SI 50

Lc 11,29-32

Casimiro

1962: EEUU comienza a operar un reactor nuclear en la Antártida.

1970: Antonia Martínez Lagares, mártir de la lucha universitaria de 1970, asesinada, Puerto Rico.

1990: Nahamán Carmona, niño de la calle, muerto a golpes por la policía, en Guatemala.

2004: La armada argentina reconoce por primera vez que realizó torturas durante la dictadura.

Crecente: 07h46m en Géminis



March

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# 12 Thursday

Jr 17,5-10 / Sl 1

Inocencio, Gregorio

Lc 16,19-31

1977: Rutilio Grande, párroco, y Manuel y Nelson, campesinos, mártires en El Salvador.

1994: La Iglesia anglicana ordena sacerdotes en Bristol a un primer grupo de 32 mujeres.

2005: Argentina entrega a Chile a Paul Schaefer, exnazi colaborador de Pinochet en «Colonia Dignidad», acusado de desapariciones, torturas y abusos sexuales contra menores.

# 13 Friday

Gn 37,3-28 / Sl 104

Rodrigo, Salomón, Eulogio

Mt 21,33-43-45-46 Matilde

1957: José Antonio Echeverría, estudiante, de Acción Católica, mártir de las luchas de liberación de Cuba contra la dictadura de Batista.

1983: Marianela García, abogada de los pobres, fundadora de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos, mártir de la justicia en El Salvador.

1998: María Leide Amorim, líder campesina de los sin tierra, asesinada en Manaus en represalia por haber dirigido una ocupación del MST.

# 14 Saturday

Mq 7,14-15.18-20 / Sl 102

1549: Muere el santo negro franciscano San Antonio de Cathegeró.

1795: El líder garífuna Joseph Satuyé muere frente a los ingleses en la IIª Guerra del Caribe.

1849: Llegan a Bluefieds (Nicaragua) los misioneros moravos que evangelizarán la Mosquitia.

1997: Declaración de Curitiba: Día internacional de acción contra las represas, y por el agua y la vida.

# 15

Domingo 3º de Cuaresma

Ex 20,1-17 / Sl 18

1Cor 1,22-25 / Jn 2,13-25

Luisa de Marillac

1951: Muere en Viedma, Argentina, Artemides Zatti, salesiano, el «enfermero santo de la Patagonia».

1961: Se crea la Alianza para el Progreso.

1986: Antonio Chaj Solís, pastor, Manuel de Jesús Recinos y compañeros, militantes evangélicos, mártires del servicio en Guatemala.

1995: Condenan a 30 años al general Luis García Meza, por crímenes cometidos tras su golpe de Estado en 1980 en Bolivia. Primer caso de detención de los militares golpistas latinoamericanos.

# 16 Monday

2Re 5,1-15a / Sl 41

Raimundo de Fitero

Lc 4,24-30 Patricio

1630: Benkos Biohó, líder y héroe negro en la lucha por la libertad, Colombia.

1977: Antonio Olivo y Pantaleón Romero, mártires de la justicia entre los campesinos de Perugorria, Argentina.

# 17 Tuesday

Dn 3,25.34-43 / Sl 24

Mt 18,21-35

1973: Alexandre Vanucchi, estudiante y militante cristiano, asesinado por la policía, Brasil.

1982: Jacobus Andreas Koster, «Kooos», y compañeros periodistas, mártires por la verdad en América Latina, El Salvador.

1990: María Mejía, madre campesina quiché, de Acción Católica, asesinada en Sacapulas, Guatemala.

# 18 Wednesday

Dt 4,1,5-9 / Sl 147

Mt 5,17-19

Cirilo de Jerusalén  
1871: Comuna de París, primera revolución obrera de la historia.

1907: Desembarco de marines en Honduras.  
1938: El presidente mexicano Lázaro Cárdenas decreta la nacionalización del petróleo.

1981: Presentación Ponce, delegado de la Palabra, y compañeros, mártires, Nicaragua.

1989: Nefalí Liceta, sacerdote, y Amparo Escobedo, religiosa, y compañeros, testigos del Dios de la Vida entre los pobres de Perú. **20 años.**

Menguante: 17h47m en Sagitario



March

Lined writing area for notes or reflections, consisting of multiple horizontal lines.



# 19 Thursday

José 2Sm 7,4-5a.12-14a.16 / Sl 88  
 Rm 4,13.16-18.22 / Mt 1,16.18-21.24a  
 1849: Revolución del Quemado, Brasil. Más de 200 negros proclaman la liberación de los esclavos.  
 1915: Levantamiento de Qhishwas y Aymaras en Perú encabezados por Rumi Maka.  
 1980: Primer Encuentro de Pastoral Afroamericana, en Buenaventura, Colombia.  
 1991: Felisa Urrutia, carmelita vedruna, asesinada en Cauca, Venezuela, mártir del servicio.

# 20 Friday

Serapión Os 14,2-10 / Sl 80  
 Mc 12,28b-34  
 1838: El gobierno de Sergipe (Brasil) prohíbe asistir a la escuela a los «africanos», esclavos o libres, y a los portadores de enfermedades contagiosas.  
 1982: Golpe de Estado de Ríos Montt, Guatemala.  
 1995: Menche Ruiz, catequista, profeta y poeta popular, misionero fiel de las CEBs de El Salvador.  
 2003: Comienza la invasión de EEUU contra Irak, al margen de las Naciones Unidas.

**Equinoccio, de primavera en el Norte, de otoño en el Sur, a las 12h44m.**

# 21 Saturday

Os 6,1-6 / Sal 50  
 Lc 18,9-14  
 Filemón, Nicolás  
 Año nuevo Baha'í  
 Día forestal mundial.  
 1806: Nace Benito Juárez, Oaxaca, México.  
 1937: Masacre de Ponce, Puerto Rico.  
 1975: Carlos Dormiak, sacerdote salesiano, asesinado por su línea liberadora, Argentina.  
 1977: Rodolfo Aguilar, párroco, 29 años, mártir de la liberación del pueblo mexicano.  
 1987: Luz Marina Valencia, religiosa, mártir de la justicia entre los campesinos de México.

**Día internacional contra la discriminación racial**

**March**

# 22

Domigno 4º de Cuaresma  
 2Cro 36,14-16.19-23 / Sl 136  
 Ef 2,4-10 / Jn 3,14-21  
 Bienvenido, Lea  
 1873: Abolición de la esclavitud en Puerto Rico.  
 1980: Luis Espinal, sacerdote y periodista, mártir de las luchas del pueblo boliviano.  
 1988: Rafael Hernández, campesino, mártir de la lucha por la tierra, México.

**Día internacional del agua**

# 23 Monday

Is 65,17-21 / Sl 29  
Jn 4,43-54

Toribio de Mogrovejo  
1606: Toribio de Mogrovejo, arzobispo de Lima, pastor del pueblo inca, profeta en la Iglesia colonial.  
1976: María del Carmen Maggi, profesora, mártir de la educación liberadora, Argentina.  
2003: Rachel Corrie (23) estadounidense asesinada por una aplanadora militar israelí en Rafah, voluntaria del International Solidarity Movement.  
2005: Chile reconoce el asesinato de Carmelo Soria en 1976 por la dictadura.

# 24 Tuesday

José Oriol

Ez 47,1-9,12 / Sl 45  
Jn 5,1-3,5-16

1918: Las mujeres canadienses conquistan el voto.  
1976: Golpe militar de Jorge Videla contra Isabel Perón en Argentina.  
1980: «San Romero de América», arzobispo de San Salvador, profeta y mártir.  
2004: Kirchner convierte la ESMA, centro de tortura de la dictadura argentina, en Museo de la Memoria. El terrorismo de Estado asesinó a 4.000 ciudadanos y desapareció a 30.000.

# 25 Wednesday

Is 7,10-14;8,10 / Sl 39  
Hb 10,4-10 / Lc 1,26-38

1986: Donato Mendoza, delegado de la Palabra y compañeros, mártires de la fe entre sus hermanos pobres de Nicaragua.

Visite hoy la página de Romero y sus homilias:  
<http://servicioskoinonia.org/romero>

March



# 26 Thursday

Ex 32,7-14 / SI 105  
Jn 5,31-47

Braulio

Día mundial del teatro.

1989: María Gómez, maestra catequista mártir del servicio a su pueblo Simití en Colombia. **20 años.**

1991: Argentina, Brasil, Paraguay y Uruguay firman el Tratado de Asunción, constituyendo el Mercosur.

1998: Onalicio Araujo Barros y Valentin Serra, líderes del MST, ejecutados por los fazendeiros en Parauapebas, Pará, Brasil.

Nueva: 16h06m en Aries

# 27 Friday

Ruperto

1502: Llega Colón a Cariari, Costa Rica.

1984: Los Txukahamãe bloquean una carretera principal exigiendo sus tierras en el Xingú.

# 28 Saturday

Sixto

1750: Nace Francisco de Miranda en Caracas.

1985: Héctor Gómez Calito, defensor de derechos humanos, capturado, torturado y brutalmente asesinado en Guatemala.

1988: 14 indígenas tikunas asesinados y 23 heridos por el maderero Oscar Castelo Branco y 20 pistoleros. Reunidos en Benjamin Constant, Brasil, esperaban la ayuda de la FUNAI frente a las amenazas del maderero.

March

# 29

Beatriz de Silva

Juan Nielsen Hauge

1904: Nace Consuelo Lee Corretjer, revolucionaria, poeta y maestra, líder del movimiento independentista puertorriqueño.

1967: Brota por primera vez petróleo en la Amazonía ecuatoriana.

1985: Rafael y Eduardo Vergara Toledo, mártires de la resistencia contra la dictadura en Chile.

Domingo 5° de Cuaresma

Jr 31,31-34 / SI 50

Hb 5,7-9 / Jn 12,20-33

# TOWARDS QUANTUM SOCIALISM

**ROLANDO ARAYA MONGE**

San José, Costa Rica

## **The Failure of Materialism and the New Paradigm**

Recent discoveries such as the Second Law of Thermodynamics, relativity, quantum physics, and ondulatory mechanics have raised the possibility of a new cosmivision that moves beyond materialism and mechanics, which emphasized individualism, separation, and competition. New quantum, ecological, and relativistic science diverges from old premises. These discoveries from science can help us in creating new interpretations of social phenomena. In a world in which it is possible to turn antimatter into matter, time into space, mass into energy, and ideas into molecules, it is not difficult to understand how education, social harmony, beauty, solidarity, values, beliefs, and culture can be transformed into material wellbeing and spiritual wellbeing. With these ideas, it is possible to imagine a more harmonious social structure, based in authentic liberty, based on the journey towards Quantum Socialism. Although it does not seek to be a new model or ideological program, it hopes to provide a response to many critical questions.

The most advanced social and political systems are not the product of revolutions and decrees, but are, principally, the result of the evolution of minds and spirits. Achieving a better social order—based on the values of justice, liberty, and solidarity—will come through a change in us, allowing new human beings to emerge. Social transformation will be achieved by change from the inside out; it will not be imposed by laws, decrees, or revolutions because the doors of change only can be opened from the inside out, from the transformation of individuals.

Dominant economic thought presumes that our current economy is rational, that markets tend toward equilibrium, and that devoting our lives to gaining profit is the natural order of things. But these are false premises. The implantation of these materialist ideas will never succeed in producing equilibrium within and between people and nations. This is because human conduct depends on an exceedingly complex interplay of subjective and unpredictable factors that are not subject to materialist determination. Economics is

only one part of culture, and progress can only be the fruit of human growth, seen as a mental and spiritual experience.

Technical, ideological, institutional, and economical changes will not have sustainable effects if they neglect the spiritual dimension. The true revolutions have gestated in the hearts and minds of the people before people have taken them to the streets. When we understand that, in reality, the protagonists must be the people—individual men and women—and not political superstructures, when we recognize that our individuality is woven into the continuum of life in which each person makes up an integral fiber, in this instant we will lose our ability to harm others, nature, and ourselves. Hope will be reborn and the reason for our political struggles will become clear once again.

## **The notion of social implicate order**

The notion of social “implicate order,” influenced by the work of David Bohm, allows us to locate one of the constitutive bases of this proposal for Quantum Socialism. It diverges from the approach taken by politicians and political parties, who, in the great number of cases, concentrate on the “explicate order” of the social reality formed by political systems, economic models, institutions, laws, and ideologies. But the basic thesis of Quantum Socialism consists in demonstrating precisely how facts, social phenomena, and history are manifestations of an “implicate order,” the crucible in which values, beliefs, ideas, traditions, and other factors are forged that will later mark the course of history. We insist on the necessity of understanding the change and transformation of human societies as a product of this dynamism rather than as a consequence of rational decisions.

Humanity has taken several quantum leaps: the appearance of language, the invention of writing, the scientific revolution in the modern history era of the West, etc. And now it is at the threshold of another change, based on the conscience transcendence of its own mind. Durable advances will come as result of the evolution of conscience, paradigm changes that can

only develop in the most profound parts of the consciousness of the people. The socialist countries will be those whose peoples are committed to solidarity, not those countries with socialist laws.

No social system can function if it has been structured in conformity with a foreign model, one foreign to the collective mentality. Thought shapes reality. The changes in spirit, ideas, and beliefs of people, in other words, in the “implicate” social order, should come before all changes in systems. The results will become solidified in the measure to which solidarity overcomes egotism. If solidarity does not conquer egoism, the results will not last.

Another key of Quantum Socialism is rooted in the understanding of a socialism of subjects, of free individuals who, by exercising their liberty, join a collective and harmonious dance, born of the expression of conscience, and not of the manipulations of the market or the imposition of the state. The “principle of complementarity,” one of the pillars of quantum physics, allows us posit that this dance of free individuals can be described with supposedly contradictory elements, like talking about socialist individualism, or individualistic socialism. What is contradiction in mechanistic materials becomes complementarity in the quantum paradigm. This is like how light is made up of particles (photons) at the same time as it is a wave.

Abundance without solidarity cannot produce happiness. One more time, spiritual values like love, truth, solidarity, and unity are capable of achieving plenitude and happiness. Only the society that enjoys material abundance and spiritual wholeness can be considered prosperous. The true path to happiness is through love. Love is the foundation of the scale of values of Quantum Socialism, and, along with liberty and peace, is the ethical basis of a new social order.

### **Radical Democracy, Profound Ecology, and Educational Transformation**

The path of Quantum Socialism will allow us to combat all concentrations of public and private power. Distributing power—political, economic, bureaucratic, or informational—is the most secure route to achieve a more just order. Radical democracy is the response to the challenge of global capitalism and constitutes the face of a new concept of socialism, one without bureaucratism. This socialism requires the dissemination of power into the gaps of society, spread through

all of society and not just appropriated by ontologically predetermined owners, legacies, and private hierarchies. Quantum Socialism describes the concept of a “holographic” and holistic State that is not centralized in institutions. Rather, it describes a society organized through communities, transparent institutions, and social networks that encompass all levels of society. This is the evolution from representative democracy to a “holocracy.”

More than an ideological banner, socialism is an ethical category. Because of this, what is most contrary to socialism is not necessarily capitalism in its economic expression, but rather the breakdown of values that have maintained unity and cohesion between human beings. In all forms, capitalism is the closest approximation of this spiritual decline because it permits the destruction of the social fabric through the misappropriation of other’s energy through the misuse of wealth, power, prestige, liberty, time, and security.

Only the transformation of mentality, the empire of the new scale of values, will make the leap to a better social order possible.

The political crisis today is essentially a spiritual crisis and it will not be solved if just the symptoms are attacked. The new scale of values will work in the deepest parts of our consciousness—in the “implicate” social order—in order to generate the forces capable of illuminating other horizons. Here we will grasp the basic prerequisites. Here we will find the mortar with which we can construct a happier social order. Solidarity, brotherhood, sisterhood, equality, interior peace, and love are the basic principles, the inexcusable conditions that enable peoples and cultures to move towards a more just social order.

The equation which we most associate with Einstein, who inspires this proposal for Quantum Socialism,  $E=MC^2$ , has a symbolic and emblematic connection to the scientific revolution that it produced. We would like to close this reflection with a new formula. Quantum Socialism = Radical Democracy x Love<sup>2</sup>:  $QS = RD \times \heartsuit^2$

Socialism is a state of the human being. We will never be able to achieve it through materialism. It will flourish in a hundred different ways, responding to the cultural and historical realities of every, increasingly a product of the relationship between democracy and love.

# 2009

March

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
						1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	30	31					

<b>Monday</b> <i>Lunes</i>	<b>Tuesday</b> <i>Martes</i>	<b>Wednesday</b> <i>Miercoles</i>	<b>Thursday</b> <i>Jueves</i>
		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>





## 2 Thursday

Gn 17,3-9 / Sl 104  
Jn 8,51-59

Francisco de Paula

1550: La Corona española ordena enseñar castellano a los indígenas.

1982: El ejército argentino ocupa las islas Malvinas tratando de recuperar el archipiélago de la posesión británica.

1993: Huelga conjunta en 8 países de Europa contra el desempleo y la amenaza a las conquistas sociales.

Creciente: 14h34m en Cáncer



## 3 Friday

Jr 20,10-13 / Sl 17  
Jn 10,31-42

Ricardo, Sixto

1976: Víctor Bionchenko, pastor protestante, Argentina.

1986: Brasil aprueba su Plan de Informática, que protegerá la industria nacional por unos años.

1992: Golpe de Estado institucional de Fujimori, Perú.

## 4 Saturday

Ez 37,21-28 / Int. Jr 31  
Jn 11,45-57

Gema Galgani

Isidoro de Sevilla

1775: La Corona portuguesa estimula los casamientos entre indígenas, negros y blancos.

1884: Acuerdo de Valparaíso. Bolivia cede Antofagasta a Chile convirtiéndose en país mediterráneo.

1968: Martín Luther King asesinado, Memphis, EEUU.

1985: Rosario Godoy y familia, mártires de la fraternidad en El Salvador.

Día contra la prostitución infantil

## 5

Domingo de Ramos

Is 50,4-7 / Sl 21

Flp 2,6-11 / Mc 14,1-15,47

Vicente Ferrer

1818: Victoria de San Martín en Maipú, que sella la Independencia de Chile.

1976: Juan Carlo D'Costa, obrero, Paraguay.

1989: María Cristina Gómez, de la Iglesia Bautista, mártir de la lucha de las mujeres salvadoreñas. **20 años.**

1992: Fujimori disuelve el Congreso, suspende la Constitución e impone la ley marcial.



# 9 Thursday

Ex 12,1-8,11-14 / SI 115  
1Cor 11,23-26 / Jn 13,1-15

Casilda, M<sup>o</sup> Cleofás  
*Dietrich Bonhoeffer*

1920: Desembarco de marines en Guatemala para proteger a los ciudadanos estadounidenses.

1948: Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, asesinado en Bogotá. Violenta rebelión: el «Bogotazo».

1952: Comienza la Revolución Cívica en Bolivia.



Llena: 14h56m en Libra

# 10 Friday

Is 52,13-53,12 / SI 30  
Hb 4,14-16;5,7-9 / Jn 18,1-19,42

Ezequiel

*Miguel Agrícola*

1919: Muere en emboscada Emiliano Zapata, general de los campesinos revolucionarios mexicanos.

1985: Oscar Fuentes, estudiante, Chile.

1985: Daniel Hubert Guillard, párroco en Cali, muerto por el ejército por su compromiso, Colombia.

1987: Martiniano Martínez, Terencio Vázquez y Abdón Julián, de la Iglesia Bautista, mártires de la libertad de conciencia en Oaxaca, México.

# 11 Saturday

Gn 1,1-2,2 / Gn 22,1-18 / Ex 14,15-15,1  
Is 54,5-14 / Is 55,1-11 / Ba 3,9-15.32-4,4  
Ez 36,16-28 / Rm 6,3-11 / Mc 16,1-7

Estanislao

1986: Antonio Hernández, periodista y militante popular, mártir de la solidaridad en Bogotá.

2002: Golpe de Estado contra el presidente Hugo Chávez en Venezuela, que durará 4 días hasta su reposición. Tres presidentes en 42 horas.

2002: Entra en funcionamiento la Corte Penal Internacional, a pesar de la oposición de EEUU.

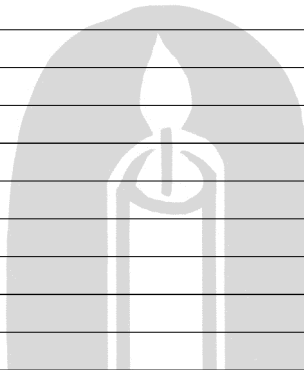
# 12

Domingo de **PASCUA**  
Hch 10,34a.37-43 / SI 117  
Col 3,1-4 / Jn 20,1-9

Zenón

1797: Llegan a tierra firme, en Trujillo (Honduras), procedentes de la isla de Roatán, unos 2.500 garifunas expulsados de la isla de San Vicente.

1925: Reunión en Foz de Iguazú, inicia la Columna Prestes, que recorrerá 25.000 km en Brasil.





# 16 Thursday

Hch 3,11-26 / SI 8  
Lc 24,35-48

Engracia

1952: Triunfa la revolución: campesinos y mineros logran la reforma agraria en Bolivia.

1984: 1'7 millón de personas se manifiestan en São Paulo pidiendo las elecciones «Directas ya».

1977: Se constituye el Comité pro defensa de presos, perseguidos, desaparecidos y exiliados políticos de México (EUREKA).

2002: Carlos Escobar, juez paraguayo, ordena la captura y extradición del dictador Alfredo Stroessner, asilado en Brasilia, por la muerte en 1979 de una dirigente sindical del gremio docente.

# 17 Friday

Hch 4,1-12 / SI 117  
Jn 21,1-14

Aniceto

1695: † Juana Inés de la Cruz, poetisa mexicana.

1803: Muere Toussaint L'Ouverture, luchador por la liberación de Haití.

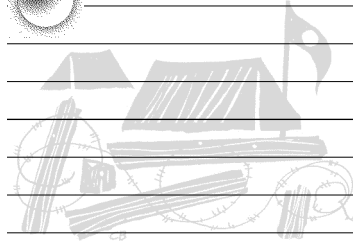
1990: Tiberio Fernández, y compañeros, mártires de la promoción humana, Trujillo, Colombia.

1996: Masacre de Eldorado de Carajás, Pará, Brasil. La policía militar del Estado mata a 23 personas.

1998: César Humberto López, de FraterPaz, asesinado, San Salvador.

**Día internacional de la lucha campesina.**  
Es el "Primer de mayo" de los campesinos.

Menguante: 13h36m en Capricornio



# 18 Saturday

Hch 4,13-21 / SI 117  
Mc 16,9-15

Perfecto, Galdino

1537: Francisco Marroquín, primer obispo consagrado en las Indias, fundador de las primeras escuelas y hospitales, pastor de Guatemala.

1955: Conferencia de Bandung, Indonesia, donde se crea el movimiento de países no alineados.

1998: Eduardo Umaña Mendoza, abogado defensor de los derechos populares, denunciador de los paramilitares, asesinado.

# 19

Domingo 2º de Pascua  
Hch 4,32-35 / SI 117  
1Jn 5,1-6 / Jn 20,19-31

León, Ema  
*Olavus Petri*

1925: Desembarco de marines en Ceiba, Honduras.

1980: Juana Tun, esposa de Vicente Menchú y su hijo Patrocinio, familia indígena de catequistas, que luchó por su tierra, mártires de El Quiché.

2005: Adolfo Scilingo, condenado en España a 640 años de cárcel por su participación en los «vuelos de la muerte» de la dictadura argentina.

Día Panamericano del Indio





# 23 Thursday

Hch 5,27-33 / Sl 33

Jorge, Toyohiko Kagawa

Jn 3,31-36

1971: Indígenas se levantan contra las pruebas atómicas que contaminan la isla de Anchitks, Alaska.

### Día del Libro y de los Derechos de Autor

«Por haber coincidido en este día de 1616 la muerte del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, la de Miguel de Cervantes y la de William Shakespeare».

# 24 Friday

Hch 5,34-42 / Sl 26

Fidel

Jn 6,1-15

1915/17: Muerte y deportación de casi millón y medio de armenios.

1965: Intervención de EEUU en República Dominicana, con 40.000 hombres.

1985: Laurita López, catequista, mártir de la fe en la Iglesia salvadoreña.

# 25 Saturday

1Pe 5,5b-14 / Sal 88

Mc 16,15-20

1667: Pedro de Betancourt, apóstol de los pobres en Guatemala, canonizado el 30.07.2002.

1975: Se constituye la Asociación Indígena de la República Argentina (AIRA).

Nueva: 03h22m en Tauro



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# 26

Domingo 3º de Pascua

Hch 3,13-15.17-19 / Sl 4

1Jn 2,1-5 / Lc 24,35-48

Anacleto, Marcelino, Isidoro.

1995: Asesinato de Quim Vallmajó (\*Navata, Girona, España, 1941) en Rwanda, misionero en África.

1998: Asesinato en Guatemala Mons. Gerardi, tras publicar el informe «Nunca Más», que documenta 55.000 violaciones de derechos humanos, atribuidas en un 80% al ejército.

Horizontal lines for writing.

# THE NEW SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

JOAQUÍN GARCÍA ROCA

Valencia, Spain

Socialism has abandoned the trappings of political ideologies, which hid death machines; it abandoned the trappings of cultural traditions, which excluded the losers of history; it has abandoned the trappings of religious sects, which enslaved consciences. Instead it has sought to inhabit a real and viable Utopia that will not only be present in socioeconomic practices and institutions but will also spill out into new energies, emerging values, and a compass for action. In this way, it can transcend the sphere of political management and begin to generate values, meaning in our lives, expectations for the future, and hopes for a more humane life.

This is what “new socialism” means. It is a socialism that is not discredited by totalitarianisms but is sustained by the multitude of witnesses for a New Humanity; one that is not manipulated by institutional interests but is fed by social movements rooted in historical conditions; a vision that has not been contaminated by ideologies but that has been seduced by the existence of suffering so that it labors for a *Tierra sin Males* [a Land without Evils envisioned by indigenous South Americans].

It is a liberating Utopia with deep biblical roots, one that recognizes its close relationship with the movement of Jesus of Nazareth. It is fed by the same hunger and thirst for justice which propelled the first Christians to create new communitarian forms of human life. It is strengthened in its preferential option for the poor and its value is measured in its liberating practices in favor of the last and the least. All those who choose to take up the urgent and necessary task of attending to the sufferings and hopes of the poor will find that these social movements provide the resources necessary to make a radical critique of dominant economic ideas and an immunization against the current theological justifications of neoliberalism. Today, there is something in socialism that recognizes that Jesus’ spirit can’t be contained in the restoration of the past or in inquisitorial practices.

Social conditions are beginning to give rise to a new socialism, constructed from the bottom up and with a transformative capacity. It is the inheritance of popular struggles and waking dreams, which are still

waiting—like seeds in winter—to sprout into concrete actions, emerging movements, in forceful protests, community projects, and new realms of life.

## 1. Another possible world

We have a political and religious consciousness that allows us to imagine the other possible world as a moral and socio-political horizon of humanity. It is a process that universalizes human dignity, participatory life, justice and peace, and sustainable development.

Before becoming implemented in political systems and economic institutions, socialism lives in the desire that things can be another way. It is a Utopia of permanent change, presaged by the Gospel message of radical conversion as a new mental and emotional home, ready to even change what has already been changed. Dogmatic socialism and inhuman religion, static and isolated, are dead hopes. The true bearers of hope today are those who proclaim that “another world is possible and necessary.”

This is where we find the movements of women who resist the ancient yoke of patriarchy and look to define their identity in equality with men. The religious movements that propose a dialogue of religions that goes beyond their respective orthodoxies. The movements in favor of the earth, concerned with the universal destiny of the planet. The defenders of human rights, those who proclaim the common dignity of all human beings. The movements in resistance for another world, those who have the courage to ask, “progress towards what?” and “progress for whom?”

## 2. An interdependent world

In new socialism, there is a profoundly religious consciousness that all humans share in an organic and interconnected reality which is part of the project God, the God who is creating a new alliance between humans and nature and is expanding the meaning of “us” on a planetary scale. This isn’t just a change of scale, but a change of our hearts and minds.

This interdependence can be constructed with the fibers of neoliberalism, which provoke the displacement of peoples and diasporas of terror and frustration, or with fibers of solidarity, which increasingly produce more interactions and links between peoples, cultures, religions, and traditions. We need not be united only

by frustration over the boatpeople who arrive on the shores of Northern countries, the “wet-backs” who traverse the Rio Grande, the containers of merchandise that leave factories, and financial speculation that makes profit without producing anything of value. We are building an interdependence that crosses borders and makes state sovereignty a chimera. Interdependence can be constructed on the foundations of fear or of solidarity, of the clash of civilizations or a civilized dialogue among the culturally and religiously diverse human family, of the free market or a new international order. The experience of universality, catholicity, is within our reach.

### 3. A diverse world

Social geography, like the earth itself, is subject to seismic events that rearrange our world; whole continents are experiencing shifts that cause populations to be displaced, causing disequilibrium. Mousa, a Senegalese man who arrived at the border of Europe, bluntly stated, “If you put up walls, we’ll dig tunnels.” The secondary effects produced by social inequality and demographic disequilibrium are subject to the forces of reality. Adjusting the pieces of our world is a matter of justice; massive migrations are the tremors of those who have demanded respect and recognition for centuries.

Countries shift or sink. The forgotten ones move to the North; others descend to hell. These dingies and rafts are the waves of a magnetic field subject to gravity.

The era of population movements—internal and external—demands a Utopia in which nobody will be forcibly displaced because of the demands of international capital on human labor or because of intolerable living conditions. An increasing number of people envision the possibility that, in the future, they or their children will live better, but only through working far away from where they were born. They see the possibility of more liberty, better conditions of life, and a better chance for personal and family happiness there. Mobility constitutes part of our daily world, locally and globally. Along with migration for economic reasons, today the internationalization of solidarity is being born. A transnational civil society is being born which connects people.

An isolated identity is no longer viable, necessary, or possible. Everything that is separate has failed. In its place, plural actors, multiple identities, and shared

religions and histories have emerged.

### 4. A new world of people

The new socialist utopia must ensure that the personal, communal, and historical nature of subjects is respected. It must repair the devaluation of these personal qualities that certain ideologies and institutions have wrought. In this task, new socialism and Christianity converge. The first because it believes that structures and systems can be transformed; the second because it believes that it is always possible to feel and respond to the pain of others. Both are obliged to have faith in human beings and to create a language, praxis, and conceptual system that capture the infinite creative capacities of humans.

The most serious error that Utopia can make is converting people into objects to control, creating a political system without participation and without recognition of human rights. The Utopia of new socialism, inspired from the liberating experience of faith, does not abandon persons in order to focus on structural projects. It ensures that persons are not deprived of freedom in their choice of vital projects.

In the clear light of day and with the force of a Tierra sin Males, the losers of history do not feel suffocated by their economic situation, as burdensome as they may be, nor seduced by luxuries, as tempting as they may be. Rather, they feel that they are the protagonists of their own liberation and that they are connected to a power that overcomes impotence. Even when structural difficulties multiply, impoverished people know they are subjects who love and hope, who struggle and resist, and who pray and despair together.

The human and Christian Utopia doesn’t feel much pity for dominated and resigned people who withdraw within themselves and don’t put their lives at stake for others in the creation of a common life, in the strengthening of networks of support, in participation in society, in the care of those cast by the wayside, and in the management of public affairs.

Religion offers new socialism the capacity to resist and communal endurance when confronted by disenchantments and loss of hope, those inevitable shadows of all historical projects. We need all the light possible when entering into the creation of socialism and its disenchanting moments so that our transformative action isn’t brought down by defeatism or hopelessness. Religion allows us to remain focused on how much we are able to let shine in the darkness.

# 2009

April

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6	7	8	9	10	11	12	27	28	29	30			
13	14	15	16	17	18	19							

<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
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<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>
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M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	June
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<b>Friday</b>		<b>Saturday</b>		<b>Sunday</b>	
<i>Viernes</i>		<i>Sabado</i>		<i>Domingo</i>	
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# 27 Monday

Hch 6,8-15 / Sl 118  
Zita, Montserrat  
Jn 6,22-29  
1977: Rodolfo Escamilla, sacerdote, mártir, México.  
1999: El Tribunal de la Deuda Externa en Río de Janeiro, Brasil, determina que no se pague.

# 28 Tuesday

Pedro Chanel  
1688: Carta Regia de Portugal restableciendo la esclavitud y guerra justa contra el indio.  
1965: Lyndon Johnson ordena la invasión de la República Dominicana.  
1985: Cleúsa Carolina Rody Coelho, agustina misionera recoleta, asesinada por defender a los indígenas en la Prefectura Apostólica de Lábrea, Brasil.

# 29 Wednesday

Hch 8,1b-8 / Sl 65  
Catalina de Siena  
Jn 6,35-40  
1991: Moisés Cisneros Rodríguez, marista, mártir de la violencia y la impunidad, Guatemala.  
1982: Enrique Alvear, obispo, pastor y profeta de la Iglesia en Chile.



# 30 Thursday

Hch 8,26-40 / SI 65  
Jn 6,44-51

Pío V

1948: Veintiún países firman en Bogotá la carta constitutiva de la OEA.  
1977: Se crea la asociación de las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, Argentina.

# 1 Friday

Hch 9,1-20 / SI 116  
Jn 6,52-59

José Obrero

*Felipe y Santiago*

1980: Conrado de la Cruz, sacerdote, y Herlindo Cifuentes, catequista, secuestrados y muertos, mártires, en Guatemala.  
1981: Raynaldo Edmundo Lemus Preza, de la CEB Guadalupe, en Soyapango, El Salvador, capturado y desaparecido por su compromiso cristiano, con su amigo Edwin Laínez.

# 2 Saturday

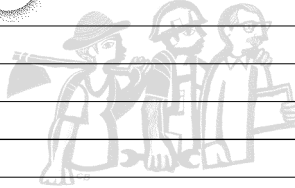
Hch 9,31-42 / SI 115  
Jn 6,60-69

Atanasio

1979: Luis Alfonso Velázquez, niño de 10 años, mártir de la dictadura somocista, Nicaragua.  
1981: Nace la Unión de Naciones Indígenas, Brasil.  
1994: Sebastián Larrosa, estudiante campesino, mártir de la solidaridad entre los pobres, Paraguay.  
1997: Fallece Paulo Freire, fundador de la pedagogía liberadora latinoamericana.

### Día internacional de los trabajadores

Creciente: 20h44m en Leo



# 3

Domingo 4° de Pascua  
Hch 4,8-12 / SI 117  
1Jn 3,1-2 / Jn 10,11-18

Felipe y Santiago

Primer domingo de mayo: Día de los mártires de Honduras.  
1500: Fray Henrique de Coimbra, primer misionero europeo que pisa suelo brasileño.  
1991: Felipe Huete, delegado de la Palabra, y cuatro compañeros, mártires de la Reforma Agraria, en El Astillero, Honduras.

### Día (de la ONU) de la libertad de prensa

# 4 Monday

Hch 11,1-18 / SI 41  
Jn 10,1-10

Ciriaco, *Mónica*

1493: Bula *Inter Caetera* por la que el Papa hace donación de las tierras del nuevo Continente a los Reyes Católicos.

1521: Pedro de Córdoba, primer apóstol misionero de los dominicos en América. Autor del primer catecismo en América.

1547: Cristóbal de Pedraza, obispo de Honduras, «Padre de los indios».

# 5 Tuesday

Hch 11,19-26 / SI 86  
Jn 10,22-30

Máximo

1862: México derrota a los franceses en Puebla.

1893: Nace Farabundo Martí en Teotepeque, Departamento de La Libertad, El Salvador.

1980: Isaura Esperanza, «Chaguita», catequista, de la Legión de María, mártir salvadoreña.

2001: Bárbara Ann Ford, 64, religiosa estadounidense viviendo en el Quiché desde 1989. Asesinada.

# 6 Wednesday

Hch 12,24-13,5 / SI 66  
Jn 12,44-50

Heliodoro

1977: Oscar Alajarín, militante de la Iglesia metodista, mártir de la solidaridad en Argentina.

1994: La Corte Constitucional de Colombia legaliza la «dosis personal» de narcóticos.

May



# 7 Thursday

Hch 13,13-25 / Sl 88

Augusto, Flavia, Domitila

Jn 13,16-20

1937: Juicio a Prestes, 16 años de prisión. Brasil.

1991: Apresado el fazendeiro Jerônimo de Amorim, mandante de la muerte de un sindicalista, Brasil.

# 8 Friday

Hch 13,26-33 / Sl 2

Víctor y Acacio

Jn 14,1-6

1753: Nace Miguel Hidalgo, prócer mexicano.

1770: Carlos III ordena «que se extingan los diferentes idiomas indios y se imponga el castellano».

1987: Vicente Cañas, misionero jesuita, asesinado por los que codiciaban las tierras de los indios que él acompañaba, en Mato Grosso, Brasil.

1989: Nicolás van Kleef, vicentino holandés, asesinado por un militar en Santa María, Chiriquí, Panamá. **20 años.**

# 9 Saturday

Hch 13,44-52 / Sl 97

Jn 14,7-14

Pacomio, Gregorio Ostiense

1982: Luis Vallejos, arzobispo de El Cuzco, Perú, amenazado de muerte por su opción preferencial por los pobres, muere en «accidente».

1994: Toma posesión de la Presidencia de Sudáfrica, tras las primeras elecciones multirraciales de la historia del país, Nelson Mandela, el preso político vivo con más años pasados en prisión.

Jena: 04h01m en Escorpio

**Día de la Cruz Roja Internacional**



# 10

Domingo 5º de Pascua

Hch 9,26-31 / Sl 21

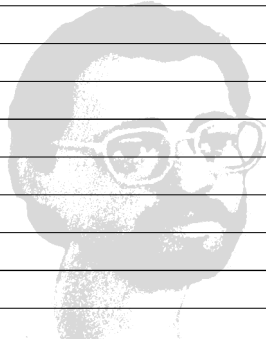
1Jn 3,18-24 / Jn 15,1-8

Juan de Ávila, Antonino

1795: José Leonardo Chirino, zambo, encabeza la insurrección de Coro, Venezuela, con indios y negros.

1985: Irme García, sacerdote, y Gustavo Chamorro, militante, mártires de la justicia y la promoción humana en Guanabanal, Colombia.

1986: **Josimo Morais Tavares**, sacerdote, mártir de la pastoral de la tierra, en Imperatriz, Brasil.



# 11 Monday

Hch 14,5-18 / SI 113

Jn 14,21-26

Anastasio

1974: Carlos Mugica, sacerdote, mártir del pueblo de las «villas miseria». [www.carlosmugica.com.ar](http://www.carlosmugica.com.ar)

1977: Alfonso Navarro, sacerdote, y Luis Torres, monaguillo, mártires en El Salvador.

# 12 Tuesday

Hch 14,19-28 / SI 144

Jn 14,27-31a

Nereo, Aquiles, Pancracio

Día atribuido a la esclava Anastasia, que simboliza a todas las negras torturadas y estupradas hasta la muerte por los blancos dueños de haciendas.

1957: La OIT adopta el Convenio 107 sobre Poblaciones Indígenas y Tribales, que protege al indio.

1980: Walter Voodeckers, misionero belga, comprometido con los campesinos pobres, mártir en Escuintla, Guatemala.

# 13 Wednesday

Hch 15,1-6 / SI 121

Jn 15,1-8

Fátima

1829: Natalicio de Segundo Ruiz Belvis, patriota y revolucionario puertorriqueño.

1888: Es abolida jurídicamente la esclavitud en Brasil, cuando ya el 95% de los negros habían conquistado la libertad por sí mismos (Ley áurea).

1977: Luis Aredez, médico, mártir de la solidaridad entre los pobres de Argentina.

1998: Es allanada la sede de la Comisión de Justicia y Paz de la Conferencia Nacional de Religiosos de Colombia, en Bogotá, por el ejército.




# 14 Thursday

Hch 1,15-17.20-26 / Sal 112  
Jn 15,9-17

Matías

1811: Independencia de Paraguay. Fiesta nacional.  
1904: † Mariano Avellana, misionero popular, Chile.  
1980: Masacre del río Sumpul, El Salvador, donde perecen más de 600 personas.  
1980: Juan Caccya Chipana, obrero, militante, víctima de la represión policial en Perú.  
1981: Carlos Gálvez, sacerdote, mártir en Guatemala.  
1988: Campesinos mártires por la causa de la Paz, Cayara, Perú.  
1991: Porfirio Suny Quispe, militante y educador, mártir de la justicia y solidaridad en Perú.

# 15 Friday

Hch 15,22-31 / Sl 56  
Jn 15,12-17

Isidro,

Juana de Lestonnac  
1903: Fusilado en Panamá el general y guerrillero Victoriano Lorenzo, héroe nacional.  
1986: Nicolás Chuy Cumes, periodista evangélico, mártir de la libertad de expresión en Guatemala.  
1987: Mártires indígenas, víctimas del despojo de sus tierras, en Bagadó, Colombia.

**Día Internacional de los objetores de conciencia**

# 16 Saturday

Hch 16,1-10 / Sl 99  
Jn 15,18-21

Juan Nepomuceno, Ubaldo

1818: Juan II aprueba la venida de colonos suizos para la actual Nova Friburgo (estado de Rio de Janeiro), tras la hambruna de 1817 en Suiza.  
1981: Edgar Castillo, periodista, asesinado, Guatemala.

# 17

Domingo 6° de Pascua  
Hch 10,25-26.34-35.44-48 / Sl 97  
1Jn 4,7-10 / Jn 15,9-17

Pascual Bailón

1961: Comienza el bloqueo comercial de EEUU contra Cuba, en respuesta a su reforma agraria.

**Día mundial de las telecomunicaciones**

Un llamado a evitar los enormes desequilibrios en la producción de mensajes y programas.

Menguante: 07h26m en Acuario



# 18 Monday

Hch 16,11-15 / SI 149

Jn 15,26-16,4a

Rafaela Mª Porras

1525: Fundación de Trujillo (Honduras).

1781: José Gabriel Condorcanqui, Tupac Amaru II, luchador de Perú y Bolivia, descoyuntado.

1895: Nace Augusto C. Sandino en Nicaragua.

1950: Se reúne en Río de Janeiro el Consejo Nacional de Mujeres Negras.

# 19 Tuesday

Hch 16,22-34 / SI 137

Jn 16,5-11

Pedro Celestino

1895: Muere en combate, luchando por la independencia de Cuba, José Martí.

1995: Fallece Jaime Nevares, obispo de Neuquén, voz profética de la Iglesia argentina.

1997: Manoel Luis da Silva, 40, agricultor sin tierra, asesinado, São Miguel de Taipú, Brasil

# 20 Wednesday

Hch 17,22-18,1 / SI 148

Jn 16,12-15

Bernardino de Siena

1506: Muere Colón en Valladolid (España).

1976: Héctor Gutiérrez y Zelmar Michellini, militantes uruguayos, mártires de la lucha del pueblo.

1981: Pedro Aguilar Santos, sacerdote, mártir de la causa de los pobres, Guatemala.

1993: Destitución del Presidente de la República de Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez.

1998: Asesinado, en Pesqueira (PE), Brasil, Francisco de Assis Araújo, Cacique Xukuru.

May





# 25 Monday

Vicenta López Vicuña  
Gregorio VII

1810: Revolución de mayo, Día de la Patria Argentina.  
1987: Bernardo López Arroyave, sacerdote colombiano mártir a mano de terratenientes y militares.

Hch 19,1-8 / SI 67

Jn 16,29-33

# 26 Tuesday

Felipe Neri, Mariana Paredes

1966: Independencia de Guyana.

1969: Enrique Pereira Neto, sacerdote, 28 años, mártir de la justicia en Recife, Brasil. 40 años.

Hch 20,17-27 / SI 67

Jn 17,1-11a

# 27 Wednesday

Agustín de Cantorbery

Juan Calvino

1975: Se oficializa el quechua en Perú.

2008: Son detenidos 98 ex agentes de la DINA, aparato represor de la dictadura de Pinochet, por la "operación Colombo", con 119 asesinatos.

Hch 20,28-38 / SI 67

Jn 17,11b-19

May

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# 28 Thursday

Hch 22,30;23,6-11 / Sl 15

Emilio y Justo

Jn 17,20-26

1926: Golpe de Estado que lleva al derechista Salazar al poder en Portugal, hasta su muerte en 1970.

1993: Javier Cirujano, misionero, mártir de la paz y la solidaridad en Colombia.

2001: La justicia francesa llama a Henry Kissinger, implicado en asesinatos de ciudadanos franceses bajo Pinochet.

2004: Centroamérica firma un TLC con EEUU, a ratificar por el Congreso de cada país.

# 29 Friday

Hch 25,13-21 / Sl 102

Maximino, *Jiri Tranovsky*

Jn 21,15-19

1969: El «cordobazo»: explosión social contra la dictadura de Onganía, en Córdoba, Argentina.

1978: Masacre de un centenar de indígenas queq'chies en Panzós, Guatemala.

1980: Raimundo Ferreira Lima, «Gringo», campesino, sindicalista, agente de pastoral, mártir en Conceição do Araguaia, Brasil.

2001: La jueza Servini, de Argentina, reitera a Chile el pedido de extradición de Pinochet para juzgarlo por el asesinato del general Prats.

# 30 Saturday

Hch 28,16-20.30-31 / Sl 10

Fernando, Juana de Arco

Jn 21,20-25

1961: Cae asesinado el dictador dominicano Rafael Leónidas Trujillo.

1994: María Correa, religiosa paraguaya, hermana de los indígenas Mby'a y profeta de la denuncia en su tierra. Paraguay.

1996: La comisión de desaparecidos políticos aprueba indemnización a la familia de Fiel Filho, Brasil.

# 31

Pentecostés

Hch 2,1-11 / Sl 103

1Cor 12,3b-7.12-13 / Jn 20,19-23

Visitación de María

1979: Teodoro Martínez, campesino, militante cristiano, mártir en Nicaragua.

1986: I Encuentro de Agentes de Pastoral Negros de Duque de Caxias y São João de Meriti.

1990: Clotario Blest, profeta en el sindicato chileno.

**Día mundial sin tabaco**

Creciente: 03h22m en Virgo



# JESUS AND SOCIALISM

JON SOBRINO

San Salvador, El Salvador

1. To me it doesn't seem right to make Jesus purely and simply a socialist even if he might reasonably be considered someone who inspired it and sympathizes with its deepest vision. Although this is minimal, it is important. The same cannot be said of *capitalism*—in spite of the efforts of Michael Novak—or of *imperialism* in any of its forms, whether American or Soviet. The main point Jesus and socialism share is the idea and ideal of the *socio-brother*, not that of *capital-money* or of *power-submission*. Both of these are rejected frontally. For Jesus there are no compromises.

Socialism is not the same as Jesus of Nazareth, but, if we were to associate him with it, he would cry out less than if he were connected to capitalism and imperialism. He goes so far as to share “a certain climate of family” with socialism. “Workers”—and the Nicaraguan Mass adds “peasants”—have not tended to see a stranger in Jesus and much less an enemy. How they see the Church is quite another matter. In the Basque country, which is very Catholic, an elderly woman, who was Catholic all her life, said with conviction and enthusiasm that “Christ was a socialist.” And, if I remember rightly, Bonhoeffer said that workers, who knew little or nothing of dogmas, “understood Jesus.” As a theologian of middle class origin, he witnessed to the fact that there are things that are worth total commitment. He put the Sermon on the Mount and social justice together in the same breath.

And we cannot ignore the fact that Marx, like Jesus, came from the line of prophets in the Jewish tradition. Through them, God addressed kings and the rich with words like “You who sell the poor for a pair of sandals.” Meanwhile God addressed the weak, the poor, and the strangers as “my people.” The parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man and the statement that “you cannot serve both God and Mammon” can more easily be passed over—and, in fact, thoroughly scorned—in capitalism than in socialism. The Beatitudes—sharing in solidarity, compassion, and working for justice to the point of giving up one's life—are more closely tied to socialism. They are rarely found in capitalism.

Thirty years ago, many people here in El Salvador made an option for the oppressed. Those of many stripes on the Left did so and with great generosity. In

1985, Father Ellacuría spoke clearly and provocatively of Marxists when he said that “the fundamental ethical quality (of Marxism)...causes a level of embarrassment among Christians. It reminds them of how they have forgotten about something essential to the faith and it leads them to a kind of inferiority complex when they compare the ethical commitment of the revolutionary Marxists for the very poor with the purely verbal and hesitant commitment of the men of the Church, in the best of cases.

2. So there is no reason to cry out when socialism is compared with Jesus.

At least not in the noisy way capitalism does. But, compared with Jesus, there are differences and sometimes even contradictions. Let me try to set this out in a brief synthesis.

In the first place, it is clear that there is a contradiction with Jesus when socialism ends up taking imperial, dictatorial, and cruel political forms. That's obvious. But the same is true when, beyond just words, it is turned into a political force basically in connivance with capitalism even when there is some percentage of conventional democracy present. Socially, this means it actively promotes personal individualism and an egotism contrary to solidarity. What it looks for and offers, in elections for example, is “the good life” and “success.” From the perspective of Jesus this is dehumanizing.

Second, it is evident that another point must be added, the search for power. This is inevitable and it can have good results, but it is always a delicate matter since it does not cease being power by being political—a reflection that can be extended to all power. And, since we are speaking of Jesus, let us not forget that he made this point in regards to sacred, religious and ecclesial power, doing so with considerable bluntness.

Jesus was not lazy nor was he merely a contemplative. He spoke with authority, acted with energy, and faced up to real powers. It has been said of him that “power” went out of him. But no one says that he used “power.” That wasn't his way. He did not seek it nor did he promote it. He was horrified by the tendency of power towards domination and submission. He rejected

Translation by Richard Renshaw

any attempt of the people to crown him king; He did not want Pilate to think of him in those terms. The figure of Jesus can be understood to be like that of the “force” of a prophet or the “shaking up” that the suffering servant brought about. But it is not the power of a popular leader like Moses.

That is quite central to his way of looking at the world and his personal practice. His judgment regarding power is forceful and inescapable: “The rulers of the nations lord it over others and the great oppress them with their power. It must not be so among you.” This is applicable to all power: capitalist and socialist, economic and military, religious and ecclesiastical. The temptation to fall into it—to which Jesus would add that of falling into the seduction of riches and honors as well as insensitivity to victims—threatens every human being. It corrupts the relationships between human beings.

Obviously this does not mean that socialists cannot seek political power, win elections, and promulgate laws that will hopefully be in favor of the poor and the weak. Nevertheless, and with absolute seriousness, Jesus warns against the danger that power may become *abusive and corrupt*, as if this were its *natural state*. Wisely, Aristotle said the same thing.

Finally, although it might be surprising to speak of it, the religious experience of Jesus, or its equivalent in socialism, deserves analysis. This might seem strange since socialism does not have any reason to be formally religious or Christian. Often it is not and historically it has been anticlerical, frequently justified though sometimes not. However, the religious dimension was a profound force in Jesus, and his positive vision and action cannot be understood without it, not only in his person but in his relation to society.

For Jesus, the new society that needs to be constructed does not come accompanied by great signs. (In earlier times one called them “apocalyptic.”) Such a society is not to be identified with the historical force of a group or with the victory over enemies or their annihilation. In a post-Machiavellian concept of politics, none of this has any reason to be positive for the *polis*. But, properly socialized in an understanding of politics as care for the *polis*, a religious experience, can be so. The *polis* can grow in its humanization when it accepts the reality that we call mystery, that is to say, going beyond mere positivism, infantilizing, reification, and trivializing of what is real. That mystery is

what gives life to existence.

There is no reason why socialism has to be religious—nor does it have to call the mystery of reality *Abba*, as Jesus did. Still, neither is there any reason to discount the possibility that the religious dimension of human existence configures the person and the *polis*. It’s my personal opinion that democratic Western socialisms, in spite of all that they have achieved for citizens and workers, demonstrate that something important has been lost. Perhaps this lost element can be rediscovered in the pathos of socialists and communists who are humanizers. My hope is that they will not exclude the possibility of being able to find it also in religious traditions like that of Jesus.

There is no question here of falling into a subtle return to clericalism but rather of taking seriously the deeper dimension of the reality of human beings. We can debate whether that depth can be accessed through religion or without it. Some may speak, with Ernst Bloch, of an “atheism in Christianity” or, with Alfonso Comín, of a “Christianity within communism.” What should not be a matter of debate is taking seriously the depth of the human. Without that, we degenerate even when the quality of life and constitutional freedoms increase. In my opinion, this is a fundamental problem of today’s socialism in Western societies of abundance and, obviously, of capitalism.

The same is true also of the Churches. It’s not enough to circulate in a formally religious context. We have to practice a religion that arises from and is a bearer of that depth, to get outside of ourselves in order not to end up chained to our own selves, as Paul would say, and so that we visit orphans and widows. This is what James called true religion.

3. In many countries of Latin America there are important movements which, in one way or another, establish a relationship with socialism. It is no small thing that they have, in some ways, put the brakes on the cruelty of capitalist imperialism. It would be good for them to also take positive steps—even small ones—toward the idea/ideal of socialism. In that way, socialism will be able to coincide with Christianity as it did in earlier decades. There will be Christians and socialists dedicated to the task.

Our hope is that Jesus may provide a framework for them all. Our utopia is a civilization of poverty, or, in more acceptable terms, “a civilization of shared austerity and solidarity,” that is, the Reign of God.

# 2009

May

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Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday	
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# 1 Monday

Tob 1,3;2,1b-8 / SI 111

Justino  
1989: Sergio Restrepo, sacerdote, mártir de la liberación de los campesinos de Tierralta, Colombia. **20 años.**  
1991: João de Aquino, presidente del Sindicato de Nueva Iguazú, Brasil, asesinado.

# 2 Tuesday

Tob 2,9-14 / SI 111

Pedro y Marcelino  
1537: Bula Sublimis Deus de Paulo III, que condena la esclavitud.  
1987: Sebastián Morales, evangélico, diácono, mártir de la fe y la justicia en Guatemala.

# 3 Wednesday

Tob 3,1-11a.16-17a / SI 24

Carlos Luanga  
*Juan XXIII*  
1548: Juan de Zumárraga, obispo de México, protector de los indios.  
1758: La Comisión de Límites encuentra a los Yanomami de Venezuela.  
1885: São Carlos Luanga y compañeros, mártires de Uganda. Patrones de la juventud africana.  
1963: Muere Juan XXIII.

June





## Thursday

Gn 14,18-20 / Sl 109

Francisco Caracciolo 1Cor 11,23-26 / Lc 9,11b-17  
1559: El Oidor Fernando Santillán informa de las matanzas de indios en Chile.  
1980: José María Gran, misionero, y Domingo Batz, sacristán, mártires en El Quiché, Guatemala.

**Día internacional de los niños  
víctimas inocentes de la agresión.**



## Friday

Tob 11,5-17 / Sl 145

Bonifacio Mc 12,35-37  
1573: Ejecución del cacique Tanamaco (Venezuela).  
1981: Se descubre el primer caso de SIDA de la historia, en Los Angeles, EEUU.  
1988: Agustín Ramírez y Javier Sotelo, obreros mártires de la lucha de los marginados del Gran Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
2000: La Corte de Santiago retira la inmunidad a Pinochet, acusado por 109 querrelas en los tribunales chilenos y buscado internacionalmente.

**Día mundial del medio ambiente**



## Saturday

Tob 12,1.5-15.20 / Int. Tob 13,2-8

Norberto Mc 12,38-44  
1940: Muere Marcos Garvey, líder negro jamaicano, mentor del panafricanismo.  
1980: José Ribeiro, líder de la nación indígena Apuríña, asesinado, Brasil.  
1989: Pedro Hernández y compañeros, líderes indígenas, mártires del reclamo de la propia tierra, en México. **20 años.**



Trinidad

Dt 4,32-34.39-40 / Sl 32

Rm 8,14-17 / Mt 28,16-20

Roberto, *Seattle*

1494: Castilla y Portugal firman el Tratado de Tordesillas negociando su expansión en el Atlántico.  
1978: Comienza la organización del Movimiento Negro Unificado (MNU).  
1990: Hna. Filomena Lopes Filha, apóstol de las favelas, Nova Iguaçu, asesinada.  
1998: Asalto del ejército a reunión indígena en El Charco (Gro) México: 10 campesinos muertos.  
2005: Tras 30 años de lucha, se devuelven las tierras de campesinos de las Ligas Agrarias Paraguayas.

Lena: 18h12m en Sagitario



# 11 Thursday

Hch 11,21b-26;13,1-3 / Sal 97

Mt 10,7-13

Bernabé

1980: Ismael Enrique Pineda y compañeros, promotores de Cáritas en San Salvador, desaparecidos en El Salvador.

# 12 Friday

2Cor 4,7-15 / Sl 115

Mt 5,27-32

Gaspar, Juan de Sahagún

1514: Por primera vez se da lectura al «requerimiento» (para el cacique Catarapa), en la voz de Juan Ayora, en la costa de Santa Marta.

1981: Joaquín Neves Norte, abogado del Sindicato de Trabajadores Rurales de Naviraí, Paraná, Brasil, asesinado.

1935: Finaliza la guerra del Chaco.

# 13 Saturday

2Cor 5,14-21 / Sl 102

Mt 5,33-37

Antonio de Padua

1645: Comienza la Insurrección Pernambucana para expulsar el dominio holandés de Brasil.

2003: La Suprema Corte de México concede la extradición a España de Ricardo Cavallo, torturador en la dictadura argentina.

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# 14

Corpus Christi

Ex 24,3-8 / Sl 115

Hb 9,11-15 / Mt 14,13-16.22-26

Eliseo, *Basilio el Grande,*

*Gregorio Nacianceno, Gregorio de Nisa*

1977: Mauricio Silva, uruguayo, hermanito del Evangelio, barrendero en Buenos Aires. Desaparecido.

1980: Cosme Spessoto, sacerdote italiano, párroco, mártir en El Salvador.

1983: Vicente Hordanza, sacerdote misionero al servicio de los campesinos, Perú.

2005: El Supremo argentino declara inconstitucionales las leyes de obediencia debida y punto final.

Horizontal line for writing notes.

# 15 Monday

2Cor 6,1-10 / Sl 97

Mª Micaela, Vito

Mt 5,38-42

1932: Bolivia-Paraguay: comienza la guerra del Chaco.

1952: Víctor Sanabria, arzobispo de San José de Costa Rica, defensor de la justicia social.

1987: Operación Albania: 12 personas asesinadas en Santiago de Chile por servicios de seguridad.

1989: Teodoro Santos Mejía, sacerdote, Perú. **20 años.**

2005: La Suprema Corte de México declara no prescrito el delito del expresidente Echeverría por genocidio, por la mantanza de estudiantes de 1971.

Menguante: 22h14m en Piscis



# 16 Tuesday

2Cor 8,1-9 / Sl 145

Juan Francisco de Regis

Mt 5,43-48

1976: Masacre de Soweto, Sudáfrica: 700 niños asesinados por negarse a aprender «afrikaans», la lengua del opresor.

1976: Aurora Vivar Vásquez, militante, sindicalista, mártir de las luchas obreras de Perú.

# 17 Wednesday

2Cor 9,6-11 / Sl 111

Ismael y Samuel

Mt 6,1-6.16-18

1703: Nacimiento de John Wesley, Inglaterra.

1983: Felipa Pucha y Pedro Cuji, campesinos indígenas, mártires del derecho a la tierra en Cullcutuz, Ecuador.

1991: Fin del apartheid en Sudáfrica.

**Día internacional contra la desertificación**



# 18 Thursday

2Cor 11,1-11 / SI 110

Mt 6,7-15

Germán

1954: Jacobo Arbenz, presidente de Guatemala renuncia ante la invasión auspiciada por la CIA.  
1997: Brasil aprueba la ley que permite privatizar las comunicaciones.

# 19 Friday

Corazón de Jesús

Os 11,1b.3-4.8c-9 / Int. Is 12,2-6

Ef 3,8-12.14-19 / Jn 19,31-37

Romualdo

1764: Nace José Artigas, libertador de Uruguay, "padre" de la Reforma Agraria.

1867: Es fusilado Maximiliano, Emperador impuesto a México.

1986: Masacre en los penales de Lima, Perú.

# 20 Saturday

Corazón de María

Is 61,9-11 / Int. 1Sm 2,1.4-8

Lc 2,41-51

Silverio

Día del refugiado africano.

1820: Fallece Manuel Belgrano, prócer argentino.  
1923: Es asesinado Doroteo Arango, «Pancho Villa», general revolucionario mexicano.

1979: Rafael Palacios, sacerdote, mártir de las comunidades de base salvadoreñas. **30 años.**

1995: Greenpeace logra que Shell y Esso no hundan en el océano la plataforma petrolera Brent Spar, evitando que hayan sido hundidas otras 200.

**Día mundial (de la ONU) de los refugiados**

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# 21

Domingo 12º ordinario

Jb 38,1.8-11 / SI 106

2Cor 5,14-17 / Mc 4,35-40

Luis Gonzaga

Onésimo Nesib

1984: Sergio Ortiz, seminarista, mártir de la persecución a la Iglesia en Guatemala. **25 años.**

**Año nuevo andino**

**Solsticio, de verano en el Norte, y de invierno en el Sur, a las 07h45m.**

Horizontal lines for writing.

# 22 Monday

Gn 12,1-9 / Sl 32

Juan Fisher, Tomás Moro

1534: Benalcázar entra y saquea Quito.

1965: Arturo Mackinnon, canadiense, Misionero de Scarborough, asesinado en Monte Plata por militares por defender a los pobres, Dominicana.

1966: Manuel Larraín, obispo de Talca, presidente del CELAM, pastor del pueblo chileno.

Nueva: 19h35m en Cáncer

# 23 Tuesday

Gn 13,2.5-18 / Sl 14

Mt 7,6.12-14

Zenón, Marcial

1524: Llegan a la costa de México «los doce apóstoles de la Nueva España», franciscanos.

1936: Nace Carlos Fonseca.

1967: Masacre de San Juan, en el centro minero Siglo XX, Bolivia. Mueren mineros y sus familias.

# 24 Wednesday

Is 49,1-6 / Sal 138

Hch 13,22-26 / Lc 1,57-66.80

Nacimiento de Juan Bautista

Día de año nuevo andino.

1541: Rebelión indígena en el oeste de México (Guerra de Mixton).

1821: Batalla de Carabobo, Venezuela.

1823: Se constituye la Federación de las Provincias Unidas de Centroamérica, de corta existencia.



June

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# 25 Thursday

Gn 16,1-12.15-16 / Sl 105

Guillermo, Máximo

Mt 7,21-29

*Confesión de Ausburgo, Felipe Melancton*

1524: Coloquio de los sacerdotes y sabios aztecas con los «Doce Apóstoles de México».

1975: Mártires de Olancho: Iván Betancourt, Miguel «Casimiro» y 7 campesinos hondureños.

# 26 Friday

Gn 17,1.9-10.15-22 / Sl 127

Pelayo

1541: Muerte violenta de Pizarro.

1822: Histórico encuentro de San Martín y Bolívar en Guayaquil.

1945: Se firma la Carta de la ONU en San Francisco.

1987: Creación de la Confederación de los Pueblos Indígenas de México.

**Día internacional de lucha contra el uso indebido y el tráfico ilícito de drogas.**

**Día de apoyo a las víctimas de la tortura**

# 27 Saturday

Gn 18,1-15 / Int. Lc 1

Cirilo de Alejandría

Mt 8,5-17

1552: Domingo de Santo Tomás y Tomás de San Martín, dominicos, primeros obispos de Bolivia, defensores del indio.

1982: Juan Pablo Rodríguez Ran, sacerdote indígena, mártir de la justicia para Guatemala.

1986: El Tribunal Internacional de La Haya declara a EEUU «culpable de violar el Derecho Internacional por su agresión contra Nicaragua».

# 28

Domingo 13º ordinario

Sb 1,13-15;2,23-24 / Sl 29

2Cor 8,7.9.13-15 / Mc 5,21-43

Ireneo

1890: Brasil abre la puerta a los emigrantes europeos; los africanos y los asiáticos sólo podrán entrar mediante autorización del Congreso.

1918: Desembarco de marines en Panamá.

1954: Es derrocado Jacobo Arbenz.

2001: Wlademiro Montesinos ingresa en la cárcel de la base naval de El Callao, Perú.

# THE NEW AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

## THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**JOSÉ CORONADO COBEÑAS**

Minga Informativa / [pasalavoz@movimientos.org](mailto:pasalavoz@movimientos.org)

The Peruvian historian Alberto Flores Galindo's early death constituted a great loss not only for socialist thought but also political thought in general. He was close to being obsessed with the topic of 'utopia,' that is, of capturing elusive responses and proposals that can bring into reality the dreams of a world different than the one that has been configured by the dominant system and that today is expressed in marginalizing neoliberal globalization. He also referred to 'the crisis' but not in terms of 'irreversible disorder' sold to us by the apostles of neoliberalism or the 'end of history' sold to us by its deluded mentors. He outlined the crisis in a way which, in light of the historic events of the last decade, has become more useful. The crisis, said 'Tito' Flores, has to be understood as a situation in which something old is dying and something new cannot be born.

Also, he proposed many more things that today touch sensitive nerves that, little by little, are being built in many parts of Latin America with greater or lesser intensity, with their own particularities and also with no few difficulties. In several of his audacious essays, he rightly referred to social authors that are persistent in their demonstration that the wheels of history always turn forward. There could be setbacks but ultimately they would move forward. He raised this to empower other social sectors and young people.

### **Who are these new social actors?**

In recent years, many Latin American countries have been victims of the neoliberal reforms of the Washington Consensus. These policies have not only impoverished the population but also have enriched even more the powerful transnationals and have greatly widened the gap that separates the rich and the poor. But, at the same time, new policies have been incubating and procreating responses which are in principle isolated and ignored, but which outline an unadvertised potentiality, that when collectively in motion, without a doubt, has begun to be the great factor responsible for the changes that are alive in this part of the world today.

These movements that in principle arise in response to questions much more local or regional with platforms

of national aspirations, even with a clear sectoral tendency, are being formed gradually eventually realizing that many of their problems are common, as are their aspirations. The crisis of traditional actors, mainly of the political parties that fomented change at one point and planned not only reforms but even vindicated socialism, has come to be a factor that has stimulated with a renewed protagonism the growth of these social actors.

The constant aggression that stems from the irrational system of production, principally extractive, has incubated environmental and natural resource defense movements that state in fact what is in play is not the environment's survival, but the survival of the planet itself. Appropriation, or better said, the "privatization of the land and the water" that neoliberal policy seeks to perpetrate, has supported the growth of vast indigenous and campesino movements that continually find better coordination and combined integration mechanisms that go far beyond their borders. The renewed attempts to convert into vulgar merchandise services so basic and elemental as education have not only inspired a resurgence in the spirit of resistance, they have developed solidarity and made millions of young people conscious, made them ready to defend free education.

A growing and diverse movement of women—campesinas, indigenous peoples, ecologists, and feminists—is continuing to develop. They not only reclaim and win equality with male equals but they question the dominant system. And they occupy a continually greater space in leadership environments and the apparatus of public power itself. In the middle of their own difficulties that suppose unity within diversity, they have also been incorporating traditionally excluded sectors, like the movements for sexual diversity. Those that fight to banish the opprobrium of racism; those that fight to recover the authentic sense of democracy—participative and real, the vital exercise of citizenship; and those that fight to prevent Latin America from becoming a land of impunity and a kingdom of corruption. Of course, there are even more who strive—beyond their own nuances—for something that a slogan has managed to synthesize and combine as a just and legiti-

mate aspiration: “Another world is possible.”

All this torrent has also succeeded in constructing meeting spaces that have permitted people to be clear, to share hopes and dreams, to build collectively, to march, to debate and fruitfully, multifacetedly reflect and also to argue and disagree in a civilized way because this also nourishes the longed for unity of the people. And if, in principle, one of these fundamental spaces for unifying all of these voices has been the World Social Forums, there have also been other spaces arising, other forms of encounter that recreate and enrich it.

The social summits have come to constitute formidable responses to those official engagements in which the great majority of chief executives come together to sign vacuous, trivial or grandiloquent documents that in no way serve the people. These social summits have been legitimized more and more, becoming nearly essential spaces—even indispensable places—for listening to the voice of the excluded. These encounters, which are diverse in their thematic and sectoral content, and the similar events organized by social groups and campesinos have contributed to enrich this process of encounter of these new social actors who are increasingly protagonists.

It would be unjust however not to recognize that the presence of this social movement, which has continued to grow and whose drive has crossed the frontiers of Latin America, has, in recent years, contributed to the appearance of governments that do not submit to the schemes of neoliberalism and transnational capitalism. All of this is a product of a dynamic dialectic that is nourishes and interacts with itself. Some of these governments have been the fruit precisely of the active and combative presence of these social movements that have succeeded in stopping or bringing down the political expressions of the oligarchies. These governments, in the face of no small difficulties, struggle against poverty and attempt to justly give benefits to the social sectors that have made this new type of governments possible. These leaders seek to show that there is a new form of government that listens to the voice of these movements, participating as well in these social and popular spaces.

### **Communication, a vital weapon of the social movement**

Social movements don't march or advance alone. They also have developed organizational means that allow them to continue acting beyond their physical locations. They know how to construct networks that

have made it possible for them to be more and more intercommunicative. They do not just rely on alternative media sources that, for some time, have given a voice and space to these social actors and without doubt are a great contribution. Now they have taken another step forward, constructing by themselves their own media that broadcasts their own voice, their own thoughts, their own proposals, which are nothing else than their own yearnings and hopes.

They weave their own networks and increasingly make use of all possible media channels that multiply the echo of their actions, gatherings, mobilizations, protests, and proposals. They make use of their community radio and television stations. They seek to maintain and increment their bulletins, reviews, and periodicals. They have made the internet a field in which they also debate their political proposals. They have laid the foundation for and built up consciousness of their sectoral demands and global proposals in order to confront the power of the great monopolies of disinformation that, until recently, sought to be the exclusive sounding box for neoliberal ideology.

The experiences of the new communication, which increasingly goes hand-in-hand with their own movements, are diverse. They gather and share those multiple, varied, and untiring voices that proclaim that Another World is Possible. They not only announce this world. They also give concrete samples of its successes and advances that have already checked and turned back neoliberal expressions that try to continue privatizing countries to turn their wealth over to the voracity of transnational companies.

These experiences show that communication is not only an instrument to spread facts but also to construct new thinking and proposals. They demonstrate that communication is a strategy that must accompany and be part of this social movement, of these new actors. It is certain that “another communication is possible,” because it is in this field where one of the transcendent battles is waged so that another world will be possible.

Concluding by returning to Tito Flores, I believe that this new communication will enable us “to discuss power, not only production and markets, but also where power is, who has it, and how they got it. To question the liberal discourse. Young people can do it.”

I will add only that the youth are doing it as fundamental protagonists of social movements.

This is part of utopia, and also of crisis. They can finally give birth to something new.

# 2009

June

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# 29 Monday

Pedro y Pablo  
Hch 12,1-11 / Sl 33

Pedro y Pablo

2Tm 4,6-8.17-18 / Mt 16,13-19

1995: Conflicto de tierras en São Félix do Xingú, Brasil.

Mueren 6 agricultores y un policía.

1997: Condenados los tres «mandantes» del asesinato de Josimo Tavares (Brasil, 1986).

Creciente: 11h28m en Libra



# 30 Tuesday

Protomártires de Roma

*Juan Olaf Wallin*

Diadelosmártiresde Guatemala. (Antes, del ejército).

1520: La «noche triste», derrota de los conquistadores en México.

1975: Dionisio Frías, campesino, mártir de las luchas por la tierra en la Rep. Dominicana.

1978: Hermógenes López, fundador de la Acción Católica Rural, mártir de los campesinos. Guatemala.

# 1 Wednesday

Gn 19,15-29 / Sl 25

Mt 8,23-27

Casto, Secundino, Aarón

*Catalina Winkworth, John Mason Neale*

Fiesta nacional de Canadá.

1974: Fallece Juan Domingo Perón, tres veces presidente argentino.

1981: Tulio Maruzzo, sacerdote italiano, y Luis Navarrete, catequista, mártires en Guatemala.

1990: Mariano Delaunay, maestro, mártir de la educación liberadora en Haití.

2002: Entra en vigor el Tribunal Penal Internacional, aun con la oposición de EEUU.

Gn 21,5.8-20 / Sl 33

Mt 8,28-34

June



## 2 Thursday

Gn 22,1-19 / SI 114  
Mt 9,1-8

Vidal, Marcial

- 1617: Rebelión de los tupinambas (Brasil).
- 1823: Toma de Salvador, que concluye la guerra de independencia de Bahía, Brasil.
- 1925: Nace el revolucionario africano Lumumba.
- 1991: Iª Conferencia legal del Congreso Nacional Africano, Sudáfrica, después de 30 años.

## 3 Friday

Ef 2,19-22 / SI 116  
Jn 20,24-29

Tomás apóstol

- 1951: Es aprobada en Brasil la ley Alfonso Arinos, que condena como contravención penal la discriminación de raza, color y religión.
- 1978: Pablo Marcano García y Nydia Cuevas toman el Consulado de Chile en San Juan, para denunciar lo absurdo de celebrar la independencia del país (EEUU) que se la niega a Puerto Rico.
- 1987: Tomás Zavaleta, franciscano salvadoreño, mártir de la solidaridad, en Nicaragua.

## 4 Saturday

Gn 27,1-5.15-29 / SI 134  
Mt 9,14-17

Isabel de Portugal

- 1776: Independencia de EEUU. Fiesta nacional.
- 1974: Antonio Llido Mengua, sacerdote diocesano español, detenido y desaparecido bajo Pinochet.
- 1976: Alfredo Kelly, Pedro Dufau, Alfredo Leaden, Salvador Barbeito y José Barletti, mártires de la justicia, Argentina.


JULY

## 5

Domingo 14º ordinario  
Ez 2,2-5 / SI 122  
2Cor 12,7b-10 / Mc 6,1-6

- Antonio Mª Zaccaria
- 1573: Ejecución del cacique Tamanaco, Venezuela.
- 1811: Independencia de Venezuela. Fiesta nacional.
- 1920: Bolivia ordena dar tierra a los «naturales».
- 1981: Emeterio Toj, campesino indígena, secuestrado en Guatemala.


# 6 Monday

Gn 28,10-22a / Sl 90  
Mt 9,18-26

María Goretti

1415: Muere John Huss, en Checo-Eslovaquia.  
1943: Muere en Buenos Aires Nazaria Ignacia March Mesa, fundadora de las religiosas «Cruzadas de la Iglesia», que fundó en Oruro (Bolivia) el primer sindicato obrero femenino de A.L.  
1986: Rodrigo Rojas, militante, mártir de la lucha por la democracia del pueblo chileno.

# 7 Tuesday

Gn 32,22-32 / Sl 16  
Mt 9,32-38

Fermin

1976: Arturo Bernal, campesino dirigente de las Ligas Agrarias, que pereció en la tortura, Paraguay.  
1991: Carlos Bonilla, obrero, mártir del derecho al trabajo en Citaltepetl, México.  
2005: Atentado terrorista en el metro de Londres.

**Eclipse penumbral de Luna,  
visible en Australia, Océano Pacífico y América.**

Llena: 09h21m en Capricornio



# 8 Wednesday

Gn 41,55-57:42,5-7.17-24a / Sl 32  
Mt 10,1-7

Eugenio, Adriano, Priscila

1538: Muerte violenta de Almagro.  
1991: Martín Ayala, mártir de la solidaridad de los marginados de su pueblo salvadoreño.



# 9 Thursday

Gn 44,18-21,23b-29;45,1-5 / Sl 104

Rosario de Chiquiquirá  
Mt 10,7-15

1816: En el Congreso de Tucumán, Argentina, las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata declaran su independencia de España. Fiesta nacional.

1821: San Martín proclama a Perú independiente.

1880: Joaquín Nabuco funda la Sociedad Brasileña contra la esclavitud, que tuvo una gran actuación en plazas públicas y clubes.

1920: Pedro Lersa, Recife, luchador por los derechos de los trabajadores, preso y muerto en la prisión.

# 10 Friday

Gn 46,1-7,28-30 / Sl 36

Cristóbal  
Mt 10,16-23

1509: Nacimiento de Calvino, en Francia.

1973: Independencia de las Bahamas.

1980: Faustino Villanueva, sacerdote español, mártir al servicio del pueblo indígena, Guatemala.

1988: Joseph Lafontant, abogado, mártir de la defensa de los derechos humanos en Haití.

1993: Muere Rafael Maroto Pérez, luchador incansable por la justicia y la libertad en Chile, sacerdote.

2002: Se descubre en Chad un cráneo de 7 millones de años, del homínido más antiguo conocido.

# 11 Saturday

Gn 49,29-32;50,15-26a / Sl 104

Benito  
Mt 10,24-33

1968: Fundación del Movimiento Indio de EEUU (American Indian Movement).

1977: Carlos Ponce de León, obispo de San Nicolás, mártir de la justicia en Argentina.

**Día mundial de la población**



# 12

Domingo 15º ordinario  
Am 7,12-15 / Sl 84  
Ef 1,3-14 / Mc 6,7-13

Juan Gualberto

1821: Bolívar crea la República de la Gran Colombia.

1917: Huelga general e insurrección en São Paulo.

1976: Aurelio Rueda, sacerdote, mártir de los habitantes de tugurios en Colombia.

# 13 Monday

Ex 1,8-14,22 / Sl 123

Enrique  
 1900: Nace Juana Fernández Solar, santa Teresa de Jesús de los Andes, carmelita chilena.  
 1982: Fernando Hoyos, jesuita, educador entre los campesinos, muerto por el ejército, Guatemala  
 1989: Natividad Quispe, indígena, 90 años, Perú.  
 1991: Riccy Mabel Martínez, violada y asesinada por militares, símbolo de la lucha del Pueblo de Honduras contra la impunidad militar.  
 2007: Fin de la impunidad legal en Argentina: la Corte Suprema declara nulos los indultos a los represores.

# 14 Tuesday

Ex 2,1-15a / Sl 68

Francisco Solano  
 Camilo de Leis  
 1616: Francisco Solano, misionero franciscano, apóstol de los indios en Perú.  
 1630: Hernandarias publica en Paraguay las primeras ordenanzas en defensa de los indios.  
 1969: Estalla la «guerra del fútbol» entre El Salvador y Honduras, cuyo origen es la expulsión de colonos salvadoreños de territorio hondureño. **40 años.**

# 15 Wednesday

Ex 3,1-6,9-12 / Sl 102

Buenaventura, Vladimir  
 1972: Héctor Jurado, pastor metodista, mártir del pueblo uruguayo, torturado.  
 1976: Rodolfo Lunkenbein, misionero, y Lorenzo Simão, bororo, mártires del pueblo indígena, Brasil.  
 1981: Misael Ramírez, campesino, animador de comunidades, mártir de la justicia, Colombia.  
 1991: Julio Quevedo Quezada, catequista, El Quiché, asesinado por el Estado, Guatemala.

**Día Internacional de la ONU de la Familia**

Menguante: 09h53m en Aries



# 16 Thursday

Ex 3, 13-20 / SI 104  
Mt 11, 28-30

Carmen

1750: José Gumilla, misionero defensor de los indios, cultivador de las lenguas indígenas, Venezuela.

1982: Los «sin techo» ocupan 580 casas en Santo André, São Paulo, Brasil.

2000: Muere Elsa M. Chaney (\*1930), destacada feminista estadounidense con estudios sobre las mujeres en A.L.

# 17 Friday

Ex 11, 10-12, 14 / SI 115  
Mt 12, 1-8

Alejo, *Bartolomé de las Casas*

1566: Muere Bartolomé de Las Casas, a los 82 años, profeta defensor de la Causa de los indios.

1976: Mártires obreros del ingenio Ledesma, Argentina.

1980: Cruento golpe militar en Bolivia, encabezado por el general Luis García Meza.

# 18 Saturday

Ex 12, 37-42 / SI 135  
Mt 12, 14-21

Amulfo, Federico

1872: Muere el gran indio zapoteca Benito Juárez.

1976: Carlos de Dios Murias y Gabriel Longueville, sacerdotes, secuestrados y muertos, mártires de la justicia en La Rioja, Argentina.

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JULY

# 19

Domingo 16° ordinario  
Jr 23, 1-6 / SI 22  
Ef 2, 13-18 / Mc 6, 30-34

Justa y Rufina, Arsenio

1824: Es fusilado Itúrbide, emperador de México.

1979: Triunfo de la Revolución Sandinista.

1983: Yamilet Sequiera Cuarte, catequista, Nicaragua.

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# 20 Monday

Ex 14,5-18 / Int. Ex 15,1-6  
Mt 12,38-42

Eliás  
1500: Cédula real que ordena poner en libertad a todos los indios vendidos como esclavos en la Península, y devolverlos a las Indias.  
1810: Independencia de Colombia. Fiesta nacional.  
1923: Es asesinado Doroteo Arango, «Pancho Villa», general revolucionario mexicano.  
1969: El ser humano, en el comandante Neil Amstrong del Apolo XI, pisa la Luna por primera vez. **40 años.**  
1981: Masacre de Coyá, Guatemala: trescientos muertos, mujeres, ancianos y niños.

# 21 Tuesday

Ex 14,21-15,1 / Int. Ex 15,8-17  
Mt 12,46-50

Lorenzo de Brindis  
1980: Wilson de Souza Pinheiro, sindicalista, luchador campesino, asesinado en Brasiléia AC, Brasil.  
1984: Sergio Alejandro Ortíz, seminarista, Guatemala.  
1987: Alejandro Labaca, Vicario de Aguarico, e Inés Arango, misionera, en la selva ecuatoriana.

# 22 Wednesday

Cant 3,1-4 / Sl 62  
Jn 20,1.11-18

María Magdalena  
1980: Jorge Oscar Adur, sacerdote asuncionista, presidente de JEC, Raúl Rodríguez y Carlos Di Pietro, seminaristas, desaparecidos, Argentina.

**Eclipse total de Sol,  
visible en Asia y el océano Pacífico.**

Nueva: 02h34m en Cáncer



Lined writing area for notes, consisting of multiple horizontal lines across the page.



# 23 Thursday

Ex 19,1-2.9-11.16-20b / Int.Dn 3,52-56

Brígida

Mt 13,10-17

1978: Mario Mujía Córdoba, «Guigui», obrero, maestro, agente de pastoral, mártir de la causa obrera en Guatemala.

1983: Pedro Angel Santos, catequista, mártir de la solidaridad con su pueblo salvadoreño.

1987: Mártires campesinos de Jean-Rabel, en Haití.

1993: 8 niños de la calle, asesinados por un escuadrón de la muerte mientras dormían en la plaza de la iglesia de la Candelaria de Río de Janeiro.

# 24 Friday

Cristina

1783: Nace Simón Bolívar en Caracas.

1985: Ezequiel Ramim, comboniano, mártir defensor de los posseiros, Cacoal RO, Brasil. Asesinado.

# 25 Saturday

Ex 20,1-17 / Sl 18

Mt 13,18-23

Santiago

Hch 4,33-5.12.27-33;12,2

2Cor 4,7-15 / Sal 66 / Mt 20,20-28

1495: Diego Colón funda en la Hispaniola (Rep. Dominicana) la ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros.

1524: Se funda Santiago de los Caballeros, Guatemala.

1567: Se funda «Santiago de León de Caracas».

1898: EEUU invade Puerto Rico.

1901: EEUU impone a Cuba la enmienda Platt (la base de Guantánamo).

1952: Puerto Rico: Estado Libre Asociado de EEUU.

1976: Wenceslao Pedernera, campesino dirigente pastoral, mártir en la Rioja, Argentina.

1978: Carlos Enrique Soto Arriví y Arnaldo Darío Rosado, asesinados por la policía, Puerto Rico.

1980: José Othomaro Cáceres, seminarista, y sus 13 compañeros, mártires en El Salvador.

1981: Angel Martínez Rodrigo y Raúl José Léger, catequistas misioneros laicos, Guatemala.

1983: Luis Calderón y Luis Solarte, mártires de la lucha de los «destechados» de Popayán, Colombia.

# 26

Domingo 17º ordinario

2Re 4,42-44 / Sl 144

Ef 4,1-6 / Jn 6,1-15

Joaquín y Ana

1503: El cacique Quibian (Panamá), destruye la ciudad de Santa María, fundada por Colón.

1927: Primer bombardeo aéreo de la historia del Continente, a cargo de EEUU, contra Ocotol, Nicaragua, donde se había aposentado Sandino.

1953: Asalto del cuartel Moncada en Cuba.

# 27 Monday

Ex 32,15-24.30-34 / Sl 105

Celestino

Mt 13,31-35

1909: Semana trágica en Barcelona, reivindicaciones obreras fuertemente reprimidas.

1991: Eliseo Castellano, sacerdote, Puerto Rico.

# 28 Tuesday

Ex 33,7-11;34,5b-9.28 / Sl 102

Inocencio, *Juan Sebastián Bach,*

*Heinrich Schütz, Jorge Federico Handel*

1821: Independencia de Perú. Fiesta nacional.

1980: Masacre de 70 campesinos en San Juan Cotzal, en Guatemala.

1981: Stanley Francisco Rother, estadounidense, asesinado por su servicio en favor de los pobres, Santiago de Atitlán, Guatemala.

1986: Los cooperantes Yvan Leyvraz (suizo), Bernd Koberstein (alemán) y Joël Fieux (francés) asesinados por la Contra en Zomopera, Nicaragua.

Creciente: 22h00m en Escorpio



# 29 Wednesday

1Jn 4,7-16 / Sl 33

Marta

Jn 11,19-27

*Maria, Marta y Lázaro de Betania, Olaf*





# THE NEWNESS OF NEW SOCIALISM

FRANÇOIS HOUTART

Belgium - Latin America

The concept of “New Socialism” involves, right from the start, the need to delegitimize capitalism and change the logic of the economic, social, political, and cultural organization of the world today. It also requires a new orientation based on the achievements, errors, and serious failings of socialism in the past.

## 1. Delegitimizing Capitalism

We are currently witnessing a process of environmental destruction and human inequality unprecedented in human history. The climate itself is in danger. Greenhouse gases, especially CO<sub>2</sub> (carbon dioxide) are growing in the atmosphere as a result of industrial activity, transportation, and hyper-consumption. The earth heated up by 0.7o C. during the twentieth century and may continue to do so by 1o to 4o in the twenty-first century. Biodiversity is being destroyed at ever-increasing speed. Unless appropriate measures are taken, 20% to 40% of living species of plants and animals could disappear in the next forty years. Access to safe water is already a problem in various parts of the world, and the current growth-oriented model of development is further contaminating remaining aquifers. The economic and social effects of global warming are beginning to reach alarming proportions.

There is also growing social inequality. Never before has the world produced so much wealth, and yet never have there been so many poor. More than 800 million people are currently living below the global poverty line of less than two dollars a day. In Latin America alone, their numbers increased by ten million between 1990 and 2000.

This situation is the logical result of capitalism and the acceleration of its effects during the neoliberal period. Both the proportion of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and the rate of the rise in the earth’s temperature have rapidly increased since the 1970s, when the world economy began to follow the tenets of neoliberalism, which involved an ever-greater use of natural resources, especially in the energy sector.

The spectacular economic growth of the neoliberal

era was absorbed by the wealthiest 20% of the world population, which made use of 84% of the earth’s resources, while the poorest 20% used only 1.4% of available resources. This lowest 20% of the population is part of what is known as the “useless mass” in terms of capital investment, because it produces no aggregate value and has no buying power. In fact, the logic of capitalism demands that everything contribute toward the accumulation of capital by being converted into merchandise, the sole source of profit. This in turn has given rise to the drive to privatize everything, even elements that are essential to human life, such as water, health, and education.

Faced with this situation, which is totally irrational from the point of view of humanity as a whole, it must be concluded that the present system is the most inefficient that has ever existed. The basis, then, for the delegitimization of capitalism is that it does not respond to either the demands of the economy or to an ethic of life itself. Capitalism produces death.

## 2. Building Socialism

The “new” socialism is sometimes called the “socialism of the twenty-first century.” It cannot really be new in the sense of contradicting the logic of capitalism. What is necessary is to develop a post-capitalist logic. In order to do so, it must be made very clear that the engagements of the so-called “third way” of social democracy do not correspond to the notion of the new socialism. They represent an effort to humanize the system rather than to change it in any fundamental way. The consequences of capitalism are so severe that it is simply impossible to accept an economic policy that is so destructive.

Though a transition period to new socialism will be necessary, steps to bring it about must be taken immediately because people are suffering and dying of hunger today. Such measures, however, must be part of the general project of building a post-capitalist society rather than simply attempts to adapt to the present system.

New socialism, then, consists of establishing a

true alternative to capitalism, affirming that the earth's resources—which belong to everyone—must be protected, and that solidarity among human beings must prevail over individualism. If we call this socialism “new,” it is because we recognize the successes, mistakes, and even crimes of socialism in the past and wish to make the most of socialist thinking and experience in order to move forward.

### 3. The Four Fundamental Themes of the New Socialism

The goals of the new socialism, or of its “utopia,” in the positive sense of the word, can be grouped around four essential themes.

The first of these is the use of renewable natural resources. This entails a philosophy of relations between human beings and the natural world that is completely different from that of capitalism. We must move from the concept of “exploitation” to that of “symbiosis.” Capitalist logic was based on the idea of a linear progress made possible by an unlimited supply of raw materials for satisfying human needs. Production and distribution processes didn't bother to take ecological destruction into account, believing that it fell outside of market calculations. The results of this logic are all too familiar to us today.

Respecting nature means recognizing that human beings form part of it, and that the traditional Andean concept of “Pachamama” (or Mother Earth) arises from a need for wisdom uniquely relevant to the world situation today. For this reason the “renewable” aspect must be strictly respected, in the broadest possible sense, from the use of resources to the quest for ecological and climatic balance. Use of nonrenewable resources will have to be collectively controlled according to a rationally planned framework.

Twentieth-century socialism also caused its share of natural catastrophes, and it is for this reason that we should now speak of a new socialism, one which distances itself from an unbridled, anthropocentric modernity.

The second theme consists of favoring use value over exchange value: in other words, putting human necessities above financial gain. Capitalism almost exclusively promotes exchange value, because profits—which are the foundation of capital accumulation—can only be made when goods or services are transformed into merchandise. Capital is considered to be the key factor in fostering growth. Emphasizing

use value will have important practical consequences in terms of both the production and distribution of goods and services. We will be able to make longer-lasting products and will be less dependent on transportation, thus using fewer natural resources and producing less greenhouse gases. Favoring use value will also entail a collective control of production and distribution, but without falling back on nationalization. What's needed is a logic of economic organization that is opposed to capitalist thinking and that interprets the economy as being the activity destined for the production of the basic fundamentals of the physical, cultural, and spiritual life of all human beings in the universe.

In this field, socialism in the past made real gains, which should be kept in mind.

The third theme is that of a comprehensive democracy, which encompasses all human relations. On the political plane, this obviously means a participatory democracy which rounds out a parliamentary one uncorrupted by capital. In the economic field, the antidemocratic process of making decisions based solely on the hegemonic logic of capital must also be changed. Democracy should have a profound effect on all political, social, cultural, and religious institutions, as well as on gender relations.

Despite its initial insistence on popular participation, twentieth-century socialism was gradually transformed—due to internal factors such as bureaucracy as well as external ones such as various cold and hot wars—into an authoritarian system with its own hierarchy of privilege. The new socialism will either be democratic or it will not exist at all.

The fourth theme is that of multiculturalism, which means providing the opportunity for all cultures—including those of indigenous peoples—as well as all paths of knowledge, philosophy, and religion to participate in this process. Western culture can no longer continue being the sole esteemed, hegemonic culture in the world, forever imposing its models of thought and consumption on others. Capitalism has been the principal means of transmitting this sense of superiority. Socialism in the past suffered the same legacy, and will have to reorient its goals accordingly.

This, then, will be the basis for those who carry the process forward as they define new strategies for continuing the struggle.

# 2009

July

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
		1	2	3	4	5	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	27	28	29	30	31		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19							

<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>24</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>31</b>			



# 3 Monday

Nm 11,4b-15 / SI 80

Lidia  
 1492: Zarpa Colón de Palos de la Frontera en su primer viaje hacia las Indias occidentales.  
 1980: Masacre de mineros en Caracoles, Bolivia, tras un golpe de Estado: 500 muertos.  
 1999: Tí Jan, sacerdote comprometido con la causa de los pobres, asesinado. Puerto Príncipe, Haití. **10 años.**

# 4 Tuesday

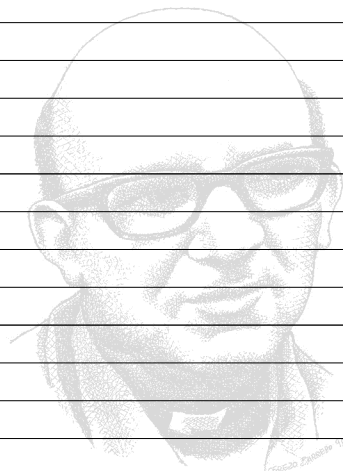
Nm 12,1-13 / SI 50

Juan M<sup>o</sup> Vianney  
 1849: Anita Garibaldi, heroína brasileña luchadora por la libertad en Brasil, Uruguay e Italia.  
 1976: **Enrique Angelelli**, obispo de La Rioja, Argentina, profeta y mártir de los pobres.  
 1979: Alirio Napoleón Macías, sacerdote mártir en El Salvador, ametrallado sobre el altar. **30 años.**  
 1982: Es destruido por la alcaldía de Salvador, el «terreiro» Casa Blanca, el primero de Brasil.  
 2006: Julio Simón, condenado por terrorismo de estado: primer caso tras la anulación de las leyes de punto final y obediencia debida, Argentina.

# 5 Wednesday

Nm 13,1-2.25-14,1.26-30.34-35

SI 105 / Mt 15,21-28  
 1499: Alonso de Ojeda llega a La Guajira, Colombia.



August



# 6 Thursday

Dn 7,9-10.13-14 / Sal 96  
2Pe 1,16-19 / Mt 17,1-9

Transfiguración

1325: Se funda Tenochtitlán (México DF).

1538: Fundación de Santa Fe de Bogotá.

1524: Batalla de Junín.

1825: Independencia de Bolivia. Fiesta nacional.

1945: EEUU lanza la bomba atómica sobre Hiroshima. 120.000 muertos.

1961: EEUU funda la «Alianza para el Progreso».

1962: Independencia de Jamaica. Fiesta nacional.

1978: Muere Pablo VI.

2000: Detenido en Italia el argentino Jorge Olivera, por la desaparición de una joven francesa durante la dictadura militar argentina.

**Eclipse penumbral de Luna,  
visible en España (máximo a las 13h39m).**

Llena: 00h55m en Acuario



# 7 Friday

Dt 4,32-40 / Sl 76  
Mt 16,24-28

Sixto y Cayetano

1819: Con la victoria de Boyacá, Bolívar abre el camino para la liberación de Nueva Granada.

1985: Christopher Williams, pastor evangélico, mártir de la fe y la solidaridad en El Salvador.

# 8 Saturday

Dt 6,4-13 / Sl 17  
Mt 17,14-20

Domingo de Guzmán

1873: Nace Emiliano Zapata, el dirigente campesino de la Revolución Mexicana, que puso definitivamente la reforma agraria en el programa de las luchas sociales latinoamericanas.

1997: Huelga general en Argentina, 90% de adhesión.

2000: La Corte Suprema de Chile retira la inmunidad parlamentaria al exdictador Pinochet.



Domingo 19º ordinario  
1Re 19,4-8 / Sl 33  
Ef 4,30-5,2 / Jn 6,41-51

Fabio, Román

1945: EEUU lanza la bomba atómica sobre Nagasaki.

1991: Miguel Tomaszek y Zbigniew Strzalkowski, franciscanos, misioneros en Perú.

1995: En un conflicto con trabajadores sin tierra la Policía Militar mata a 10 trabajadores y arresta a 192 personas, con crueldad. Corumbiara, Brasil

2000: Fallece Orlando Orio, ex-desaparecido, profeta de la vida, figura de referencia en la Iglesia de Argentina.

**Día de la ONU de las poblaciones indígenas**

# 10 Monday

Dt 10,12-22 / SI 147  
Mt 17,22-27

Lorenzo  
1809: Primer grito de independencia en América Latina continental, el de Ecuador. Fiesta nacional.  
1974: Tito de Alencar, dominico, torturado hasta el suicidio, Brasil. **35 años.**  
1977: Jesús Alberto Páez Vargas, líder del movimiento comunal, secuestrado y desaparecido, Perú.

# 11 Tuesday

Dt 31,1-8 / Int. Dt 32,3-12  
Mt 18,1-5.10.12-14

Clara de Asís  
1992: Comienza la marcha de 3000 sin tierra en Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil.  
1997: Comienza la «crisis asiática», que se propagará a las finanzas de todo el mundo.

# 12 Wednesday

Dt 34,1-12 / SI 65  
Mt 18,15-20

Julián  
1546: Muere Francisco de Vitoria en Salamanca.  
1976: 17 obispos, 36 sacerdotes, religiosas y laicos latinoamericanos son detenidos por la policía en una reunión religiosa en Riobamba, Ecuador.  
1981: IBM da inicio al mercado de los ordenadores personales, que revolucionará la vida humana.  
1983: Margarita Mª Alves, presidenta del Sindicato rural de Alagoas Grande, Brasil, mártir de la tierra.

**Día internacional de la ONU de la juventud**

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**August**



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# 13 Thursday

Jos 3,7-10a.11.13-17 / Sl 113A

Policarpo, Hipólito

Mt 18,21-19,1

1521: El día 1-Serpiente del año 3-Casa, después de 80 días de cerco cae México-Tenochtitlán, es hecho prisionero Cuauhtémoc y mueren unos 240.000 guerreros.  
1961: Se construye el muro de Berlín.

Menguante: 18h55m en Tauro



# 14 Friday

Jos 24,1-13 / Sl 135

Maximiliano Kolbe

Mt 19,3-12

1816: Muere en prisión Francisco de Miranda, prócer venezolano, precursor de la independencia.  
1983: Muere Alceu Amoroso Lima, «Tristão de Athayde», escritor, filósofo, militante cristiano.  
1984: Mártires campesinos de Pucaayacu, departamento de Ayacucho, Perú. **25 años.**  
1985: Mártires campesinos de Accomarca, departamento de Ayacucho, Perú.

# 15 Saturday

Ap 11,19a;12,1.3-6a.10ab / Sal 44

Asunción

1Cor 15,20-27a / Lc 1,39-56

1914: Inauguración del Canal de Panamá.  
1980: José Francisco dos Santos, presidente del Sindicato de los Trabajadores Rurales en Corrientes (PB), Brasil. Asesinado.  
1984: Luis Rosales, líder sindical, y compañeros, mártires de la lucha por la justicia entre los obreros bananeros de Costa Rica.  
1989: María Rumalda Camey, catequista y representante del GAM, capturada y desaparecida frente a su esposo e hijos, Escuintla, Guatemala. **20 años.**

# 16

Domingo 20° ordinario  
Pro 9,1-6 / Sl 33  
Ef 5,15-20 / Jn 6,51-58

Roque, Esteban de Hungría

1976: Coco Erbetta, catequista, universitario, mártir de las luchas del pueblo argentino.  
1993: Mártires indígenas yanomamis, de Roraima, Brasil.  
2005: Es asesinado Roger Schutz, fundador del movimiento ecuménico de Taizé, Francia.  
2006: Muere Alfredo Stroesner, dictador paraguayayo, acusado de crímenes contra la Humanidad, en Brasilia.

# 17 Monday

Jue 2,11-19 / Sl 105

Mt 19,16-22

Jacinto

1850: Muere San Martín en Francia.

1997: El Movimiento de los Sin Tierra ocupa dos haciendas en Pontal do Paranapanema, SP, Brasil.

# 18 Tuesday

Jue 6,11-24a / Sl 84

Mt 19,23-30

Elena

1527: Es asesinado el cacique Lempira durante una conferencia de paz (Honduras).

1952: Alberto Hurtado, sacerdote chileno, apóstol de los pobres, canonizado en 2005.

1993: Mártires indígenas asháninkas, Tziriri, Perú.

2000: Dos policías militares de Rondônia son considerados culpables por el juez por la masacre de Corumbiara contra los sin tierra, Brasil.

# 19 Wednesday

Jue 9,6-15 / Sl 20

Mt 20,1-16

Juan Eudes

1991: Intento de golpe de Estado en la URSS.

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# 20 Thursday

Jue 11,29-39a / Sl 39

Bernardo

Mt 22,1-14 Pío X

1778: Nace el prócer chileno Bernardo O'Higgins.  
1998: EEUU bombardea Afganistán y Sudán.

Nueva: 10h01m en Leo



# 21 Friday

Rt 1,1.3-6.14b-16.22 / Sl 145

Mt 22,34-40

1971: Mauricio Lefevre, misionero oblato canadiense, asesinado durante un golpe de Estado en Bolivia.

# 22 Saturday

Rt 2,1-3.8-11;4,13-17 / Sl 127

Mt 23,1-12

María Reina

Día mundial del folklore.

1988: Jürg Weis, teólogo suizo misionero evangélico, mártir de la solidaridad con El Salvador.

Comienza el Ramadán

Horizontal lines for writing.

August

# 23

Domingo 21° ordinario

Jos 24,1-2a.15-17.18b / Sl 33

Ef 5,21-32 / Jn 6,60-69

Rosa de Lima

1948: Fundación del Consejo Mundial de Iglesias.  
1975: Se crea en Paraguay el Instituto Nacional del Indio.

Día internacional de la ONU del recuerdo de la trata de esclavos y su abolición

Horizontal lines for writing.

# 24 Monday

Ap 21,9b-14 / Sl 144

Bartolomé

Jn 1,45-51

1617: Rosa de Lima, patrona y primera santa canonizada de América.

1882: Muere el abolicionista Luiz Gama.

1977: Primer Congreso de las Culturas Negras de las Américas.

1980: 17 dirigentes sindicales, reunidos en la finca del obispado de Escuintla, Guatemala, desaparecidos.

# 25 Tuesday

1Ts 2,1-8 / Sl 138

José de Calasanz

Luis de Francia

1825: Independencia de Uruguay. Fiesta nacional.

1991: Alessandro Dordi Negroni, misionero, mártir de la fe y la promoción humana, Perú.

# 26 Wednesday

1Ts 2,9-13 / Sl 138

Teresa Jornet

Mt 23,27-32

1968: Inauguración de la Conferencia de Medellín.

1977: Felipe de Jesús Chacón, campesino, catequista, asesinado por los militares, El Salvador.

2005: La Corte Suprema de Chile desafora a Pinochet.

August



# 27 Thursday

1Ts 3,7-13 / SI 89  
Mt 24,42-51

Mónica

1828: Acuerdo de Montevideo, auspiciado por Gran Bretaña, que asegura la independencia de Uruguay.

1847: El superintendente inglés y el rey miskito anuncian la abolición de la esclavitud, en la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua.

1987: Héctor Abad Gómez, médico, mártir de la defensa de los DDHH en Medellín, Colombia.

1993: La ley 70/93 reconoce los derechos territoriales, étnicos, económicos y sociales de las comunidades negras de Colombia.

1999: Fallece Mons. Hélder Câmara, hermano de los pobres, profeta de la paz y la esperanza. Brasil. **10 años.**

Creciente: 11h42m en Sagitario



# 28 Friday

1Ts 4,1-8 / SI 96  
Mt 25,1-13

Agustín

1994: **Jean-Marie Vincent**, religioso montfortiano, comprometido con DDHH, Puerto Príncipe. En los 3 años del gobierno golpista de Raoul Cédras, más de 100 sacerdotes, religiosos y religiosas son encarcelados o forzados a abandonar su labor. **15 años.**

# 29 Saturday

Jr 1,17-19 / SI 70  
Mc 6,17-29

Martirio de Juan Bautista

1533: «Bautismo y ejecución» de Atahualpa.

1563: Se crea la Real Audiencia de Quito.

1986: A pesar de la prohibición del cardenal de Rio de Janeiro, se lleva a cabo el III Encuentro de Religiosos y Sacerdotes negros de Rio de Janeiro.



# 30

Domingo 22º ordinario  
Dt 4,1-2.6-8 / SI 14 / St 1,17-18.21b-22.27  
Mc 7,1-8.14-15.21-23

Félix, Esteban Zudaire

1985: 300 agentes del FBI invaden Puerto Rico y arrestan a más de una docena de luchadores por la independencia.

1993: Un escuadrón de la muerte ejecuta a 21 personas en la favela «do Vigário Geral», en Rio de Janeiro.

**Día internacional de los desaparecidos  
(Amnistía Internacional y FEDEFAM)**

# SUSTAINABLE DEGROWTH

JOAN SURROCA I SENS

Girona, Cataluña, Spain

Modern political programs, be they liberal or socialist, defend sustainable growth in order to make everyone happy, without realizing that the two terms, growth and sustainability, are antonyms. The well-known report commissioned by the Club of Rome, *The Limits of Growth* (1972), had as its principal thesis: “On a limited planet, continuous growth is not possible.” Thirty-five years separate us from that report and we still have not paid attention to any of its recommendations. Now the first negative effects it predicted have arrived. We know—and now no one can call it into doubt—that four or five planets would be necessary if the entire world population consumed and polluted at the same rate as the United States. Some 80% of the world’s population lives without cars, refrigerators, or telephones, and 94% of humans have not flown in an airplane. These figures are sufficient for us to reflect on what will happen in the future if we continue to follow a pattern of unlimited growth.

This obsession with unlimited growth is in direct contradiction with any harmonious exchange between the planet Earth and its plant and animal life. This is because the biological growth of any living being—including human beings—occurs during a limited period in its life and, once it has arrived at maturity, stops before it becomes a monstrosity. The predatory economy employed by one part of the world, especially for the last half century, has had some very negative consequences: scandalous inequalities, wars, and ecological catastrophes, and, no less worrisome, social unrest, which leads to absolute hopelessness. Life is classified as an absurdity, and even those who enjoy abundant material goods, which would seem to be a panacea, still admit to suffering a bitter emptiness.

We have remained without alternative programs from the left because there is no possibility of reversing the precariousness of the situation without letting go of indulgence. Without changing the current towards consumerism by those who swim in abundance, it is not possible to resolve the problems of poverty faced by a large part of humanity. In the sober panorama of the dawn of the new century, the new mes-

sage of degrowth—a careful easing down—is beginning to be heard. This is a paradigm-shifting concept that could signify the resurgence of a betrayed socialism. Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen (1906-1994), born in Romania, is considered the father of this new manner of understanding the economy. Over 40 years ago, in 1966, he published his first great work on the theory that the purpose of the economic process is essentially non-material, yet it is only in the past few years that this theory has gained strength. It follows the thoughts of John Ruskin (1819-1900), the great critic of the industrialism of Victorian England, who said, prematurely, “There is no wealth but life.”

Degrowth signifies something else entirely than to return to the 16th century, and, much less, to prehistory. Degrowth is important so that human life has spiritual significance and the real possibility of enjoying existence. The spirit of degrowth can be synthesized in a program of the “R’s”: Reevaluate (reconsider our values), restructure (adapt production to these values), redistribute (share the wealth), reduce (diminish the impact of our pollution), and reuse and recycle (so as not to squander our natural capital, and not exhaust our natural resources with the result of climate change).

But degrowth goes beyond personal habits and isn’t only defined by a decrease in consumption; it also has to do with a **change in production**. We aren’t considering a proposal for a simple economical touch-up. It’s a qualitative leap of importance, similar to the evolution society experienced at the end of the feudal epoch, for example, even though those living comfortably then never even dreamed that there could be a lifestyle different than theirs. Even supposing that some planetary catastrophe could occur that would oblige us to apply the principles of degrowth with urgency, the proposal is for a gradual change, accepted by and with the active participation of the Earth’s citizens. This willingness to consolidate each step of the process justifies the qualification of “sustainable” degrowth. The route from conspicuous consumption of goods that pollute to the production of goods that are harmonious with the environment

must be well thought-out. The new proposals usually generate skepticism, but, in the case that concerns us, the change may not be so difficult, as the population will quickly perceive improvements in daily life.

The **reduction of time at work** is one of the bases of degrowth. The long workdays of our system don't leave time for the education of children, for care of the elderly, or for the development of creative and spiritual possibilities that give meaning and dignity to human life. Back in 1930, John Maynard Keynes proposed a workweek of 15 hours, since with a 2% increase in productivity, if improvement was rewarded with a reduction in time worked instead of a pay raise, it would be feasible to shorten the workweek from 40 hours to 15 over a period of 50 years. If these proposals were taken into account—as his ideas were in other aspects—we would have already had more than five years of workweeks that now seem utopian.

**Local production and consumption** is another of the factors that will revolutionize the future. Once more we will enjoy autonomy in our food supply. This doesn't mean eliminating commerce, arriving at completely self-sufficient societies; what is desirable is that production be much closer to the consumer, within the limits of reason. Our food supply has produced some absurd aberrations for which we pay a high price: New Zealand sends apples to Europe and North America, where there is already sufficient production. In the commercial locales of Mongolia, where there is only one person for every ten dairy animals, we find imported dairy products. The grapes of California are transported to Germany by plane...These absurdities are defended on the pretext that the important thing is for products to be economical, no matter where they come from. Yet, subsidies, transportation, airports, freight trains, energy products, and information highways are not accounted for. And these are necessary to satisfy this excessive economy.

There are **many other factors** that will improve with the new economy: migrations will be limited to the strictly voluntary, ecological equilibrium on a planetary scale will be facilitated, and the world population will be better fed. This economy will have a positive impact on the variety of crops cultivated to be consumed by their producers; they won't be dependent on multinational corporations that have to have

a monoculture, etc. This new focus, in addition to ending the abuses of displacement of goods, through judicious use of a suburban train network, will bring an end to the aberration of human displacement in a society dominated by the idea of the automobile.

To make a final point about the nonsense of the current economic system, there are several other factors that will determine the new economy, such as measures regarding advertising, military arms production, and above all, a complete renovation of the education system. The "New Socialism," to which we must aspire, is none other than that of which women and men have dreamed throughout history, described by González Faus: "The life of man is like a musical fugue [counterpoint] of promise and frustration. The splendid melody has hardly appeared when, a few beats later, an almost identical tune of frustration makes itself heard." Knowledge of the limits of humanity is indispensable for having the courage to continue searching tirelessly, in spite of possible deceptions, for new possibilities that will bring bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, hope to the hopeless, and the joy of a shared life to all.

It goes without saying that if we dare to speak of degrowth as the solution to a good part of the ills that afflict the world today, we do it knowing that it is especially those areas of the planet that now have wealth that must change their modes of living. In order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, degrowth shouldn't be converted into a new closed ideology, a banner to follow; rather, it is an idea that encompasses the specialized social movements that wish to create a new world, an alternative to capitalism.

This change can only come from below. And it won't happen until society has recovered its ethics, because without this change it is not possible to escape the lifestyle of this new slavery. Voluntary simplicity will make possible the transformation of the world, because it is evident that politicians will only change their proposals when they see that there is social pressure that pushes them in a different direction than that which now influences electoral campaigns. The certainty that everything can change and that it is within our reach to change it is enormously attractive and exciting. Let's live and work with enthusiasm to achieve this new step for humanity!

# 2009

August

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<b>Monday</b> <i>Lunes</i>	<b>Tuesday</b> <i>Martes</i>	<b>Wednesday</b> <i>Miercoles</i>	<b>Thursday</b> <i>Jueves</i>
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<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>
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M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	October
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Friday		Saturday		Sunday	
<b>4</b> <i>Viernes</i>		<b>5</b> <i>Sabado</i>		<b>6</b> <i>Domingo</i>	
<b>11</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>13</b>	
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<b>SEPTEMBER</b>	
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# 31 Monday

1Ts 4,13-18 / SI 95  
Lc 4,16-30 Gil

Ramón Nonato

1925: Los marines de EEUU ponen fin a una ocupación de Haití de diez años.  
1962: Independencia de Trinidad y Tobago.  
1988: Muere **Leónidas Proaño**, obispo de los indios, en Riobamba, Ecuador.

# 1 Tuesday

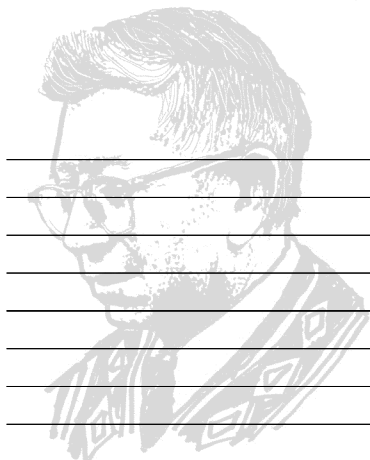
1Ts 5,1-6.9-11 / SI 26  
Lc 4,31-37

Noche de la ascensión de Mahoma: trasladado de La Meca a Jerusalén, de allí ascendió al cielo.  
1971: Julio Spósito Vitali, estudiante, 19 años, militante cristiano, mártir de las luchas del pueblo uruguayo, asesinado por la policía.  
1976: Inés Adriana Coblo, militante metodista, mártir de la Causa de los pobres, Buenos Aires.  
1978: Surge el grupo de Unión y Conciencia Negra, luego de los Agentes de Pastoral Negros.  
1979: Jesús Jiménez, campesino, Delegado de la Palabra, mártir de la Buena Noticia a los pobres en El Salvador, asesinado. **30 años.**

# 2 Wednesday

Col 1,1-8 / SI 51  
Lc 4,38-44

**Primer día del Ramadán (1429)**



A large section of the page consisting of multiple horizontal lines for writing, spanning across the width of the page below the main text blocks.



# 3 Thursday

Col 1,9-14 / Sl 97  
Lc 5,1-11

Gregorio Magno  
1759: Lisboa expulsa de la colonia a los jesuitas, acusados de «usurpar todo el Estado de Brasil».  
1976: Muere Ramón Pastor Bogarín, obispo, fundador de la Universidad de Asunción, profeta de la Iglesia en Paraguay.

# 4 Friday

Col 1,15-20 / Sl 99  
Lc 5,33-39

Rosalía  
Albert Schweitzer  
1970: Triunfo electoral de la Unidad Popular, Chile.  
1984: Andrés Jarlán, sacerdote misionero francés, muerto por una bala disparada por policías en la población La Victoria, Santiago, Chile.  
1995: Conferencia Mundial de Pekín sobre la Mujer.  
2005: El juez Urso impone prisión a Jorge Videla y otros 17 renresores de la dictadura militar argentina.  
Llena: 16h02m en Piscis

# 5 Saturday

Col 1,21-23 / Sl 53  
Lc 6,1-5

Lorenzo, Justiniano  
1972: La censura prohíbe en Brasil publicar noticias sobre Amnistía Internacional.  
1983: Los desempleados acampan en la Asamblea Legislativa de São Paulo.



Series of horizontal lines for writing, organized into three columns corresponding to the days of the week.



Domingo 23º ordinario  
Is 35,4-7a / Sl 145  
St 2,1-5 / Mc 7,31-37

Juan de Ribera  
Zacarías  
1839: Es ahorcado Manuel Congo, jefe del Quilombo en la Serra do Mar, destruido por el futuro Duque de Caxias. Brasil.  
1995: 2.300 sin-tierra ocupan la hacienda Boqueirão, Brasil. Serán expulsados.

Series of horizontal lines for writing, located at the bottom of the page.

# 7 Monday

Col 1,24-2,3 / Sl 61  
Lc 6,6-11

Regina  
1822: Independencia de Brasil. Grito de Ipiranga. "Grito de los Excluidos" en Brasil.  
1968: Clausura de la Conferencia de Medellín.  
1981: Asamblea Nacional de creación del Grupo de Unión y Conciencia Negra.

# 8 Tuesday

Natividad de María

1522: Completa Juan Sebastián Elcano la primera vuelta al mundo.  
1974: Ford concede a Nixon «perdón pleno y absoluto por todos los delitos que pudiera haber cometido cuando ocupaba la presidencia».

**Día internacional de la alfabetización**

Mq 5,1-4a / Sl 12  
Mt1,1-16.18-23

# 9 Wednesday

Col 3,1-11 / Sl 144  
Lc 6,20-26

Pedro Claver  
1613: Levantamiento de Lari Qäxa, Bolivia (aymaras, quichuas se enfrentan a los españoles).  
1654: Pedro Claver, apóstol de los esclavos negros en Cartagena, Colombia.  
1990: Hildegard Feldman, religiosa, y Ramón Rojas, catequista, mártires de la fe y el servicio a los campesinos colombianos.

Handwriting practice lines for the main body of the page.

September



# 10 Thursday

Col 3,12-17 / Sl 150

Nicolás de Tolentino

1924: Los marines ocupan varias ciudades hondureñas para apoyar a un candidato presidencial.

1984: Policarpo Chem, delegado de la Palabra catequista, Verapaz, Guatemala, secuestrado y torturado por las fuerzas de seguridad. **25 años.**

# 11 Friday

1Tm 1,1-2.12-14 / Sl 15

Proto y Jacinto

1973: Golpe de Estado en Chile contra el presidente constitucional Allende.

1981: Sebastiana Mendoza, indígena, catequista, mártir de la solidaridad, Guatemala.

1988: Mártires de la iglesia de San Juan Bosco, en Puerto Príncipe, Haití.

1990: Myrna Mack, antropóloga, luchadora por los derechos humanos, asesinada en Guatemala.

2001: Atentado de las Torres Gemelas, Nueva York.

# 12 Saturday

1Tm 1,15-17 / Sl 112

Leoncio y Guido

1977: Martirio de Steve Biko en la prisión del régimen blanco de Sudáfrica.

1982: Alfonso Acevedo, catequista, mártir del servicio a los desplazados de El Salvador.

1989: Valdicio Barbosa dos Santos, sindicalista rural de Pedro Canário (ES), Brasil. **20 años.**

2001: Bárbara Lee, congresista por California, vota contra conceder a Bush poderes especiales para invadir Afganistán.

Menguante: 02h16m en Géminis



# 13

Domingo 24º ordinario  
Is 50,5-9a / Sl 114  
St 2,14-18 / Mc 8,27-35

Juan Crisóstomo

1549: Juan de Betanzos se retracta de su opinión anterior de que los indios no eran humanos.

1589: Rebelión sangrienta de los mapuches, Chile.

1978: La ONU reafirma el derecho de Puerto Rico a la independencia y libre determinación.

1980: Premio Nóbel de la Paz a Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, arquitecto argentino, encarcelado y torturado.

# 14 Monday

La Cruz  
Nm 21, 4b-9 / Sal 77

Exaltación de la Cruz  
1843: Natalicio de Lola Rodríguez, autora del himno de la insurrección del 23.9.1868 contra el dominio español en Puerto Rico. «la Borinqueña».  
1856: Batalla de San Jacinto, derrota de los filibusteros de William Walker en Nicaragua.  
1992: Se inicia la I Asamblea del Pueblo de Dios (APD). Se acuña el término «macroecumenismo».

# 15 Tuesday

Dolores

1810: «Grito de Dolores» en México.  
1821: Independencia de Centroamérica. Fiesta nacional en todos los países de Centroamérica.  
1842: Es fusilado en San José, Costa Rica, Francisco de Morazán, unionista centroamericano.  
1973: Arturo Hillerns, médico, mártir del servicio a los pobres en Chile.  
1981: Pedro Pío Cortés, indígena achí, delegado de la Palabra, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.

Heb 5,7-9 / Sal 30  
Jn 19,25-27

# 16 Wednesday

Cornelio y Cipriano

1501: El rey da al gobernador de las islas del Caribe autorización para traer esclavos negros.  
1821: Independencia de México. Fiesta nacional.  
1931: Fundación en São Paulo del Frente Negro Brasileño, después clausurado por Getúlio Vargas.  
1955: Insurrección cívico-militar que derroca al presidente constitucional Perón.  
1983: Guadalupe Carney sj, asesinado por el ejército hondureño.

1Tm 3,14-16 / Sl 110  
Lc 7,31-35

**Día internacional (ONU) por la capa de ozono**

Series of horizontal lines for writing notes.



# 17 Thursday

1Tm 4,12-16 / Sl 110

Roberto Belarmino

Lc 7,36-50

1645: Juan Macías, hermano dominico, confesor de la fe y servidor de los pobres en el Perú colonial.

1980: Muere en accidente Augusto Cotto, bautista militante salvadoreño.

1981: John David Troyer, misionero menonita de EEUU, mártir de la justicia en Guatemala.

1982: Alirio, Carlos y Fabián Buitrago, Giraldo Ramírez y Marcos Marín, campesinos, catequistas de Cocorná, Colombia, asesinados.

1983: Julián Bac, celebrador, y Guadalupe Lara, catequista, mártires en Guatemala.

# 18 Friday

1Tm 6,2c-12 / Sl 48

José de Cupertino

*Dag Hammarskjöld*

1810: Independencia de Chile. Fiesta nacional.

1969: El «Rosariozo»: fuerzas policiales son doblegadas por la ciudadanía. En Rosario, Argentina. **40 años.**

1973: Miguel Woodward Iriberrí, párroco en Valparaíso, Chile, asesinado por la dictadura de Pinochet.

1998: Miguel Angel Quiroga, marianista, asesinado por paramilitares, Chocó, Colombia.

Nueva: 18h44m en Virgo

# 19 Saturday

1Tm 6,13-16 / Sl 99

Jenaro

Lc 8,4-15

1973: Juan Alsina, Omar Venturelli, Etienne Pesle, sacerdotes víctimas de la policía de Pinochet.

1983: Independencia de San Cristóbal y Nevis.

1985: Terremoto en la ciudad de México.

1986: Charlot Jacqueline y compañeros, mártires de la educación liberadora, Haití.

1994: EEUU desembarca en Haití para reponer al presidente Jean Bertrand Aristide.

2001: Yolanda Cerón, directora de la Pastoral Social de la diócesis de Tumaco, Colombia, asesinada.

Concluye el Ramadán

Año nuevo judío (5769)

# 20

Domingo 25º ordinario

Sb 2,12,17-20 / Sl 53

St 3,16-4,3 / Mc 9,30-37

Andrés Kim, Fausta

1519: Parte de Sanlúcar Hernando de Magallanes.

1976: Es asesinado en Washington el excanciller del régimen popular de Allende, Orlando Letelier.

1977: Los pueblos indios de América Latina hacen oír su voz por primera vez en el Palacio de las Naciones de Ginebra.

1978: Francisco Luis Espinosa, sacerdote y compañeros mártires en Estelí, Nicaragua.

1979: Apolinar Serrano, José López, Félix Salas y Patricia Puertas, campesinos y dirigentes sindicales mártires en El Salvador. **30 años.**

# 21 Monday

Ef 4,1-7.11-13 / SI 18  
Mt 9,9-13

Mateo  
1526: Llega el primer europeo a costas ecuatorianas.  
1956: El dictador Anastasio Somoza muere a manos de Rigoberto López Pérez, Nicaragua.  
1973: Gerardo Poblete Fernández, salesiano, asesinado por la dictadura de Pinochet, Iquique.  
1981: Independencia de Belice.

**Día internacional (de la ONU) de la Paz**

# 22 Tuesday

Esd 6,7-8.12b.14-20 / SI 121  
Lc 8,19-21

Mauricio  
1862: Son liberados jurídicamente los esclavos de EEUU.  
1977: Eugenio Lyra Silva, abogado popular, mártir de la justicia, Santa Maria da Vitória, Brasil.

**Equinoccio, de primavera en el hemisferio Sur, y de otoño en el Norte, a las 23h19m.**

# 23 Wednesday

Esd 9,5-9 / Int Tob 13,2-8  
Lc 9,1-6

Lino y Tecla  
1868: «Grito de Lares»: Ramón Betances inicia el movimiento emancipador de la esclavitud en Puerto Rico.  
1905: Muere Francisco de Paula Víctor, negro, considerado santo por la comunidad negra brasileña.  
1973: Muere Pablo Neruda.  
1989: Henry Bello Ovalle, militante, mártir de la solidaridad con la juventud, en Bogotá, Colombia. **20 años.**  
1993: Sergio Rodríguez, obrero y universitario, mártir de la lucha por la justicia, Venezuela.



# 24 Thursday

Ag 1,1-8 / Sl 149  
Lc 9,7-9  
Pedro Nolasco  
1553: Caupolicán, líder mapuche, es ejecutado.  
1976: Independencia de Trinidad y Tobago.  
1976: Marlene Keglér, estudiante y obrera, mártir del servicio entre los universitarios de La Plata, Argentina.

# 25 Friday

Ag 2,15b-2,9 / Sl 42  
Lc 9,18-22  
Cleofás  
*Sergio de Radonezh*  
1849: Es ahorcado Lucas da Feira, esclavo negro fugitivo, jefe de sertanejos. Brasil.  
1963: Golpe militar pro-EEUU en República Dominicana. Es depuesto Bosh, admirador de la revolución cubana.

# 26 Saturday

Zc 2,5-9.14-15a / Int. Jr 31,10-13  
Lc 9,43b-45  
Cosme y Damián  
1974: Lázaro Condo y Cristóbal Pajuña, campesinos líderes cristianos mártires por la reforma agraria asesinados en Riobamba, Ecuador. **35 años.**  
Creciente: 04h50m en Capricornio



Series of horizontal lines for notes or reflections.

September

# 27

Domigno 26° ordinario  
Nm 11,25-29 / Sl 18  
St 5,1-6 / Mc 9,38-43.45.47-48

Vicente de Paúl  
Día de Enriquillo, cacique quisqueyano que resistió a la conquista española en República Dominicana.  
1979: Guido León dos Santos, héroe de la clase obrera, muerto por la represión. Minas, Brasil. **30 años.**  
1990: Hermana Agustina Rivas, religiosa del Buen Pastor, mártir en La Florida, Perú.

**Día de la Biblia**, en varios países de América

Series of horizontal lines for notes or reflections.

# CHINESE SOCIALISM: UTOPIA AND REALITY

WLADIMIR POMAR

Rio de Janeiro RJ, Brazil

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the result of a prolonged revolutionary process. Its roots are found in the national revolution (against the domination of the Manchu dynasty and the imperialist capitalist powers) and the development of the democratic bourgeoisie (against the domination of feudal warlords and for land reform and political freedoms). It was launched by Sun Yatsen at the end of the nineteenth century, who uniting the national bourgeoisie, peasants, laborers and other urban groups.

That alliance and its nationalistic and democratic goals were maintained in the revolution led by the Communists. Even in 1946, in the program for a New Democracy, the existence of a Great Wall between the nationalist and democratic revolution and the socialist revolution was denied. This program reiterated that the national bourgeoisie would participate for a long period in the economic construction of China. That is, national capitalist property would have a positive role in the development of the productive capacities of the country.

This was too utopian, because the conflicting interests of the classes in Chinese society produced difficulties. The bourgeoisie began speculative activities that bankrupted their businesses, requiring their transformation into state enterprises so they could continue to function. In parallel, the disputes between poor farmers and rich farmers led to a movement of mutual aid, followed by an intense process of cooperativization. Poor peasant farmers won the dispute and imposed their traditional egalitarianism on rich and middle class farmers.

Confronted by the economic, political, and military block of the capitalist powers and by errant Soviet forces, the Chinese tried to figure out how to take advantage of their social mobilizations to build a socialist society, using the massive force of peasants and laborers. All of the social policies and mobilizations between 1953 and 1976—Agricultural Cooperation, One Hundred Flowers, the Great Leap Forward, Popular Communes, and the Cultural Revolution—had

this peasant egalitarianism as their ideological foundation and political banner.

These mobilizations guaranteed the basic human rights of food, housing, education, and health for the majority of the Chinese people. To be poor was something full of dignity, as long as everyone else was equally poor. Although this conception of a socialism of poverty became predominant, a utopia remained: with the immense force of more than one billion Chinese, it would be possible to make a leap in production and distribute this societal wealth.

Concurrently, at the beginning of the 1970s, it became evident that these projects could not reduce China's lag in development when compared to other countries. The diplomatic opening towards the West, begun in this period, suggested that the country was falling even further behind, especially with reference to the scientific and technical revolution and the restructuring of capitalism then taking place. It was also evident to Chinese leaders that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe were not succeeding in developing their productive capacities but were instead heading towards crisis.

Apart from this, there was the perception that the great revolutionary successes of the twentieth century had reached their climax with the Vietnamese victory. From this time, a long period of decline would begin. And the floundering of the Cultural Revolution itself demonstrated that egalitarianism, even when stimulated by strong ideological and political and embraced spontaneously by the masses, was incapable of resolving the problem of how to develop productive capacities.

It was in this situation that the Chinese Communist Party decided on a strategic withdrawal, as significant and dangerous as the Long March of 1935-36. In addition to recognizing the failures of previous attempts, the Communist Party took into account that private property and the market are traditional historical instruments created by the human necessity to develop productive capacities. According to the analy-

sis of Marx, these instruments could only be overcome when the contradiction between the high level of social production and the high concentration of ownership of private property reached an intolerable point. This contradiction would bring social revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. The resulting society would still be in a socialist transition, with remnants of capitalism, before a society without classes and without a government would emerge.

Marx could not have foreseen that revolutions led by communist and socialist parties would take place in countries undeveloped from the capitalist point of view. This caused many people to think that Marx was mistaken and that it would be possible to avoid capitalism in the development of the productive forces in socialism. The experience of the socialist countries of the twentieth century demonstrated that Marx was wrong on some of the details but right in the fundamentals.

China took a step back, in regards to the view of Marx, and in regards to the New Democracy. It accepted capitalist property and the market as instruments that would lead to the development of productive capacities, and it renewed its alliance with the national bourgeoisie as a long term policy. It also took advantage of the difficulties of restructuring in the developed capitalist countries that were not able to continue to maintain the high levels of profit necessary for continued growth. This caused it to create new entrepreneurial corporations, with complex production chains with industry, finance, commerce, and logistics, fully utilizing financial speculation and slave labor, creating a profound fragmentation and segmentation of industrial production that transferred industrial plants of the developed nations to nations on the periphery.

Contrary to neoliberal predictions, China abandoned neither its macro planning or its state enterprises. It utilized both as instruments to correct deviations in the market and to guide industrialization. Instead of privatizing state companies, it modernized them. Instead of raising interest rates to attract short term investment, it reduced them in order to provide access to credit. It also established controls on the movement of capital. Instead of permitting its currency to float, it set a fixed rate of exchange as a tool for industrial policy, devaluing its money in order

increase the competitiveness of Chinese products and to participate in globalization.

This has been the way that China has transformed itself, within 25 years, into the principal factory of the world, reversing the old pattern in which the peripheral countries were the exporters of primary and semi-manufactured products and the developed countries were the exporters of industrialized products and capital.

At the same time, in contrast to the majority of capitalist countries, in which capitalist development has tended to ignore the labor force and marginalize its role in the market, China has practiced an active policy of redistribution of profit through constantly raising salaries, universalizing retirement, pensions, and unemployment, and preventing agricultural taxes.

In 1978, the egalitarian China had 700 million poor people and 400 million people living below the poverty line. In 2007, there were—according to various sources—between 150 and 350 million people in the upper middle class, about 500 in the lower and middle classes, and 500 poor people. The number of people still living below the poverty line oscillates at around 20 million people. According to the policy of “wealth by waves,” there should be about 1.4 billion Chinese in the solid middle class in 2020.

Changes of such magnitude generate problems of all types, especially when private capitalist property is present. The new bourgeoisie is happy with the situation. This is also true for the millions of people who have ascended socially. And today's poor have the hope that they can prosper. Nevertheless, when profits diminish, the Chinese bourgeoisie are going to demand the revocation of “wealth by waves,” just like the European bourgeoisie put an end to the welfare state.

This will be the moment when we see whether the Chinese state and the Communist Party stay firm in their commitment to continue on the path from socialist transition to a better society that will remain on the side of the workers. This is the risk that China is confronting. Without taking it, it might fall into the predicament that took down the Soviet Union. And, because we do not know if this risk is a utopia or a reality, it is important to observe with caution and learn its lessons.

# 2009

September

M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	28	29	30				
14	15	16	17	18	19	20							

<b>Monday</b> Lunes	<b>Tuesday</b> Martes	<b>Wednesday</b> Miercoles	<b>Thursday</b> Jueves
			<b>1</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>



# 28 Monday

Zc 8,1-8 / Sl 101  
Lc 9,46-50

Wenceslao y Lorenzo Ruiz

551 a. de C.: Nacimiento de Confucio en China.

1569: Casiodoro de Reina entrega a la imprenta su traducción de la Biblia. **Día de la Biblia.**

1871: Ley brasileña «del vientre libre», que separaría a las criaturas negras de sus padres esclavos, como primeros «menores abandonados».

1885: La ley brasileña «del sexagenario», lanza a la calle a los esclavos negros con más de 60 años.

1990: Pedro Martínez y Jorge Euceda, periodistas militantes, mártires de la verdad en El Salvador.

Yom Kippur: 5770

# 29 Tuesday

Dan 7,9-10.13-14 / Sal 137  
Jn 1,47-51

Miguel, Gabriel, Rafael

1871: Los beneditinos, primera orden religiosa en liberar sus esclavos en Brasil.

1906: Segunda intervención armada de EEUU en Cuba, que se prolongará 2 años y 4 meses.

1992: La Cámara destituye al presidente Collor. Brasil.

# 30 Wednesday

Nh 2,1-8 / Sl 136  
Lc 9,57-62

Jerónimo

1655: Coronilla y compañeros, caciques indígenas, mártires de la liberación, Argentina.

1974: Carlos Prats, general del ejército chileno, y su esposa, mártires de la democracia, en Chile.

1981: Honorio Alejandro Núñez, celebrador y seminarista, mártir por su pueblo hondureño.

1991: Vicente Matute y Francisco Guevara, mártires de la lucha por la tierra, Honduras.

1991: José Luis Cerrón, universitario, mártir de la solidaridad, Huancayo, Perú.

1991: Golpe de estado contra el presidente constitucional Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haití.









# 12 Monday

Rm 1,1-7 / Sl 97  
Lc 11,29-32

Pilar, Serafín

Grito de los excluidos en varios países de A.L.

Ntra. Sra. Aparecida, negra, Patrona de Brasil.

1492: A las 2 am Colón divisa la isla Guanahani, a la que llamará San Salvador (hoy Watling).

1909: Fusilamiento del pedagogo Francesc Ferrer i Guardia, en Barcelona.

1925: Desembarcan 600 marines en Panamá.

1958: Primeros contactos con los indígenas Ayoreos, Paraguay.

1976: Juan Bosco Penido Burnier, jesuita misionero, mártir de la caridad, Ribeirão Bonito MG, Brasil.

1983: Marco Antonio Orozco, pastor evangélico, mártir de la Causa de los pobres en Guatemala.

# 13 Tuesday

Eduardo

1987: 106 familias sin tierra ocupan haciendas en varios puntos de Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil.

# 14 Wednesday

Calixto

Rm 2,1-11 / Sl 61  
Lc 11,42-46

**Día Internacional contra los desastres naturales**

Segundo miércoles de octubre



# 15 Thursday

Rm 3,21-30a / Sl 129  
Lc 11,47-54

Teresa de Ávila

1535: Pedro de Mendoza se adentra en el Río de la Plata con 12 navíos y 15.000 hombres.

1980: El presidente Figueiredo expulsa de Brasil al sacerdote italiano Víctor Miracapillo.

1994: Aristide retoma el poder en Haití después de la interrupción del golpe militar de Raoul Cedras.

# 16 Friday

Rm 4,1-8 / Sl 31  
Lc 12,1-7

Margarita M<sup>a</sup> Alacoque

1952: Es creada la CNBB, Conferencia Nacional de Obispos Brasileños (católicos).

1992: Rigoberta Menchú recibe el premio Nóbel de la Paz.

1997: Fulgêncio Manoel da Silva, líder sindical y político, asesinado en Santa Maria da Boa Vista, Brasil.

1998: Es detenido en Londres Pinochet. Más de 3100 personas fueron torturadas, desaparecidas y/o asesinadas durante sus 17 años de dictadura.

**Día mundial de la alimentación (FAO, 1979)**

# 17 Saturday

Rm 4,13.16-18 / Sl 104  
Lc 12,8-12

Ignacio de Antioquía

1806: Muere Jean-Jacques Dessalines, jefe de la revolución de esclavos en Haití que fue ejemplo para toda América.

1945: La movilización popular impide el golpe anti-Perón en Argentina.

2003: Derrocamiento de Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, presidente de Bolivia, por alzamiento popular.

**Día mundial para la erradicación de la pobreza**

# 18

Domingo 29º ordinario  
Is 53,10-11 / Sl 32  
Hb 4,14-16 / Mc 10, 35-45

Lucas

1859: Levantamiento antiesclavista en Kansas, EEUU.

1977: Masacre del ingenio Aztra, Ecuador. 100 muertos, en la protesta contra la empresa que no pagaba.

1991: "Tortura, nunca más" identifica 3 víctimas enterradas clandestinamente en São Paulo.

Nueva: 05h33m en Libra

# 19 Monday

Rm 4,20-25 / Int. Lc 1,69-75  
Lc 12,13-21

Pedro de Alcántara  
Pablo de la Cruz

1970: Muere en México Lázaro Cárdenas, patriota mexicano.

2001: Digna Ochoa, abogada popular, del Centro de DDHH Agustín Pro, México D.F., asesinada.

# 20 Tuesday

Rm 5,12.15b.17-19.20b-21  
SI 39 / Lc 12,35-38

Laura

1548: Fundación de la ciudad de La Paz.

1883: Fin de la guerra de límites entre Chile y Perú.

1944: El dictador Ubico es derrocado en Guatemala por insurrección popular.

1975: Raimundo Hermann, norteamericano, párroco entre los quechuas, mártir de los campesinos de Bolivia.

1978: Oliverio Castañeda de León. Dirigente de la Asociación de Estudiantes de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala. Símbolo de la lucha por la libertad.

1988: Jorge Eduardo Serrano sj, Colombia.

Semana (de la ONU) para el desarme

# 21 Wednesday

Rm 6,12-18 / SI 123  
Lc 12,39-48

Ursula, Celina, Viator

1973: Gerardo Poblete, sacerdote salesiano, torturado y muerto, mártir de la paz y la justicia en Chile.



# 22 Thursday

Rm 6,19-23 / Sl 1  
Lc 12,49-53

María Salomé

1976: Ernesto Lahourcade, gremialista, mártir de la justicia en Argentina.

1981: Eduardo Capiua, religioso belga, mártir de la solidaridad en Guatemala.

1987: Nevardo Fernández, mártir de la lucha por las reivindicaciones indígenas en Colombia.

# 23 Friday

Rm 7,18-25a / Sl 118  
Lc 12,54-59

Juan Capistrano

Santiago de Jerusalén

1981: Marco Antonio Ayerbe Flores, estudiante universitario, Perú.

1986: Vilmar José de Castro, agente de pastoral y militante por la tierra, asesinado en Caçú, Goiás, Brasil, por la UDR de los terratenientes.

1987: João «Ventinha», posseiro en Jacundá (PA), Brasil, asesinado por tres pistoleros.

# 24 Saturday

Rm 8,1-11 / Sl 23  
Lc 13,1-9

Antonio M<sup>o</sup> Claret

1945: Comienza a existir la ONU. Día de la ONU.

1977: Juan Caballero, sindicalista puertorriqueño, asesinado por escuadrones de la muerte.

**Día mundial de información sobre el desarrollo**

**Día de las Naciones Unidas**

Aniversario de la firma de la Carta de las ONU, 1945.

Series of horizontal lines for notes or reflections.

# 25

Domingo 30º ordinario  
Jr 31,7-9 / Sl 125  
Hb 5,1-6 / Mc 10,46-52

Crisanto, Gaudencio

1887: Un sector del ejército brasileño, solidario con el pueblo, se niega a destruir los palenques de los negros.

1974: Antonio Llidó, sacerdote español, desaparecido, Chile.

1975: Wladimir Herzog, periodista, asesinado por la dictadura militar en São Paulo.

1983: EEUU invade Granada.

1987: Carlos Páez y Salvador Ninco, indígenas; Luz Estela y Nevardo Fernandez, obreros, Colombia.

1988: Alejandro Rey y Jacinto Quiroga, agentes de pastoral, mártires de la fe, Colombia.

1989: Jorge Párraga, pastor evangélico, y compañeros, mártires de la causa de los pobres, Perú. **20 años.**

2002: Fallece Richard Shaull, teólogo de la liberación, misionero presbiteriano en Colombia y Brasil.



# 29 Thursday

Rm 8,31b-39 / Sl 108

Lc 13,31-35

Narciso

1626: Los holandeses compran a los indios la isla de Manhattan por 24 dólares.

1987: Manuel Chin Sooj y compañeros, campesinos y catequistas mártires en Guatemala.

1989: Masacre de los pescadores, El Amparo, Venezuela. **20 años.**

# 30 Friday

Rm 9,1-5 / Sl 147

Lc 14,1-6

Alonso Rodríguez

1950: Insurrección nacionalista en Puerto Rico, dirigida por Pedro Albizu Campos.

1979: Santo Dias da Silva, 37 años, líder sindical, metalúrgico, militante de la pastoral obrera, mártir de los obreros brasileños.

1983: Es elegido Raúl Alfonsín en Argentina después de la dictadura de los militares.

1987: Nicaragua aprueba la primera autonomía multiétnica de A.L., para su región caribe.

1999: Dorcelina de Oliveira Folador, deficiente física, del Movimiento Sin Tierra, alcaldesa de Mundo Novo, Brasil, asesinada. **10 años.**

# 31 Saturday

Rm 11,1-2a.11-12.25-29 / Sl 93

Lc 14,7-11

Día de la Reforma protestante

1553: Aparece la primera comunidad negra en América Latina que no experimentó la esclavitud, en Esmeraldas, Ecuador. Su líder: Alonso Illescas.

1973: José Matías Nanco, pastor evangélico, y compañeros, mártires de la solidaridad, Chile.

**Día universal del ahorro**

# 1

Todos los santos

Ap 7,2-4.9-14 / Sl 23

1Jn 3,1-3 / Mt 5,1-12a

Todos los Santos

1950: Los nacionalistas puertorriqueños Oscar Collazo y Griselio Torresola atacan la Casa Blair como parte del Levantamiento de Jayuya.

1974: Florinda Soriano, Doña Tingó, de las Ligas Agrarias, mártir del pueblo dominicano.

1979: Masacre de todos los Santos, La Paz, Bolivia. **30 años.**

1981: Simón Hernández, indígena Achí, delegado de la Palabra, campesino, Guatemala.

1981: Independencia de Antigua y Barbuda.

2004: El ejército chileno reconoce responsabilidad en los crímenes de la dictadura de Pinochet.

# COMMON GOODS, THE PATRIMONY OF HUMANITY

**RICARDO PETRELLA**

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When we talk about a “good,” we are used to thinking about a substance, an object, a service, or a manner of being and behaving that provides a positive value. With “common,” on the contrary, we want to indicate something that makes reference to a community of people who are organized socially. In general, the concept of common goods is understood as those goods and services which are public, “public” being all that which pertains to or is related to the state, the institutions of government, and the people.

Common goods—air, water, solar energy, roads, railroads, health, knowledge, education, forests, the biological capital of the planet, airports, security—represent the “collective wealth” of human communities, the patrimony of humanity. No “society” (from “socio”) exists that does not have common goods. If members of communities do not have common goods that they are co-owners of and feel responsible for, there is no “living together,” social justice, or democracy. The existence of common goods is a condition for security and collective well-being.

Western countries decreasingly function as communities, as societies, because they have privatized—or are privatizing—everything that, only a short time ago, was considered part of the common good.

Until now, common/public goods have been defined by two principal characteristics: non-exclusion—a good is common because its use does not deprive another of its use (a student who goes to school does not prevent another student from going, whereas if I acquire a private good like a house, others are deprived of this property, both with regards to any power over it and in the ability to use it); and non-rivalry—others do not enter into competition with each other to access it (when one appropriates a good or service through private title, there can be no competition).

In reality, a common good is defined as a function of a number of more specific criteria, including:

1) whether it is essential and non-substitutable for individual and collective life, independent of the variety of social systems through time and space. Water

has been essential and non-substitutable for six thousands years, and will continue to be so for millions of years to come;

2) Whether it belongs to the field of human and social rights. Common goods and human rights are indivisible. The measure of the value and utility of a public common good is life and the right to life, not the cost associated with its availability and accessibility. It does not deal with goods and services destined to meet the needs of individuals (or groups) insofar as they are mutable, dependent on opportunity costs and commercial utility;

3) Collective responsibility and property within a logic of public solidarity. The state, the representative of the collectivity of citizens—the political community—is and should be responsible for common goods, those which the citizens are owners of through the state and other territorial groupings (local, regional...);

4) The unavoidability of the integration of the functions of property, regulation, government/management, and control under the responsibility of public officials. This affirms the public nature of the ownership of goods (water, forests, plants, energy sources), infrastructure (distribution networks of water, energy, transportation, information, and communication), and the management of their corresponding services. The function of a common good is to be at the “service” of the collective interest of the community and to take an active role in the field of rights. Therefore, there is a direct incompatibility between the public interest and entrusting these goods to the management of those with private interests.

5) Real participation, direct and indirect, by citizens in the governance of common and public goods. Democracy does not correspond to the functioning of a society of private capital. Democracy is not possible in an “anonymous society” of “stocks.”

It is important to underline that no common good, in itself, has a specific relationship with community land. Forests, water, and species of microorganisms are not, by definition, common goods with determined

communities and territories. Certainly, with the development and diffusion of the sovereign nation-state, first in the West, and then in the rest of the world, history has distorted, in a certain sense, the nature of common public goods. This has introduced a logic of fragmentation into the “res publica,” tied to the principle of national sovereignty over common goods. Thus, water and security have stopped being considered, a priori, common goods that pertain to the life of the planet. They have been converted, above all, into national “goods” subject to a national sovereignty that cannot be detained or divided. This deals with a fundamental fact about our policies regarding common goods: in the current situation of the institutionalization of political power, only states have the sovereign power of governing. This limits considerably the possibility of a “global policy on common goods” founded on the principles of sharing, co-responsibility, solidarity, and justice between “local communities.”

In the last two centuries, no good has been recognized by the international community of nations as a “global common good,” much less as a “global common public good.” What has been recognized is the existence of goods that do not belong to anyone (the Antarctic, the oceans, and the extraterritorial ocean floor...). This means that, while private capital is being globalized more and more, the public powers continue being organized upon “national” bases and do not recognize any common public global good. This has made the processes of liberalization and privatization of nearly all “public” goods and services even more problematic. With the exception of certain countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador...), the national public powers are transferring their political power and control of property to global capital.

This is the heart of the great current challenge of the “res publica,” for both local communities and the world community. The right to life, peace, and solidarity for the world’s inhabitants depends on the recognition of the existence, development, and safeguarding of global common public goods. Many people think that this recognition of global common public goods will never be reached. They are probably right, especially if social, cultural, and political mobilization in favor of this recognition is weakened in the next few years.

How can we define a common public global good? And what goods should be considered this way?

A public common good is global when it deals with resources and responds to the needs/rights of what we refer to as “living together,” the “conditions of life” and the advancement of Humanity and the planet. In this sense, although a common good can be “local,” if its use has effects and repercussions of relevance on the international, global scale, it should be considered something of public, global interest.

Without trying to exhaust the list, the following should be considered global public goods: water, as the totality of all the elements which make up the water cycle, including oceans; peace; the skies, including outer space; forests, as the place in which more than 90% of the species of microorganisms, vegetables, and animals of the planet life live; the global climate; security, in the sense of the struggle against new and old forms of global criminality (the trafficking in arms and drugs, clandestine organized immigration, the proliferation of tax havens...); financial stability; energy, to the extent that we manage renewable and non-renewable energy resources on a global basis; knowledge, especially to the extent that the biological capital of the planet and its diversity is respected; and information and communication.

On a more general level, the Planet Earth and the existence of the other are the two primary global public common goods. Humans would not exist if there were no planet. On the contrary, the Planet has existed and can continue to exist without the human race. Additionally, each one of us would not exist if the other person, the different person did not exist (the man and the woman, the woman and the man, the old person and the young person, the family member and the stranger, the present and the past).

We are dealing with two real goods, but they only have weight and thickness if—and only from the moment—they are thought about. Only in the past few decades have human beings begun to think about the Planet Earth as a global common good that we must take care of, in the interests of Humanity and in the interests of each individual human being. We can say the same about the existence of the other. The perception of the other as a “good” continues being an incipient, weak phenomenon because, today, the presence of the other frequently translates into grave forms of rejection. Building another possible world will take place by promoting these two common goods alongside each other.

# 2009

October

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# 2 Monday

Jb 19,1,23-27a / Sl 24

Difuntos Flp 3,20-21 / Mc 15,33-39; 16,1-6  
1979: Primer Encuentro de las Nacionalidades y Minorías (Cuzco).



Llena: 19h14m en Tauro

# 3 Tuesday

Rm 12,5-16a / Sl 130

Martín de Porres Lc 14,15-24  
1639: Muere san Martín de Lima, en Perú. Hijo de esclava negra, luchó contra los prejuicios hasta ser aceptado como religioso por los dominicos.  
1903: Panamá se separa de Colombia con el apoyo de EEUU. Fiesta nacional.

# 4 Wednesday

Rm 13,8-10 / Sl 111

Carlos Borromeo Lc 14,25-33  
1763: Los Ottawa (EEUU) se lanzan contra Detroit.  
1780: Rebelión contra los españoles liderada por Tupac Amaru, Perú.  
1969: Es ejecutado Carlos Mariquela, São Paulo. **40 años.**





# 9 Monday

Sb 1,1-7 / Sl 138  
Lc 17,1-6

Teodoro  
1977: Justo Mejía, sindicalista campesino y catequista, mártir de la fe en El Salvador.  
1984: Primer Encuentro de los Religiosos, Seminaristas y Padres Negros de Rio de Janeiro.  
1989: Cae el muro de Berlín. **20 años.**  
Menguante: 15h56m en Leo



# 10 Tuesday

León Magno

1483: Nacimiento de Lutero, en Alemania.  
1969: El gobierno brasileño prohíbe la publicación de noticias sobre indios, guerrilla, movimiento negro y contra la discriminación racial.  
1980: Policiano Albeño, pastor evangélico, y Raúl Albeño, mártires de la justicia, El Salvador.  
1984: Alvaro Ulcué Chocué, sacerdote indígena páez, asesinado en Santander, Colombia.  
1996: Jafeth Morales López, militante popular colombiano, animador de cebs, asesinado.  
2004: La Comisión sobre Tortura entrega el testimonio de 35.000 víctimas de la dictadura de Pinochet.

# 11 Wednesday

Sb 2,23-3,9 / Sl 33  
Lc 17,7-10

Martín de Tours

*Soren Kierkegaard*  
1983: Sebastián Acevedo, militante, mártir del amor filial al pueblo chileno.

Sb 6,1-11 / Sl 81  
Lc 17,11-19





# 16 Monday

1Mc 1,10-15.41-43.54-57.62-64

Margarita, Gertrudis SI 118 / Lc 18,35-43  
1982: Fundación del Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias, CLAI.

1989: Ignacio Ellacuría, compañeros jesuitas y dos empleados, asesinados en San Salvador. **20 años.**

**Día internacional de la ONU para la tolerancia**

Nueva: 19h14m en Escorpio



# 17 Tuesday

2Mc 6,18-31 / SI 3

Lc 19,1-10

Isabel de Hungría  
1985: Luis Che, celebrador de la palabra, mártir de la fe en Guatemala.

# 18 Wednesday

2Mc 7,1.20-31 / SI 16

Lc 19,11-28

Elsa  
1867: El Duque de Caxias escribe al Emperador preocupado por la posibilidad de que los negros que vuelvan de la guerra de Paraguay inicien una guerra interna, por sus legítimos derechos.

1970: Gil Tablada, asesinado por oponerse al acaparamiento de tierras, La Cruz, Costa Rica.

1999: Iñigo Eguiluz Tellería, cooperante vasco, y Jorge Luis Mazo, sacerdote, asesinados por los paramilitares, en Quibdó, Colombia. **10 años.**

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# 19 Thursday

1Mc 2,15-29 / SI 49

Abdías, Crispín  
Lc 19,41-44  
1681: Roque González, testigo de la fe en la Iglesia paraguaya y compañeros jesuitas Juan y Alfonso, mártires.  
1980: Santos Jiménez Martínez y Jerónimo «Don Chomo», pastores protestantes, campesinos, mártires en Guatemala.  
2000: Fujimori, desde Japón, presenta por fax su renuncia a la presidencia de Perú.

# 20 Friday

1Mc 4,36-37.52-59 / Int. 1Cro 29

Félix de Valois, Octavio  
Lc 19,45-48  
1542: Las Leyes Nuevas pasan a regular las encomiendas de indios.  
1695: Martirio de Zumbí de los Palmares. Día nacional brasileño de la Conciencia Negra.  
1976: Guillermo Woods, sacerdote misionero, excombatiente estadounidense en Vietnam, mártir y servidor del pueblo de Guatemala.  
2000: Condenado a cadena perpetua Enrique Arancibia, exagente de la DINA chilena, por atentado al general Prats en Buenos Aires el 30sept74.

# 21 Saturday

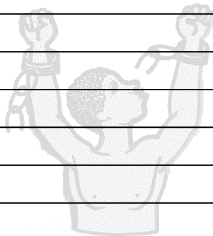
1Mc 6,1-13 / SI 9

Presentación de María  
Lc 20,27-40  
1831: Colombia se proclama Estado soberano, disolviéndose la Gran Colombia.  
1966: Fundación de la Organización Nacional de Mujeres de Chicago.  
1975: Masacre de La Unión, Honduras, matanza de campesinos por mercenarios contratados por los latifundistas.

**Día mundial (de la ONU) de la televisión**

**Día internacional de los Derechos del Niño**

**Día mundial por la industrialización de África**



# 22

Domingo 34° ordinario  
Dn 7,13-14 / SI 92  
Ap 1,5-8 / Jn 18,33b-37

Cecilia  
Día universal de la música.  
1910: João Cândido, el «almirante negro», lidera la «Revolución de la Chibata» en Río de Janeiro.

# 23 Monday

Dn 1,1-6.8-20 / Int. Dn 3,52-56

Clemente

Lc 21,1-4

1927: Miguel Agustín Pro, asesinado, junto con tres laicos, en la persecución religiosa de la época de los cristeros, México.

1974: Amilcar Oviedo D., líder obrero, Paraguay.

1980: Ernesto Abrego, párroco, desaparecido con 4 de sus hermanos en El Salvador.

# 24 Tuesday

Dn 2,31-45 / Int. Dn 3,57-61

Andrés Dung-Lac

Lc 21,5-11

1590: Agustín de La Coruña, obispo de Popayán, desterrado y encarcelado por defender al indio.

1807: Muere José Brandt, jefe de la nación Mohawk.

1980: El Tribunal Russel considera 14 casos de violación de derechos humanos contra indígenas.

Creciente: 21h39m en Piscis



# 25 Wednesday

Dn 5,1-6.13-14.16-17.23-28

Int. Dn 3,62-67 / Lc 21,12-39

Catalina de Alejandría

Isaac Wats

1808: Es firmada una ley que concede tierras a todos los extranjeros no negros que viniesen a Brasil.

1960: Asesinato de las hermanas Mirabal en República Dominicana.

1975: Independencia de Surinam. Fiesta nacional.

1983: Marçal de Sousa, Tupá'í, indígena, mártir de la lucha por la tierra, que había hablado a Juan Pablo II en Manaus en 1980. Asesinado.

**Día internacional contra la violencia y la explotación de la mujer**

Series of horizontal lines for writing or notes.

November

190





# REQUIEM FOR THE FREE MARKET

## TOWARDS A POST-CAPITALIST UTOPIA

**WIM DIERCKXSENS**

San José, Costa Rica

Faced with the global economic crisis, which can be compared to the Great Depression of the 1930s, we are beginning to ask whether the reign of the free market has brought the world to a terminal crisis of the capitalist system, a crisis which might allow another civilization to be glimpsed. Each crisis is an opportunity, and someone will take advantage of it. This great crisis could be the opportunity to place the economy within the context of other social relationships based on principles of solidarity, democracy, social justice and, today we can add, ecological sustainability. The question is the following: Will capitalism win again? Or will this last crisis of unregulated markets be the necessary catalyst for the world to vindicate another civilization.

This is permitting the resurgence of a post-capitalist utopia. We find ourselves, contradictorily and simultaneously in an era of much hope and much insecurity. From the beginning of this international financial crisis, central banks and the governments have intervened with billions and billions of dollars so that the capitalist system itself does not collapse. They are trying to intervene at all costs so that no large bank fails in order to avoid the collapse of the international financial system. In essence, this means that the profits of the banking system remain privatized, while society has to assume the costs of its astronomical losses. Small and medium banks are permitted to collapse in order to be absorbed by the larger banks, in this way increasing even more the concentration of wealth. Nevertheless, the extreme concentration of wealth in a world that is teetering on the brink can also function as political dynamite that has the potential to vindicate another civilization.

There is a very great contrast in how the External Debt of poor countries is treated and how the

tremendous debt of international financial elites is treated. When the external debt of the peripheral countries reached the point of being unpayable, there was no forgiveness whatsoever: all types of adjustment policies were imposed, causing even greater concentration of resources both within countries and between countries. The words to Our Father were even changed:

Let the debts of the poor not be forgiven, but be repaid with interest, even if this should cause a slow genocide. Faced with the debt of the poor, the neoliberal creed is non-intervention. Nevertheless, when the international financial elites run the risk of ruining themselves because of their gigantic, irresponsible games of speculation, these same elites demand massive and immediate intervention by the State.

The financial crisis has endangered the international financial system and it is now causing a crisis in the actual economy, on an international level. That is, it is causing a large-scale global recession. This threat of another global depression is reanimating the discussion regarding the necessity of economic regulation. The current economic crisis is accompanied by a crisis of ecology and natural resources. The 21st century is a period of exhaustion of the reserves of primary materials. This reality is causing a new and grave dilemma for the economy. Therefore, economic regulation also demands concurrent ecological regulation.

Our natural resources are insufficient to meet the needs of the current lifestyle in the West. Today, 20% of the world population, concentrated in the North, consumes more than 80% of all natural resources. With the free reign of the market and a consumer class responsible for ecological disequilibrium and global warming, the cost of living has become higher

for the vast majority. This unsustainable lifestyle has caused the over-exploitation of natural resources (fossil fuels in particular), which are concentrated in the South. This has affected all the regions of the world, but the effect has been felt more intensely in the peripheral zones. The rising prices of minerals have led to a deformation in the economic structures of countries that possess these resources. The rate of growth in the production of agricultural products, due to increases in biofuels, is putting the majority of these countries in danger.

Since the majority of natural resources are found in the South, they are ferociously fought over by the dominant countries. This has already caused wars that are spreading to other regions of the planet. War has historically been the instrument that the capitalist system does not hesitate to use in order to appropriate natural resources, particularly energy resources. Its potential use of nuclear arms should not be discounted. War generates a political crisis at the international level. It causes a crisis of governance since it cannot give capital an adequate response to the economic crisis. Citizens question why their governments are inept at solving these problems.

Beginning with earlier crises, there has been a growth in the debate about how to ensure that the general interest prevails over particular interests. This demands intervention and regulation on the planetary level. The search for an alternative to neoliberalism is giving rise to the possibility and necessity of another economic model which will bring new forms of socialism to the debate. Globalization did not just create this possibility in the abstract—its growing contradictions are making this more possible and more necessary.

Increased planning of the market, by itself, nevertheless, does not guarantee post-capitalism. It is possible to image a new economic order at the international level with a planned economy which reorients investments towards the productive realm with the goal of guaranteeing sustained economic growth and in this way, the expansion of the current economy. This implies a global assignment of finite natural resources and diversified industrial planning, manag-

ing not just natural uses, but the most effective use of capital and labor. Such economic regulation could be transformed into a centralized bureaucratic apparatus in order to create and put into place a plan to perpetrate the accumulation of capital, without any structural role for citizens. This would just substitute the voice of the free market for the voice of worldwide regulation in the apparent name of citizens, although this would in essence be for the transnational elite who, in the ultimate instance, would design and execute the plan, without any real participation or intervention by the citizenry itself.

Nevertheless, we are left with the question of whether political action is still capable of intervening in the economy, since there has been an agreement between private interests and the citizenry, respecting private profit as the last word. Today there is a crisis of natural resources and the environment, caused by the consumerism of only 20% of the world's population. Growth without limit on a world scale is not possible. In this way, capitalism is reaching its limits. There is no capitalism without growth and growth is not just becoming increasingly less compatible with social wellbeing, but it is close to using up finite natural resources.

Supporting life through our actions means giving life to nature. It means liberating natural resources so that those who are excluded today can leave their privations behind. Determining what these needs are cannot be done by gigantic companies designing for the abstract consumer. An alternative economic regulation is necessary, which starts precisely from the concrete life of people with concrete necessities, and not of a homo oeconomicus or abstract consumer. In the words of Karl Polyani (*The Great Transformation*), the task of alternative regulation and intervention is to integrate economics within the complexity of other social regulations based on the principles of solidarity, democracy, social justice, and ecological sustainability.

With this model, we can guarantee the right to life for all living things (whether human or not) on our planet, whether or not this is “useful” for the market.

# 2009

November

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# 30 Monday

Andrés apóstol

Rm 10,9-18 / Sl 18

Mt 4,18-22 Eloy

1967: La conferencia episcopal brasileña (CNBB) protesta contra la prisión de sacerdotes.

# 1 Tuesday

Is 11,1-10 / Sl 71

Lc 10,21-24 Bibiana

1981: Diego Uribe, sacerdote, mártir de la lucha de liberación de su pueblo, Colombia.

2000: El juez Guzmán dispone el arresto domiciliario y el procesamiento de Pinochet.

**Día mundial de la lucha contra el SIDA.**

# 2 Wednesday

Is 25,6-10a / Sl 22

Mt 15,29-37

1823: Declaración de la doctrina Monroe: «América para los americanos».

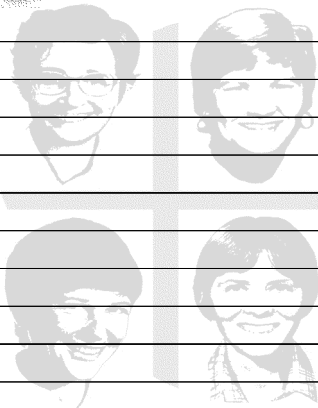
1956: Desembarco del Granma en Cuba.

1980: Ita Catherine Ford, Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kasel y Jean Donovan, de **Maryknoll**, secuestradas, violadas y asesinadas. El Salvador.

1990: Campesinos mártires de Atitlán, Guatemala.

**Día internacional de la ONU contra la esclavitud**

Llena: 07h30m en Géminis



# 3 Thursday

Is 26,1-6 / SI 117

Francisco Javier

Mt 7,21.24-27

1502: Moctezuma, entronizado como señor de Tenochtitlán.  
1987: Víctor Raúl Acuña, sacerdote, Perú.  
2002: † Ivan Illich, filósofo y sociólogo de la liberación

**Día internacional del discapacitado**

# 4 Friday

Is 29,17-24 / SI 26

Juan Damasceno, Bárbara

Mt 9,27-31

1677: La tropa de Fernán Carrillo ataca el Quilombo de Palmares, Brasil.

**Día internacional del voluntario**

# 5 Saturday

Is 30,19-21.23-26 / SI 146

Sabas

Mt 9,35-10,1.6-8

1492: Llega Colón a La Española en su primer viaje.  
1824: La constitución brasileña, en su ley complementaria, prohíbe ir a la escuela a leprosos y negros.  
2000: Dos exgenerales argentinos de la dictadura condenados a cadena perpetua por la justicia italiana: Suárez Masón y Santiago Riveros.

**Día internacional (de la ONU) de los Voluntarios para el desarrollo**

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Nicolás de Bari  
*Nicolás de Mira*

1534: Fundación de Quito.

1969: Muere João Cândido, el «almirante negro», héroe de la Revuelta de Chibata de 1910.

Domingo 2º de Adviento

Ba 5, 1-9 / SI 125

Fip 1,4-6. 8-11 / Lc 3,1-6

Series of horizontal lines for writing notes.



# 10 Thursday

Is 41,13-20 / Sl 144

Eulalia de Mérida  
 1898: Derrotada, España cede a EEUU Puerto Rico y Filipinas.  
 1948: La ONU proclama la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos.  
 1996: Es concedido el Nobel de la Paz a José Ramos Horta, autor del plan de paz para Timor Este de 1992, y a Carlos Ximenes Belo, obispo de Dili.  
 1997: El gobierno socialista francés aprueba la reducción de la jornada semanal a 35 horas.

# 11 Friday

Is 48,17-19 / Sl 1

Dámaso, *Lars Olsen Skrefsrud*  
 1978: Gaspar García Laviana, sacerdote, mártir de las luchas de liberación, Nicaragua.  
 1994: Primera Cumbre Americana, en Miami. Los gobiernos deciden crear el ALCA, sin participación de los pueblos. En 2005 fracasará.

# 12 Saturday

Zc 2,14-17 / Sl 95

Guadalupe, Juan Diego  
 1531: María se aparece a Cuauhtlatoazin, Juan Diego, en Tepeyac, donde se veneraba Tonantzin, «venerable Madre».  
 1981: Masacre «El Mozote», de cientos de campesinos en Morazán, El Salvador.  
 1983: Prudencio Mendoza «Tencho», seminarista, mártir, Huehuetenango, Guatemala.  
 2002: El Congreso desafora al expresidente Alemán, por fraude millonario. Nicaragua.



# 13

Domingo 3º de Adviento  
 Sf 3,14-18a / Int.Is 12,2-6  
 Flp 4,4-7 / Lc 3,10-18

Lucía  
 1968: La Cámara de los Diputados se opone al Gobierno y es suprimida, Brasil.  
 1978: Independencia de Santa Lucía.

# 14 Monday

Nm 24,2-7.15-17a / SI 24  
Mt 21,23-27

Juan de la Cruz  
*Teresa de Avila*

1890: Rui Barbosa ordena quemar los archivos sobre la esclavitud en Brasil para borrar la memoria.

1973: La ONU identifica a Puerto Rico como colonia y afirma su derecho a la independencia.

# 15 Tuesday

Sf 3,1-2.9-13 / SI 33  
Mt 21,28-32

Valeriano

1975: Daniel Bombara, miembro de la JUC, mártir de los universitarios comprometidos con los pobres en Argentina.

# 16 Wednesday

Is 45,6-25 / SI 84  
Lc 7,19-23

Adelaida

1984: Eloy Ferreira da Silva, líder sindical, en San Francisco, MG, Brasil

1991: Indígenas mártires del Cauca, Colombia.

1993: Levantamiento popular en Santiago del Estero, Argentina.

Nueva: 12h02m en Sagitario



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# 17 Thursday

Gn 49,2,8-10 / Sl 71

Juan de Mata, Lázaro  
 1819: Se proclama la República de la Gran Colombia en Angostura.  
 1830: Muere, víctima de tisis o cáncer, cerca de Santa Marta, Colombia. Simón Bolívar, el Libertador de Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador y Perú, y fundador de Bolivia, a los 47 años de edad.

# 18 Friday

Jer 23,5-8 / Sal 71

Rufo y Zósimo  
 1979: Masacre de campesinos en Ondores, Perú.  
 1979: Masacre de campesinos, El Porvenir, El Salvador.  
 1985: João Canuto e hijos, líder sindical en Brasil.  
 1992: Manuel Campo Ruiz, marianista, víctima de la corrupción de la policía. Río de Janeiro.  
 1994: Son recuperados los restos de Nelson MacKay, primer caso de los 184 desaparecidos en Honduras en la década de los 80.

**Día internacional (de la ONU) del Migrante**

**Año nuevo musulmán: 1431**

# 19 Saturday

Jue 13,2-7,24-25a / Sal 70

Nemesio  
 1994: Crisis económica mexicana: 10 días más tarde la devaluación del peso alcanzaría el 100%.  
 1994: Alfonso Stessel, 65 años, sacerdote, asesinado a cuchilladas y balazos en Guatemala. 15 años.  
 2001: Tras un discurso del presidente, el pueblo argentino sale a la calle provocando su renuncia.  
 2001: Pocho Leprati, militante por los Derechos de los Niños marginados, asesinado por la policía de Rosario, Argentina

# 20

Domingo 4º de Adviento

Mq 5,1-4a / Sl 79

Hb 10,5-10 / Lc 1,39-45

Domingo de Silos, Ceferino

1818: Luis Beltrán, franciscano, «primer ingeniero del ejército libertador» de los Andes, Argentina.

1989: EEUU invade Panamá para capturar a Noriega.  
**20 años.**

2001: Rosario (Argentina). En la represión policial, muere Claudio «Pocho» Leprati, 36 años, dirigente barrial y catequista, que pedía no reprimieran al pueblo y a los niños. Mueren otras 30 personas.

# 21 Monday

Pedro Canisio

Cant 2,8-14 / SI 32

Lc 1,39-45

*Tomás Apóstol*

1511: Homilía de Fray Antonio de Montesinos en La Española.

1907: Masacre en Santa María de Iquique, Chile: 3.600 víctimas, mineros en huelga por mejores condiciones de vida.

1964: Guillermo Sardiña, sacerdote, solidario con su pueblo en la lucha contra la dictadura, Cuba. **45 años.**

**Solsticio, de invierno en el Norte, de verano en el Sur, a las 18h47m.**

# 22 Tuesday

Francisca J. Cabrini

1Sam 1,24-28 / Int.: 1Sam 2,1-8

Lc 1, 46-56

1815: Es fusilado José María Morelos, héroe de la independencia de México, tras haber sido desterrado por la Inquisición.

1988: Francisco «Chico» Mendes, 44 años, líder ecologista, Brasil. Asesinado por latifundistas.

1997: Masacre de Acteal, Chiapas. Mueren 46 indígenas tzotziles reunidos en oración.

# 23 Wednesday

Juan de Kety

MI 3,1-4.23-24 / SI 24

Lc 1,57-66

1896: Conflicto entre EEUU y Gran Bretaña a propósito de la Guyana venezolana.

1972: Un terremoto de 6,2 puntos Richter destruye Managua y mueren más de 10 mil personas.

1989: Gabriel Maire, asesinado en Vitoria, Brasil, por su pastoral comprometida. **20 años.**









## January

## February

## March

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13 W	13 S	13 S
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26 T	26 F	26 F
27 W	27 S	27 S
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29 F		29 M
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9 F	<b>9 S</b>	9 W
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12 M	12 W	12 S
13 T	13 T	<b>13 S</b>
14 W	14 F	14 M
15 T	15 S	15 T
16 F	<b>16 S</b>	16 W
17 S	17 M	17 T
<b>18 S</b>	18 T	18 F
19 M	19 W	19 S
20 T	20 T	<b>20 S</b>
21 W	21 F	21 M
22 T	22 S	22 T
23 F	<b>23 S</b> <sup>Pentecost</sup>	23 W
24 S	24 M	24 T
<b>25 S</b>	25 T	25 F
26 M	26 W	26 S
27 T	27 T	<b>27 S</b>
28 W	28 F	28 M
29 T	29 S	29 T
30 F	<b>30 S</b>	30 W
	31 M	

## July

## August

## September

1 T	<b>1 S</b>	1 W
2 F	2 M	2 T
3 S	3 T	3 F
<b>4 S</b>	4 W	4 S
5 M	5 T	<b>5 S</b>
6 T	6 F	6 M
7 W	7 S	7 T
8 T	<b>8 S</b>	8 W
9 F	9 M	9 T
10 S	10 T	10 F
<b>11 S</b>	11 W	11 S
12 M	12 T	<b>12 S</b>
13 T	13 F	13 M
14 W	14 S	14 T
15 T	<b>15 S</b>	15 W
16 F	16 M	16 T
17 S	17 T	17 F
<b>18 S</b>	18 W	18 S
19 M	19 T	<b>19 S</b>
20 T	20 F	20 M
21 W	21 S	21 T
22 T	<b>22 S</b>	22 W
23 F	23 M	23 T
24 S	24 T	24 F
<b>25 S</b>	25 W	25 S
26 M	26 T	<b>26 S</b>
27 T	27 F	27 M
28 W	28 S	28 T
29 T	<b>29 S</b>	29 W
30 F	30 M	30 T
31 S	31 T	

1 F	1 M	1 W
2 S	2 T	2 T
<b>3 S</b>	3 W	3 F
4 M	4 T	4 S
5 T	5 F	<b>5 S</b>
6 W	6 S	6 M
7 T	<b>7 S</b>	7 T
8 F	8 M	8 W
9 S	9 T	9 T
<b>10 S</b>	10 W	10 F
11 M	11 T	11 S
12 T	12 F	<b>12 S</b>
13 W	13 S	13 M
14 T	<b>14 S</b>	14 T
15 F	15 M	15 W
16 S	16 T	16 T
<b>17 S</b>	17 W	17 F
18 M	18 T	18 S
19 T	19 F	<b>19 S</b>
20 W	20 S	20 M
21 T	<b>21 S</b>	21 T
22 F	22 M	22 W
23 S	23 T	23 T
<b>24 S</b>	24 W	24 F
25 M	25 T	25 S
26 T	26 F	<b>26 S</b>
27 W	27 S	27 M
28 T	<b>28 S</b> Advent, Year A	28 T
29 F	29 M	29 W
30 S	30 T	30 T
<b>31 S</b>		31 F

# WHAT SOCIALISM DO WE WANT?

## NOTES FOR A MANIFESTO

**PABLO GONZÁLEZ CASANOVA**

México DF, México

Struggling for socialism and constructing socialism is the only way of ensuring life. Humanity's obligation to prevent ecocide means that we have to initiate and win the struggle for socialism. If socialism remains only a utopia or political bickering, the death of the biosphere is assured. The current system, sickened by profit, does not have any interest in preventing the destruction of the world because this might impede business. Its greed blinds it in a strange manner. Its venality is causing its own destruction through what the experts call "unwanted secondary effects."

Socialism will be a work of all of humanity or it will not come to pass. If the principal actor of emancipation of yesterday was the worker, today the principal actor is humanity itself, organized as workers, peoples, and citizens, working side by side with "the poor of the Earth" of whom José Martí spoke about and with whom he "cast his fate."

The "poor" and the "excluded" are today's proletariat class. They must occupy the center of any emancipating bloc. Without them, humanity is destined for extermination. "The poor and condemned of the Earth"—"the new proletariat"—do not just demand that organized workers and liberating movements exhibit solidarity as brothers, sisters, and companions. They also demand the right to their autonomy as a class: respect for their dignity, their identity, and their beliefs. In their condition as a new class of poor, they are found in the fields and factories, mines and seas, suburbs and service sectors.

The practice of socialism is destined to failure if it cannot make itself relevant to both "included" and "excluded" social sectors, both "organized" and "unorganized" workers, and both "integrated" and "marginalized" peoples and citizens. Respecting the autonomy of our poor brothers and sisters, including their autonomy as a new proletarian class, is a necessary precondition for success.

This project will necessarily implicate aligning the struggle for socialism with both the struggle for democracy (as the power of the people) and the struggle for national liberation against the imperialism of the great powers, the huge transnationals, and their local allies

and subordinates.

All socialism has to correspond to a democracy capable of reformulating human relations so that they are strengthened, made predominant, and not based on profit.

Socialism is a process. It must acquire the flexibility to deal with the contradictions that its own development creates. New generations, more educated and more demanding, will know how to combine new forms of celebration and art with national and international social solidarity. They will know how to release "the war of ideas" into the fields of the sciences and humanities, the media, and the collective defense of their central project.

In order to understand the meaning of this necessary and possible change, words cannot just be read and employed. These words must increasingly equalize actual life. These word-acts are found in the practice of utopia. The construction and defense of alternative societies and states is necessary at all times and on all levels—local, national, and global. In this, brothers, sisters, and companions share their creative experiences, correct each other, and make their original knowing-doing more precise.

Before anything—in the struggle and construction of socialism, of democracy and national liberation, in the dialogue between lay texts and "sacred texts," and of the "authoritative judgments" supported in "the classics"—a commitment to combining practice and ethics has to be embraced.

Some projects support others: socialism supports democracy, democracy supports socialism, and the liberation of nations and peoples supports both democracy and socialism. The new project is a product of a harsh reality. By socialism we do not just mean greater social justice. Rather, we mean that workers, peoples, citizens, and the excluded will participate in the building and creating of the "other better world." By democracy, we do not just mean the exercise of power by the people: it is more than political representation of "citizens" in the government, more than organization of the working class by "the party," more than leading the people by "charismatic leaders" or "the political class."

The new project of socialism does not just include free and adult men, but it includes women as equal partners. In many social and educational contexts, it also includes girls and boys. In the construction of democratic socialism, not just organized workers will participate. Unorganized workers will participate too. Men and women will participate. Others will as well: groups of excluded and marginalized people who have descended from enslaved populations; groups subjected to servitude, colonization, and recolonization; the most recent victims of wage exploitation and systemic unemployment; and those subject to dispossession and extermination—both open and hidden—extending from the “primitive exploitation” at the start of the modern era to today’s crisis of “amplified accumulation,” begun in the last decades of the 20th century.

As historical projects, socialism and participative democracy imply a universally emancipating, critical, scientific, and humanistic pedagogy. From the beginning, they have sought to expand and elevate levels of education. Beginning with literacy campaigns, they seek universal university education; their goal is to share general and specialized knowledge with nearly the entire population. The socialist experience demonstrates that it is realistic and technically possible to create republics in which all the inhabitants are prepared to be full citizens and the vanguards of peoples-vanguards.

Democracy cannot be created without ideological and religious pluralism. This requires constructing and defending lay spaces, spaces for dialogue. As a work of human creation developed through critical thought and historical memory, it recuperates and illuminates concrete situations, abandons the rationalizations of exegetes, confronts the defenses of the orthodox, and rejects all other types of intellectual, emotional, moral, and aesthetic authoritarianism.

Democracy in development opposes all attempts to construct socialism under the state’s own logic. The power of the state is subordinate to society to the extent that the state-people constitutes only one category in which society commands and the state obeys. “Obeying the order” is the consequence of embracing and respecting the collectivity which has “ordered that the state obey.” “Civil society” makes demands on the state. It demands that the state ceaselessly seek to “order by obeying” the consensus and general directives of workers, peoples, and citizens.

Everything shows that there is no national libera-

tion without socialism and without democracy. The imperialism of the great oppressive powers is articulated more and more through capitalism. The local productive classes that wanted to be national are finding that they are increasingly dependent on and subordinate to these powers. The networks of power and business of the “rich and powerful” find a common interest that unites them in the neoliberal policies of submission and dispossession of peoples and workers. It is more. The politics of the social-democratic, labor, nationalist, and communist parties legalize and legitimate, with calculated criticisms and “politically correct” protests, the acts of denationalization, privatization, and the loss of social rights and individual guarantees: with their vote or with their complicit silence they arm “de facto” dictatorships and “false” democracies.

Only with socialism will the great problem of wanting more and more at every moment be relieved. Only in this way will the grave danger of mercantile and predatory wars—which capitalism necessarily brings—be avoided. Socialism can also stop the less obvious but no less fearsome scourges caused by hunger and curable diseases that become deadly because there are no doctors or medicines. These scourges have the capacity to “cleanse the disposable poor” from entire continents and immense zones of the earth, particularly Africa, the Arab world, South Asia, and Latin America, especially in Indigenous America.

Today, the military industrial complex that dominates the world possesses the capacity of getting rid of the populations who, according to Darwin, are “the losers in the inevitable struggle for life.” These populations curiously constitute an obstacle for the new development of large capital. Capital does not need these unsalaried people: these “expendable poor” are inconvenient because they enjoy natural and energy resources that companies seek to use, or because, dispossessed, they emigrate to the world’s center [the US, Western Europe, and Australia] and “cause squalor and drug trafficking to proliferate.”

A universal holocaust is possible but uncertain. The leaders of the world know this well. What they do not yet understand is that “the hour has arrived” and that the peaceful construction of an alternative world is the only solution for the survival of Humanity.

The socialism that we want to make a reality is the old dream of human emancipation. This change will occur within the necessary conditions, guided with flexibility and firmness. It is a realizable utopia.

# WE MAKE SOCIALISM BY WALKING

JOSÉ IGNACIO GONZÁLEZ FAUS

Barcelona, Cataluña, Spain

The search for alternatives in the life of our peoples always finds pathways that open up new horizons. In this journey, experiences of struggles, successes, and failures in our collective memory accumulate, permitting us to solidify hope-giving steps forward. In this way, many social sectors are ceasing to be spectators and are taking up their rightful roles as protagonists of their own history.

We see it in the daily life of neighborhoods, barrios, and villages. We also see it in unions and indigenous and campesino organizations. We see their social and cultural resistance grow in strength. It is an unequal struggle between the dominant forces and social organizations, but the persistence of the people keeps on chipping away at the rock of the capitalist system, of social and structural violence, of social exclusion and poverty.

Paul VI, felt that Latin America should be defined as the “Continent of Hope,” composed of peoples who were journeying towards new possibilities of life, with firmness and decision. The Continent oscillates between sun and shadow. When the people attempt to emerge into the light—with their proposals and social, cultural, and political alternatives—they are violently repressed.

## **A long history of suffering and resistance**

The military dictatorships imposed on the Continent furthered a project of domination by means of the Doctrine of National Security. They caused huge damage, cost many lives, and destroyed the productive capacity of the people.

Popular resistance surged in defense of life and of the values and identity of our peoples. We sought to construct new paradigms for our lives, and, in this way, we looked towards a socialism that would permit us to overcome domination and generate justice and equality for all men and women.

When the military dictatorships were defeated, formal (that is, limited and restricted) democracies were imposed by the dominant system in order to prevent “anything from changing.” This system continues to increase inequality and benefit the existent centers of power. These formal democracies act with great fragility and with many limitations on their decision-making

power.

The majority of the Latin American governments are not succeeding in overcoming the current problems that their countries endure. Because of fear, impositions, and lack of alternative projects, they end up reproducing the system of domination.

It is a vicious circle: although they claim there is democracy because the people vote, they continue imposing neoliberal policies on the people. Decision-making power remains in the hands of the great economic, political, and military interests.

## **Towards a “new socialism”**

In Latin America, there are partial experiences of “participative power” with new horizontal relationships, i.e., Christian base communities; social, cultural, and educational organizations; popular movements that seek to recreate their own experiences of life in their communities; and campesino, indigenous, union, women’s and other sectors. All are creating new social spaces and learning to share them with other groups and movements. This is a direct challenge to individualist and consumerist societies in which financial capital is privileged over human capital.

It is necessary to deepen these enriching experiences of social action as we work “towards a new socialism,” so that we can reach the political dimension, which is necessary for the construction of democracy and the realization of human rights as indivisible values.

This socialism requires that we focus on two key things: Bread and Liberty shared between people and nations. That is, the Bread that feeds the body and the Bread that feeds the spirit.

We must share a Liberty that fosters our participation in the collective construction of the society that is yearning to be built. We must share a Liberty that permits us to grow in critical consciousness and values, in justice and equality for all. Without Liberty, the capacity to Love does not exist. Without Love, life loses its flavor.

It is necessary to reestablish equilibrium in the personhood of every man and woman: equilibrium with others, with Mother Nature, with the Cosmos, and with God. When this equilibrium is broken, a violence that torments our people and the world is generated. To

rebuild our societies is a great challenge. We can't give what we don't have.

We must engage in a permanent exercise of social construction and remembering in order not to remain stuck in the past. Memory allows us to illuminate the present. The future depends on the mark that every person and every people leave on the present. In the age in which we live, it is necessary to have a deeper, more profound vision in order to discover and savor the fruit of what we have planted.

Latin America is a vast and rich mosaic of peoples, with great intercultural and linguistic diversity and strong religious values cemented throughout the ages. Diversity is the richness of the Continent and any "new socialism" has to be expressed in the diversity of our cultural and spiritual resources.

### **In a globalized world**

The great international powers continue to narrow opportunities and impose their economic, political, and military interests, using their asymmetrical power and the complicity of submissive local governments to achieve their ends. The people know that domination does not begin with economics, but with culture.

The fall of the Berlin Wall was the decisive event in the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the Cold War generated the fall of an imposed, authoritarian socialism. World power has remained in the hands of the hegemony of the great international corporations and one superpower, the United States. New walls of intolerance have been built up that must now be dismantled—walls such as discrimination, social exclusion, the concentration of resources, the increase in poverty, and the destruction of natural resources including water, forests, and biodiversity. It is critical to respond to the imposed policies of exploitation and domination.

"Power" should be understood and practiced as "service" so that it does not repeat the circle of domination. This requires turning education into the practice of liberty. It means returning to the sources of our own cultures, to harvest the fruit that has been borne, and to learn from the legacy of our elders, who struggled and worked for a more just and fraternal world for everyone—that utopia we hope to solidify in a "new socialism."

Politics needs to be understood as the search for the common good of society. It should reclaim the exercise of doing politics, refocusing it on values and cultural identities. It should awaken critical consciousness so that it is of service to our peoples.

It is necessary to once again embark upon the path we have trod these many years and to focus on the quality of the democracies in which we live.

We need to challenge the way that our governments—called democratic—exercise their "power," since they do not modify their relationships with dominating power. We need to challenge the conformism of governments that continue to accept neoliberal politics.

We must challenge the sale of lands to multinational corporations which causes the expulsion of indigenous peoples and campesinos.

We must challenge the handing over of the patrimony of our peoples through the policies of structural adjustment, capitalization, and privatization that the centers of international power now impose. Like the immoral unjust external debt, whose motto is "the more we pay, the more we owe and the less we have," these are the new mechanisms of domination. This is without even mentioning the internal debt of our countries.

### **The democratic pathway to "new socialism"**

The foundation of a "new socialism" will be constructed through recuperation of collective memory and in participation. This implies succeeding in distributing wealth and generating just and humane conditions of life for everyone.

In the current international situation, the struggle to reach the goals and utopias of this "new socialism" requires that our people embrace great challenges, assuming the costs of walking the road towards liberation and resisting in hope.

The power of domination doesn't give up its possessions and advantages easily. This causes the sharpening of conflicts, including the serious problem of the concentration of land and wealth in the hands of a few. This is the current situation in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, where the governments are seeking to walk with their peoples in the construction of a new socialism. It is necessary to envision better politics and policies that are capable of constructing new spaces of liberty, resistance, and unity among peoples.

Solidarity is the key to continental unity. In this, we have seen successes in the World Social Forums where better proposals and alternatives have been advanced.

Creativity is also part of the struggle in Latin America. The social sectors in resistance know that changes are only possible if we have common objectives and the will and commitment to achieve them.

# THE DEMOCRATIC PATH TO SOCIALISM

**ADOLFO PÉREZ ESQUIVEL**

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Buenos Aires, Argentina

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# A MINIMUM PLATFORM OF CAUSES TO EMBRACE

## TO CONSTRUCT A MORE JUST AND EGALITARIAN SOCIETY

### LATIN AMERICAN AGENDA

#### Economy

- Support and urge compliance with the Millennial Development Goals, especially those concerning the eradication of poverty, hunger, and shocking economic inequality.
- Reform the international economic institutions, which perpetuate the oppression suffered by poor countries at the hands of rich countries. Democratize them so that they can manage globalization, ensuring the participation and development of the most disadvantaged peoples and nations.
- Work to cancel or reduce the illegitimate foreign debt, incurred in the 1970s, which has been paid many times over.
- Promote and support small and medium-size businesses instead of large multinational and transnational businesses; smaller businesses create proportionally more dignified jobs, violate fewer cultural values, facilitate social cooperation, and respect the dignity of persons.
- Establish a tax on international financial transactions, inspired by the Tobin Measure, to control the movement of capital and combat tax shelters, limiting secret banking.
- Promote food self-sufficiency for nations and protect indigenous agriculture and small producers.
- Ensure that companies be socially responsible in reality, and that they not just create a false image of responsibility for public relations purposes.
- Work against the privatization of public works and basic community services.
- Establish concrete maximum limits for agricultural and urban land ownership, that is, authentic land reform.
- Work for the expropriation of excess agricultural land, beginning with those lands held for financial speculation or by usurious banks.

#### Ecology

- Change our mindset regarding how we perceive nature and our relationship to it.
- Defend water sources as natural resources essen-

tial to the common good.

- Preserve the jungles, the forests, and their many species; don't leave Gaia without the resources to maintain this equilibrium, which also benefits us.
- Save diversity, which is now being destroyed.
- Limit the production of waste, especially non-biodegradable plastics. Substitute disposable plastic bags with those that are biodegradable.
- Recycle whenever possible. To change our culture of waste and destruction of natural resources, educate our children and youth in this daily practice.
- Change our energy sources. Fight strongly against the emission of CO<sub>2</sub> and the burning of fossil fuels. Support renewable and alternative energy sources.
- Combat the use of agrotoxins and monocultures of soy, sugarcane, eucalyptus, etc. Fight against the transnational companies that want to control seeds and agricultural production and commerce (Monsanto, Syngenta, Cargill, Bunge, ADM, Nestle, Basf, Bayer, Aracruz, Stora Enso, etc.).
- Oppose mining operations that deforest, destroy, and poison immense expanses of our land.

#### Political Transformation

- Put human beings and all other forms of life at the center of a new world order.
- Enable social sectors to construct popular projects that challenge neoliberalism, imperialism, and the structural causes of these problems, which affect our people.
- Defend to the last breath a total democracy: political, economic, cultural...
- Defend the State against both a neoliberal "minimal State" and a totalitarian State so that it serves as an effective instrument of social equilibrium that does not cede the field to financial capital and multinationals.
- Promote the democratic exercise of citizenship in all areas of public life.
- Do not be content with electing or supporting leftists who will indefinitely keep us within the

capitalist system. Do not lose sight of Utopia, of a “change in the system” that goes beyond just a change in government. Continue believing and struggling for the necessary social revolution.

- Do not lose sight of the socialist political Utopia. Learn from past experiences. Fight for a “new” socialism.

- Support current sociopolitical transformations. Do not use the difficulties, possible defects, or excesses as an excuse or pretext to claim a false neutrality.

- Do not lose opportunities to help transform the mentality of those who surround us. Believe in the force of ideas to transform the world. Participate, express, share, dialogue, “show the reason for our own political hopes,” “opportunistly or inopportunistly,” by living a committed and consistent life. Accomplish an effective “ideological activism.”

### **Human Rights**

- Defend all human rights—economic, cultural, and social as well as political and civil.

- Defend universal education. Fight so that the poor have access to quality, free education. Eradicate illiteracy.

- Fight for the democratization of the media, the formation of a critical and political consciousness, and the respect of local culture.

### **Cultures and Religions**

- Always promote respect for diverse identities.

- Promote dialogue between cultures.

- Defend the rights of indigenous peoples and nations.

- Respect the right to movement and migration, especially when undertaken in order to survive.

- Cultivate an attitude of respect towards all religions.

- Work for the mental transformation of all religions so that they overcome and abandon their fundamentalism, their claims of superiority over other religions, their exclusivity (and even their inclusivity), proselytism, and violence.

- Make these same changes within ourselves.

- Support and urge a potential “Alliance of Religions for Justice, Peace, and the Salvation of the Planet.”

- Support the use of Esperanto—the only language that makes us all equal, without privileges—saving us energy for other humanizing work.

### **Diversity**

- Accept the diversity and equality of all races.

- Take up the cause of transformation of society so that gender equality is finally reached.

- Accept, without any discrimination, the natural diversity of sexual orientation.

### **Our Personal Lives**

- Within ourselves, combat consumerism (in the use of water, food, clothing, vehicles, etc.).

- Do not be complicit in waste and pillaging.

- Support the “Ethical Bank,” renouncing in our familial economies the reproduction of the “search for the quickest and easiest profit at any price.”

### **Globalization and Peace**

- Overcome the antidemocratic “veto” of the privileged founding members of the UN, equalizing representation.

- Support the International Criminal Court and its jurisdiction over all States equally, without permitting any to escape it.

- Support the Alliance of Civilizations instead of the Clash of Civilizations.

- Truly globalize the consciousness of humanity so we recognize what we truly are: only one country, one family, one home, the same global phenomenon of life, one vessel oscillating between damnation and salvation.

- Journey towards a World Assembly of Peoples.

- Promote policies of disarmament and reduction in public military spending and in private arms sales, especially those that serve to keep armed conflicts going.

- Construct peace everyday.

*Add Your Own Steps Here*

# THE PEOPLE ARE REVITALIZING UTOPIA AND HOPE

## WHAT HAS ALREADY OCCURRED

ISABEL RAUBER

Buenos Aires, Argentina

In Latin America, the destruction of industrial and rural productive capacities, the pillaging of natural resources, and the handing over of national goods brought with it an increase in unemployment, hunger, and illiteracy, and the proliferation of curable illnesses in large sectors of the impoverished population. This was done in the name of *modernization*, *progress*, and *neoliberal democracy*. The results provide proof of the categorical *social failure of neoliberalism*: its incapacity to resolve the problems of humanity correlates precisely with its evident capacity to aggravate them.

But the landscape has changed; we are not in the 1990s any longer, when neoliberal thinking reigned, claiming that “the end of history” had arrived and that there was “no alternative.” In different latitudes, men and women have reclaimed the debate. Indigenous people, campesinos, workers in cities and fields, displaced, excluded, and unemployed people, the homeless, abandoned elders, and street children have reopened the debate about political, social, economic, and cultural conditions from within their realities. They are taking charge of their historical responsibility and embracing its challenges.

Conscious that nothing less than the very choice between life and death is what is at stake in the solution to the fundamental problem of our time, they are reemphasizing the need to surpass capitalism. Hope in a better future feeds utopia and it once again makes socialism the horizon on which they fix their gaze. They are dealing with a socialism renovated and enriched by the historic experience of the socialist experiences of the 20th century and the resistances and struggles of the people of the world.

In Latin America, this liberating perspective—sustained by centuries by the resistance of the first nations and invigorated by the Cuban Revolution in 1959—is now nourished by the increasing protagonism of the people in the political life of our societies. Sociopolitical realities, unthinkable just a few years ago, have opened up in Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, etc.

The democratic pathway today demonstrates new viewpoints and possibilities: entrusted to the hands of popular sociopolitical actors, many governments are being transformed into important tools used to develop the protagonistic participation of the people in the process of political, social, and cultural change, enabling them to construct new popular power from below. A leading example of this is the open process in Bolivia, where the nearly impossible is happening. A descendent of indigenous peoples, a landless campesino, a coca worker, today leads the national government. This is not to pass over the significant and transcendent indigenous uprising in Chiapas, the indigenous uprising in Ecuador, and the popular resistances in Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Paraguay, etc.

But we have to be alert. These times, full of changes in favor of the people, are also times of strong resistance, instigation, provocation, and sabotage on the part of the old sectors of power. Taking charge of the government opens up great opportunities for the forces of the people to initiate and promote a sustainable process of change, but, simultaneously, these governments—including their officials, their actions, and their collaborators—are transformed into a target for exhausting, corrosive, and destructive opposition by those who depend on neoliberal capitalism.

It is therefore even more urgent that there be a strong social force capable of sustaining these positive processes and making them advance. The challenge is this: building a broad sociopolitical movement that supports the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces of workers and the people and opposes and debates the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces of capital (both local and global); that is to say, construct a broad social force of liberation which becomes a collective actor for change.

### **Governing, Organizing, Struggling, and Building for Liberation**

*Neither electoral participation nor regional and national government can be the final goal of alterna-*

*tive political action. The point is not to win elections and occupy posts.* The challenge exists in finding and building political, juridical, and social avenues to turn institutions and offices into collective platforms capable of supporting people as they succeed in implementing their consensually and collectively created objectives.

The use of constituent assemblies is key. In places where the popular governments have promoted these, this has opened up *government institutions to participation* by the people. This speaks to changes in the development of a *new type of democracy* in regards to its political, economic, and cultural elements. This is a democracy that implies building a new type of relationship between society, the state, and political representation, opening up new institutional channels so that the population can participate in political and policy decisions. This political-cultural alliance occupies a central role in combating the hegemony of capital, constructing its own hegemony.

This leads directly to the requirement that we expand what politics is and who participates in it. Broad, mobile, and dynamic, politics today has to develop in many areas: institutions, parties, and citizenship; the urban, rural, community, cultural, social, and economic fields. Politics is defined at each moment by concrete practices of social actors.

In this sense, the first political challenge is identifying, in each concrete situation, what resources we already have to bring about our objectives. This is related to the capacity of sociopolitical actors to transform ourselves, to modify our relationship with existing forces, and to develop the consciousness, organization, and participation of the majority of those who are involved in processes of changes. This suggests a group of political tasks that should be taken into account:

- Overcome the fragmentation of society, struggles, platforms, consciousnesses, and actors in order to recreate a unified social and political horizon.
- Deepen the transformative tendencies of the current popular and progressive governments of the continent so that they continue to open up state governmental management to the participation of the people and citizenry.
  - Defend each new popular victory with permanent mobilization.
  - Modify the modalities of labor politics and its

mode of organization and representation.

- Form a new type of activists who will be capable of creating consensus among diverse interests, opening up spaces of participation for the majorities, and ensuring that their work will continue and be self-sustaining after their departure.

- Strengthen the process of interacting with collective socio-political actors by creating a political structure that recognizes disagreements and is capable of living with them and working through them.

- Develop the cultural struggle. Rescue the experiences and lessons of the people and their organizations.

- Install a pedagogy of change based on practices: the *Movimiento Sin Tierra*, in Brazil, has made this principle a foundation for the construction and development of protagonism and collective consciousness. Its major strategic achievement is its *systematic pedagogical effort, integrated politically and culturally, which connects to the struggles for land, dignity, and full life for campesinos and all workers*. It is bringing about transformation, in the present, from below, in each camp, in each taking of land, in each mobilization, in each day of work, always and everywhere organized. Che Guevara is considered one of their reference points.

- Lay the foundations of a new mysticism based in solidarity, ethics, and coherency.

- Construct the ideal social alternative, the new socialist utopia, starting with our everyday lives. We need to direct all of our activities towards the creation of the new world, advancing towards it with the small steps of our individual and collective actions.

- We live in exceptional times in Latin America today, characterized by the protagonism of peoples and the ensuing collective recuperation of the confidence that a different world is truly possible. This situation challenges our imagination and our willingness to summon the large popular majorities and help in their preparation so that they become increasingly capable of being full protagonists of their own lives. We must be aware that the future extends beyond us, that the utopia of liberation lives on, and that it continues to point to the utopia that causes humanity to develop. There is no predetermined end; humanity will always come up with new goals and explore new roads to reach them, sacrificing and yearning to better its living conditions and increase its freedom.

# «CHRISTIANS FOR SOCIALISM»

**JAUME BOTEY**

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“Christians for Socialism,” CPS, was born in Allende’s Chile in 1971. Its purpose was to support, from within the Christian community, the transformation that the government of Popular Unity was undertaking. People still breathed the fresh air of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 Medellín meeting of the Conference of Latin American Bishops. Christian base communities and Liberation Theology were beginning to take their first steps. These were privileged movements, of extraordinary spiritual richness. This was perhaps the Church’s most important attempt at approaching and understanding the problems of the people.

We started to believe that the more just world that we had dreamed about was within our reach...The coup d’état of Pinochet in 1973 and those that followed throughout Latin America crushed so many hopes.

Very soon, CPS expanded to Europe. Here its fundamental task was proving that faith and the struggle for justice from within leftist parties could be combined without contradiction. It tried to overcome old condemnations and closed and dogmatic postures that the Church maintained against communism and that communism maintained against Christians. It sought to demonstrate, according to the well-known phrase of Alfonso Carlos Comín, that it was possible to be communists in the Church and Christians in the party.

It actively lived a double and indissoluble fidelity to the Gospel and to the poor. This meant that it lived on two borders, the ecclesial and the political, knowing full well that border zones are dangerous and often full of land mines. It started through living its faith in Jesus, living it through a socialist option, utilizing, in an explicit manner, the instruments that Marxism provided for the analysis of history: class struggle and the working class organized into parties and unions of workers.

Logically, CPS encountered immediate resistance from those who had always favored the powerful, as much in the political field as in the religious field. Let us remember that, at that time, the Church was trying to promote “Christian democracy” in Europe, and that in Latin America it maintained ambiguous attitudes in the face of the emerging military dictatorships of the 1970s.

The testimony of faith and political commitment of

so many “Christians for socialism” provided evidence that both were compatible. Many people suffered persecution, even jail. However through demonstrating prudence, working together side by side, and showing that they shared fundamental values like justice, they succeeded in dissipating the old prejudices. The battle had been won.

## **Pluralism**

Although for the Christian, “the Kingdom is not of this world,” CPS does not want to be accused of limiting itself to making critiques about morals. Its responsibility is to enter the fray, get its hands dirty... And, within CPS, it has always been considered a great source of power to be able to combine faith with the whole array of ideological and political options of the left—with socialists, communists, anarchists, or Trotskyites. It also encompasses a range of forms or “speeds” of understanding the commitments, for example, of prophetic radicalism which surges from faith, and those which are closer to realism or the realm of the possible in politics, that is, agreements, negotiations, and denouncements. How might it be possible to combine utopia with something so non-utopian as the management of a government? Without ever renouncing utopia as an objective, it succeeded in making it the norm to combine what is called ethics of conviction (which expresses the ethics of values) with ethics of responsibility (which focuses on what is presently realizable.)

This was particularly complex in Spain, where the CPS movement had established deep roots, because, in those years, two processes were taking place: one of a national character—the transition from dictatorship to democracy, and one of a global character—the beginning of the neoliberal offensive.

## **Changes and New Contradictions**

The current crisis in socialism started much before the badly named “real socialism” which was already worn out and mummified in the countries of the Eastern Bloc.

In Europe, since the end of the 70s, Thatcherism initiated a ferocious war against the historic victories won by the working class since the 19th Century. It imposed deregulation, privatization, labor precarious-

ness, the reduction in social spending...Unionism was defeated.

On the national level, at the beginning of the 80s, Reagan launched a policy of military interventions and military coups, and he took advantage of the debt crisis to apply, without compassion, the recipes of the International Monetary Fund on poor countries, provoking an unprecedented crisis in Latin America and Africa.

The “fall of the Berlin Wall” and the assault of neoliberalism on the countries of the former USSR was only one step more in the failures of socialism.

Nevertheless, the great failure of socialism, from my perspective, has to be found in its incapacity to create new men and women. It is here, in the terrain of thought and values, where socialism as an alternative proposal for fraternity was defeated. Too much emphasis had been placed on the development-production model of capitalism, believing that, with development of the forces of production, humanity would gradually pass from scarcity to prosperity; excessive faith was placed in Marxist dogma, believing that a change in infrastructure would change consciences; the model of limitless growth was accepted without question, etc.

Today we know that this model is unsustainable. Capitalism and neoliberalism have failed, not just because of their injustice and antidemocratic tendencies; their insatiable desire to accumulate has brought us to the point of collective suicide. The Earth can't give anything more. But the left has been trapped, without proposals, without concrete projects. This lack of vision for a real alternative to capitalism is at the root of the disaster.

Today we are missing the moral vigor of the young Marx, the theoretical capacity of the mature Marx, the passion of Rosa Luxemburg, the courage of José Martí or Mariátegui, and the anti-imperialist idealism and self-critical rigor of Che.

### **The Battle for Utopia**

At the beginning of the 80s, long before the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, the CPS groups in Europe began to regret that they had not sufficiently taken into account new phenomena, like the crisis in class consciousness, the new composition of the working class, or the ecological crisis. Starting from this analysis, they proposed a messianic project as the recuperation of Utopia, internationalism as the necessary dimension of faith.

Concepts that were, to a certain extent, foreign to

the tradition of Marxism, began to form part of the patrimony of CPS, like the concept of Utopia. This wasn't some vague adolescent yearning for a dream world. Rather, it was a strong and daring proposal, a goal for political combat and action. Today, it is obvious that the struggle for Utopia is clashing with the weak ideology of neoliberalism. One of the contributions that faith can make to the insubstantiality of postmodernism is to give to activists solidity and strength in their convictions in the face of banality, and the capacity to firmly resist when confronted with relativism in values and changing political trends.

In the globalized and decentralized world that we live in today, the struggle for Utopia is happening through small experiences. We still have not been able to construct a socialist global alternative. Because of this, many CPS activists, at the same time as they are feeling increasingly isolated in the internal debates of both political parties and the Church, are taking on responsibilities in social movements (against drugs, unemployment, and marginalization and for international solidarity...) that, in some cases, demand a radicalism in deep accord with faith. It isn't that they are not interested in debates over ideas. Rather, CPS activists think that, today, in order to construct big ideas, it is necessary that actions themselves speak first.

### **The Life of Faith and Commitment**

Faith is an experience of God, not a doctrine. For us, it is the encounter with Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus taught us to read history from the perspective of the losers, of the crucified peoples. Starting from this reading of the world, we have come together with many Christians, non-Christians, and people of other religions who, working for the creation of alternative realities, are working to build the Kingdom. From here, from the concrete, we have been able to reconstruct a new theology, having discovered that the life of the poor and victimized is the voice on high of the God who speaks to us. For the believer, it is clear that working for Utopia is the struggle for the “Kingdom of God.”

CPS, beyond its policy positions, even beyond all the political struggles it involves itself in, was and continues being something mystical, a style, a school that is half-way between an intellectual collective that comes up with ideas and commits itself to them, and a opportunity for us to scrutinize our lives, a group of friendship, a space for prayer, and a celebration of Faith.

# SOCIALISM WITH SPIRIT

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During the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the spiritual dimension of the human being and of history began acquiring a certain increased relevance. Expressions like ‘moment of mystique,’ ‘liberating spirituality,’ ‘synergy of cosmic forces’... started to be regularly present at the principal events of social movements. One observed in many environments a vague but real thirst for sense and transcendence. There is a more or less generalized push for ‘grounded motivations.’

Two factors, among others, explain this return of the transcendent. From the point of view of the philosophy of culture, the crisis of the so-called ‘paradigm of modernity’ corroded certainties and delivered doubts. Questions grew bigger than our capacity to recognize responses. New interrogations replaced ‘truths.’ The key concepts of modernity—reason, science, technology, progress, and democracy—are strongly put in question. Symptoms of profound cultural illness, such as anguish, malaise, insecurity, and instability, escort the transition from the modern world towards another totally undefined world that some call post-modern; symptoms that overcome not only people but institutions as well. In a word, we suffer from a kind of vertigo, proper to moments of crisis and transition, as if the ground were slipping away from under our feet. It is a context that is propitious for the ‘return of the gods.’ Confronted with the impossibility of finding solutions for the new disaffections, we call for transcendence. Hence, the multiplication of debates, seminars, and studies about identity and the meaning of life.

From an economic, political, and social point of view, one must take two aspects into account. On the one hand, in societies based on capitalist economies, we saw the crisis that started in the seventies deepen the asymmetries of the neo-liberal system. On the other hand, in the countries aligned with the ex-Soviet Union, we witnessed the crumbling of actual socialism. Such a somber overview, intertwined with a crisis of civilization, forces social movements to per-

ceive that profound human self-actualization cannot be reduced to material goods. Recovering the socialist alternative also requires taking into account other dimensions of humanity and history. Whether on the left or on the right, the accent on economic issues contaminated the theoretical matrix used for diagnosing reality and for selecting adequate remedies. During the ongoing transition, an imperious necessity to take into account other elements begins to flower, extracted, for instance, from cultural anthropology, social psychology, expressions of popular piety, mysticism, and associated spirituality.

There are other rediscoveries: the personal and the collective constitute two sides of the same coin. They interlock in such a way that they cannot be dissociated. Individual wounds hurt—whether corporeal or spiritual. Unjust economic, social, and political structures aggravate these blows suffered by each person and their families. Conversely, collective solutions of popular projects of any kind necessarily implicate the deep self-actualization of the involved human beings because they are each unique and irreproducible persons. A political project that is disconnected from individual aspirations and concerns—as egalitarian and just as can be—will be like a tree without roots. A tree first grows downward, searching the hidden guts of the earth. Only afterwards does it explore the air, the sky, the light of the sun. Without such a decisive descent “into the hell of human suffering”—whether personal or collective— it will be difficult to construct a solid social project.

Our alternative is to turn to the sources of living water, to “drink from our own wells,” as Gustavo Gutiérrez’s book reminds us. Once again, like a tree in times of drought feeding on the nutrients accumulated in its roots, we activists, in times of crisis, are invited to nourish ourselves with our primordial sources, searching there to renew the motivations that pushed us to struggle and dream, that is to say, to take up a liberating praxis.

The first source is the personal option. Five, ten,

fifteen activist years accumulate joy and sorrow, victory and failure. To reflect on this road is to unveil the shadows and the bright spots along the way. Walking the way includes moments of weakness and moments of power. What lessons can we extract from the choices we have made in our own lives? It is worthwhile to reclaim the experience of family, personal relations, profound encounters...and to discover the fibers that wove together the resistance and solidarity of our history, be it personal, familial, or collective. Occasionally we forget that we were born in a house, that we had parents and friends, and that we loved and were loved. In all this we can find a leading thread that built and consolidated the deep sense our "option for the poor."

Another source is the history of the Latin American people, a people formed from the fusion of three races. The differences enriched its savvy, fortified its growth, enshrined its vigor. What values did each of these cultural races of the Latin American and Caribbean people transmit to us? Where and when did the fusion come to be? What is the secret of this new people in which sorrow and hope walk hand in hand? How did it learn its constancy, resistance, and tenacity to survive? How does it maintain, dragged down by impotence, firmness in combat? Sometimes, in our process of organization and conscientization, we are excessively cautious, serious, and rational. Where is the rejoicing and festiveness so characteristic of our people, in spite of centuries of setbacks? To know the history of a people is to unveil, way beyond appearances, its lessons of wisdom which have guarded its *raison d'être* and its deepest identity.

The specific movement in which we operate also constitutes an inexhaustible source. Each movement is born from the contemplation of a well-defined face. These are very often disfigured by starvation, misery, and by social exclusion. Face-to-face, relationships are established. Moral indignation and tenderness transform our lives. In the midst of conflicts and doubts, we mature and we reach a decision in favor of the poor, the weak, and the defenseless. We assume a Cause shared with other companions. We enter into the process that slowly and painfully, tempered by the fire of engagement, accumulates hurts and wounds. In front of difficulties, we can become discouraged. The enemy is strong and has forceful weapons, sharp

claws, and widespread resistance. Henceforth the necessity of returning to the source: contemplating and listening to the poor. In the mirror of their face and in the silence of their word, we can feed our option and struggle for the banquet of life.

A fourth source is the companionship and friendship among us. We, who work within a specific movement, are we friends who appreciate each other? Do we have caring relationships? Do we like each other, or do words, silences, or glances laden with venom prevail among us? One may object that these questions are irrelevant in view of the urgency of the struggles... One thing is certain however: like a river runs towards the sea, real love always looks for the weakest and the most defenseless. Love always runs over. Those with most to gain from a healthy relationship between agents and activists will be the poor. Real and effective companionship—sensible and in solidarity—is more efficacious than liberation rhetoric.

Synergy with nature—whether mineral, vegetal, or animal—is one of the most universal and ecumenical sources for our personal and collective journey. Researchers, scientists, environmentalists, and others tirelessly call our attention towards concern and cohabitation with all other forms of life. The concept of biodiversity today emerges with force, charged with a spiritual meaning, cosmic and mystic. Remember Brother Sun, Sister Moon, Sister Water, Sister Earth, and Sister Nature that Francis of Assisi loved so much.

Finally, the source of the Gospel, the centrality of the Kingdom of God. How can we discover the connection between Jesus, the poor, and the Father? The more one climbs the mountain in the hope of encountering God, the more one feels the need to descend into the street. The more one retraces the roads of the poor, the more one misses the mountain. Mountain and street complement each other, need each other, and enrich each other reciprocally. It is a bidirectional movement. The discovery of the Father is simultaneous with the discovery of the poor, the other, the foreigner, the sick, the marginalized, the excluded. In Jesus' praxis there is no dichotomy between mountain and street, between prayer and action, between faith and socio-political engagement. Religion and life penetrate each other and feed the meaning of life.

# SOCIALISM AND THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS

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Is socialism a necessary condition for the alliance of civilization, that is to say, for all of the cultures of the planet to live together in peace, forming one unique and interdependent world society? Does capitalism have anything to do with the clash of civilizations? That is, does the current model of neoliberal globalization explain the current conflict between cultures and religions and the existence of irreconcilable cosmovisions?

“Clash of civilizations” is a concept that, in itself, is tendentious: the clash that threatens world society is not between civilizations, between religions, or between cultures. Rather, it is found between various fundamentalisms that, like the egg of a serpent, can appear in the trash can of each and every culture, civilization, and religion. What threatens world peace is not a “clash of civilizations” but a “clash of fundamentalisms.”

Unregulated global capitalism and fundamentalism—be they of whatever type—feed each other in a fatal manner. Because of this, if we want a peaceful global society, if we want the different religions to live amongst themselves in a civilized manner—the redundancy is worth it—then we will have to work for another type of globalization.

It will be necessary to leave behind neoliberalism and move towards a society that is not seductively colonized by the market. It will be necessary to move from a society in which financial capital reigns as an omnipotent master to one in which the rights of citizens, social rights, rights of workers, and the rights of consumers are the only legitimate master to serve. In sum, it will be necessary to advance towards a society and economy that is more socialist and less capitalist.

## The Corrosive Effects of Capitalism

Neoliberal globalization has ruptured the fundamental equilibrium that had sustained world society throughout the last half of the 20th century: the equilibrium between economics and politics, between the market and the state, between democracy and capitalism. Today, the markets are already global but governments continue being national. Because of

this, governments have become less capable of fulfilling their fundamental function: generating “internal bonds of solidarity between citizens” (Habermas).

The market generates some extremely cold social bonds: social interaction, in capitalism, is produced exclusively in connection with material interests. Because of this, it leaves individuals at the mercy of the elements: a moral tempest that reduces the few remaining social links to possessive individualism, and a social tempest of a system that, if not regulated, creates enormous inequalities. Politics, throughout most of the 20th century, served to shelter people from this cold: by means of the Social Welfare State, it converted individuals into citizens, insofar as they were guaranteed a series of political and social rights. Also, labor rights converted workers into “citizens” in factories and businesses.

The market, in capitalism, lacks any community dimension. It generates cold because it undermines cohesion and because—being oriented only towards consumerism and material progress—it is incapable of providing existential meaning. The market proposes liberty (economic liberty) without community. The social state, without renouncing liberties (civil liberties), is capable of generating, through means of public institutions, certain bonds of solidarity, that is, warm social bonds. It combines liberty with community. Nevertheless, this shelter, today, because of the dislocation between global markets and nation states, is not capable of giving as much shelter as before.

During the past few decades, it has been worn away by the icy and hurricane-force winds of neoliberal globalism. The impotence of politics is forcing us to live as consumers and workers instead of citizens.

## When Identity Scorches

There are not many types of bonds that a society can offer us: we can participate in it as economic actors (as consumers, as workers, as savers); as political subjects (as citizens); and/or as members of a cultural community based on common identity (whether national, ethnic, or religious). Cultural bonds also serve to shelter us. These are also warm bonds: they

offer superior values that go beyond our individual interests. They offer membership within a collective identity.

These bonds can become profoundly community-based. They can become much more so than the Social Welfare State and the experience of democratic citizenship. Nevertheless, there is danger when these are constructed at the margins of liberty. Often, they offer an identity that is either revealed (religion) or inherited (nation). Thus, cultural communities give individuals a collective biography that is not usually based on free acceptance.

These mechanisms of cultural membership, so community-based, are now providing more bonds while the State and democracy are providing fewer bonds. When cultural communities replace democratic politics, it makes sense that that they become absolute and begin to take mistaken paths. It isn't impossible that these bonds, so warm already, will begin to burn. When this happens, we are confronted with the phenomenon of fundamentalism (whether nationalist, ethnic, or religious). Fundamentalism is even more likely when the markets exercise their dissolving effects on traditional societies: it emerges in a defensive and reactionary form in order to preserve community bonds, bonds which the market, left to its own devices and without democratic limits, would inexorably dissolve.

Seeing neoliberal globalization and the ineffectiveness of its traditional shelter (politics), societies have sought an alternative shelter. And they have found it in the sphere of national identity or religion. Against the cold of a liberty (economic liberty) without community—the cold of the global markets—the societies that feel threatened have decided to shelter themselves within a community (culture) without liberty—fundamentalism. This is what Barber wrote about the war of Jihad (which includes all the jihads and also neocon Christian fundamentalist wars) against McWorld (which symbolizes neoliberal global markets).

### **The Necessity of a Social Welfare State for World Peace**

The societies that have suffered the cold of globalization have returned to this shelter of exacerbated cultural membership for lack of a better option. It has come to substitute that other shelter—based in democratic citizenship—that made community and

liberty possible, but which has fallen into a certain crisis of inoperability. If the market is not balanced by politics, the cultural sphere (probably in deformed ways) will end up balancing it.

From this basic scheme, the fundamental conflicts of our day, such as 9-11 and the Iraq War, can be seen with more clarity. Terrorism with Islamic roots is the militarization of Jihad; the universal intervention of the United States is the militarization of McWorld. Fundamentalism has passed from cultural combat to physical destruction: the economic hegemony of neoliberalism has replaced the neo-imperialism of the neocons.

This analysis does nothing else than confirm the necessity of reconstructing the only shelter capable of protecting us from the cold of capitalism without burning us: democratic citizenship. If we want a world society living in peace, if we want the distinct civilizations of the world to live in alliance, if we do not want a fundamentalism that opens the door to further wars of this type in the 21st century, if we want all of this, then we will need warm links and we will need people who give us links of solidarity. We need a community in which we are recognized.

But these bonds cannot be purchased at the price of sacrificing our liberty, nor our capacity to criticize our communities of membership, nor our capacity to freely choose our model of a good life. These bonds, at once warm and strong, are the only ones that that can give us democracy: a democracy that lives up its potential, capable of instituting a stable Social Welfare State that provides its citizens secure social protections and civil and political liberties.

Nevertheless, this democratic shelter will only provide effective protection if it is constructed on a global scale. We need a new “world-sized” shelter. If democracy and the Social Welfare State want to shelter us once again, they have to demonstrate that they are capable of domesticating the global markets and protecting us from the tempests of current globalization. And this will only be possible if we construct a global Social Welfare State. We will use as much patience and realism as may be necessary, but we will use even more perseverance and determination. It is only through advancing a global socialist democratic project that we will have a chance of living in a true alliance of civilizations.

# UTOPIA AS A SPIRITUAL PATH

## TOWARDS A NEW SOCIALISM

**MARCELO BARROS**

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All authentic spirituality seeks to make possible what, to the eyes of the world, seems impossible. It should begin to convert the Utopia that we desire for everyone into a personal experience. Until just a short time ago, in socialist circles, it was not possible to even talk about Utopia. When people wanted to criticize a socialist thinker whose ideas seemed inconsistent, they called him or her a “utopian socialist.” Only recently, since Ernest Loock proclaimed that “the human being is a utopian animal,” was Utopia accepted as an element capable of transforming our lives.

Today we talk about a “new socialism” in order to refer to our commitment to construct a “new possible world,” the world that we believe in and to which we are willing to consecrate our energies and our lives. We value its useful and necessary mediations, such as the process of the Bolivarian revolution in Latin America, first envisioned at the beginning of the 19th Century and reclaimed in Venezuela and other regions of the Continent long before the current Venezuelan government. We respect the heroism of the Cuban socialist experience, which succeeded in democratizing to the greatest degree education, health, and housing—goods absolutely necessary for all societies. Nevertheless, a great part of society today is not satisfied with partial and localized experiences. This part of society is committed to the creation of an international society that is more just and egalitarian, making possible the new world.

Each day, an increasing number of people live with this interior fire of desire for change and the generosity to consecrate themselves to this pathway, making it real in their daily lives. Many of these people—including those who do not feel connected to any specific religion or spiritual tradition—are motivated by a true faith in Humanity and a compassionate love for the Planet Earth. They need to work together in diverse social for in order to nourish their confidence in the coming victory. Like Paul says of Abraham, the old man called upon to initiate a new future: “he believed, hoping against hope” (Rm 4:18).

For those who enter the spiritual path from religious traditions, this type of human spirituality,

centered in a faith in Humanity, becomes a strong prophetic irruption. It reveals that the Spirit of God—the source of all revolutions based on love and solidarity in the world—blows where it wills and reveals itself among groups that do not talk about God but put God’s project into practice. This new pathway of a Humanity joined in a great process of social transformation calls all who live an ecumenical spirituality—present in many traditions—to become more and more revolutionary and daring, to put our trust in a new and totally transformative future. Certainly, all those who inherit the transformative message of the great mystics and leaders of our religions cannot let themselves be dominated by the difficulties along the way. All those who live their life by the Gospel of Jesus cannot limit themselves to the religious. Monseñor Oscar Romero warned: “It is easy to be a bearer of the Word and not make anybody uncomfortable. It is easy to remain in the ‘spiritual’ and not commit oneself to history. To say words that could have been said in any time and in any place because these words come from nowhere.” It is necessary to spiritually commit ourselves to a new and more fully human socialism.

In ancient India, the Vedas told of the symbolic and mystical war between Krishna and Arjuna trying to create a renovated world. Later, Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, renounced his life as a prince, moved by compassion for all living things. He suggested the way of Buddhism so that all Humanity could conquer its sufferings and reach a new reality.

In the Bible, the Project of God is the Utopia that serves as a model for all human activities and initiatives. The Gospels call this project the Reign or the Reign of God. This Utopia was the Cause of Jesus. It is not necessary to see this project as something so distant or idealized that it is something only for the end of the world, beyond history. The Bible has a term for the “announcing of Utopia,” for the appearance here and now of Utopia, in daily life: it is prophecy. A “new heaven and a new earth...without death or mourning, wailing or pain” (Rv 21:1,4) is the message of the biblical prophets, and most concretely of Jesus of Nazareth, whom Christians accept as our teacher

and Lord. It is a socialist revolution that encompasses the most intimate reality of the human being and the largest economic and political structures of society. For Christians, the concrete reference of this new possible socialism is the experience of Jesus in Galilee, especially in his attitude of openness towards all the poor and excluded: he ate with sinful people and who lived on the margins of life, and he envisioned a community of mutual concern and social inclusion, a radical sharing of everything. According to the Acts of the Apostles, the first Christian community, animated by the Spirit, succeeded in truly living this utopian grassroots socialism (cf. the article by Hoornaert in this Agenda) not as something unreal or unreachable, but as a reference for all communities of faith in all times throughout history. Just like peace, which is not an ideal only for the future, it is a divine project that we should live already, here and now.

This socialism is “new” because it is based on elements that were not taken seriously enough in prior attempts. We cannot renounce these principles. We work for the following model of socialism:

1. We must restore the dignity of the poor and excluded of the world. Without prioritizing caring for the poor, there will never be a true revolution. A decisive criterion of faith is the commitment to human rights and the transformation of the world into a just society.

Every religion’s trial by fire is in its ethics, in how it treats concrete human beings. Master Eckhart, the greatest teacher of mysticism in Middle Ages in the West, wrote: “If someone were in such a rapturous state as St. Paul once entered, and she knew of a sick person who needed a cup of soup, it would be far better to withdraw from the rapture for the sake of love and serve this person in need.”

2. This new socialism will only be able to restore the dignity of the oppressed if it works each day to restore the dignity of the earth, of water, and of the entire environment. It must be an ecological revolution.

3. This revolution will only be truly ecological if it succeeds in being totally anti-racist (open to all races and ethnicities) and anti-patriarchal, inaugurating new relationships between men and women. It will also need to be fundamentally macroecumenical so that it is respectful of all spiritual traditions to its very core, seeking to unite them so they act together

for peace, justice, and the defense of nature.

4. New socialism considers education as the most valid and effective method to expand this social transformation throughout society. Its most effective weapon is the word. The revolution of the 21st Century will have to be non-violent. This work of education will be through cultural pluralism. It is necessary to dignify threatened cultures. The most spiritual work that we can accomplish is promoting and deepening a culture of care, cooperation, openness to the other, solidarity, reconciliation, and pardon in conflicts, towards people and nature equally.

How can we accomplish this? How can we live this path of spiritual commitment to new socialism? No matter our religious tradition, in order to live this utopia which is in process of being realized, we are called to:

1. A serious work of personal conversion, one we will not find if we isolate ourselves. This presupposes that each person has a disposition and education to be permanently self-critical, to be open to criticism that will permit us to change our ways.

2. The need to discover a new capacity to live together and construct communities of life. It is a challenge, but it forms a part of the spiritual process of construction of a new and revolutionary socialism.

3. The recognition that we cannot construct a sustainable and truly democratic world if we do not embrace an ascetic lifestyle of socio-economic sobriety, one that includes a certain attitude of renunciation and poverty so we can be stewards of the earth’s natural resources.

4. A path of growing love that requires we give ourselves interior time and space for this divine action within us. Although in solidarity and in community we will always find the Spirit of God, we will listen to it most deeply in interior silence, in the opening of the spirit to meditation, and, for those who wish to accept this path, in the loving prayer to and intimacy with this Someone who becomes manifest within us and inspires us to go out in a spirit of encounter with others and with Life itself, to make it grow.

Eduardo Galeano tells us: One worker commented, “Utopia always seems to be on the horizon and I want to reach it. But, if I walk two steps, it recedes two more steps. If I take ten steps, then it recedes ten more. What is utopia good for then?” The companion said: “To make you keep walking.”

# NO EXCUSES FOR INACTION

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The capitalist system, driven by a motor that seeks acquisition for the private benefit of just a few, cannot bring about a just and harmonious society, as the experience of the centuries has demonstrated. Only a radical change in the social and economic system can create a just and harmonious society for humanity. Those of us who are convinced of this are often confronted with two responses: first, “but, what is your alternative?” and, second, ‘you’re just being utopian.”

## The Alternative

They demand that we provide an elaborately detailed and fixed plan. They want us to present them with an exact recipe that will lead us to societal happiness. Where everything is foreseen and organized. Where you only have to follow the directions and you’ll obtain the desired results.

In the first place, there is no obligation to have an alternative in order to be permitted to criticize a growing and unjust system. The system in which we live today—which condemns millions of human beings to abject misery, causes lives to be totally distorted, and prevents participation in the decisions that affect the great majority of humanity—does not work at all. Because of this, it has to be changed, whether or not we have the perfect plan to follow. Whether or not other attempts have failed, it is necessary to continue looking for something radically distinct, which, up to now, has been called socialism (I don’t think there is a need to change its name, if we understand it correctly).

Seeking a complete, exact, and quick solution is an error in itself. The alternative cannot be constructed by a specific group of people or by political and economic authorities, no matter how well-intentioned or capable they might be. Probably one of the reasons for the failure of so many attempts has been their adherence to just one method, one set of rules written by people far away from the people truly affected. This led to authoritarianism. In the 21st century, the alternative has to be of a different character. It has to be built up from the base, democratically,

starting from distinct groups, with their desires, their interests, and their conflicts. Only the articulation and coordination of the projects of distinctive groups through a common praxis can lead to an alternative that is voluntarily and willingly assumed.

Any worthwhile alternative has to be diverse and pluralist. The alternative cannot be anything else than the result of a myriad of distinct alternatives that move in a similar direction, that of the search for a society based on the wellbeing of human beings, managed and brought about by the greatest participation possible, but distinct and variable, since it will reflect the people and groups that make it up. A pedagogy of common concern will be used and mechanisms for the resolutions of conflicts that will arise will be sought. If we were to look for a slogan, we would have to say that it would be coordination in diversity.

Without a doubt, it is necessary that there be some general objectives that we all agree on. This social objective is the wellbeing of people and their collective participation in the decisions that affect them. This is only possible in a society organized not for profit but socially regulated through decentralized and participative institutions, based on the equality of all human beings and their corresponding rights and the prerogative of diversity. Although there will be some certain general rules, they must be few and permit the maximum decentralization of design for each concrete situation.

From these foundations, every collective should go constructing its own sphere, its own reality, so that, like a spill of oil that expands, it will make itself heard and work in different planes, one day occupying the totality of the social body. The transformation will have to be the result of all these spills coming together in their entirety. The transformation will not be the result of a single beautiful design, created from on high, which degenerates into potent forces of injustice, authoritarianism, and oppression.

## About Utopia

They say that a just and harmonious society is

impossible. Margaret Thatcher said There Is No Alternative. If we wanted to immediately substitute one system for another, it is possible that this would be right. But we have a different understanding of how to achieve this transformation. In order to understand it, it is necessary to have a concept of process: we are dealing with participating in a long process of change, always active and always incomplete, in which the process itself is part of the alternative. We are talking about continuing a task that has always existed in history, in which the liberalizing forces of the human being and society have struggled without ceasing to reach their objectives. It is not about sharing a finalized, inflexible plan. Rather, it is about having a few desired directions, some general guideposts we have come up with ourselves, and the permanent job of working towards our desired objective. It also means putting these ideas into practice in our daily lives. We must go step by step. In this way, we can create spheres of autonomy—even if they are small and modest—that lead to a just, pluralist, liberalizing, harmonious society, like little parcels and plots of our “utopia” that become visible.

This is always possible. Each one of us can participate in this project right now. We can contribute to the creation of a universe of small oil spills that will succeed in bringing us closer to utopia each day. It is not a simple project: whenever threatened, the current powers attack without mercy. It is not an easy project: there will be moments in which it is necessary to confront problems of great complexity, for example private property, or altering the social agents of decisions. We are not sure that it will be a peaceful project either: if violence is used against us, we will have to defend ourselves. But as long as we are able to begin, here and now, without delay, the collective construction of these spheres of autonomy will bring about the society that we need and want.

But we cannot interpret this process as just a continued project of the current system. We are not trying to gradually improve small parcels within the system. Rather, we are trying to generate true initiatives with genuinely distinct objectives. We want to transform and destroy the system, not “improve” it. We use different methods: horizontal, egalitarian, and without hierarchies. We try to dilute power, not control it. These are elements that significantly inform

our praxis and are modest anticipations of a different world, already and not yet present. The radical objective of transformation—constructing an alternative society without classes—is one of the essential premises of the project. For those who are aware of the immense power of the current society and the weakness of our own forces, our concept of process seems like a reasonable possibility. It does not need to be the only possible process. Perhaps in other moments there will be revolutionary possibilities, and the process itself will know how to take advantage of them.

At the same time, if, from some “top down” a transformation is attempted, this transformation will only be legitimate insofar as it tries to stimulate and empower grassroots movements, recognizes their space, understands that they are essential actors, and acts in accordance. But, given current conditions, our road of process may be extremely efficient and hopeful. We don’t seek a pre-made revolution in order to begin acting. Starting now, we have to change our daily actions so that we can arrive at “the revolution.”

It is certain that this is a much longer and slower process than the substitution—from above—of one system for another. That type of replacement has never worked for authentic socialism. The creation of our desired socialism consists in working, today, towards alternative autonomous spheres, using other objectives, other values, and other instruments. We seek wellbeing, equality, and participation in diversity. We are already generating parcels of a socialism that one day will reach everything. As a utopian project, the process always is unfinished, but possible, necessary, and imperative. We start now, in our daily world. We seek to build, not impose a transformation in the system. Only when the majority of the population desires it will socialism truly be constructed. The process is arduous and slow, but, at the same time, it is liberating, today. It demonstrates that it is not true that “there is nothing to do,” since we are already doing it. Difficult, long...but leading towards the fullness of the human being.

It is our utopia, and we are reclaiming it with seriousness and joy. But utopia, even being utopia, is already more realistic than the current system: is there anything more impossible, more a chimera, more “utopian” than thinking that capitalism can lead to the wellbeing of human beings?

# ESPERANZA SUBVERSIVA

PREMIO DEL CONCURSO DE  
«CUENTO CORTO LATINOAMERICANO»

MARCO ANTONIO CORTÉS FERNÁNDEZ

Medellín de Bravo, Veracruz, México

«Hacia ya más de cien mil lunas, de la madre tierra le nacieron las primeras mujeres mayas, semillas libres que les nacieron las mujeres y hombres que trabajaron nuestra tierra y ella los alimentó. Ellas nunca poseyeron ni explotaron esta tierra, sino que por el contrario la compartieron entre sus comunidades y cuidaron de ella. Fue hasta hace cincuenta mil lunas que los otros mataron y robaron nuestra tierra, se apropiaron de ella y la explotaron. Desde entonces, nosotras hemos resistido y defendido nuestro derecho a vivir a nuestro modo, nuestra cultura, y hemos retomado nuestra tierra, ya desgastada, maltrecha, para cuidarla nuevamente y pedirle que vuelva a alimentarnos y a nacernos. Hemos vuelto a acostar a nuestras hijas, al cumplir sus cincuenta lunas, sobre un petate, para que aprendan a mirar las estrellas y escuchen la voz de nuestras raíces, y su carne de maíz se nutra de esperanza». Así hablaba la comandanta Ramona a las mujeres de Acteal, antes del levantamiento.

Cuarenta lunas les habían pasado, cuando los árboles crujieron, los ríos crepitaron, la tierra bramó, y las estrellas, al llegar la noche cayeron en llanto, inconsolables. Las mujeres madres, las no nacidas y los hombres de Acteal, habían sido masacrados por las guardias blancas de paramilitares, al servicio del corazón egoísta de los otros, siervos del capitalismo.

Una radio encendida en una empobrecida y autónoma comunidad del llamado «Caracol V»: «Se alza la palabra de las mujeres y hombres indígenas que han logrado con su sudor la proclamación de la Declaración de la ONU sobre los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas».

Eran las seis de la tarde, el sol se estaba ocultando detrás de las montañas de la región de San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas.

La niña Quetzalli, con su cotona de lana, estaba acostada sobre un petate, panza arriba y rascándose el ombligo, su mirada de mujer llegaba hasta la última estrella del cosmos, en sus ojos, como hermosos espejos, se reflejaba la luna, mensajera de esperanza de un nuevo amanecer. Esa noche escuchó en el rumor de

las hojas de los frondosos árboles de mango, una voz milenaria.

Le habían enseñado las ancianas de su pueblo que la vida de cada una de las personas que han sido enterradas está depositada en la sabia de los árboles, quienes por medio de sus raíces, dan la mano a cada una para abrirles las puertas de los caminos que las llevarán hasta sus hojas, que tocan las estrellas. Cuando caen las hojas nocturnas es que han tocado el haz de una estrella, y ambas, hoja y estrella, se confabulan para que renazca una nueva indígena forjadora de mujeres y hombres libres.

Esa noche las hojas hablaban con el conejo de la luna: «Han pasado ya ciento cuarenta lunas y tú has sido testigo de que nuestros pueblos indígenas de Chiapas han alzado sus voces para resistir al sistema injusto y defender con sus vidas los derechos de los pueblos indios».

El conejo se hospedó esa noche en la frente de la niña y susurró a sus oídos: «He visto cómo caminaban tu madre, tu padre y tus hermanas con la Junta de Buen Gobierno, ésa que llaman nueva semilla que va a producir». Los vi caminar junto con los otros pueblos, construyendo autonomía en su territorio».

Un pequeño temblor sacudió el petate y el ligero cuerpo de la niña. «Ejem, ejem». Nuestra madre tierra intervino, comenzó a hablar al corazón de Quetzalli: «Yo te he nacido, te he alimentado, te he dado la vida, he guardado tu historia, soy la misma tierra de tus abuelas. De mis entrañas, aires y aguas, salen todas las riquezas para tu pueblo». La pequeña escuchaba atenta y sentía cómo la cálida tierra la acariciaba. Seguía observando a la luna, y el conejo continuaba su diálogo: «Por eso tu madre, tu padre, tus hermanas y todas las que en ella trabajan, se han ganado el derecho de vivir en ella».

«Santita, recibe paz», dijo la tortuga. Había llegado con su andar paciente a la mano izquierda de la niña y posó la base de su verde caparazón sobre la palma de su mano. Su madre le había dicho sobre la tortuga, que era un animal muy sabio, que la había escogido a ella de entre muchas niñas, para hacerse

su compañera y ayudarla con su tenacidad a que se reconocieran sus derechos, a ser tomada en cuenta y ser verdaderamente respetada en nuestro modo, para con su paciencia no desfallecer en su rebeldía y resistencia».

La tortuga como fiel nahuatl, con su voz grave y ronca habló con ternura a los sentimientos de la pequeña: «Sigue caminando en la esperanza subversiva, de tu sangre indígena, de tus mártires, que viven en los árboles de raíces tan profundas jamás cortadas. Tu madre, tu padre y tus hermanas, están aquí, en las hojas de estos mangos».

«¿Quetzalli, linda, despierta!», dijo su abuela. La tomó de la mano con el amor intenso de la trascendencia, la llevó consigo hasta la carreta donde había un balde con agua, la ayudó a enjuagarse, mojó su cara, para encontrarse con esos hermosos ojos negros, brillantes, como las obsidianas. Quetzalli la miró hasta la raíz de su sentido de vida, buscando en sus ojos, los de su madre. La abuela hablaba casi como el susurro de los árboles: «Tenemos que seguir caminando; vamos a denunciar la incursión de la organización paramilitar 'Paz y Justicia', que armados mataron a tu familia y a otras hermanas más de nuestro pueblo, invadiendo y despojándonos de nuestras tierras. Porque ellos obedecen al corazón egoísta del capitalismo».

La pequeña, era ya una mujer indígena, a su corta edad, alzaba su palabra para denunciar los ataques del mal gobierno. La tortuga durante el camino le contó, que su tía, apenas alcanzada la edad de procrear,

había decidido tener una hija para contribuir a la multiplicación de las mujeres y hombres de maíz, para seguir cuidando de nuestra madre Tierra. «Una radio encendida en una empobrecida y autónoma comunidad informaba hacía ya setenta lunas antes: «Fueron encontradas 4 mujeres embarazadas, en la masacre de las 21 mujeres, 15 niñas y niños y 9 hombres, indígenas simpatizantes del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) en la empobrecida comunidad de Acteal, en el norteño municipio de Chenalhó».

La tortuga, que seguía el camino de la esperanza subversiva en un nuevo amanecer, se mantenía al lado de Quetzalli, esa pequeña que el corazón egoísta del capitalismo le negó nacer. Pero que gracias a nuestra madre Tierra, los árboles y las estrellas la habían renacido.

Extendió su petate, entre la petatera de los marchistas, se acomodó su cotona y se tendió boca arriba, para alimentar su mirada con esperanza de hojas y estrellas.

Han pasado cien lunas, en una pequeña casa de palma y estuco hecho de barro, la pequeña, hecha mujer, estaba por opción siendo madre al parir una hermosa niña, morena, cabello negro. La arropó con sus brazos y la amamantó con su amor y deseo de justicia.

Ya pasadas 50 lunas, como es la costumbre, le vistió su cotona de lana y la acostó panza arriba, a aprender a mirar con esperanza subversiva.

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# A CUBAN CALLED RUTH

THE BOOK OF RUTH

PRIZEWINNER FOR  
«NEOBIBLICAL PAGES»

**BEATRIZ CASAL**

Pastor and Theologian  
Havana, Cuba.

There was a time in which I thought I would never feel pain like that I suffered when I lost “the Old One,” not only because of his death, but rather, for the desolation he left me in, having brought me to Santiago de Cuba after promising a better life, leaving me there alone. Even so, the loss of my husband was nothing compared to the anguish I felt upon seeing my dead sons, both of them, in that horrible accident on the highway.

It was difficult speaking to Ruth and Ophelia to tell them I would return to Havana. I will never forget Ruth’s tearful eyes as she begged for us not to be separated. I will never forget her firm decision to follow me in the adventure of returning to the capital. I remember our uncertainty when it came time to sell the house in Santiago, to search for and buy an apartment in Old Havana. Meeting old acquaintances was sad and challenging and I carried with me the pain of frustration and uselessness. The return and the recognition of failure.

But all this happened so rapidly that I can’t even describe how long that bad streak lasted. There was a dilapidated, unfurnished apartment without even the basic amenities of survival. And poor Ruth, searching for a job that never appeared—only promises and nothing real—suffered the consequences of not having saved enough and she could only count on her willingness to fight and her mestiza beauty.

Miraculously, I remembered Antonio Báez, the cousin of “the Old One,” who was Spanish but was in Cuba with a business based in Miramar. I thought that Ruth should go and try her luck at getting work with him, even if it was just cleaning. And she was fortunate; she got work in the kitchen and we were able to raise our standard of living a bit. It wasn’t long before Antonio began to take an interest in Ruth; it was evident that he had been attracted to her since the first day he saw her. But Ruth didn’t let him get to her; I think she was embarrassed because of me, or perhaps she thought it was a betrayal to my son, her deceased husband, if she accepted the attentions of another man.

Because of this, that day I decided to speak to her about the matter clearly; I was certain that life had

placed this man in our path for our own good. Without beating around the bush, I told her that she should accept Antonio’s offer should he propose any sort of relationship. I even dared suggest to her that she use her charms to push him in the right direction. I taught her everything she should do to encourage him to propose marriage.

That day, Ruth looked at me unblinking. I was like her mother, and each idea of mine or piece of advice I gave was law to her. She agreed by nodding and I knew that the following day she would get to work. I knew it would be difficult for her to give herself to a man who was three times her age, towards whom she felt no physical attraction, but I was relieved at the idea that she would leave her misery behind and be secure by the side of a man who would treat her with care and give her everything she needed to live decently.

It wasn’t very difficult to get Antonio to accept all of Ruth’s conditions: that he would marry her, that he would buy her a beautiful house in Miramar, that he would give her a red car, that he would fulfill her every desire, and that he would love and adore her. The wedding followed not long after, along with the trips to Spain and that surprising and unhopied-for pregnancy. Soon after that, the baby arrived to complete the arrangement, and I believed that we had attained happiness. But today, when I went out to the terrace and saw Ruth sitting next to the pool, I noted that two tears had slid down her cheeks. She didn’t know I was watching her, but then, only then, I asked myself: What is this girl feeling in the middle of this charmed life? What is Ruth feeling in her heart? What is her lament?

Looking at her face, I asked myself: Where was the decisive Ruth? The one who was resolved to face life far from her city, the one who left her town without fear in order to follow me, to accompany me? Her vigorous words from that long-ago day resounded in my ears, repeating: life and death, with so much force, as if the two words were only one: existence. Her attitude had reinvigorated me, passing on to me her grandeur, her spirit, her valor.

I remember her facing the confrontation and the

fight to make a living, an enterprising woman, with no fear of her new job. I see her now, there in the middle of sacrifice, stunning, beautiful, shining. I remember her face, joyful at having found work and a way to fulfill our needs. Though she sweated and toiled, everything was a breeze. I admired her all the more, especially when I found out she didn't rest until she had earned a few more pesos at the end of the month.

The disgrace and difficulties were necessary in order to know the fortitude, the strength, the abilities of that young woman, to see her motivated by work and become the mistress of her own destiny, through her strength and vigor. In the middle of pain, she showed me how much capacity a human woman can display, at least one who wants to make her own way in life, who wishes to triumph, who doesn't need a man to sustain herself and her family. She let me see a woman who wasn't daunted because there wasn't a man by her side to represent her, who knew how to take charge of her own life. She showed me, too, that she was a woman for whom history didn't dictate the rigorous scheme of marriage and the absolute design of patriarchal maintenance.

It tears at my heart, having put Ruth into a marriage without love, because I didn't see that this young woman—who until that moment put every effort into her work and was fortunate in getting what she needed each day through her labors—gave in to the reproduction of a cruel and belittling scheme and that it was my fault. I am responsible for the dismantling of her intense personality, for giving passage to the traditional genre of the dependent female, instigating a preconceived notion from generation to generation. I transmitted it to her.

I am responsible for the weakening of Ruth's spirit, her fading vision of life, the breaking down of her integrity, her strength, and even her voice, in order to become one more woman of the sad and hateful male-dominated history of the world. It is impossible not to feel a profound pain upon understanding this reality. The voice of Ruth stopped being hers. Already her words lacked the joy of unbridled liberty that they had when she was doing what needed to be done, setting out on an adventure. They began to sound hollow, vacant, when she accepted my unconscionable guidance.

It was already impossible to resurrect Ruth. She was lost, she became invisible, she ceased to exist. She stopped having a voice; all that remained was that silent moan that I found in her face this morning and that made me understand that this can't always be the story. That there were other ways, other possibilities, other alternatives. I know that the story of Ruth isn't new, nor the only one in my country, but this doesn't mean that I've given good advice, a just solution for our problems. I should have realized that the blue lakes of our dreams are only a mirage, and that they become reality when we learn to love our daily work, the beauty of a wheat sprout that grows to give us our daily bread. When the sun sets, its sphere disappearing behind that far-off line, it tells us that another morning will return on the other side of the horizon. And that it is only a question of chasing it, even if we can never reach it, because the important thing is not to touch its luminous circle, but rather to feel it light our lives and give us its heat. My heart feels only pity for this Cuban called Ruth.

Naomi.

Translated by Stacy Kilb

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# POLITICAL POWER IN DAILY LIFE

THE POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN FROM A NON-INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

AWARDED THE PRIZE IN THE CONTEST  
ON «GENDER PERSPECTIVE»

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The purpose of the following essay is to come closer to understanding the political participation of women in society, since, due to its complex dynamic, it has been full of stereotypes and impoverished visions which devalue the participation of women in politics.

These stereotypes would seem to be correct within a perspective blinded by prejudice, which, from the beginning, confuses or limits itself in considering the exercise of political power as a purely formal and institutional exercise which originates from and acts within a public space.

In order to address myself to this premise, I begin by indicating that currently the distinct debates which refer to the political—above all those who make a direct correlation between “the political with the public”—are being questioned, primarily because luckily there has been a “relocation” and “re-politicization” in different spaces and forms on a social level, including the microphysical and in daily life. “Public life is a space that is questioned, and thus is reconstructed, updated; it has been transformed into a place where relationships of power are made transparent and the problem of political participation in society is made apparent.”

As Sanchez Panga intuitively indicates, “the public sphere as a social-political category contracts, it is displaced, de-territorialized, substituted for other categorizations, such as ‘civil society,’ ‘daily life,’ and ‘market.’ All of these phenomena and conceptualizations of society actually accuse the same referent: a certain form of de-politicization or, more precisely, a displacement of ‘the political.’”

The realm of the political transforms itself into a diffuse space and goes beyond the purely formal. The political in a broad sense exceeds institutional spaces, is much more complex, and includes new manifestations on a framework level, but it concretely has to do with the central themes and issues of daily life such as “the possibilities of peoples’ self-determination, ranging from various aspects of familial decision making to

work, sexuality, and reproduction.”

In our societies, “the public” runs the risk of finding itself turned into a new way of mystifying and hiding power—just as Foucault has already indicated—capable of making certain groups more visible than others. It becomes a type of contrast and backlighting. It augments its own visibility by giving greater attention to the political participation of “institutionalized” groups but further disqualifies and minimizes the groups that are already considered “informal” or at the margins of society, as is the case with women.

Here is the tough nucleus of the problem: the political participation of women is not recognized or made invisible precisely because the domestic realm or “private” realm is not recognized as political. This has directly and deeply contributed to the belief that women barely participate in politics, nourished by the premise that political tasks are centered solely on the public aspect of social life, to which the vast majority of women don’t have access, due to the disparate structural conditions which divide men and women. Here I make mention of Moser’s work which speaks of the “triple role” of women in social life and the excessive amount of work and responsibilities to which they find themselves obligated, which do not permit them to fully join the public sphere.

This persistent situation of invisibility of women in social life concretely means the non-recognition of domestic work and of caretaking as important economic activities (it is not widely known that this activity makes up approximately 45% of national economic activity) as well as important social and cultural activities. Additionally, it has sought to take away our political power of decision on many levels: over our personal decisions, over our own bodies, over our individual lives, and over our societal life. This excludes us from participating in decisions made on important topics which later will affect us as a society and particularly as women.”

Nonetheless, our presence in the “public” realm, in national life, and in the processes of change and

transformation has been a strong presence. We count on examples of women leaders in neighborhoods, indigenous communities, and in urban and suburban sectors who have demonstrated a great capacity for committing themselves and serving effectively, obtaining real results despite the obstacles they have had to overcome to reach positions of power. I make reference not only to *de jure* obstacles, but to *de facto* obstacles that we women must overcome so that we can claim in a real way the effective exercise of our citizenship. In addition, there exists an important job on the grassroots level because it is women who permanently construct organizations and solidarity networks, participating although, once again, they are still not fully recognized.

For women, participation in the public sphere of formal politics is an important accomplishment. The repercussions can cause a real and effective change in the life of society. It is an opportunity to be able to present our proposals in a more just and equitable society, through proposing public politics and making high-level decision on central issues. Nevertheless, it is necessary to specify that citizenship in general—and in this case referring to the citizenship of women—cannot be reduced exclusively to the public realm. Neither is it exhausted in the vote or in ideological preferences or in access to decision making positions. Rather it goes much further, suggesting the construction of social identities and requiring a system that truly nourishes the free expression of grievances and points of view.

For this reason, since women have always participated from our private spaces of daily life in the construction of citizenship, we are doing politics, not a party-run type of politics, but rather the kind that has to do with concrete life. How wise were our predecessors when they said to us, when they proclaimed in the struggles during the 1960s, that the “private is political” and that “the body is also a political space.” From here has come the recognition by the women’s movement that the fundamental focus must be a struggle for sexual and reproductive lives: the possibility to decide, to be, to feel, to live with other human beings. From here we recognized the necessity of bringing to light the mechanisms of power which exercise their power on the body, particularly a woman’s body. In conclusion, our political participation has been permanent, militant, committed, contrary to

popular opinion.

Now it is necessary to take a step forward in the conception and integral understanding of the problems, in order to propose significant change so that there is real equity between men and women, beginning with rethinking the interior roles of the family. (recognizing the shared responsibilities which hinder the political participation of women) and of society of (establishing initiatives which allow the participation of women in directives and in decision-making spaces). We suggest a change in power structure from private spaces towards the public, recognizing the contribution of women to social life.

The challenge for the women’s movement is great, because we know that laws which support us are not enough in the exercise of our citizenship. Our judicial systems still are unable to appropriately punish those who break laws against sexual abuse, domestic violence, and labor exploitation, and who violate other economic and political rights, which we are victims of on a daily basis. It is necessary to go further in the search for mechanisms to facilitate this process and strengthen women’s access to justice, because the problems which we face have yet to be resolved. This is another fundamental point in the struggle for our rights.

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2. Jose Sanchez Parga, *The Public and Citizenship*, pg. 13.

3. *Ibid.*, pg. 17.

4. Women’s Political Coordinator. *Political Agenda of Ecuadorian Women*, (1998).

5. I am making reference to the young people belonging to the urban subculture, who in the same way are politically discredited, considered to not form part of the institution which claims to define the political sphere.

6. Manuja Barrig, *Gender in Development*, LASA Lima (1995).

7. Let us remember that the implantation of models such as the Neoliberal have had a negative impact, above all in the feminine population. Many analysts speak of the “feminization of poverty” accented during the era, which affects women because of structural disparity.

# PINTANDO LA UTOPIA CON LA CÁMARA Y LA PLUMA

RECURSOS PEDAGÓGICOS

MARTÍN VALMASEDA

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Es difícil contar un sueño, más aún pintarlo, y mucho más fotografiarlo o filmarlo. ¿Cómo vamos a describir lo que todavía no existe? En realidad explicar cómo es el mundo que soñamos es una obra de chata-rro: recoger los restos de este mundo en que vivimos e intentar -con la imaginación, la computadora o la cámara- ensamblarlos, o fundirlos, para ofrecer algo que creemos será mejor.

El cine y la literatura utópica son una «huida hacia delante». Pero huimos con la espalda cargada de nuestro presente, y eso nos hace difícil avanzar.

Este punto de partida puede servirnos para hacer algunas distinciones:

1.- El cine y literatura de utopía se confunden muchas veces con la ciencia-ficción. Y no son lo mismo, aunque se relacionen bastante.

2.- Como los autores juegan con su propia experiencia y su dosis personal de esperanza, a muchos la utopía se les convierte en contra-utopía: «El mundo feliz» no tiene nada de feliz.

El intento por describir un mundo utópico corre el peligro de la inmovilidad, o de aparecer como una cumbre desde donde ya se inicia el descenso... Es la frase del famoso economista: «Cualquier organización que llega a la perfección en su forma está ya en decadencia» (Galbraith, «El dinero. De dónde vino, a dónde fue»).

Al intentar pasearnos por libros y películas que traten de utopías y contra-utopías (disutopías) nos encontramos perdidos en un bosque... Quiero decir que la presente búsqueda de cine y literatura utópicos sólo es, al fin, como unas pinceladas perdidas en esa selva del papel y las cámaras. Ustedes encontrarán seguramente otros muchos títulos y películas.

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Empecemos proponiendo los dos polos literarios que marcan los extremos. Fue Tomás Moro el que fijó el nombre. «La isla de Utopía» es el polo positivo.

En el extremo negativo, el economista norteamericano Fukuyama marca «el final de la historia». La única opción viable es el liberalismo democrático, que se constituye en el llamado pensamiento único: las ideologías ya no son necesarias y han sido sustituidas por la economía. Estados Unidos sería así la única realización posible del sueño marxista de una sociedad sin clases...

Junto al sueño del mártir y político, Tomás Moro, otro inglés, William Morris, más cercano a nosotros en el tiempo, nos presenta «Noticias de ninguna parte»: el joven que despierta en la Inglaterra del año 2102. Una revolución ha dejado el mundo convertido en un paraíso. Existe una perfecta igualdad entre los humanos...

Junto al extremo de Fukuyama encontramos la novela «Un mundo Feliz», de Huxley. Con una diferencia: Fukuyama presenta el fracaso de las utopías socialistas y la puerta al capitalismo como la única utopía posible, en cambio Huxley ironiza sobre el progreso de ese «mundo feliz». Para remachar el clavo, más tarde escribió sus ensayos: «Nueva visita a un mundo feliz», donde hace ver las pesimistas descripciones de su novela se estaban haciendo realidad en el siglo XX.

Entre estos dos campos (Moro-Morris y Fukuyama-Huxley) se extiende una amplia llanura. Por ella cabalga sobre todo la ciencia ficción y muchos intentos por describir el escabroso camino hacia el mundo nuevo. Unos profetizan el fracaso de todos los avances técnicos, y describen su inutilidad para engendrar una nueva sociedad. Pero, junto a su pesimismo, estos autores suelen anunciar la esperanza a través de rebeldes que se levantan contra las máquinas. Es el caso de Bernard («un mundo feliz»), que reacciona junto a los marginados en las reservas de los «hombres primitivos».

Herbert Marcuse, hablando de «el final de la utopía», se enfrenta contra la visión acomodaticia del capitalismo actual (al que llama utopía). Para Marcuse el fin de esa Utopía es el salto a una sociedad nueva. Eran los tiempos del utópico «mayo del 68».

Cerca de Huxley, nos ofrece sus pinceladas pesimistas Orwel. Aunque se le quedó corto su calendario en la novela «1984»: aquel año tuvimos ocasión de comparar sus pronósticos con la realidad candente de la época.

Ray Bradbury se enfrenta a una sociedad tecnológica que no ofrece mucha esperanza para el optimismo. A través de estos relatos se desvela la «deshumanización» -según la ensayista norteamericana Susan Sontag (1933-2004), el motivo más fascinante de la ciencia ficción- anunciando el daño que el desarrollo científico y tecnológico puede producir en las relaciones humanas.

Visiones críticas del futuro encontramos también en «Ecotopía», de Ernest Callenbach, y todos los que

abordan con entusiasmo el «anarquismo verde». Una novela corta, «El hombre que plantaba árboles», aborda en esta línea la influencia de la ecología en el progreso humano y social.

Italo Calvino lanza su propuesta de una nueva civilización en «Ciudades invisibles».

Lo difícil es marcar el camino. La literatura anarquista es un signo claro de fe en esa búsqueda hacia el mundo utópico.

«Icaria, Icaria» nos muestra dos caminos paralelos hacia la utopía: uno de ellos a través de la lucha anarco-sindicalista en la Cataluña del principio de siglo, y otro la creación de una comunidad ideal en un inhóspito paraje de América. Los dos terminan en fracaso, aunque abierto al futuro.

Una de las novelas que mejor reflejan estos sueños utópicos y los procesos en su búsqueda es «Los desposeídos», de Úrsula K. Le Guin. Dentro del género de la ciencia ficción analiza las posibles respuestas a la renovación del mundo, especialmente desde una óptica anarquista.

Otro buscador con la pluma y con la acción -no podemos olvidarlo- es el «Sub» Marcos. Lean «Desde las montañas del sureste mexicano». Por ejemplo, su último capítulo: «La historia del uno y los todos».

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Vámonos al cine.

Muchos de los libros citados han tenido ya su versión cinematográfica.

Por ejemplo, «Un mundo feliz» (1980) de Burt Brinckerhoff, en televisión; y en pantalla grande: (1998), la película de Leslie Libman y Larry Williams.

Pero la visión primera de ese enfrentamiento, utopía-contrautopía, la encontramos en la gran obra del cine mudo «Metrópolis», de Fritz Lang. En ella aparece, entre las masas y el poder, la extraña, casi religiosa, figura del «mediador».

«Código 66» adopta una posición crítica sobre temas que no resultan tan lejanos, como son el sutil y progresivo control de la ciudadanía por parte del Estado o de grandes compañías especializadas en biogenética.

Más cercanos encontramos «Blade Runner», «Matrix» y «Solaris» del filosófico Tarkovsky

En la clásica de Truffaut, «Fahrenheit 451», un poder dictatorial quiere eliminar todo lo que sea libros y lectura, para transformar a sus ciudadanos en víctimas audiovisuales del poder. Los rebeldes a ese sistema se van aprendiendo de memoria las obras clásicas de la literatura para salvarlas.

Pues, como comprobamos, lo que domina en el cine es la cruz, no la cara, de la utopía.

Algún documental plantea crudamente los intentos utópicos anarquistas en la España de 1936 en «Vivir la Utopía» (1997).

Pero a ninguna de las películas que clasificamos como anti-utópicas les falta el impulso de búsqueda hacia una nueva sociedad. La gran película de Stanley Kubrick, «2001 Odisea del espacio», es ejemplo de ello. También, como a Orwell, se le queda corto el tiempo. Los viajes interplanetarios van avanzando, pero la humanidad en 2001 todavía no encontró el «monolito»... ¿o sí, pero no lo quiere ver?

Debemos terminar con un postre agradable: el cine con el rostro optimista de los soñadores hacia la futura sociedad. Aquí hay menos máquinas, y las que hay se rompen («Tiempos modernos», de Chaplin).

«Horizontes perdidos» de Frank Kapra (inspirado en la novela de Jame Milton), nos lleva a un valle del Tibet, donde florece una sociedad ideal.

«Milagro en Milán» nos cuenta la historia de un humilde muchacho, en una zona marginal, que transforma la barriada en un simpático mundo solidario, todo contado con una amable carga de humor y fantasía.

En los últimos años podemos sonreír con «El planeta libre» (La belle vert) donde una lejana civilización ha desterrado las máquinas pero ha progresado maravillosamente en poder mental, comunicación y felicidad. Allí se mezcla el humor con una ironía contra el mundo que se cree moderno

CAUCE, de Guatemala, ha publicado recientemente «Para que otro mundo sea posible», mezclando textos con videos y canciones. Intenta ayudar a la reflexión sobre el camino para evitar el gran peligro de la utopía: quedarse en simple utopía. (Me da apuro citar aquí la conocida frase de Fernando Birri, que apuesto citará alguien más en esta Agenda: la utopía siempre se aleja cuando caminamos, y que para eso sirve: para caminar).

Es lógico que en el cine la mayor parte de las imágenes utópicas estén cargadas de poesía y humor sin detenerse mucho en la descripción técnica y realista de la posible estructura en una nueva sociedad. Eso queda para sociólogos, economistas politólogos... pero sus estudios tienen poca cabida -por ahora- en una pantalla de cine.

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Bastantes de estas películas y libros citados pueden ser tomados de la red en estos y otros enlaces: <http://www.emule-project.net> y <http://ares.uptodown.com>

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## UN 'WESTERN TEOLÓGICO' LA VIDA DE CASALDÁLIGA EN FILM

La vida de Pedro Casaldáliga se convertirá en tema de una película por iniciativa del productor catalán Ricard Figueras, basado en el reportaje de Francesc Escribano (*Descalzo sobre la tierra roja*, Península, Barcelona 2005), exdirector de la Televisión de Cataluña.

Según el productor, todavía no se ha decidido qué actor encarnará a Casaldáliga, «porque queremos, afirma, que tenga un cierto parecido físico, y eso complica el reparto». El film será rodado entre mayo y junio de 2009. Marcos Bernstein, adaptará el libro de Escribano. Bernstein es uno de los guionistas más importantes y prestigiosos de Brasil; entre sus trabajos está el film *Estación Central de Brasil*.

El guión se centrará en los primeros años de Casaldáliga en Brasil, de 1968 a 1976: desde el momento de su llegada a São Félix do Araguaia hasta que matan, en su presencia, al jesuita João Bosco Burnier.

«La dinámica de la historia en estos años es de un potencial cinematográfico tremendo, afirma Figueras. Es la estructura de un film de aventuras clásico, en el que una persona, sola ante el peligro, se coloca al lado de los pequeños y los defiende de los poderosos. Es impresionante cómo se enfrenta a los latifundistas, cómo éstos quieren apartarlo, matarlo, y cómo interviene el Vaticano»; así cuenta Figueras esta historia que califica como épica.

Casaldáliga estuvo siempre vinculado a la Teología de la Liberación. Eso significó un claro distanciamiento de Casaldáliga respecto a línea de Juan Pablo II. «Pero en sus primeros años en Brasil no fue así, constata Escribano. En la década de 1970, el Vaticano le apoyó de una manera clara y directa, hasta el punto de salvarle la vida, más de una vez. Por ejemplo -recuerda el exdirector de la Televisión de Cataluña-, en una ocasión en que estaba clarísimo que los pistoleros, contratados por los latifundistas, lo asesinarían, porque revolucionaba a los campesinos, Pablo VI envió un mensaje, claro y muy directo, a los responsables de la dictadura militar brasileña: 'Tocar a Pedro es tocar a Pablo'. Aquel aviso le salvó la vida».

Según Escribano, el film será un auténtico «western teológico».

## CRECE LA COLECCIÓN «TIEMPO AXIAL»

La colección se está confirmando como imprescindible para quienes necesitan estar al tanto de los nuevos avances que la teología latinoamericana de la liberación está desarrollando al incursionar en los territorios hasta ahora desconocidos de la teología del pluralismo y de los desafíos de la nueva crisis de la religión.

Desde el paradigma de la liberación -y sin abandonarlo, al contrario, profundizándolo-, la teología latinoamericana nos sorprende con una renovada autocomprensión cristiana y «otra forma de creer».

Éstos son los libros actualmente publicados:

1. **ASETT**, *Por los muchos caminos de Dios*, I.
2. John **HICK**, *La metáfora del Dios encarnado*.
3. **ASETT**, *Por los muchos caminos de Dios*, II.
4. Faustino **TEIXEIRA**, *Teología de las religiones*.
5. José María **VIGIL**, *Teología del pluralismo religioso*. Curso sistemático de teología popular.
6. **ASETT**, *Por los muchos caminos de Dios*, III
7. Alberto **MOLINER**, *Pluralismo religioso y sufrimiento ecohumano. La contribución de Paul F. Knitter al diálogo interreligioso*.
8. **ASETT**, *Por los muchos caminos de Dios*, IV.
9. Raúl **FORNET-BETANCOURT**, *Interculturalidad y religión. Para una lectura intercultural de la crisis actual del cristianismo*.
10. Roger **LENAERS**, *Otro cristianismo es posible. Fe en lenguaje de modernidad*.
11. **ASETT**, *Por los muchos caminos de Dios*, V.

Próximo libro: de Ariel FINGERMAN, *La elección de Israel*.

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<http://latinoamericana.org/tiempoaxial>

# 22 SERVICIOS KOINONÍA

PATROCINADOS POR ESTA «AGENDA LATINOAMERICANA»

<http://servicioskoinonia.org>

## 1) Revista Electrónica Latinoamericana de Teología (RELaT)

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/relat>

Primera revista de teología en internet. Inspirada en las grandes opciones latinoamericanas. Fundamentalmente de teología, pero también interdisciplinar. Siempre desde la perspectiva de la liberación, pero incorporando los «nuevos paradigmas», principalmente la «relectura pluralista» del cristianismo y la crisis de la religión. Sin periodicidad fija. Los artículos quedan «coleccionados» y disponibles.

## 2) Servicio Bíblico Latinoamericano

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/biblico>

Con una frecuencia semanal, ofrece un comentario bíblico-teológico a las lecturas de la liturgia católica, de unas 800 palabras los domingos, y unas 300 palabras los demás días. Para la celebración comunitaria, la meditación personal y/o la predicación. El texto es original y está redactado por biblistas y teólogos mayoritariamente latinoamericanos, y puede ser distribuido o reproducido libremente, dando el crédito correspondiente. Incluye el dibujo de Cerezo sobre el evangelio de cada domingo, los enlaces al texto y al audio del capítulo de la serie «Un tal Jesús» correspondiente, un enlace a la homilía que Mons. Romero hizo sobre los mismos textos...

Hay dos traducciones de este Servicio Bíblico:

-**portugués:** <http://www.claret.com.br/servicobiblico>

-**italiano:** [www.peacelink.it/users/romero/parola.htm](http://www.peacelink.it/users/romero/parola.htm)

Estos comentarios bíblicos pueden ser recibidos por correo-e, cada semana. Suscripciones: vea nº 19.

## 3) Calendario litúrgico 2000-2036

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/biblico/calendario>

El único calendario litúrgico en internet que es realmente un programa telemático real, no un cálculo manual. Ingrese la cifra de un año y escoja en el menú desplegable el tipo de información que busca,

y recibirá en unos segundos su elenco completo (las citas numéricas de las 3 lecturas más el salmo, con o sin los textos mismos de las lecturas bíblicas), teniendo en cuenta además las peculiaridades de la ordenación litúrgica vigente en su país.

Acaba de ser inaugurado también en inglés: [servicioskoinonia.org/BiblicalLiturgicalCalendar](http://servicioskoinonia.org/BiblicalLiturgicalCalendar)

## 4) «Páginas Neobíblicas»

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/neobiblicas>

Los mejores textos presentados al Concurso del mismo nombre de la Agenda Latinoamericana. Intentan una relectura de escenas, personajes, temas... de la Biblia desde un punto de vista actual. Para el trabajo de educación bíblica, celebraciones...

## 5) La columna semanal de Leonardo Boff

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/boff>

Cada semana, los viernes, un breve artículo de Leonardo, ágil, periodístico, con temas de actualidad.

## 6) Curso de teología popular

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/teologiapopular>

Aquí, o en alguna otra página de internet que aquí será anunciada, será puesto el nuevo curso, «Otro cristianismo es posible», de Roger Lenaers. No deje de consultar la página.

## 7) Biblioteca

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/biblioteca>

Con cuatro «salas»: general, teológica, bíblica y pastoral. Con un fácil y eficiente procedimiento de búsqueda por sala y por autor. En su sección bíblica contiene un buen número de folletos populares de los grandes biblistas latinoamericanos. Obviamente, todo es gratuito y está a disposición pública, con los debidos permisos.

## 8) LOGOS

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/logos>

Artículos breves, de temática variada, comentarios de opinión de firmas acreditadas...

## 9) Martirologio Latinoamericano

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/martirologio>

Para consultar qué mártires latinoamericanos recordamos cada día, o consultar las Jornadas y efemérides afro-indo-latino-americanas... Totalmente renovado (versión 2.0).

## 10) La Página de Monseñor Romero

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/romero>

Las homilias que Mons. Romero predicó sobre los mismos textos bíblicos que hoy nosotros escuchamos.

## 11) La Página de Pedro Casaldáliga

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga>

Sus artículos, poesía, cartas circulares, libros, el elenco de sus obras completas...

## 12) La Página de Cerezo Barredo

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/cerezo>

El dibujo de cada domingo, y otros dibujos y posters del autor.

## 13) Galería de dibujos pastorales

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/galeria>

Recursos gráficos al servicio de la evangelización.

## 14) Un servicio de posters para la pastoral

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/posters>

Serie de pósters, principalmente sobre el tema inter-religioso. Con resolución suficiente para ser impresos en plotter, a todo color y en gran tamaño.

## 15) Página de la Agenda Latinoamericana

<http://latinoamericana.org> o

<http://agenda.latinoamericana.org> o

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/agenda>

Portal de la Agenda Latinoamericana, para ver el tema de cada año, las convocatorias y los fallos de los concursos, los lugares donde conseguirla en los diferentes países o idiomas...

## 16) Archivo de la Agenda Latinoamericana

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/agenda/archivo>

<http://latinoamericana.org/archivo>

<http://agenda.latinoamericana.org/archivo>

Aquí están a disposición pública los materiales pedagógicos publicados por la Agenda en los 17 años pasados, pudiendo ser encontrados ahora por tema, título, autor y año. Ya está enteramente disponible en castellano y catalán, y acaba de comenzar a ser cargado también en portugués.

## 17) TAMBO:

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/tambo>

Un servidor de lista para «platicar sabroso» en el

ambiente de una comunidad telemática comprometida con las opciones que solemos llamar «latinoamericanas» (dentro de la «geografía espiritual»): la visión del mundo desde el Sur, la opción por los pobres, una fe actualizada y un compromiso humanizador moderno, coherente, dialogante y pluralista.

## 18) Servicio de «Novedades Koinonía»

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/informacion/index.php#novedades>

Suscríbase, gratis. Será avisado de cualquier novedad en Koinonía (libros digitales, artículos teológicos...) o en la Agenda quincenalmente, con un correo sumamente ligero, de sólo «enlaces», sin peso.

## 19) Servidores de lista

Dos de nuestros servicios (el servicio bíblico semanal y «Novedades Koinonía») se distribuyen por **servidores de lista**; la suscripción (siempre gratuita) y su cancelación se realizan por un procedimiento automatizado, en la página de información:

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/informacion>

## 20) Libros Digitales Koinonía

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/LibrosDigitales>

Colección especial de libros digitales, en varios idiomas, públicamente disponibles, e imprimibles como «auténtico libro» por «impresión digital».

## 21) Información en línea

<http://servicioskoinonia.org/informacion>

Toda la información necesaria sobre Koinonía.

## 22) Colección «Tiempo axial»

<http://latinoamericana.org/tiempoaxial>

Patrocinada por la Agenda latinoamericana, he aquí una colección teológica «de frontera» que continúa el camino de la teología de la liberación pero conjugándola ahora con la teología del pluralismo religioso: teología «pluralista» de la liberación. Vea la colección en su página ([latinoamericana.org/tiempoaxial](http://latinoamericana.org/tiempoaxial)) los índices de los libros, sus prólogos, sus portadas... Vea la página 239 de esta agenda.

### Para contactarnos:

-información y suscripciones:

[contacto@servicioskoinonia.org](mailto:contacto@servicioskoinonia.org)

-sobre **contenidos**:

[servicioskoinonia@servicioskoinonia.org](mailto:servicioskoinonia@servicioskoinonia.org)

-para el **servicio bíblico**:

[contacto@biblico.org](mailto:contacto@biblico.org)

# PUNTO DE ENCUENTRO

Gracias por los aportes para nuestros trabajos pastorales. Nos da una inmensa alegría disponer de documentos siempre novedosos, que motivan a un compromiso cada vez más activo de nuestro pueblo.

Como trabajo en un lugar bastante aislado, no siempre puedo abrir el correo, pero cuando salgo a la ciudad es lo primero que hago, por eso les pido por favor que no dejen de enviarme, aunque a veces me imagino que rebotará, cuando no he podido salir a la ciudad. Saludos.

**Hermanas de Circuata**, provimar29lat@hotmail.com

Sólo leí unas pocas líneas de la Agenda y, créame, es lo que me gusta de los que escriben en ella (desde la presentación de la agenda, contraportada, etc.): que rápidamente me llegan en mis sentimientos, ya que estaba por tirar mis sueños, que muchas veces pienso que soy boba al seguir soñando. Gracias

**Mistela Espinosa**, Panamá, Mespিনosa@etesa.com.pa

Hoy he recibido el primer ejemplar de vuestra Agenda Latinoamericana, lo cual me alegra mucho. Veo el inmenso esfuerzo que están haciendo. Me permito comparar algunas fechas que pueden ser incorporadas en años posteriores. Por otro lado, creyendo interpretar a otros clérigos, como yo, les pido que el día Domingo lo hagan con más espacio. Cualquier otra sugerencia se la haré llegar, oportunamente.

Rev. **Luis Hidalgo** +, Chile, luishidalgoruiz@gmail.com

Por amistad y por convicción formo parte de esta familia que habéis creado y de las que tantos os damos las gracias. Para muchos la Agenda acaba siendo el lazo de muchas diásporas en la fe. Además desde hace ya años soy de la Agenda por adopción de Jordi Planas de Girona.

**Jaume Botey**, Barcelona, jaume.botey@uab.es

Querido Social Justice Committee: Durante varios años he utilizado la Agenda y quisiera comprar tres más para el próximo año. ¿Seguirán publicándola en inglés?

**Dorothy Kidd**, Associate Professor and Chair  
University of San Francisco, kiddd@usfca.edu

Tengo 64 años, soy colombiana, religiosa Dominicana de la Presentación, acompaño grupos de mujeres desde hace 20 años y también acompaño en lugares de conflicto, Trujillo, donde se vivió la masacre cruel y horrenda... Ahí seguimos caminando, en especial con mujeres viudas

o madres que han perdido sus hijos... Muchas de mis vivencias trato de trascenderlas en lenguaje poético. Desde hace varios años estaba por mandarles mis poemas de relectura bíblica... Al fin este año me atrevo hacerlo, con el último poema inspirado de la Samaritana y Jesús, desde la perspectiva de género. Va en adjunto.

Gracias de esta oportunidad, y por la Agenda que cada año esperamos como Buena Nueva.

**Maritze Trigos**, Colombia, matritor@gmail.com

Estimado profesor: Escribo desde Cuba. A veces tenemos la dificultad de no poder acceder a determinados sitios. ¿Habrà otra forma de saber los resultados del concurso? Otros cubanos que supieron del concurso por mí me preguntan... Para nosotros resulta quizás más complicado que para otros. Si tiene alguna forma de nosotros podernos enterar, nos gustaría saber; si no, seguiremos intentando. Gracias, y bendiciones para su trabajo. Nos encantó la agenda 2007; uno de los artículos que discutimos en nuestras comunidades fue el de José Ignacio González Faus... Muy bueno para nuestro contexto. Gracias. Un abrazo desde nuestra Cuba.

**Miriam Naranjo**, Cuba, miriamnaranjo1@gmail.com

La celebración de la Agenda fue una celebración excelente, con unas 500 personas. Cada vez más, «nuestra» Agenda se confirma como una gran motivadora e inspiradora de esperanza. Aquí en São Paulo hay personas que nos telefonéan, ya en agosto, para saber cuándo será la presentación de la Agenda... Felicitaciones! Abrazos,

**Lília Azevedo**, São Paulo, liliazevedo@uol.com.br

Agradecemos inmensamente a quienes mantienen este sitio de Koinonía. En este momento es el principal punto de referencia y apoyo que nos afirma como pequeña comunidad (algo así como una pequeña iglesia doméstica) donde, además de acompañarnos y compartir, queremos vivir la fe según la realidad presente. Vamos dando pasos acompañadas por este maravilloso portal que es Koinonía. Muchas gracias. Encarnación.

**Red Mujeres Pachacuti**, emoleonster@gmail.com

Darme de baja, no se me ocurre ni loco de atar. Es más, desde el otro día, que ustedes sugirieron eso de pasar todo Koinonía al disco duro, porque un día éstos puede desaparecer, me tiene abatido en una terrible preocupación. Hay cosas sin las que uno puede vivir, pero

sus «servicios», de un tiempo acá, para mí son algo un poco más que vital, sobre todo en esta fría y a veces un poco más que gélida nación. Koinonía es como un sabroso horno chontaleño (de Nicaragua) para estar calentito con calor latinoamericano, y siempre con la utopía viva, la memoria y la identidad. Saludos bolivarianos, y abrazos, hermanos, compañeros, compatriotas!!!!

**David Calderón**, Fort Wayne,dcxlatina89@yahoo.com

Quiero agradecerles el poner al alcance de tod@s nosotr@s el sitio web de Koinonía. Muchas gracias por su coraje de ofrecer una teología de hoy liberada, y re-contextualizada. Me gustan mucho sus sugerencias enriquecedoras en torno al tema de «otra semana santa es posible». Sí, otra teología es posible...

**Helene Buechel**, helene.buechel@powersurf.li

Cada día me enamoro más de Koinonía... Me parece un impulso para la búsqueda y generosamente abierto, lleno de sabiduría... Gracias, por sí no se las he dado lo suficiente. Un abrazo grande.

**Gabriel Sánchez**, Uruguay, charines@adinet.com.uy

Queridos amigos de Servicios Koinonía: quiero decir que soy un usuario asiduo de esta página y la considero fundamental para la formación e información de todos los que desean una Iglesia liberadora, solidaria, y consciente del mensaje que debe llevar a todos los pueblos.

Fr. **Clovis Oliveira** osa, Rio Janeiro, frcoliver@yahoo.com

Desde que me metí en el concurso Agenda/Missio Insitut de 2007 en el que pude afinar mi visión sobre «El Cristianismo y su misión hoy», en 20 páginas, aunque no me tocó ningún premio, me ha hecho sentirme muy bien pagado por mi esfuerzo. Además de dejar algo sobre mi visión de fe para mi esposa, mis hijas y algunas amigas/os de confianza, el descubrimiento de Servicios Koinonía me ha impactado fuertemente. Ahora tengo en mi propia pantalla, un gran acervo de libros y artículos bajados de Koinonía, y paso tiempo leyendo y reflexionando...

A los 80 años, todavía trabajando a medio tiempo, gozo en mis tardes libres con mi nuevo acceso a una biblioteca digital. Así que les felicito y agradezco sus trabajos en la Agenda y en Koinonía. Estoy seguro de que hay muchas otras personas con los mismos sentimientos, y quiero aprovechar estos días festivos para decírselo.

**Justiniano Liebl**, Managua, justliebl@yahoo.com

La Agenda ha sido una luz para nuestros trabajos pastorales y un impulso para seguir construyendo. Traba-

jo en la Pastoral Juvenil de Morelia, y estamos por iniciar un proyecto de evangelización a través de una audio-revista. Quisiera saber si es posible que en alguno de los números que publiquemos podamos incluir alguno de los contenidos de la Agenda de éste o de años pasados.

**Iván Tzintzún Miranda**, México, ivantzin@hotmail.com

Queridos amigos: El haberlos «descubierto» es una de las cosas más maravillosas que me ha sucedido en el último tiempo... Soy agnóstico, de formación católica (estuve en el seminario de los Redentoristas hace 41 años). Sepan que me los estoy «devorando», día a día. Leo con fruición todo, todo lo que publican. Ya tengo en mi poder la Agenda 2008. Estoy accediendo poco a poco al libro «Bajar de la Cruz a los Pobres de la Cruz».

Boff, el valiente Sobrino, mi compatriota Ronaldo Muñoz, Frei Betto... en fin, tantos otros, me acompañan día a día con sus ideas y planteamientos para enfrentar con muchísima fe tanta injusticia e inequidad.

**Juan Bautista Gatica**, gatica\_amengual@hotmail.com

Tenía interrogantes abiertos desde muchos años y, a partir de leer artículos de la RELaT, empecé a encontrar respuestas y pistas para buscarlas. El sitio Koinonía marca para mí -junto a las charlas de un teólogo de la liberación que viene periódicamente a Santa Fe-, un antes y un después en mi conciencia. Muchos artículos de koinonía son textos fundamentales para mis clases (formación docente), y algunos son fuentes de monografías para mis alumnas y alumnos. Esto se lo cuento a muchas personas y sería injusto que no se lo diga a ustedes.

Recién ahora pude empezar a leer «Bajar de la Cruz a los pobres»: ¡Felicitaciones! En esta ciudad el Grupo Ecueménico Juan XXIII estudia cómo publicarlo a fin de archidifundirlo. Un cordial saludo a todo el Equipo.

**Marisa**, Argentina, marisahintermeister@gigared.com

Quería enviarles mi saludo, y darles gracias por este gran servicio... Por alentar en el camino, por todo lo compartido, por crear puentes... Vivo en el Sur del Sur, en la Patagonia... Y sé que acá tenemos varios que leemos y conversamos, y usamos sus páginas. Un abrazo, fraternal-sororalmente (como aprendí a decir leyéndoles)

**Gloria Hernández**, Coyhaique, gloria.hern@gmail.com

Ustedes siempre respondieron las inquietudes que les presenté y con prontitud, les estoy agradecida por eso, y por todo lo que nos hacen llegar; aprecio el esfuerzo que les demanda esta tarea y el amor con que Uds. trabajan.

**Delia Valero**, dcivalero@hotmail.com

# WHO'S WHO

## AMONG THE AUTHORS OF THIS AGENDA

*Only someone; others need no introduction for our readers...*

**Vânia BAMBIRRA** is professor emeritus of economics at the University of Brasilia. Her principle book is *El Capitalismo Dependiente Latinoamericano* [Dependent Latin American Capitalism], Ed. Siglo XXI, México; Ed. Centelha, Lisboa; Ed. Feltrinelli, Roma.

**Leonardo BOFF** is one of the founders of liberation theology. A Catholic theologian, he now focuses his work especially on the theme of ecology. Many of his books are available in English, including *Ecology & Liberation*, *A New Paradigm* and *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor*. His weekly column is available in Spanish at [servicioskoinia.org](http://servicioskoinia.org)

**Jaume BOTEY** is Professor of History in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and a member of *Cristianisme i Justícia*. He is the author of *Bush and His God: the "Theological" Roots of the Policies of Bush*, available at [www.fespinal.com/html/en/cijllisen.php](http://www.fespinal.com/html/en/cijllisen.php).

**Pedro CASALDÁLIGA** is the Bishop Emeritus of the Diocese of São Félix do Araguaia. He has been a tireless advocate for the poor of Brazil since arriving 1968. While there are many theologians of liberation, Casaldáliga is also poet of liberation. His poems can be found on [servicioskoinia.org/CASALDALIGA](http://servicioskoinia.org/CASALDALIGA). His English-language books include *Political Holiness* and *In Pursuit of the Kingdom*, both published by Orbis.

**Antoni COMÍN OLIVERES** was born in Barcelona in 1971. He holds his degree in philosophy and political science. He is a professor of social sciences. He is a member of the foundation Alfonso Comín and the *Cristianisme i Justícia (CiJ) Studies Center*. He is a deputy in the Parliament of Catalunya for the Parliamentary Socialist Group "Socialists-Ciutadans pel Canvi." He is vice-president of the *Fundació Catalunya Segle XXI*, where he coordinates the project "Consultation for Global Justice."

**Wim DIERCKXSENS** was born in Holland in 1946 and studied at Nimega and Paris. Since 1971 he has lived in Central America. He has worked in many capacities: as an official with the United Nations, a consultant with Holland, the director of postgraduate economic studies in Honduras, the founder of the degree program in political economy at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma of Costa Rica, and as an investigator of the DEI in Costa Rica and the World Forum of Alternatives.

**Miren EXTEZARRETA** is a professor of applied economics at the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

She received her doctorate in economics at the London School of Economics and she is a member of the Collective of European economists for an Alternative Politics. She participates in social movements and works actively on issues of the critical evaluation of economics, both as applied and in theory. She forms a part of the Taifa Critical Economics seminar in Barcelona, which has just published its report, "There are poor people because there are very, very rich people." Available at [seminari-taifa.org](http://seminari-taifa.org).

**Sergio FERRARI** is an Argentine/Swiss historian and journalist. After spending three years imprisoned under the Varela dictatorship, he found asylum in Switzerland.

**Joaquín GARCÍA ROCA**, a priest and theologian, is the director of the Center of Studies for the Formation and Integration of Migrants in Valencia, Spain. He is also a professor at the University of Valencia and has taught at the Universidad Centroamericana in El Salvador. He is the author of many books, including an English version of *Caminar Juntos con Humildad/Walking Together with Humility*.

**Ivone GEBARA** was born in São Paulo, Brazil, and is a sister of the Hermanas Canónigas of San Agustín. She received her doctorate in philosophy from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo and her doctorate in religious sciences from the Catholic University of Louvain. Several of her works of feminist theology are available in English, including *Longing for Running Water: Eco-feminism and Liberation* and *Out of the Depths: Women's Experience of Evil and Salvation*.

**Eduardo HOORNAERT** was born in Bruges, Belgium. He studied classical languages and ancient history. He worked for two years in Africa as a teacher. Since 1958 he has lived in Brazil. For more than 30 years he was a professor of the history of Christianity in several theological institutes in the Northwest of Brazil. He is a founding member of CEHILA (Commission on Historical Studies of the Church in Latin America).

**Alfredo J. GONÇALVES**, was born on the Isla de Madeira in Portugal in 1953. He is member of the Scabrinian order. Their charism is working with migrants and refugees throughout the world. He has lived in Brazil since 1969. He has always worked in social ministry: in the periphery and favelas of São Paulo, with the homeless, with sugarcane workers. He was an advisor on social

ministry for the CNBB.

**Pablo GONZÁLEZ CASANOVA** is a Mexican sociologist and critic. He was granted the International José Martí Prize by UNESCO for his defense of the identity of indigenous peoples in the Americas. He pioneered the study of democracy in Mexico when it was little studied. His most well-known book is *La democracia en México*, which has become a classic text.

**José Ignacio GONZÁLEZ FAUS** is a Jesuit theologian and priest. Since 1968, he has been a professor of theology in Barcelona. Committed to Latin America, he defends its hopes for freedom and justice. Many of his articles are available in English at [www.fespinal.com/html/en/cijllisen.php](http://www.fespinal.com/html/en/cijllisen.php).

**María LÓPEZ VIGIL** is the author and editor of many books, including *Oscar Romero: Memories in Mosaic*. She is the Editor-in-chief of *Revista Envío*, a bilingual magazine published at the Central American University in Nicaragua, available online at [www.envio.org.ni/index.en](http://www.envio.org.ni/index.en). Along with her brother José Ignacio López Vigil, she wrote and produced the radio program *A Certain Jesus* which has been heard throughout the Americas. The original Spanish audio and English and Portuguese transcripts are available at [untaljesus.net](http://untaljesus.net).

**Ricardo PETRELLA** is a political economist (receiving his degree from the University of Florence), founder and secretary of the World Committee of Water, and author of the *Manifesto of Water*. For 17 years he has directed the *Forecasting and Assessment in Science and Technology (FAST)* for the European Commission in Brussels. He is emeritus professor of the Catholic University of Louvain where he taught globalization for 15 years.

**Wladimir POMAR** is a journalist and writer. Among his books are *O Enigma Chinês (Alfa Omega 1987)*; *China, o dragão do século XXI (Ática 1996)*; *Pedro Pomar, uma Vida em Vermelho (Xamã 2003)*; e *A Revolução Chinesa (Unesp 2004)*.

**Isabel RAUBER** received her doctorate from the University of Havana. She is the director of the magazine *Pasado y Presente XXI*. An expert and advisor to Latin American social movements, she works with UNESCO on gender issues. She is a member of the Forum of the Third World and the World Forum of Alternatives. She lives in Buenos Aires.

**Paul SINGER** was born in 1932 and is a Brazilian economist and professor at the University of São Paulo. He was one of the founders of the Worker's Party (PT), secretary of municipal planning in São Paulo under Luíza Erundina (1989), Coordinator of the *Incubadora Tecnológica de Cooperativas Populares*, and since 2003, in

the government of Lula da Silva, he has worked in the Ministry of Labor as the National Secretary of Economic Solidarity. He lives in São Paulo.

**Jon SOBRINO**, a Jesuit priest based at the Central American University (UCA) in El Salvador, is one of Latin America's most influential and beloved theologians. In 1989, Father Sobrino was away from his community when Salvadoran soldiers trained at the US School of the Americas entered his house, assassinating Ignacio El-lacuría, five other Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her young daughter. Sobrino's latest book, available from Orbis, is *No Salvation Outside the Poor: Prophetic-Utopian Essays*.

**João Pedro STÉDILE** is a Brazilian economist and social activist. He is the current leader of the Movement of Rural Workers without Land (MST). A Gaucho of Marxist formation, he is one of the leaders for agrarian reform in Brazil. He received his training from the Pontifical Catholic University in Brazil and the UNAM in Mexico. He has advised the Commission on Environmental Ministry (CPT) on the national level and has written many books on land reform.

**Jung Mo SUNG** was born in Korea and has been a naturalized Brazilian for three decades. He is an expert in economics and holds a doctorate in Moral Theology. He has worked as an advisor in social movements and popular communities in São Paulo.

**Joan SUBIRATS** holds a doctorate in economics and is a professor of political science and the director of the Government and Public Policies Institute at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. He works on issues of governance, public finance, and the analysis of public policy and social policies. He frequently writes for *El País* and other publications.

**Joan SURROCA í SENS** was born in Torroella de Montgrí in 1944. He is an educator and museum curator. His books, articles, and lectures concern the following themes: museums, education, values, human rights, and non-violence. His last book, *Els dies més grans*, is a reflection and proposal for a new civil marriage ceremony. From 1999 to 2003 he was a deputy in the Parliament of Catalunya. He is a tax objector. The Superior Tribune of Justice of Catalunya has decided his case favorably. He was awarded the John XXIII Prize for Peace and the 2008 AMC Museum Prize.

**Martín VALMASEDA** is the Director of the Center of Audiovisual Communication and Education (CAUCE) in Guatemala. He has dedicated his life to liberating communication. His work "La Isla" will become the definitive symbol of popular audiovisual pedagogy for the epoch. □



C

@ 8

Lined writing area for column C, featuring 20 horizontal lines. A large, faint watermark of the letter 'A' is centered in the lower half of the page.

D

@ 8

Lined writing area for column D, featuring 20 horizontal lines. A large, faint watermark of the letter 'Z' is centered in the lower half of the page.

Lined writing area for page E and F.



Blank lined writing area for the letter G. A large, faint watermark of the letter 'A' is visible in the lower half of the page.

Blank lined writing area for the letter H. A large, faint watermark of the letter 'Z' is visible in the lower half of the page.



A series of horizontal lines for writing, organized into two columns. The left column contains 20 lines, and the right column contains 20 lines. At the bottom of each column, there is a large, faint watermark of the letters 'A' and 'Z' respectively.

Two columns of horizontal lines for writing, each containing 20 lines.



A series of horizontal lines for writing, organized into two columns. The left column contains 20 lines, and the right column contains 20 lines. At the bottom of each column, there is a large, faint watermark of the letters 'A' and 'Z' respectively.



Lined writing area for uppercase letter U. The page contains 20 horizontal lines. A large, faint uppercase letter 'U' is centered vertically and horizontally across the page.

Lined writing area for uppercase letter V. The page contains 20 horizontal lines. A large, faint uppercase letter 'V' is centered vertically and horizontally across the page.

Lined writing area for notes, organized into two columns.





TOWARDS A NEW **SOCIALISM**  
UTOPIA CONTINUES

ISBN 978-9962-00-550-6



**T**oday the emperor has no clothes. With indignation and nostalgia, attached to so many dreams and struggles, and responding to the disfigured dignity of the majority of our human race, we turn again to socialism: a *new socialism*. Obviously we are not trying to repeat experiments that --too many times-- have culminated in deception, violence, dictatorship, poverty, and death. We try to revise, learn from the past, update our strategies, and avoid becoming complacent. In doing so, we seek to live, here and now, locally and globally, the ever new Utopia. We categorically proclaim that Utopia continues on, that it is not a chimera but a challenge. Thus, we ask how we are doing with Utopia.

Preoccupied by the daily construction of politics as the art of the possible, have we lost sight of what seems impossible but yet is truly necessary? Do we have to content ourselves with electing somewhat leftist governments and continue, submissive and defeated, under the same right-wing capitalist system? What has happened to the old capitalist-socialist disjunctive? Of course plenty of people say that the times of left and right have now passed... Is socialism still possible? Or are we too late? Isn't Utopia still just as necessary as «our daily bread»?

*Pedro Casaldàliga*

