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LATIN AMERICA: THE ARAB CONNECTION

A Foreign Affairs Background Memorandum
By Jacob Kovadloff
Director of South American Affairs

For many years, Western nations, especially the United States, were virtually the only important foreign investors in Latin America, a region rich in the raw materials--metals, fuels and so on--needed to feed highly industrialized economies. Implicit in this financial predominance was political influence; after World War II, for example, members of the new Organization of American States--a loose federation inspired by the U.S. "Good Neighbor Policy"--almost automatically followed this country's lead on most international issues.

In recent years, these political and economic ties to the West have been loosening: Castro's Cuba has been a Communist satellite since 1962; Argentina and Brazil, which have embarked on huge industrialization programs of their own, and Venezuela and Mexico, both important oil exporters, no longer accept other nations' efforts to control their economies or political orientation. And smaller, poorer countries reflect the winds of nationalism and Third World ideologies that have swept so many underdeveloped areas of the globe. The pervasive poverty and other social ills long plaguing Latin America provide fertile ground for agitation and terror from Cuban-inspired and local guerrilla groups at both political extremes. Leftist terrorist groups are often countered by terrorist repression, official and non-official, from the right. Political upheavals have overturned democracies in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and have toppled repressive regimes in Bolivia and Nicaragua. Several other authoritarian governments also face strong challenges.

This situation offers a hospitable climate for the economic and political ambitions of the newly rich Arab world, and a number of Arab states have acted to take advantage of it. In this move, they are aided by a substantial Arab presence in Latin America, the worldwide resurgence of ethnic consciousness and the growing importance of the Middle East in world affairs.

The Arab-Latin Americans

Of the 342 million population in Latin America, estimates of the number of people of Middle East extraction range from 9 to 15 million. There are 5 million Arabs in Brazil and 2 million in Argentina.

By contrast, there are 600-700,000 Jews in all of Latin America, half of them in Argentina, 150,000 in Brazil, 50,000 in Uruguay and 40,000 in Mexico. The balance of Latin America's Jewish population is scattered among the more than a dozen other states, with Latin Americans of Arab origin far outnumbering Jews in the region.

The overwhelming majority of Latin American Arabs are Christians (Maronites, Catholics, Copts and others) well assimilated into the area's predominantly Spanish, Portuguese and Italian societies. There are also a sizeable number of former Syrians and Lebanese who retain the French culture which dominated these countries until after World War II. Only a small number remain Muslims; nevertheless, ethnic solidarity between Latin American Arabs and the Arab world is strong and has increased sharply since the Middle East conflict, and the stepped-up propaganda of the Arab League, Arab diplomats and the PLO.

International Relations

All the Latin American countries, rich and poor, proclaim themselves part of the Third World, and generally vote with the Arabs and the Soviet bloc against Israel and the West in the UN and other international forums.

All Latin American states claim to be peace-loving but many are heavily armed, and several of the larger states compete sharply for regional dominance. Simmering territorial disputes sometimes further complicate the political scene: Argentina and Chile both claim the Beagle Channel Islands; Chile, Bolivia and Peru want the coastal areas which Chile won in a war with the other two countries more than 100 years ago; Venezuela and Colombia dispute rights to their shared oil-rich shores; Peru and Ecuador claim each others' border oil fields. It was only a few months ago that Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay finally settled their conflicting claims to the rivers that course through all four countries and represent valuable sources of hydroelectric power.

Many of the states have territorial quarrels with Western nations. Mexico argues that the status of millions of Mexicans illegally entering and living in the Western U.S. should be regularized as partial compensation for the American seizure of this territory in 1847. Panama's recently won agreement with the U.S. ceding complete ownership of the Panama Canal to Panama by the end of this century came only after years of bitter negotiation. Cuba objects to the continued presence of the U.S. base at Guantanamo. There is an ongoing dispute about fishing rights: Latin American countries unanimously favor a 200-mile off-shore limit; the U.S. and other Western countries insist on a 20-mile limit. In addition, Argentina continues to protest British occupation of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, rumored to swim in a sea of oil; and Guatemala demands that Great Britain give up Belize. Despite these differences, however, most Latin American nations maintain cordial relations with the U.S. and other Western countries, and even with Israel, whose trade with South and Central America and Mexico increases annually. Professions of anti-imperialism notwithstanding, many of the nations of the region energetically solicit capital investment from the West, and especially from the U.S.

Arab Penetration

The overwhelming factor in the Arabs' penetration of Latin America has been economic interest on both sides. The entire region needs both fuels and investment capital, and Arab money is now as plentiful as its oil reserves. Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia and Trinidad are the only petroleum exporters in the region. (Mexico, although not a member of OPEC, keeps pace with the cartel's prices.) The other nineteen Latin American countries must import oil; and most of those oil needs are met by the Arab oil-producing states. At the same time, Latin America's need for capital meshes well with the Arabs' desire to invest their cash reserves in potentially profitable enterprises. The oil states also want to buy development technology at the best terms, and several countries in Latin America are in a position to furnish it. The Middle East nations would also like to diversify their sources of military equipment, which until now has come primarily from the U.S. and other Western countries.

Brazil, the world's fifth largest nation, is far and away the most aggressive seeker of Arab business in Latin America, and numerous missions to the Middle East have come home with sales contracts for billions of dollars in manufactured goods and for public works that will provide work for large numbers of Brazilian technicians and workers in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the United Arab Emirates.

Petrobras, Brazil's state-owned oil company, bid successfully for exploration of Iraqi wells. The project included exploration, well-draining, an oil pipeline network, and the expansion of a terminal; and the deal was detailed in the Brazilian press in September 1979. Braspetro, a subsidiary of Petrobras, would invest about \$2 billion in an Iraqi oil field at Majnoon, which the company discovered in 1973. With an estimated reserve of 7 million barrels, this field was expected to yield 700,000 barrels a day by 1983. In exchange for this investment, Braspetro would be able to buy 25 percent of the first 350,000 barrels at \$4 below prevailing prices, and pay even less as production increased.¹ By early January 1980, the agreement had been sweetened.

1. The New York Times, Jan. 11, 1980.

Brazil announced that it was relinquishing its development rights to the Majnoon fields in return for a shipment of 11.3 million barrels, for which she will pay about \$180 million, or \$16 per barrel (Iraq's selling price elsewhere is \$26 per barrel). Brazil will be able to buy another 20.7 million barrels at market prices, and is guaranteed an extra 160,000 barrels per day for the next 13 years.²

Other Brazilian companies have also made profitable agreements with Iraq: Mendes Juniors is building a 300-mile railroad for \$1.5 billion; about 600 Brazilian workers and technologists are already working on this project in Iraq, and a total 2,200 are expected by April 1980. Esusa has built a hotel in Bagdad providing work for 250 Brazilian employees; Engesa has sold Iraq about \$100 million in arms; Mengels has sold the country a million heating canisters. At the October 1979 Manufactured Goods International Fair in Bagdad, the Brazilian Pavilion included 46 corporations. It is clear, however, that economic growth is only part of Brazil's long-term ambitions. In an announcement of talks with Iraq on a banking transaction, Brazilian officials said "it is implicit" that both sides want to "eliminate" American and European bankers as middlemen. And, as The New York Times reported on January 16, 1980, Brazil's goal is to assert its own geopolitical power on its own continent and elsewhere in the Third World, with particular emphasis on Africa.

More ominously, perhaps, a Brazilian mission headed by Foreign Minister Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro visited Iraq to study other technological needs, including the development of nuclear energy (although Argentina is far ahead in this technology after its purchase from West Germany). This mission follows an agreement, in September 1979, between Iraq's Minister of Commerce and the President of Nuclebras (Brazil's state agency), which includes not only sales of natural uranium, but also construction of advanced nuclear reactors--technology which Brazil itself has not yet received in full from West Germany.

As Carlos Chagas, a well-known journalist, wrote last November in O Estado de São Paulo: "...[We] were never so dependent on Washington as we are now on Iraq...The President of Iraq holds the key not only to Iraqi, but to Brazilian security....As long as our energy sources are not diversified...we need the good will of Iraq to survive." On the other hand, Chagas continued, Iraq needs Brazil: "Without access to nuclear energy for economic development, and a counterweight to what Israel may have, Iraq's survival is in danger....[although] the word 'bomb' was never used...the Arabs know they will never enter the Atomic Club with the help of the big powers. Finally, we need oil, we are friends, we have common interests." President (General) Joao Bautista Figueiredo said the same thing more succinctly shortly afterwards. Asked by a reporter how he thought the oil crisis would affect Brazil's prospects for 1980, he replied: "You should ask the Arabs; they are the ones who can answer that question."³

New York Times correspondent Warren Hoge summarized the reasons for this dependency in an article early in February 1980:

"It is no coincidence that Brazil's great period of record-breaking growth and its control over inflation both came to an end in 1973, when world oil prices began to soar. Brazil has played the petroleum card with abandon, creating the world's ninth-largest automobile industry and tracking its vastness with tens of thousands of miles and highways. It did not react to the new realities of the game in the middle 1970's, and it is now paying the price.

Brazil imports 85 percent of its petroleum, and will spend \$10 billion for it this year. The amount is staggering in itself, but it poses a particular burden for Brazil. The country already has a foreign debt of \$52 billion, 70 percent of which must be amortized in the early 1980's, and it is trying to combat both trade imbalances and domestic inflation by reducing imports and increasing exports."⁴

2. Latin American Weekly Report, London, Jan. 18, 1980.

3. O Estado de São Paulo, Nov. 28, 1979.

4. "Energy Costs Stunt Brazil's Development," The New York Times: International Energy Supplement, Feb. 3, 1980.

Brazil is the largest arms producer in the Third World. Last July, she delivered to Iraq the first ten of a 2,000-unit purchase of armored combat cars (some of them, it has been rumored, to be forwarded to Syria for use on the Golan Heights). It was also reported that Brazil was preparing a mass sale of weapons to the Saudis.⁵ Among those under consideration is a counter-insurgency turbojet to replace an obsolete British model, and a light tank purportedly at half the price of its American equivalent and better suited to desert warfare, as well as other sophisticated weapons promoted as more adaptable to the Middle East climate and the skills of its work forces. Qatar has already agreed to buy such armaments from Brazil, and talks with Kuwait are in progress. In addition, Saudi Arabia and Brazil have negotiated agreements on joint projects for agricultural and industrial development in Pakistan and the Sudan.

Volkswagen in Brazil is considering setting up an assembly plant in Egypt with a capacity of 10,000 to 15,000 cars a year; and Egypt's Ambassador Ezzedine Rifaat said recently that his country might also sell oil to Brazil soon, explaining that Egypt expected to start prospecting near the Libyan border shortly, possibly with Brazilian help.

Brazil is far from the only Latin American country seeking business in the Arab world. Argentina is selling meats (mostly lamb) and grains to the Arabs; Ecuador sells bananas and other fruits; and Peru sells copper. The government of Chile sold one of its largest agricultural properties, Hacienda Rupanco, to the Vice President of a Saudi Arabian bank for \$35 million. Uruguay has been trying, with mixed success, to sell meat and agricultural produce to the Arab countries. Colombia has sold coffee in quantity to the Middle East and has cordially received several Arab business missions. Most other Latin American states are too poor and underdeveloped either to produce goods the Arabs might buy or to absorb large Arab investments.

"Diplomatic Pragmatism"

It is hardly surprising that Latin America's foreign policy has followed its thrust for economic ties with the Arab world. A high Brazilian official has described his government's relations with Arab countries as the "art of diplomatic pragmatism." And as Foreign Minister Azeredo da Silveira pointed out when the 1973 Arab oil embargo had halted Brazil's economic boom, oil is bought more easily with politics than with money.

Although Brazil has been ruled by more or less repressive military governments for more than 15 years, its foreign policy usually reflects an earlier democratic history. Thus "diplomatic pragmatism" goes far to explain why Brazil--a country that fought against Hitler in World War II--was one of the three Latin American states (along with Cuba and Mexico) which voted at the 1975 United Nations General Assembly for the resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Cuba's anti-Zionism vote was expected. And Mexico's was directly attributable to the personal ambitions of its then President, Luis Echeverría. Barred by law from seeking a second term of office, Echeverría decided, as Mexican wags were saying, to run for "President of the World"--that is, to succeed Kurt Waldheim as UN Secretary General. As part of his international campaign he traveled to several Arab states, recognized the PLO in Mexico's behalf, offered his own good offices to settle the Arab-Israel conflict, and arranged for Mexico to support the Zionism-racism resolution. (He was nevertheless not elected to the post he coveted.)

Since José López Portillo became President of Mexico in 1976, the country's policy toward Israel has grown markedly friendlier. President López Portillo governs his country as a democratic leader and is trying to use its recently discovered oil reserves--perhaps the largest in the world--to develop a rational economy that will assure a decent standard of living for millions of Mexicans who now live in poverty. Diplomatic and commercial relations with Israel and the United States have become normal and realistic. Mexico will be selling more oil to Israel despite the furious Arab-inspired outcry and local

5. Saudi Arabia Newsletter, Oct. 7, 1979.

leftist pressure against the decision. Further evidence of the nation's friendlier attitude was the visit to Mexico by Israel's President Efraim Katzir in 1979, and President López Portillo's scheduled return visit early in 1980. Nor does Mexico evidence any intention of joining OPEC, although Saudi Arabia's Minister of Energy, Ahmed Zaki Yamani, visited Mexico recently. López Portillo has stated firmly that his country wants no political commitments that may be inconsistent with the national interest.

"Diplomatic pragmatism" also dictated Brazil's vote at this General Assembly session for a resolution on "The Inadmissibility of Hegemonism in International Relations," with its clause which "resolutely condemns...racism including zionism." (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Panama and Peru also voted in favor; Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela abstained.) Brazil's delegate, Sergio Corrêa da Costa, made sure to tell an interviewer he had voted on "instruction" from his government. "Politically it meant some alignment with the Arabs," he explained, and "Brazil has a very large Arab population...more Lebanese than in Lebanon." Also, "Brazil is so vulnerable and dependent on Arab oil." And finally, the country has 5,000 to 6,000 technicians in Iraq, which makes for "very close relationships. There is a political price they expect." ⁶

Raising Arab Ethnic Consciousness

As Arab economic and political influence has risen, many heretofore highly acculturated Latin Americans of Arab extraction have begun to organize and to cultivate their ethnic roots. This has not, however, been a spontaneous movement from within the population; its primary impetus came from the Arab League, and then from a number of Arab diplomats who have aided the League in this task. In several countries these functionaries have helped organized a network of institutions designed to awaken dormant ethnic and national identities. The first of a series of conferences for this purpose was held in 1968 in Argentina; at this meeting, a Federation of Arab Institutions in the Americas was formed. After several subsequent meetings in Argentina and Brazil, a conference in 1977 in Santiago, Chile designated the Federation as the official link with the Arab states.

The next Federation meeting took place in 1979 in Iraq, where the 100 delegates from Latin America were received by President al Bakr. The group later proceeded to Damascus as guests of the Syrian Government and its President, General Hafez al Assad. Jordan's King Hussein will be the Federation's host in 1981.

In late 1979, 1,000 Federation delegates from Arab and Latin American countries meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, founded a Pan-American Institute of Arab Culture with headquarters in Buenos Aires, as well as an Arab-American Information, Publicity and Communications Center based in Santiago, Chile. According to a conference report,⁷ the center's first undertaking is to track down Latin Americans of Arab ancestry who have been so thoroughly absorbed into Latin American cultures that they have lost all contact with their countries of origin.

Besides the ethnic and cultural emphasis of these organizations, their agenda include a good deal of economic and political concern. As early as 1973, it was the Federation of Arab Institutions in the Americas which set up Arlabank in Lima, Peru; today this bank holds not only Arab deposits, but capital contributions from Spain and several Latin American countries. (Arlabank is managing a \$45 million loan to Peru for its Mantero hydroelectric project.)

One officially stated purpose of the newly-formed cultural and information centers in Buenos Aires and Santiago is "to work for the free self-determination of the Palestinians and their right to their homeland...we consider the PLO the legitimate representative of that people..." Victor Ananias of Chile, President of the Federation, was quoted in Agence France Presse (Oct. 6, 1979) as stating; "The solution we propose for the Middle East is the disappearance of Israel to

6. The New York Times, Jan. 21, 1980

7. La Segunda, Santiago, Chile, Nov. 9, 1979

make way for a secular, democratic Palestinian state." And to journalists who asked whether they thought the PLO was a terrorist organization, several Latin American delegates to Caracas replied that, on the contrary, its armed activity was "legitimate defense."

Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism

PLO propaganda and anti-Zionist agitation--which sometimes slips over into venomous anti-Semitism--have intensified everywhere with the growth of Arab wealth and power. But the political instability of Latin America, its extreme dependence on foreign investment for its economic development, and its peculiar demography and ethnic composition have made it a special target of Arab anti-Israel propaganda. It also poses a special threat to Latin American Jews, who are accustomed to living amicably with their neighbors of Arab extraction. In some countries, notably Argentina, a pre-existing undercurrent of anti-Semitism makes the Arab campaign against the Jewish state--and against Latin American Jews who support it--easier and more effective.

In earlier years, anti-Israel and anti-Jewish propaganda, though crude, was seldom challenged. The Arab League specialized in distributing Hitler's Mein Kampf and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion as well as anti-Semitic literature by local authors. Today, although revised editions of the Protocols are still part of the packet of materials provided opinion molders, and such extreme anti-Semitic magazines as Cabildo in Argentina still print hoary tales of worldwide Marxist-Zionist-Yankee conspiracies, such extreme attacks often elicit sharp protests. Some of the Catholic press in Argentina has run editorials attacking all Nazi-like anti-Jewish campaigns, and Monsignor Jorge Mejía, now head of the Vatican office handling Jewish relations, denounced such propaganda when he was editor of the Catholic magazine Criterio. On the other hand, in 1971 the pro-Palestinian Maronite priest Carlos Abram was able to undermine the ecumenical thrust of a traditional religious New Year's Day celebration of peace held in the largest square in Buenos Aires.⁽⁸⁾

Anti-Israel appeals today are generally more sophisticated and more "respectable." Arab diplomats who are willing to work with left-wing and right-wing extremists have often taken over the propaganda activities from the Arab League. All too often, Latin American politicians lend themselves to these efforts. While José López Rega, called by many Argentines the "Rasputin" of Isabel Perón's regime, was negotiating an oil-purchase agreement in Libya in 1974, he instructed his office that no telex messages to him be signed by Jews (the order was aimed at José Ber Gelbard, Finance Minister of Argentina). During his trips to Libya, López Rega established the eastern base of a "cultural bridge" between the two countries, and on his return, extolled the ideological affinity between the Qaddafi and Peron governments. He also summoned all Argentine legislators of Arab extraction to a surprise meeting at the Presidential mansion where he upbraided them for abandoning their "roots" and ordered them to forge close ties to the Arab world.⁹

The most effective Arab propaganda today, especially with regard to the PLO's bid for recognition and respectability, is generated by Latin American adherents of "diplomatic pragmatism." In September 1979, for example, Brazil's Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro told the UN General Assembly that some states still refuse to accept the changes necessary to "a true peace" in the Middle East, which would not come without withdrawal from "all the territories taken by force," and "without participation of the PLO, one of the most important elements in the region's political scenario."¹⁰

Though some newspapers which ordinarily emphasized the dangers of PLO penetration praised Guerreiro's "certainly pragmatic" speech, this press reaction was not unanimous. The New York correspondent of the Fôlha de São Paulo, who is ordinarily sympathetic to the Arabs, observed that conversion from Jehovah to Allah accelerates "in proportion to OPEC price raises," adding that Petrobras preferred to "suckle at OPEC breasts" rather than to prospect its domestic fuel sources.¹¹

8. American Jewish Year Book, 1972, p. 440.

9. American Jewish Year Book, 1976, p. 273.

10. O Estado de São Paulo, Sept. 25, 1979.

11. Paulo Francis, Fôlha de São Paulo, Sept. 25, 1979.

In October 1979, Professor Musel Belal, President of the Syrian Parliament's International Committee, came to Brazil to request official recognition of the PLO. He was received by President Figueiredo, by the Foreign Minister, leaders of the Parliament, the President of the Supreme Court and São Paulo's Governor, who had previously refused to meet the PLO representative and is openly friendly to the Jewish community. Not long afterwards, 50 members of the Brazilian Parliament (out of a total of some 300) signed a petition urging PLO recognition.

The Vice President of Iraq also visited the country shortly afterward; and during his visit the PLO was officially accorded recognition as sole representative of the Palestinian people. When Israeli embassy officials criticized this step, they were admonished by the Foreign Ministry not to interfere in Brazil's affairs. The move backfired, however, when it was revealed--by the Iraqis, to the chagrin of Brazil's Foreign Ministry--that there was a secret agreement permitting the PLO to open an office in Brazil in addition to those now operating in Havana and Mexico City. Widespread criticism by the major media of this "inexplicable opening to terrorism," as one newspaper put it,¹² has not yet abated.

As soon as recognition was official, the PLO representative in Brazil, Farad Sawan, flooded the country with literature, press handouts, speeches and other propaganda, especially in the universities. The public was outraged, and leading intellectual and political figures, most of them members of the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement), spoke out at large meetings and in the press, demanding to know why Israeli diplomats were told not to interfere in Brazil's foreign affairs, while Arab promoters of the PLO were allowed to do so. At one meeting, in December 1979, a PLO representative, unable to make himself heard above shouts of anger, was forced to leave. Stores in a heavily Jewish neighborhood were closed in support of an anti-PLO rally. The Government was finally obliged to ask Sawan to soft-pedal his activities. And when, in August and September 1979, the respected O Estado de São Paulo ran a series of articles condemning terrorism, including that of the PLO, Sawan charged the paper with promoting "a racist campaign against the Palestinian people."¹³

The PLO gains in Brazil have inspired other Latin American countries to consider the possible advantages of Arab ties. In Uruguay, for example, the newspaper El Día, which had earlier carried an editorial warning that a small, poor country could not afford not to spend its money to establish a "diplomatic presence" all over Africa--including the Middle East. In Peru's largely controlled media, the messages are all anti-Israel, pro-PLO; and the PLO representative in that country, while not officially recognized, operates freely and openly. In late December 1979, Father Abraham Ayad, a Maronite Christian and advisor to Yasir Arafat, came to Lima to conduct "an intense program of activity" for the PLO.¹⁴

In Venezuela, whose President Luis Herrera Campins recently toured Algeria, -- Libya, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the PLO's sailing has been less smooth: when its supporters publicized a meeting with the country's Foreign Affairs Minister, the latter denied it had taken place.

Brazil has been urging Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru to avoid the risks of recognizing the PLO individually by granting such recognition as a bloc, without extending diplomatic representation.¹⁵

Support for Terrorism

A few years ago, it was difficult to convince Latin Americans that the reign of guerrilla terror that swept the region in the mid-1970s had any outside support. The presence of Palestinians in some terrorist militia was con-

12. La Prensa, Buenos Aires. The same point was made in O Estado de São Paulo and other Latin American periodicals.

13. O Estado de São Paulo, Nov. 14, 1979.

14. Ojo (Eye), Lima, Peru, Dec. 25, 1979.

15. Latin American Newsletter, Jan. 4, 1980.

sidered by most officials to be exceptional. But in the past two years the Argentine Government and its supporters in the media have repeatedly and publicly asserted that many of the indigenous guerrillas who wrought such havoc in the country were armed, and frequently trained in Arab countries. A recent cable from the Spanish news agency, EFE, included a statement by Major Sahad Hadad of Lebanon that South American guerrillas had been joining Palestinian units.¹⁶

According to recent reports, the PLO has donated \$2 million to the Montoneros, who proudly boast of meetings and agreements with Yasir Arafat, producing photographs as evidence. Among those appearing in photographs with Arafat is Mario Firmenich, a "Montoneros" leader whose political beginnings were in extreme right Nazi-Fascist groups. The pro-government magazine Somos (We Are) reported that he had "established contacts with Iraq, Libya and the military ETA [Basque guerrillas] in Spain; Argentine guerrillas now receive instruction in Libya and South Yemen."¹⁷

A recent United Press International cable from Tanzania reported that five African and Middle Eastern liberation movements had sent telegrams to President Rafael Videla of Argentina requesting the release of the Montoneros' former African representative and his family, reportedly seized by the Army in September 1979. Referring to a "Pact of Fatima" signed in Spain by Arab-Hispanics and the Montoneros, the cable said that the emotional basis of this alliance was "an ethnic policy whose fundamental aim in the Southern Cone is the elimination of Jewish communities through terrorist and propaganda efforts."¹⁸

Monsignor Hilarion Capucci, jailed in Israel several years ago for smuggling arms and explosives for the PLO, has visited Latin America at least twice, championing the PLO cause before journalists, students and academics. An extensive propaganda campaign has been launched by pro-Arab and pro-Nazi groups in Argentine to denounce illicit and "suspicious" operations by Argentine Jews.

This propaganda effort recalls the days of the late Hussein Triki, a notorious anti-Semite, and the first agent of the Arab League in Argentina, who was expelled from the country in the 1960s for fomenting social unrest.

Notwithstanding the Government's acknowledgment of close ties between the Arabs and subversive groups, Argentina is avidly seeking economic and trade relations in the Middle East. Arab investors and bank representatives visited Argentina in December 1979 at the invitation of José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz, Minister of Economy. And immediately before the UN Subcommittee on Human Rights met in Geneva in February 1980, Ambassador Enrique Lupiz, Director of Politics in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, was sent to the Middle East to "discuss bilateral issues, among them the position of the Arab countries on human rights in Argentina."¹⁹

Conclusion

Although still politically and economically unstable, Latin America is no longer a backwater region dominated by the industrial West. The more advanced nations--Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela--are using their natural resources to become full partners in the world economy, and demanding to be recognized as such; Even the smaller and poorer countries are demonstrating an ever-growing political and economic sophistication. For years the Arab states made promises, rarely honored, of investment and other assistance in return for political support from Third World nations; now many of these nations want the promises kept. And with North America and Europe losing their political and economic dominance over the region, the newly rich Arab states have become strong competitors in all areas of Latin American life.

There is serious question, however, about the price that Latin American nations will be asked to pay for Arab political and economic support. Will the new ties really hasten Latin American independence--or will they lead to a new dependence more onerous than that of the past?

16. Jan. 14, 1980.

17. Jan. 2, 1980.

18. Prensa Confidencial, Buenos Aires, Oct. 2, 1979. DPA (German Press Agency), Oct. 4, 1979.

19. Gente, Buenos Aires, Dec. 6, 1979; Clarín, Jan. 14, 1980.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 30, 1972
to Marc Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject

I've gone through my Latin American files and, contrary to what I expected, I found very little about Church involvement in Soviet Jewry.

I seem to remember, however, that there were conferences where some of the participants were clergy, or statements where some of the signees were clergy. Hanna Desser may have them in her files but I have been unable to locate them. In the meantime I'm sending you a couple of memoranda which may be helpful.

Let me add that at a fairly recent conference on Soviet Jewry, one of the names mentioned as lending support was a Father Felipe McGregor, Rector of the Catholic University of Lima.

cc: Seymour Lachman





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

EUROPEAN OFFICE • 41, Rue Paul Doumer, 75016 Paris, France • Tel. 503-0156, 520-0660 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris

Nives Fox, European Representative

November 10, 1978

MEMORANDUM

To: Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum
From: Zachariah Shuster
Subj: Latin-American Bishop's Conference

After my conversation with Morris Fine concerning your cabled request to the Vatican to accredit AJC representatives to the Latin-American Bishop's Conference, I telephoned to Father Mejia and had a prolonged conversation with him on this matter. He was very friendly and explained to me that the situation is as follows:

1/ The Vatican authority dealing with this subject is the pontifical commission on Latin-America which is headed by Cardinal Baggio. He said that he himself is not in a position to make any decision as regards any aspect of the conference, although he intends to participate in it.

2/ Mr Kovadloff, whom Father Mejia knows very well and recognizes his qualities, would not be eligible to be designated as observer, for the reason that such a position is limited to present residents of Latin-American countries. In view of the fact that Kovadloff is now a resident of the U.S., his candidacy could not be considered by the pontifical commission.

3/ With regard to Mr Nudelstecher, Father Mejia said that he could be designated as observer because of his residence in Mexico. But this is now impossible for two reasons:

- a) There is only one observer for each non-catholic religion, and sometime ago there was already designated as Jewish representative Mr Warshavsky, head of the World Jewish Congress office in Buenos-Aires.
- b) The list of observers is now closed and no additions can be made.

In a very friendly manner, he made it clear that he is

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ELAINE PETSCHKE, Westchester; MERVIN H. RISEMAN, New York; RICHARD E. SHERWOOD, Los Angeles; SHERMAN H. STARR, Boston; ELISE D. WATERMAN, New York ■

unable to change matters now.

Father Mejia expressed his satisfaction with the fact the Cardinal Willebrandts was asked by John Paul II to remain in his present position as President of the SECRETARIAT for CHRISTIAN UNITY.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 2, 1979
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Jacobo Kovadloff
subject F Puebla Conference

I am translating the complete second part of the working paper for Puebla. But meanwhile, in advance I would like to submit to you the main points, which I found are those with which we must be more concerned.

Despite what Father Mejia wrote to me I don't find any mention about the Jewish-Catholic dialogue. Neither are there any references to the growing anti-semitism problem in Latin America.

Part II entitled Doctrinal Reflections is not at all within the framework of the Vatican II documents and the orientations for the application of "Nostra Aetate".

Other points on page 44 of the paper, expresses that "Israel shall be judged since Christ". Later on pages 45 and 46 the text makes Israel appear as a transitory dimension - a preparatory stage and forerunner of Christianity. On page 46 it is written:

"The New Testament, while fulfilling spiritually the Old, also carries a new light the enlightens the latter. Such light arrived, in the plenitude of the ages, when God spoke to us through his Son (Heb 1,2), Jesus of Nazareth and through him manifested his design and manifested himself."

The following is from page 48, (par. 297).

"Christ manifests that the Kingdom is delivered through Him, presenting himself as the Son of the man that fulfills the mission of the servant of Jehova, predicted by Isaiah (3) as the "loved Son:", (Mc 12, 6-8), that for his obedience, assumes by the death of his brothers, mankind."

The following is from page 48, (par. 298, 299).

"Interpreting Jesus, particularly his death, as a prophetic figure of the "suffering Servant", a mysterious dimension of evil is discovered. The Cross manifests, plainly, the mystery of sin and pain. Taking on himself the "sins of the world"

RECEIVED JAN 10 1979

(Jn 1, 29-36) Jesus, in his death, represents all the evils that plague existence: the separating of man, for being an idolator, sets him away from God; however, the separation of the brotherhood of humanity is prototypical to the division of Jew and Gentile (4); finally, the separation of death, the enemy that prowls till the end.(5). The power of evil over the entire earth and its history falls on Christ."

As I am going to Mexico on January 24, I am in a hurry to have the materials that Abe requested from you in his memo. You must understand that I will need to translate it into Spanish, type it and then print it. My idea is to take them to Puebla and distribute them among the Cardinals, Bishops, and clergy who will attend the Conference. Also at one point it might be necessary to organize a press conference expressing our point of view.

I'm looking forward to hear from you very soon. Meanwhile my very warm appreciation for your cooperation.

JK/sh

x.c. Abe Karlilow
Bert Gold
Sergio Nudelstejer

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 27, 1978
to Jacob Kovadloff
from Abe Karlikow
subject Puebla Conference

This is to confirm that you will go to the Latin American Bishops Conference (CELAM) in Puebla, Mexico towards the end of January, as agreed at our joint IAD-FAD session. Sergio Nudelstejer and yourself will be covering this conference jointly.

-- A telegram from appropriate AJC leadership should be ready for release by Thursday, Jan. 25 hailing the meeting and noting Jewish concerns.

-- Your Spanish-language broadcast and press release of Thursday the 18th should be devoted to the subject.

It seems to me on looking over the CELAM Conference document you showed me that we already must be prepared for at least three position papers to be used in appropriate fashion, and possible public release at Puebla. These are:

-- A response to the Puebla document's characterizing Israel, the faith, in conjunction with negative stereotyped terms.

-- A paper urging that the discussion of Catholic mission work take into account the developments at the Venice meeting a few years ago, which now does not seem to be the case.

-- A paper outlining what has happened in Latin America insofar as anti-Semitism is concerned, and the Church's attitude thereto, since the post-Vatican II Guidelines were issued there. This paper should urge the Puebla meeting, also, to reinforce action in keeping with the Guidelines. According to the information you received from Father Mejia, there should be a full day devoted to anti-Semitism even though this is not specifically listed on the agenda, as part of the discussion on ecumenism.

Obviously, you will be discussing all of this in detail with Marc Tanenbaum before taking any of this action.

You will also release through the Puebla Conference Administration, if possible, the document by Rabbi Tanenbaum and Leonard Swindler on Jewish-Christian Dialogues. This, however, apparently was first issued in 1966. A fairly extensive forward, therefore, will have to be written bringing this up to date if one is to be distributing it at Puebla.


Please translate immediate the first five pages of the Puebla document available indicating the negative stereotypes concerning Israel since it is important we all be fully aware of this.

ASK/anc

cc: Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Bert Gold
Sergio Nudelstejer
Mort Yarmon
Zach Shuster



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 8, 1979
to Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum
from Jacob Kovadloff 
subject CELAM Working Paper

Please find enclosed a xerox copy of the second part of the above mentioned document, both the Spanish version as well as the English translation. Perhaps you will find some mistakes since the translator Mr. Chaves Paz is a journalist and not familiar with theological subjects.
I remain at your disposal.



JK/sh
c.c. Abe Karlikow
enc.

PART TWO

DOCTRINAL REFLECTION

INTRODUCTION

We have just completed a general description of the evangelizing past 268 of the Church in L.A. and of the present historical situation in which it is to be found. The Church wishes, as in the past, to contribute with its specific activity, evangelization, to the promotion of our peoples' situation towards ever more human and Christian conditions. (1)

GU 4 It is necessary to read, discern and enlighten the still contradictory 269 meaning of historical events, starting with the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus Christ for all peoples and all times.

In this activity the Church takes into account the particular competence 270 and autonomy of human institutions. Yet the Church feels deeply linked to the history of the Latin American peoples (2) and knows that the Gospel word is the strength of God, capable through his dynamism (3) of constantly renewing the deep roots of the man who accepts it (4), as well as any culture that, in its humanizing effort, takes it up as the horizon which guides its history.

The Church also knows that before she judges others she must allow herself 271 to be judged by the Gospel that she proclaims in Christ's name. So then, what are the principles or evangelical criteria with which the Church ought to read, discern and enlighten the Latin American experience?

One of the forms of human expression acquired through revelation to 272 indicate God's design over history was the Kingdom of God. God wishes, in his plan, to place human history within his kingdom. Through his Providence he directs history towards a goal designated the "Kingdom of God."

BR22
CH 17 This explains why the "Kingdom" is spoken of in the following reflections. The Kingdom of God is the supreme meaning of human history, the goal of its most profound aspirations because it is humanity's vocation.

The question returns that left us with the consideration of the historical situation of our continent: is the present epoch of L.A. oriented towards the kingdom of God?

EC 25 History is not automatically directed by Providence towards the Kingdom. 275
Nc 2. 1.2 History is the kingdom of human liberty. Man may freely refuse the domination of God over him. He then accepts the mastery of other gods over his freedom; idols.

1 Cf pp. 20, 21

2 Cf OA 1

3 Cf EN 18

4 Cf Rom 1.16

5 Cf EN 7



The revelation of man's vocation, the call to place himself under God's rule, is equal to and the counterpart of the warning to abandon idols and adore the true God. 276

Adoration of the true God brings to man the good of "eternal life", which is complete life, the full meaning. On the other hand, the adoration of the idols of one's own, autonomous reason, of wealth or of power - sin - brings to humanity evil, death and contradiction. 277

Evil and Good. History is the field of human freedom. This freedom may bring the kingdom of evil or the kingdom of good. What does man's freedom bring to that portion of humanity which is Latin America? How can good be distinguished from evil in its present historical situation using God's Word? 278

When humanity brings evil upon itself - this is biblical history - God awakens in it the longing for liberation in order to regain the lost good, as well as the march towards the Kingdom. Because of that, throughout the ages of the history of salvation, three moments which make up its dramatic sense are reiterated: the moment of committing evil, the hour of the mystery of iniquity; the moment of becoming liberated from evil, the hour of redemption; the moment of achieving the positive goal to which the liberation from evil is oriented, the hour of reconciliation and communion. "Salvation" in its biblical sense, implies the dual aspect of being liberated and absolved of what is negative in existence, and of being integrated in the communion with God and other men. 279

The three moments which we have just indicated lead to the following reflections. 280

Chapter 1

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN JESUS CHRIST

God who always gave news of himself (13, 1-9; Rom. 1, 19-20; 1 Cor 1, 21; 281 LG 2; DV 3) to all peoples in all times, began particular way to reveal his design to the people of Israel (1) and he expressed it with the ^{human} representation of a "Kingdom."

1 ISRAEL, INTERPRETED THROUGH CHRIST

1.1 The mystery of evil

(1) Cf. HECH. 1, 1
(2) Cf. GEN 2-11

AR 4

The design of placing the earth within his kingdom is understood through 282
 secular experience of evil and through the revelation of its beginnings.
 Enlightened by revelation, Israel discovers, that apart from the imperfections
 inherent to human finitude, sin is to be found in the roots of evil (2).
 Sin manifests itself in the consciousness of a rupture ^{with} the Absolute God;
 it is made real in the idolatry of supposed "gods" which were to rule the des-
 tiny of pagannations and against which Yahweh will be erected as a
 living, personal and real God. Such gods symbolize different values which are
 absolutized. Because of that, sin is also made real in the idolatrous atti-
 tude towards money, the vital forces of sex and fertility, power, and war;
 and is concretized in the rupture of man from man. This takes the forms of
 domination, instrumentalization, depersonalization, as is manifest in the
 intimate rending and unbalancing of the person. Evil is also made real in the
 rupture between man and nature.

EC 25

Biblical history narrates how sin takes command of humanity (Gen 2-11); 283
how the people of Israel falls into attitudes that break the social tissue
of the people by filling the human heart with undue pride and greed. Sin is
 a break with God either by denying Him directly or by rejecting Him through
 the belittlement of his creatures, the poor or the innocent.(.)

1.2 The mystery of liberation.

EC 26

EU 4

URU 4

Starting with the consciousness that evil has its roots in sin, the "King- 284
 dom of God" is desired and expected by Israel, especially by the "poor of
 yahweh," as an intervention of the love and power of God which would liberate
 them from sin and put evil far from them. The will of God to bring about his
 kingdom means only the decision to reclaim his dominion over^a creation troubled by
 evil, through an intervention by which he definitively makes himself King and
 rebuilds the creation according to his original intention with unforeseen
 plenitude.(2)

285
 so, the kingdom is explained in terms of the liberation from evil. Biblical
history narrates how God has prophetically anticipated his definitive inter-
vention through Christ, increasingly revealing himself as liberator in:
the events of Exodus(3), the age of the Judges(4), and the Babylonian
captivity(5). It is a question of liberations that are not exhausted in
 their political meaning that is in addition real. Exodus as well as the
 liberation from the Babylonian captivity, are emancipations that permit the
 people to independently reorganize their own national life and thereby give

themselves a framework for fraternal living and for actualizing themselves as a people consecrated to Yahweh. On the other hand these liberations will be taken up again, without losing ^{their} historical character of political emancipation and real saving intervention, to prophetically prefigure the total future liberation that Christ would bring about with his cross (6)

1.3 The mystery of ^G grace

The afore mentioned liberation definitely points to its positive counterpart. It is liberated from the upheavals of existence to rebuild its unity. It is liberated from ruptures in order to reconcile men with the Absolute and, based on this foundation, can reconcile men torn among themselves and apart from nature. It is for the profound unification of man, torn ^G apart within himself.

1 Cf Ex 32, 7-10; Isai 1, 10-17

2 cf I Cor 15, 24-26

3 cf Ex 15, 1-18

4 cf Ju 2, 15-18

5 Cf Judg 40, 1-11

6 cf 1 Cor 10, 1-6; Re 3, 19-22



45

He is liberated for communion. In this way the mystery of grace begins to manifest itself. By this manifestation, the revelation of God to Israel is expressed in the idea of a "chosen people" congregated by Yahweh in the Covenant that He makes with them. God's part of the covenant implies his presence in the midst of his people which thereby enters into communion with Him. The Covenant makes the "people" (1). For their part the people promise to adore Yahweh exclusively and to take into the Israelite national fraternity the poor and the innocent, granting them all their rights. (2)

There is a dramatic opposition between the mystery of iniquity and the mystery of communion or grace. The former is separation and withdrawal from God and of men from themselves; it is a rupture dispersal. This fact is symbolized in Babel, with the confusion of language (3), that is, the lack of reciprocal understanding, division and dispersal. The mystery of communion which has its source in the Spirit, is convocation, congregation, unity. Yahweh wishes to congregate in unity all the peoples of the earth by means of the vocation of Abraham, (Gen 12, 1-3)

1.4 Toward the New Testament

The promise of the Kingdom acquired the image of a new Covenant with the prophets (Jer 31, 31-34); the promises of a supreme and definitive coming, of God's effective nearness, present in his envoy, the Messiah. This Messiah would have to congregate around Yahweh all peoples of the earth in a new People. With this image of a future Kingdom and a new Covenant God's design continues to manifest itself as the offer to bring men into communion with Him and with themselves, that is to bring together a universal people of brothers (4). With the announcement of the Messiah the Old Testament points towards Christ; with the announcement of a new universal people it points toward the Church of Christ. Thus it orients figuratively and prophetically towards the horizon of a Kingdom to be inaugurated by Christ and lays the seed for his Church until achieving at the end of time its full and definitive goal. The Lord will convoke and bring together the peoples of the earth in a new Israel, by the messianic effusion of the Holy Spirit (5). The events of Pentecost will be counterposed to those of Babel: Those scattered over the face of the earth will be brought together and will understand each other through the Holy Spirit (6). A common language will appear, that of faith, which will manifest itself in the believers' community of love, joined together in "one heart and one soul." (7)

2. CHRIST, GOAL OF ISRAEL AND CENTER OF HUMAN HISTORY

The New Testament by "spiritually" fulfilling the Old Testament, sheds a new light on it. This light arrived when in the fullness of time, God spoke to us through his Son (Heb 1,2) , Jesus of Nazareth, and through Him showed us his design and made Himself manifest to us.

1 Cf Ex 19, 3-6

2 cf Deu 10, 14-22

3 cf Gen 11, 7

4 Cf Isai 11, 1-16

5 Cf Acts 2, 17-21; Isai 3,1-5

6 Cf Acts 2, 7-8

7 Cf Acts 4, 32



2.1. The Evangelizing Jesus

Christ, moved by the strength of the Spirit (Luke 4, 14), presented himself as evangelizer and began to announce the arrival of the Kingdom (Mark 1, 14-15). The center of his message is newly the Kingdom of God.

2.1.1 How Jesus evangelized

Jesus announced the coming of the Kingdom with works and words(1), with the testimony of his life and his death. With his resurrection, the divine confirmation of his works and words, the Kingdom arrives in a decisive and mysterious form. The model which the Church was to follow in her evangelizing mission was thus established in anticipation: she must announce the Kingdom by the testimony of her life, literal announcement, sacramental celebration and by her attitude of service.

2.1.2. The recipients of Jesus' mission

Jesus visited the diverse towns and cities, evangelizing (2). He only recognized himself during his earthly life as sent to the sheep of Israel (3), and passed on to the remaining peoples at Easter through the gift of the Spirit that universalizes, and charged the twelve with carrying the Good News to all people in order to fulfill his universal mission.(4)

The words with which the Lord gives testimony of Himself and which make up part of an ample context of messianic signs(5) reach their meaning when considered in the light of the earlier verses, in which Christ applies to himself the words of Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to preach the good news to the poor" EN6 (6).

Thus the Lord anticipated the catholic dimension and at the same time the particular attention to the poor that would belong to the evangelizing mission of his Church. Sent to incarnate the word of God in all cultures, the Church would have to sow herself inclined to gather to the breast of the People of God preferentially, the multitude of the defenseless, the weak and the suffering; those who, like the ones who used to follow Christ, demand from her the same sign of credibility.

2.1.3 The content of Jesus' message.

The center of the message of Jesus is the "Kingdom of God". or as the Gospel of John makes clear, the "Father." But the promised Kingdom of the Old Testament, announced in the New as being near, bursts forth in Jesus

himself; this is He who reveals the Father. "Eternal life" consists of knowledge of the Father as well as of his messenger, Jesus.(9). The mystery of "eternal life" or of the "Kingdom" that is revealed.

1 cf DV 2; Mark 1, 22-27

2 Cf Luke 4, 43

3 Cf Matt 15, 24

4 Cf Matt 28, 19-20; Mark 16,15; Luke 24, 46-47; Acts 1, 8

5 Cf Luke 4, 43

6 Cf Luke 4, 18; Isai 61, 1; EN 12

7 Cf Matt 4, 23-25



47

IV, 2

to the "little ones" (1), and that Christ will come in his fullness when we drink of the fruit of the vine in in the Father's Kingdom (2). Jesus himself is contained in the kingdom, and thererore within his own message: the kingdom of God, the irruption of his love and power, made real in and by Jesus. This is contained in the evangelizing message. Because of that Christ who reveals the Father and starts the kingdom, constitutes the central object of the Church's evangelization.

2.2 Jesus, Servant of God

CO20
BR18

Christ shows that the kingdom arrives through Him, presenting Himself as the son of man who fulfills the mission of servant of Yahweh, predicted by Isaiah as the "beloved Son" (Mark 12, 6-8) who by his obedience assumes the deaths of all men, his brothers.

2.2.1. The mystery of evil

EC 23
HO1
PE67

Interpreting Jesus, particularly in his death, from the prophetic image of the "suffering Servant", the mysterious dimension of evil is discovered. On the cross Christ makes manifest in its entirety the mystery of sin and suffering. By taking up the burden of the "sin of the world" (John 1, 29-36), Jesus represents in his death, all of the evil that troubles existence: in part the separations of men from God through their idolatry, in part the breaking of human fraternity, prototypically figured in the division of Jews and gentiles (4); and finally the rending of death, enemy lurks until the end (5). The power of evil over the universality of the earth and of history comes down on Christ.

ME 23
E 67
URU 4
H22

The Church sees in the death of one, Jesus, who gave Himself for all (6), the supreme moment in which all of humanity's tearing apart, the centuries of sorrowful history, including those of Latin America, accumulate on the Son who presents them to the Father. Likewise, the Church sees in the face of the hopeless man who does not have God; of the one who walks and searches in the darkness; of the hungry and naked man; of the prisoner and the lonely man (8), the face of Christ suffering on the cross, and therefore of a God who takes up the sufferings his own creation (9). For this very reason the Church cannot cease to refer herself expressly to the sorrowful situation of Latin America: because she must give voice to the silent man in his pain; but above all because she must give testimony of the God who gathers up the groans of his creature and who will return through the jurisdiction of divine justice to judge all human injustice. So, the Church repeats the "word of The cross" (I Cor 1, 18), That is, the testimony to the wisdom of God, given by Christ.

PE 65
URU 8

2.2.2 The mystery of liberation and grace

EC
CO20

[start]

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REFLEXION DOCTRINAL

INTRODUCCION

- Acabamos de hacer una descripción general del pasado evangelizador de la Iglesia en A.L. y de la presente situación histórica en que se encuentra. La Iglesia desea, como antaño, contribuir con su aporte específico, la evangelización, a promover la situación de nuestros pueblos hacia condiciones cada vez más humanas y cristianas (1). 268
- GU 4** Es necesario leer, discernir e iluminar el sentido aún contradictorio del acontecer de la historia, a partir del Evangelio proclamado por Jesucristo para todos los pueblos y todos los tiempos. 269
- En esta actividad, la Iglesia tiene en cuenta la propia competencia y autonomía de las instituciones humanas. La Iglesia, empero, se siente hondamente vinculada a la historia de los pueblos latinoamericanos (2) y sabe que la palabra evangélica es fuerza de Dios capaz, por su dinamismo (3) de renovar constantemente las profundas raíces del hombre que la acepte (4), como también de toda cultura que, en su esfuerzo de humanización, la asuma como horizonte que guía su historia. 270
- Sabe también la Iglesia que antes de juzgar a los demás, ella debe dejarse juzgar por el Evangelio que anuncia en nombre de Cristo. Pues bien, cuáles son los principios o criterios evangélicos con que la Iglesia debe leer, discernir e iluminar el acontecer latinoamericano? 271
- Una de las formas de expresión humana que adquirió la revelación del designio de Dios sobre la historia, fue la del Reino de Dios. (5). Dios quiere, en su plan, poner la historia humana bajo su reinado. Por su Providencia, conduce la historia hacia una meta designada como "Reino de Dios". 272
- BR 22**
CH 17 Esto explica por qué, en las reflexiones que siguen, se habla del "Reino". El Reino de Dios es el sentido supremo de la historia humana, la meta de sus más profundas aspiraciones porque es la vocación de la humanidad. 273
- Retorna, entonces, la pregunta que nos ha dejado la consideración de la situación histórica de nuestro Continente: la presente época de A.L. está orientada al Reino de Dios? 274
- EC 25**
Nc. 2.1.2 La historia no es automáticamente conducida por la Providencia hacia el Reino. La historia es el reino de la libertad humana. El hombre puede libremente rehusar el reinado de Dios sobre él. Entonces, acepta que sobre su libertad reinen otros dioses, los ídolos. 275

(1) Cf PP 20-21

(2) Cf OA 1

(3) Cf EN 18

(4) Cf Rom 1,16

(5) Cf EN 7

La revelación de la vocación del hombre, llamado a ponerse bajo el reinado de Dios equivale, como contrapartida, a la amonestación para que abandone los ídolos y adore al verdadero Dios. 276

La adoración del verdadero Dios trae al hombre el bien, la "vida eterna", que es la vida plena, el pleno sentido. En cambio, la adoración de los ídolos de la propia razón autónoma, de la riqueza o del poder, -el pecado-, acarrea sobre la humanidad el mal, la muerte y el contrasentido. 277

El mal y el bien. La historia es el campo de la libertad humana. Esta libertad puede acarrear el reino del mal o el reino del bien. Qué trae la libertad del hombre a la porción de humanidad que es A.L.? Cómo discernir el bien del mal en su presente situación histórica, desde la Palabra de Dios? 278

Cuando la humanidad trae sobre sí el mal - esta es la historia bíblica- Dios despierta en ella el anhelo de liberación para recuperar el bien perdido y la marcha hacia el Reino. Por eso, a través de las épocas de la historia de salvación, se reiteran tres momentos que componen su dramaticidad: el momento de hacer el mal, hora del misterio de iniquidad; el momento de ser liberado del mal, hora de la redención; el momento de alcanzar la meta positiva a la que se orienta la liberación del mal, hora de la reconciliación y de la comunión. La "salvación", en su sentido bíblico, implica el doble aspecto de ser liberado y absuelto de lo negativo de la existencia y de ser integrado en la comunión con Dios y con los demás hombres. 279

Los tres momentos que acabamos de indicar conducen a las siguientes reflexiones. 280

CAPITULO I

EL REINO DE DIOS EN JESUCRISTO

Dios que siempre dió noticia de sí (Sab 13, 1-9; Rm 1,19-20; 1 Cor 1,21; LG 2; DV 3) a todos los pueblos y en todos los tiempos, comenzó de un modo particular a revelar su designio al pueblo de Israel (1) y lo expresó con la representación humana de un "Reino". 281

1 ISRAEL, INTERPRETADO DESDE CRISTO

1.1. El misterio del mal

El designio de poner la tierra bajo su reinado se comprende desde la experiencia secular del mal y desde la revelación de su trasfondo. Iluminado por la revelación, Israel llega a descubrir, que, aparte de las imperfecciones inherentes a la finitud humana, en la raíz del mal está el pecado (2). Este se manifiesta en la conciencia de una ruptura 282

(1) Cf. Hech 1,1

(2) Cf Gn 2-11

con el Absoluto de Dios; se realiza en la idolatría de supuestos "dioses" que regirían el destino de las naciones paganas y contra los que se erigirá Yahvé como un Dios real, personal y viviente. Tales dioses simbolizan diversos valores que son absolutizados. Por eso, el pecado se realiza también en la actitud idolátrica del dinero, de las fuerzas vitales del sexo y la fertilidad, del poder y de la guerra y se concreta en la ruptura de los hombres entre sí, bajo formas de dominación, instrumentalización, cosificación; se manifiesta también en la íntima escisión y desequilibrio de la persona, así como en la ruptura del hombre con la naturaleza.

EC 25

La historia bíblica narra cómo el pecado se enseñorea de la humanidad (Gen 2-11); cómo el pueblo de Israel recae en actitudes que, al cargar de soberbia y avaricia el corazón humano, rompen el tejido social del pueblo. El pecado es ruptura con Dios, porque se lo niega directamente o porque se lo rechaza por el menosprecio a sus creaturas, el pobre o el inocente (1).

283

1.2. El misterio de liberación

EC 26

GU 4

URU 4

A partir de la conciencia de que el mal encuentra su raíz en el pecado, el "Reino de Dios" es deseado y esperado por Israel, sobre todo por los "pobres de Yahvé", como una intervención del amor y del poder de Dios, que habría de liberar el pecado y alejar el mal. La voluntad de Dios, de hacer llegar su reinado no significa otra cosa que la decisión de reivindicar su señorío sobre la creación, aquejada por el mal, mediante una intervención por la que se hará definitivamente Rey de su creación, reconstruyéndola en su intención original con plenitud insospechada (2).

284

Así, el Reino se explica en términos de liberación del mal. La historia bíblica nos narra cómo Dios ha anticipado proféticamente su intervención definitiva en Cristo, revelándose crecientemente como liberador, en los acontecimientos del éxodo, (3) en la época de los Jueces (4) y del cautiverio babilónico (5). Se trata de liberaciones que no se agotan en su significado político; real, por otra parte. El Exodo, como la liberación del cautiverio babilónico, son emancipaciones que permiten al pueblo reorganizar independientemente su propia vida nacional y darse así un marco para la convivencia fraterna y para realizarse como pueblo consagrado a Yahvé. Por otra parte, estas liberaciones, sin perder su carácter histórico de emancipación política y de real intervención salvífica de Dios, serán retomadas, para figurar proféticamente la futura liberación total que habría de operar Cristo con su cruz (6).

285

1.3. El Misterio de la Gracia

Dicha liberación apunta, en definitiva, a su contrapartida positiva. Se libera de los desgarrones de la existencia, para reconstruir su unidad. Se libera de las rupturas, para la reconciliación de los hombres con el Absoluto y, sobre este fundamento, para la reconciliación de los hombres, desgarrados entre sí y con la naturaleza; para la unificación profunda del hombre, desgarrado consigo mismo.

286

(1) Cf Ex 32, 7-10; Is 1, 10-17

(2) Cf 1 Cor 15, 24-28

(3) Cf Ex 15, 1-18

(4) Cf Ju 2, 15-18

(5) Cf Js 40, 1-11

(6) Cf 1 Cor 10, 1-6; 1 Pe 3, 19-22

U 4
AR 10

287

Se libera para la comunión. Así se comienza a manifestar el misterio de gracia. Por ello, la revelación de Dios a Israel se expresa con la idea de la "elección de un pueblo" al que Yahvé congrega por la "alianza" que instaura con él. Esta Alianza implica por parte de Dios, su presencia en medio del pueblo, el cual entra así en comunión con Aquel. La Alianza constituye al "pueblo" (1). El pueblo, por su parte, se compromete a adorar a Yahvé exclusivamente y a asumir en la fraternidad nacional israelita, otorgándole todos sus derechos, al pobre y al inocente (2).

288

Hay una oposición dramática entre el misterio de iniquidad y el misterio de comunión o gracia. Aquel es disgregación y alejamiento de Dios y de los hombres entre sí; es ruptura, dispersión. Tal hecho se simboliza en Babel, con la confusión del lenguaje (3), es decir, la falta de comprensión recíproca, la división y la dispersión. El misterio de comunión, que tiene su fuente en el Espíritu, es convocación, congregación, unidad. Yahvé quiere congregar en unidad por medio de la vocación de Abraham a todos los pueblos de la tierra (Gen 12, 1-3).

1.4. Hacia el Nuevo Testamento

289

118

La promesa del Reino fue adquiriendo con los profetas la figura de una nueva Alianza (Jer 31, 31-34); promesas de un advenimiento supremo y definitivo, de una cercanía eficaz de Dios presente en su enviado, el Mesías. Este habría de congregar, en torno a Yahvé, en un nuevo Pueblo, a todos los pueblos de la tierra. Con esta figura del Reino futuro y de la nueva Alianza se sigue manifestando el designio de Dios como propósito de llevar a los hombres a la comunión con El y entre sí, esto es, de reunir un pueblo universal de hermanos (4). Mediante el anuncio mesiánico, el Antiguo Testamento apunta hacia Cristo; con el anuncio de un pueblo nuevo, universal, apunta a la Iglesia de Cristo. Así orienta, figurativa y proféticamente, hacia el horizonte de un Reino que habría de ser inaugurado por Cristo y que habría de comenzar a germinar en su Iglesia, hasta llegar a alcanzar, al final de los tiempos, su meta plena y definitiva. El Señor convocará y reunirá a los pueblos de la tierra en un nuevo Israel, por la efusión mesiánica del Espíritu Santo (5). Será el acontecimiento de Pentecostés, contrapuesto a Babel: quienes se hallaban dispersos en la faz de la tierra, serán reunidos y se entenderán entre sí por la acción del Espíritu (6). Aparecerá un lenguaje común, el de la fe, que se manifestará en la comunidad de amor de los creyentes, reunidos entre sí "en un solo corazón y una sola alma" (7).

2. CRISTO, META DE ISRAEL Y CENTRO DE LA HISTORIA HUMANA

11,3
E 63
RU 4
L 63
C 26
R 12

290

El Nuevo Testamento, al cumplir "espiritualmente" el Antiguo, aporta una nueva luz que lo ilumina. Dicha luz llegó cuando, en la plenitud de los tiempos, Dios nos habló mediante su Hijo (Hebr 1,2), Jesús de Nazaret y por El nos manifestó su designio y se manifestó así mismo.

- (1) Cf Ex 19, 3-6
- (2) Cf DT 10, 14-22
- (3) Cf Gn 11,7
- (4) Cf Is 11, 1-16
- (5) Cf Hech 2, 17-21; Is 3, 1-5
- (6) Cf Hech 2, 7-8
- (7) Cf Hech 4, 32

2.1. Jesús Evangelizador

EC 23

CH 17

CR 5

CO 156

Cristo, impulsado por la fuerza del Espíritu (Lc 4,14), se presentó como evangelizador y comenzó a anunciar la llegada del Reino. (Mc 1, 14-15). El centro de su mensaje es, nuevamente, el Reino de Dios.

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2.1.1. Modo como Jesús Evangelizó

SA 5

ME 21

CH 17

Cs 62

Re 112

Ju IV.5

Jesús anunció el advenimiento del Reino con obras y palabras (1), con el testimonio de su vida y de su muerte. Con su resurrección, confirmación divina de sus obras y palabras, llega el Reino en forma decisiva y misteriosa. Quedó así anticipado el modelo que habría de seguir la Iglesia en su misión evangelizadora: anunciar el Reino mediante el testimonio de su vida, el explícito anuncio, la celebración sacramental y su actitud de servicio.

292

2.1.2. Destinatarios de la misión de Jesús

Jesús recorrió, evangelizando, los diversos pueblos y ciudades (2). Reconociéndose enviado durante su vida terrestre solo a las ovejas de Israel (3), pasó a los demás pueblos en su Pascua por el don del Espíritu que universaliza y encargó a los doce que llevaran el anuncio de la Buena Nueva a todas las gentes, para cumplir el destino universal de su misión (4).

293

ME 23

PE 65

EC 28

CO 151

GU 4

Las palabras con que el Señor da testimonio de sí mismo y que hacen parte de un amplio contexto de los signos mesiánicos (5) "alcanzan todo su significado cuando se las considera a la luz de los versículos anteriores, en los que Cristo se aplica a sí mismo las palabras del profeta Isaías: "El Espíritu del Señor está sobre mí, porque me ungió para evangelizar a los pobres" (EN 6) (6).

294

SA 5

Er 9

Así anticipó el Señor la dimensión católica y a la vez la particular atención para con los pobres que habría de tener la misión evangelizadora de su Iglesia. Enviada a encarnar la Palabra de Dios en todas las culturas, la Iglesia habría de mostrarse inclinada a recoger en el seno del Pueblo de Dios, preferentemente, a la multitud de desamparados, débiles y sufrientes, los que, así como antes seguían a Jesús (7), reclaman ahora de ella el mismo signo de credibilidad.

295

2.1.3. Contenido del mensaje de Jesús

ME 19

AR 2

EC 27

CO 19

BO 13

PE 64

El centro del mensaje de Jesús es el "Reino de Dios", o, como pondrá en todo su relieve el Evangelio de Juan, el "Padre". Pero el Reino prometido en el Antiguo Testamento y anunciado en el Nuevo como cercano (8) irrumpe a través del mismo Jesús; este es el que revela al Padre, en cuyo conocimiento, como en el de su enviado Jesús, consiste la "vida eterna" (9). Misterio de la "vida eterna" o del "Reino" que es revelado a

296

(1) Cf DV 2; Mc 1,22-27

(2) Cf Lc 4,43

(3) Cf Mt 15,24

(4) Cf Mt 28, 19-20; Mc 16,15; Lc 24, 46-47; Hech 1,8

(5) Cf Lc 4,43

(6) Cf Lc 4,18; Is 61,1; EN 12

(7) Cf Mt 4, 23-25

(8) Cf Mt 3,2; 4,17

(9) Cf Jn 17, 3

los "pequeños" (1), y que en Cristo llegará a su plenitud cuando bebamos el fruto de la vida en el Reino del Padre (2). Jesús mismo, pues, se convierte en contenido del Reino, y por tanto, de su propio mensaje: el reinado de Dios, la irrupción de su amor y poder, se realizan en y por Jesús. Este es proclamado en el mensaje evangelizador. Por eso Cristo, que revela al Padre e inicia el Reino, constituye para la Iglesia el objeto central de su evangelización.

2.2. Jesús, Siervo de Dios

CO 20 Cristo pone de manifiesto que el Reino llega a través de El, presentándose como el Hijo del hombre que cumple la misión del siervo de Yahvé, predicho por Isaías (3) como el "Hijo amado" (Mc 12, 6-8), que por su obediencia, asume la muerte por sus hermanos, los hombres. 297

2.2.1. Misterio del mal

EC 23 Al interpretar a Jesús, particularmente en su muerte, desde la figura profética del "Siervo sufriente", se descubre la misteriosa dimensión del mal. En la cruz de Cristo se pone de manifiesto, con toda su plenitud, el misterio de pecado y de dolor. Al cargar HO 1 sobre sí el "pecado del mundo" (Jn 1, 29-36), Jesús, en su muerte, representa todo el mal que aqueja a la existencia: es decir, por una parte, las rupturas con que el hombre, PE 67 por su idolatría, se separa de Dios; por otra, el rompimiento de la fraternidad humana, figurado prototípicamente en la división de judíos y gentiles (4); y finalmente, el desgarrón de la muerte, enemigo que acecha hasta el final (5). El poder del mal sobre la universalidad de la tierra y de la historia recae sobre Cristo. 298

ME 23 La Iglesia, ve, en la muerte de uno, Jesús, que se entregó por todos (6), el momento supremo en el que se acumulan sobre el Hijo, quien los presenta al Padre, todos los URU 4 desgarrones de la humanidad, los siglos de historia doliente, incluidos los de nuestra A. L. Por lo mismo, la Iglesia ve, en el rostro del hombre sin esperanza que no tiene a Dios; H 22 (7) del que anda y busca en las tinieblas; del hambriento y desnudo; del prisionero y solitario (8), el rostro de Cristo sufriente en la cruz y, por consiguiente, de un Dios que PE 65 asume los sufrimientos de su propia creación (9). Por este preciso motivo, la Iglesia no URU 8 puede dejar de referirse expresamente a la situación doliente de A. L.: porque ha de dar voz al hombre silencioso en su dolor; pero, sobre todo, porque ha de dar testimonio de un Dios que recoge los gemidos de su creatura y que volverá por los fueros de su justicia divina, juzgando toda humana injusticia. Así se repite la Iglesia la "palabra de la cruz" (1 Cor 1,18), esto es, el testimonio dado por Cristo acerca de la sabiduría de Dios. 299

2.2.2. Misterio de liberación y gracia

EC 23 En el corazón de Cristo que muere en la cruz, se concentra también el desecho de CO 20 300

(1) Cf Mt 11,25

(2) Cf Mt 26,29

(3) Cf Is 42

(4) Cf Ef 2, 14-16

(5) Cf 1 Cor 15,26

(6) Cf Rm 15, 18-19

(7) Cf Ef 2,12

(8) Cf Mt 25, 34-40

(9) Cf Mc 15,34; Mt 27,46

FE 65 redención humana. Con el infinito anhelo de liberar a sus hermanos, los hombres, Cristo
 BR 28 asume libremente la muerte. En y por esa muerte, el Padre ofrece su perdón a toda
 CH 18 la humanidad, manifestando el misterio de su gracia (Rm 3, 21-26). Por esto, el Reino
 ME 23 de Dios, entendido como la más radical reconciliación que puede experimentar el hom-
 Er 6 bre, la reconciliación con el Absoluto, se realiza, paradójicamente, no por el poder, si-
 BR 16 no por la debilidad humana, por la "locura de la cruz", que es sabiduría de Dios (1).
 Con el testimonio de esa muerte y hasta que llegue el juicio, Cristo nos exhorta a la con-
 versión, es decir, a la adoración del Padre y, de allí, a la entrega por los hermanos.

Entrega que se realiza en el mutuo amor y perdón; en la búsqueda solícita de una 301
 paz y reconciliación no fingida; en el esfuerzo, sincero y efectivo, por ahondar los la-
 zos familiares y por construir una más justa comunidad humana. De ahí que, después
 de tanta muerte, la Iglesia convoque a los hombres de A.L. a la reconciliación y a la u-
 nidad basada en la justicia, no en la fuerza.

Con su cruz, Cristo exhorta a seguirlo en fe y esperanza cargando la propia cruz 302
 (2). Esta exhortación exige de parte nuestra el constante esfuerzo por mejorar la con-
 dición personal y colectiva de la existencia, dentro de aquellos límites que, como con-
 secuencia del "pecado del mundo", permanecen en la realidad del hombre y de la so-
 ciedad. Ya que, si bien el Padre nos ofrece, en la cruz de Cristo, el perdón que pode-
 mos acoger inmediatamente en cada momento de nuestra vida y nos otorga "las primi-
 cias del Espíritu", proseguimos aún en la "expectación por la redención de nuestro -
 cuerpo" (Rm 8, 23).

ME 23 2.3. El Señor de la Historia

La llegada del Reino se manifiesta de modo particular con la resurrección de Cristo 303
 EC 28 to. Dejada atrás la debilidad y la muerte, Cristo aparece como Hijo de Dios con todo su
 CO 20 poder (Rm 1,4); se manifiesta como el Señor (3), pleno de Espíritu (4) primogénito -
 CH 22 entre muchos hermanos (Rm 8,29; Col 1,18).
 BO 13

Cristo resucita como primicia del "hombre nuevo" (5). Su resurrección es signo 304
 VE 7 de la resurrección a la que todos estamos llamados y de la transfiguración final del u-
 niverso.

Pero, mientras estamos en esta peregrinación, Cristo resucitado nos envía ya su 305
 ME 24 Espíritu y, a través de su Espíritu permanece presente en la raíz de nuestro ser, reno-
 vando nuestro corazón, como anticipo de la nueva humanidad que ha de ser plenamen-
 te transformada al final de los tiempos (6).

Cristo, por su Espíritu, renueva nuestro corazón, sede de nuestro conocimiento y 306
 PE 65 de nuestra libertad y por lo tanto, raíz desde donde desarrollamos nuestra historia (7).
 CO 111
 CH 24

Conduciéndonos mediante la fe, a la verdad (Jn 16, 13-14), que es El mismo (Jn 307

(1) Cf 1 Cor 1, 13-25; Rm 5, 1-11
 (2) Cf Mc 8,34; 9,35; 10, 42-45 par
 (3) Cf Filp 2, 9-11
 (4) Cf 1 Cor 15,45
 (5) Cf Ef 2,15; Col 3,10
 (6) Cf EN 18; Rm 8, 14-17; Gal 4, 4-7
 (7) Cf Rm 5,5.

14,6) y llevándonos así, por el reconocimiento de Cristo, a la profunda sabiduría que se otorga a los pequeños y sencillos (Mt 11,25) y que consiste en reconocer gozosamente los profundos designios de Dios sobre nuestra vida doliente y nuestra muerte

- AE 28 Ahondando, por la esperanza, con gemido inenarrable, nuestros anhelos de redención total (Rm 8,23). 308
- E 68 Otorgando a nuestro corazón la posibilidad de amar a Dios y a los hermanos, con la conciencia de ser "hijos" (Gal 4,6); con el acceso al Padre (Ef 2,18; LG 4) y moviéndonos a la unidad en la comunión fraterna (1). 309
- JRU 4
H 18 Cristo resucitado, conduce la historia, enviándonos su Espíritu que renueva el corazón. Así nace y se desarrolla el Reino de Dios. El reinado sobre el mundo llega en Cristo (Ap 11,15), e inicia su establecimiento hasta su plenitud, en poder y majestad (Ap 12,10). 310
- te 95-99
H 18 Ese Reino de Dios llega, si reconocemos sobre nosotros, no el señorío de los ídolos sino el de Cristo, mediante la conversión a la fe, que es respuesta plena, total aceptación, donación de la existencia al Señor. Es el reinado de la verdad y del amor. Amor que nos lleva a practicar obras de justicia, por lo cual somos revestidos de real, aunque imperfecta santidad. Mediante el amor, somos revivificados desde nuestra raíz por la Vida. Esta se mostrará con toda su plenitud cuando Cristo, Señor de la historia, retorne (2) y se manifieste abiertamente como "el primero y el último" (Ap 1,17; 2,8), como Sabiduría y Palabra de Dios, (Jn 1,1) que encierra el sentido de este mundo. Entonces, El se manifestará también como Recapitulador (Ef 1,10) de una creación ya plenamente reconciliada con Dios y en sí misma (3). Así, vencido ya el último enemigo, la muerte, el Señor Resucitado pondrá el Reino a los pies del Padre (1 Cor 15,26) 311
- AR 4
- C 27 En la muerte de Cristo se manifiesta que Dios realiza su providente designio, haciéndose presente en su Hijo, enviado para absolver a su creación, por medio del perdón, de la negatividad del pecado. 312
- "Ir al Padre": en eso consistió el caminar terrestre de Cristo. En la cruz, Cristo se entrega totalmente en las manos del Padre; Adán, por el contrario, había rehusado dicha entrega (4). Por eso, la cruz de Cristo es amor al Padre; afirmación del Padre. Desde el Padre, Cristo se vuelve "hermano universal", recibe el Espíritu y lo envía al mundo. La entrega al Padre es principio y fuente de fraternidad universal. 313
- C 23 En la resurrección de Cristo se manifiesta que Dios lleva a término su designio, dándole el señorío de la historia y haciéndole clave de su sentido final y de su proceso. En ella se revela quién es Dios y cuál su providencia; se nos manifiesta quien es Cristo, por su señorío; se nos da a conocer finalmente qué es el hombre, al revelarse su destino de su resurrección (5). 314

(1) Cf LG 4

(2) Cf Col 3, 3-4

(3) Cf Col 1,20

(4) Cf Rm 5,19

(5) Cf 1 Cor 15, 20-28

ME 23
AR 2
CO 155
PE 64
URU 2
CH 21
PAR 4

Así se ha revelado Cristo, en definitiva, como Hijo de Dios. La misión de Jesús viene del Padre y a El lleva. Todo su ser está orientado al Padre en la más honda, singular y estrecha relación. "Todo me ha sido entregado por mi Padre y nadie conoce bien al Hijo sino el Padre, ni al Padre lo conoce bien nadie sino el Hijo" (Mt 11,27; Lc 10,22) (1). Como Hijo tiene con su Padre la plena unidad. "El Padre y Yo somos una sola cosa" (Jn 10,30). "Yo estoy en el Padre y el Padre en mí" (Jn 14,10).

315

Cristo nos ha manifestado así, lo que es en realidad Dios: "no un poder anónimo" (EN 26). Es Padre; Padre de Jesucristo y Padre nuestro, pues no sólo nos ha creado, sino que nos ha "elegido" en Cristo (2) para participar de la plenitud de su vida, como hijos. Por el mismo hecho, nos ha revelado lo que es en realidad el hombre: no un ser abandonado a fuerzas anónimas, ocultas y fatales, sino llamado a vivir, como "hijo" en la cercanía de un Dios personal y viviente. Nos ha revelado, lo que son todos los hombres: hijos de un mismo Padre: "Por tanto, hermanos los unos de los otros, en Dios" (EN *ibid*).

316

ME 19
AR 2
BO 14
RD 6

Al revelar también la existencia misteriosa del "Espíritu", como lazo de unión del Padre con el Hijo, nos ha dado un signo de que Dios no es solitario sino que se entrega y comunica misteriosamente en la comunión trinitaria de Padre, Hijo y Espíritu.

317

ME 22
EC 24

El misterio de la Trinidad no se nos revela como una curiosidad extraña sobre el ser de la Divinidad, sino para sugerir a nuestra limitada razón, cuál es la meta, el fundamento y el modelo de nuestra existencia (3). Es meta de nuestra existencia humana, ya que estamos llamados a participar de la misteriosa circulación de vida que existe en el seno trinitario del Absoluto. Dios, que existe comunicándose y recogiendo en la íntima unidad de tres, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu, distintos en su igualdad divina, recoge a los hombres en su propia intimidad infinita, y establece así con nosotros, su mundo finito, una inexpresable unidad. Esto es lo más profundamente original de la fe cristiana.

318

CH 21
ME 22

La Trinidad se nos revela también como fundamento y modelo de una nueva comunidad humana (4) basada, no sólo en la justicia, sino en la mutua entrega, por el reconocimiento y el amor, que supera toda justicia. La Trinidad es fundamento y modelo de la nueva fraternidad humana, universal en principio.

319

PR 11
CO 155
CH 23

La fraternidad cristiana es una vocación. Todos estamos llamados a ella y hemos de realizarla a través de la historia. Se diferencia profundamente de la fraternidad griega, de la israelita y de la iluminista, porque se basa en un fundamento religioso y revelado: no sólo en el hecho monoteísta de un Dios, Padre de todos los hombres, sino en la realidad de Dios Trino y encarnado; en el hecho de que uno de la Trinidad, el Hijo, se ha encarnado y hecho así nuestro hermano, (5) constituyéndose en una raíz nueva y personal de nuestra vinculación, como "hijos" al Padre común y de una mutua fraternidad, derivada de El, el común hermano.

320

ME 28

Por todo ésto, el Reino de Dios se expresa en la imagen del banquete escatológico

321

(1) Cf Jn 10,15
(2) Cf Ef 1,4
(3) Cf GS - LG
(4) Cf Jn 17,21-22; GS 24
(5) Cf Rm 8,29

(1), esto es, de la convivencia fraterna, anudada a la presencia del Señor, primer comensal de una eterna celebración de la vida, que encuentra su fuente en su cuerpo eucarístico.

El Reino de Dios en nosotros será, al cabo, la misteriosa presencia de la creación, a través de la nueva humanidad surgida de Cristo, en el seno insondable del Absoluto de Dios. 322

2.5. Recapitulación y alcance de estas reflexiones.

La Iglesia ha de interpretar las épocas de la historia desde la revelación bíblica. La revelación del Antiguo y del Nuevo Testamento ofrece, como horizonte y criterio de interpretación, un esquema que lleva a captar el decurso de la historia humana como un conflicto entre el mal y el bien, una lucha del Reino de Dios contra el reino de iniquidad. Movimiento este, penoso y sinuoso, por el que la humanidad, conducida por la Providencia divina, busca pasar de las diversas formas de ruptura, en cuya base está el pecado, a la conciliación y comunión, mediante la intervención liberadora de un Dios que no actúa automáticamente, sino que se entrega, suscita la entrega del hombre y así potencia la esperanza y el esfuerzo de la libertad humana. 323

El mismo esquema aparece en el mensaje evangelizador de Cristo. Este, que recapitula en sí toda la humanidad, se presenta como Siervo sufriente, en una primera etapa de humillación, anonadamiento y muerte. Liberado luego, de los vínculos de la muerte (2) en virtud de su clamorosa súplica (Hebr 5,7) y de su obediente entrega, pasa a la gloria con su resurrección. 324

Así se constituye Señor de la creación y de la historia (3), primogénito, entre muchos hermanos (4), comunión fraterna y se manifiesta como Hijo de Dios con todo su poder (Rm 1,4) y en su intimidad trinitaria con el Padre y el Espíritu, comunión divina (5). 325

A la luz de este paradigma, la Iglesia se ve urgida a una lectura trinitaria y cristológica de la situación de A. L. Dicha lectura lleva a discernir en la actualidad del Continente la presencia del mal y del pecado, para denunciarlos; del bien y de la gracia, para custodiarlos y conservarlos; de una liberación, como germen de mayor comunión con Dios y de mayor fraternidad humana, para asumirlas y promoverlas. Inspirándose en las orientaciones del Concilio Vaticano II (particularmente la Const. Gaudium et Spes) la Iglesia, como se ha manifestado en Medellín, busca luz para interpretar hoy, desde este paradigma, la época actual de A. L. 326

En la presente situación de nuestro Continente se manifiesta una gran riqueza de valores, de anhelos de superación, de esfuerzos por ahondar el espíritu religioso, por sanear la conducta moral y por lograr una mejor convivencia social. Si hablamos de pecado, no es porque todo esté corrompido ni porque el pecado sea entre nosotros más profundo que en otras partes. Si apelamos a un Dios liberador, no es para oponerle a un Dios creador, cuya obra estuviera esencialmente viciada. Sin embargo, en la realidad de 327

(1) Cf Lc 22, 15-16

(2) Cf Hech 2, 27-31

(3) Cf Filp 2, 9-11

(4) Cf Rm 8, 29

(5) Cf Jn 17, 5. 22-24

(6) "Puebla: Temas y Opciones Claves"

A. L. se da, sin duda, el pecado. Se da en todo el mundo, pero hemos de discernir las formas concretas y preponderantes como "el pecado del mundo" se manifiesta entre nosotros.

En pos de este discernimiento, la Iglesia de A. L. centra su atención en dos núcleos, íntimamente ligados. Así encuentra, en primer término, en los hombres y mujeres de sus pueblos, una fe arraigada, fruto de la primera evangelización y también índice, particularmente en nuestra juventud, de una profunda búsqueda de Dios. Sin embargo, fe y sed de Dios, con frecuencia no maduras y sobre todo, amenazadas por la presión secularista de la época moderna. Encuentra, además, anhelos de liberación, fraternidad y justicia que, por ser arduos y difíciles de realizar, se tornan objeto de una esperanza, no siempre acertada en sus caminos. Esperanza que no confunde con la pretensión de ser señor absoluto de la historia. Pretensión que se manifiesta cuando se intenta transformarla con la violencia física o con un precipitado desarrollo, cuyo costo recae principalmente sobre los desposeídos. Dicha esperanza se ve también obstaculizada por quienes, complacidos en el goce de su poder o de su riqueza, quieren detener la historia en su actual situación.

328

AMERICAN JEWISH
CAPITULO II

LA IGLESIA Y SU ANUNCIO DEL REINO

EC 30 1. DE CRISTO EVANGELIZADOR A LA IGLESIA EVANGELIZADORA

CH 13 Cristo, enviado por el Padre para evangelizar, envía a su Iglesia. Durante su vida 329
CO 175 terrestre, Jesús reunió discípulos a quienes luego mandó llevar la Buena Nueva del Rei-
ME 25 no de Dios a todos los hombres, dándoles la promesa de permanecer con ellos hasta el
SA 5 fin de los tiempos (1). Continúa así su misión entre los hombres a través de su Iglesia.
De ella se vale para la construcción y dilatación del Reino de Dios en el mundo (2).

HO 1 Por lo mismo, no hay evangelización sin Cristo: El es el principio, la medida y el 330
modelo de toda evangelización (3).

Para que pudieran cumplir la misión, Cristo envió su Espíritu a los discípulos en 331
Pentecostés. Con su Espíritu sigue presente en la Iglesia, la cual entonces, comenzó su
tarea evangelizadora (4). Desde Pentecostés María preside con su oración la evangeliza-
ción (5).

Así, evangelizada, la Iglesia evangeliza por la fuerza del Espíritu, su principio e im- 332
pulso interior. "No habrá nunca evangelización posible sin la acción del Espíritu Santo"
(EN 75). "El es quien impulsa a cada uno a anunciar el Evangelio y quien, en lo
hondo de las conciencias, hace aceptar y comprender las palabras de salvación" (EN ib;
AG 4). "Nosotros vivimos en la Iglesia un momento privilegiado del Espíritu"(EN 75).

(1) CF Mt 28, 19-20
(2) CF LG 5
(3) CF EN 15
(4) CF Hech 1,8
(5) CF EN 82

La Iglesia, pues, "rebasando todos los límites de tiempos y naciones, entra en la historia humana para extenderse a todos los continentes" (LG 9). 333

R 7 La evangelización es, por consiguiente, un hecho eclesial. Tarea propia y específica de la Iglesia, la cual fundamenta la legitimidad de su presencia evangelizadora en todos los pueblos, en la misión encargada por el Señor. 334

La evangelización es el aporte propio y específico que, en comparación con toda otra institución cultural o civil, aporta la Iglesia a la humanidad. En esta tarea no está subordinada a otra institución o instancia humana. Pide libertad para evangelizar. 335

E 22 H 17 Por lo mismo, nadie evangeliza solo, aisladamente. "Evangelizar no es para nadie un acto individual y aislado, sino profundamente eclesial" (EN 60). No hay evangelización sin la Iglesia: pues, sin esta, no hay plena comprensión de Cristo y de su mensaje (1). 336

2. LA IGLESIA, SACRAMENTO UNIVERSAL DE SALVACION

E 25 C 32 H 17 AR 9 El Concilio Vaticano II ha presentado la misión de la Iglesia en el cuadro de una concepción sacramental: la Iglesia, por ser comunión; por la palabra que predica; el culto que celebra y la vida de sus miembros, expresada en la entrega y el mutuo servicio, es como un sacramento, es decir, un signo histórico lleno de eficacia de la unidad a que está llamada la humanidad (2). 337

La sacramentalidad de la Iglesia está en el hecho de que ella, y en ella cada uno de sus miembros, están llamados a ser, ya desde el bautismo, señal y portadores de una salvación que culmina en la comunión (3). De este modo, la Iglesia corresponde, como signo universal de salvación, a la suprema vocación de los hombres, llamados al señorío sobre la creación, a la unificación plena de su propia persona, a la fraternidad y a la unión con el Padre. 338

3. LA IGLESIA EVANGELIZA DANDO TESTIMONIO DE "COMUNIÓN"

E 21 O 19 AN 6 r 7.1 La Iglesia es misterio sacramental de comunión. Por ello evangeliza, dando testimonio a través de su propio ser, de su Palabra, de su vida, de su culto; todos ellos "signos" de la comunión que realiza en sí misma y a la que siempre está convocada por el Señor. Así lo expresan, entre otras, tres grandes imágenes de esa Iglesia. 339

3.1. Pueblo de Dios, Cuerpo de Cristo, Templo del Espíritu

Pueblo de Dios

C 31 R 18 H 23 AR 9 r 8 Cristo, mediante su palabra evangelizadora con la que llama a la fe, y por su Espíritu que opera secretamente en el corazón de los que la oyen, convoca constantemente en su Iglesia a hombres de todos los pueblos de la tierra, para formarla como Pueblo de Dios. 340

(1) Cf EN 16
(2) LG 1,9
(3) Cf 1 Cor 12,13

La Iglesia es, pues, una comunión de hombres entre sí, pueblo congregado a imagen de la comunidad trinitaria (1) y que participa en la vida de la Trinidad. 341

Al desprenderse, por voluntad del Señor, de las estructuras particulares y nacionales del Pueblo de Israel, la Iglesia lo continúa sin embargo, como nuevo Pueblo de Dios, fundado en la nueva Alianza (2) y adquiere la característica de pueblo que congrega a los hombres en una fraternidad nueva, universal o católica (3). 342

En este tránsito del antiguo al nuevo pueblo, sobresale la figura de María, heredera de la riqueza y piedad de Israel (4). Cuando ella en la Anunciación, consciente de ser madre de Cristo, lo concibe por obra y gracia del Espíritu Santo, representa y recapitula a toda la humanidad que recibe entonces, en el seno de su historia, la Palabra de Dios encarnada. 343

Cuerpo de Cristo

EC 31 Jesús por su Espíritu, comunicado de un modo particular en los sacramentos, forma a la Iglesia como Cuerpo suyo, dotado de variedad de ministerios y carismas (5). 344

Er 6 En la imagen del "cuerpo", la Iglesia reaparece como una "comunión". Se trata de una comunión con Cristo, quien nos une místicamente a sí, comunicándonos su Espíritu (6). 345

ME 24 La misma imagen, en su contexto paulino, expresa también que la Iglesia constituye comunión y unidad entre los fieles, unidad que no se ve obstaculizada sino favorecida por la diversidad de dones y carismas que sus miembros reciben del mismo Espíritu, principio de unidad y de variedad. 346

Igualmente, esta imagen eclesiológica permite volver a recordar que María, por su fe y caridad; por su libre consentimiento de ser la Madre del Señor (7) y por la aceptación de la muerte de su Hijo en la cruz (8), se nos presenta como "Madre de la Iglesia", cooperadora en la formación del Cuerpo místico de Cristo (9). 347

Templo del Espíritu

EC 31 Jesús, por su muerte y resurrección, presentada en el Evangelio de San Juan como una destrucción y reconstrucción del "templo" de su cuerpo (Jn 2,19), construye a su Iglesia como templo en el que inhabita el Espíritu (Ef 2, 21-22). 348

Con la imagen del "templo" vuelve a presentarse el aspecto de la Iglesia "comunión". La Iglesia está formada por la unidad compacta de los fieles, antes divididos en 349

- (1) Cf LG 4; UR 2
- (2) Cf LG 9
- (3) Cf LG 13
- (4) Cf Lc 1,28
- (5) Cf Rm 12, 3-8; 1 Cor 12, 4-31
- (6) Cf LG 7
- (7) Cf Lc 1,38
- (8) Cf Jn 19, 25-27
- (9) Cf LG 61

judíos y gentiles (1), unidad como la de las piedras que forman un templo (2).

ME 24 La imagen permite resaltar el aspecto supremo de la Iglesia: ella se realiza como comunión de los hombres con Dios. La Iglesia es un "templo", porque en ella los fieles son como piedras vivientes consagradas a Dios; por lo mismo, el Espíritu de Dios habita en ellos. Aquí encuentra la Iglesia su máximo punto de concentración y sentido: la presencia de Dios, el Infinito, en su creatura, esto es, en los hombres asociados fraternalmente entre sí por la caridad. Este es el centro de la idea del Reino de Dios, que quiere ser "todo en todos" (1 Cor 15,28). 350

PAR 13 Nuestra fe en el Espíritu Santo, que habita en la santa Iglesia, lleva a recordar esta dimensión esencial de la misma: su santidad. (3) 351

AR 2 La primera mención, a este propósito, después de "Cristo, el Hijo de Dios a quien, con el Padre y el Espíritu, llamados el sólo Santo" (LG 39), ha de ser nuevamente de María, "en quien la Iglesia admira y ensalza el fruto más espléndido de la redención, contemplándola gozosamente como una purísima imagen de lo que ella misma, toda entera, ansía y espera ser" (SC 103). La verdadera santidad está en la caridad, amor que nos mantiene unidos con Dios y con los hermanos. Por ella se construye el Reino que crece en este mundo, en la medida que crece la santidad. 352

AR 4 Ahora bien, "todos en la Iglesia, no obstante su diversidad y estado o función, son llamados a la plenitud de la vida cristiana y a la perfección de la caridad" (LG 40) (4). 353

El Concilio Vaticano II acentuó fuertemente esta vocación de todos los miembros de la Iglesia a la santidad, haciendo ver que a todos se dirige la palabra del Señor: "Sed pues, vosotros perfectos, como vuestro Padre celestial es perfecto" (Mt 5,48) (5); y que la santidad cristiana, que consiste en el amor de Dios y el prójimo, en el seguimiento de Jesús, es la misma para todos; aunque varía en sus medios y expresiones "en los múltiples géneros de vida y ocupaciones" (LG 41). 354

En este contexto y ante la exigencia de una espiritualidad sincera y evangélica para los laicos, se entiende la exigencia pastoral de la santidad en quienes, como Obispos y Presbíteros, les han de comunicar la Palabra de vida (LG 41). 355

CO 180 De un modo particular, la vida consagrada, es un don del Espíritu Santo a la Iglesia y se sitúa dentro de su dinamismo; de su búsqueda de lo absoluto de Dios; de su deseo de santidad (6). 356

Re 136 AR 2 CO 183 Re 115 Por fidelidad a las exigencias de su consagración, han de vivir celebrando el misterio de la encarnación, anonadándose a sí mismos por la vivencia sincera y constante de los consejos evangélicos. Pueden asumir, después de discernirlo, desde la 357

- (1) Cf Ef 2,11-20
- (2) Cf LG 6; 1 Pe 2,4-10
- (3) Cf Rm 1,7; 1 Cor 1,2
- (4) Cf LG 39
- (5) Cf Mt 19,21
- (6) Cf EN 69

visión del Reino, todo lo humano. Así entran en profunda comunión con todos los hombres; tiene como privilegiados a los más pobres, pudiendo enriquecer a todos con los dones del Señor, desde su comunión vivida con Dios.

Re 143 Su modo específico de evangelizar no es solo predicar explícitamente el mensaje salvífico sino también y sobre todo, dar testimonio con su vida entera, del sentido trascendental de la existencia cristiana, de la fraternidad de los hombres y de su misión en la Iglesia, al conformar un todo coherente que anuncia el Reino de Dios y la vida futura. 358

Honramos, además, a la bienaventurada Virgen María y a los Santos, recogiendo su testimonio de fe y de amor e imitando las actitudes con que siguieron al Señor. Ya que "Dios manifiesta a los hombres viva su presencia y su rostro en la vida de aquellos que, hombres como nosotros, se transforman sin embargo más perfectamente a imagen de Cristo (1). El mismo nos habla en ellos y nos ofrece un signo de este Reino suyo hacia el cual somos poderosamente atraídos con tan gran nube de testigos que nos cubre" (LG 50). 359

Re 9-143 "Así, pues, la profesión de los Consejos evangélicos aparece como un símbolo que puede y debe atraer eficazmente a todos los miembros de la Iglesia a cumplir sin desfallecimiento los deberes de la vida cristiana" (LG 44). 360
AR 2

3.2. La Iglesia, comunión vital y orgánica

3.2.1. Comunidad de fe, esperanza y caridad (LG 8). La vida de la Iglesia en comunión

CO 23 Jesús convoca en la Iglesia, a los hombres, a una misma fe; los acerca entre sí por la misma esperanza; los reúne por la misma caridad. Así, las virtudes teologales VE 6-7 constituyen lo esencial y nuclear de la vida de la Iglesia (2). 361

Los fieles que viven con todos los hombres, sometidos a la misma experiencia histórica, a los mismos enigmas e interrogantes de la existencia humana y que participan de las mismas luchas, se unen entre sí por la interpretación, básicamente común, que, desde su fe, hacen de esa existencia y de esa historia; se unen también, por la esperanza común escatológica de un mismo destino. 362

Aparece conveniente rescatar, más allá de las divisiones, los profundos contenidos de una misma fe, para encontramos en ella y, desde allí, buscar metas comunes, necesarias para el crecimiento de la Iglesia y la construcción de una sociedad humana mejor. 363

ME 24 Jesús nos reúne por la misma caridad. Ello presupone que el lazo fundamental con que une a sus fieles es la comunicación del mismo Espíritu. La Iglesia configura en sí un cuerpo, un pueblo, en unidad profunda, porque sus miembros, por la caridad que el Espíritu difunde en sus corazones (3), participan del único y mismo espíritu de Cristo, como principio vital que otorga a todos la misma vida (4) 364

(1) Cf 2 Cor 3,18

(2) Cf Tes 1,3

(3) Cf Rm 5,5

(4) Cf 1 Cor 12,13; Ef 4, 4-5

PAR 5 **Comunión de los santos.** Por esta caridad, los fieles se unen con nexo misterioso e invisible. Es la "comunión que reina en todo el Cuerpo místico de Jesucristo" (LG 50), en virtud de la cual los fieles, con sus obras, sufrimientos y oraciones, se intercomunican bienes espirituales (1). Porque las obras, oraciones y sufrimientos inspirados en el amor, aun cuando empíricamente ineficaces y aparentemente vanos o inútiles, se tornan eficaces por el poder del Señor. El hace misteriosamente fecundo el amor de sus fieles, tantas veces impotentes humanamente y reducidos al simple deseo que expresan en la oración. 365

La intercomunicación de bienes espirituales se establece entre los fieles que peregrinan en este mundo y entre ellos y "los hermanos que se hallan en la gloria celeste o que aún están purificándose después de la muerte" (LG 51). 366

De aquí la autenticidad de la práctica cristiana del culto a los santos, particularmente a la Virgen María, Madre de la Iglesia y de todos los hombres. Este culto lleva a la invitación y a la invocación. Son nuestro modelo en el seguimiento de Cristo y su intercesión nos ayuda. Sobre todo la de Santa María que por nacer de una excelsa e inigualada caridad, adquiere eficacia singular y universal. 367

3.2.2. Comunidad que celebra su fe

BR 19 **La Iglesia vive,** expresa y realiza su comunión de un modo particular, en la celebración de los sacramentos. Es una comunidad que se une en la comunión de la misma celebración y oración. La celebración litúrgica, cumbre a la cual definitivamente tiende su acción evangelizadora y fuente de donde dimana su fuerza (SC 10) no es celebración privada sino eclesial, signo y presencia de comunión con el Señor Resucitado, Sacerdote que libera, reconcilia, intercede, alaba y agradece al Padre (2). La Iglesia celebra la incorporación de nuevos hijos a la comunidad de los fieles, mediante el Bautismo que, configurándonos con la muerte del Señor, nos libera del pecado y nos da la nueva vida que exige de nosotros el compromiso de vivir permanentemente, como hijos de Dios y hermanos de los hombres (3). 368

C 28 **La celebración de la Eucaristía supone la comunidad;** la convoca, la nutre, la acrecienta; es "signo de unidad y vínculo de caridad" (SC 47). El Señor nos deja en la Eucaristía la memoria de su última Cena y el anuncio de su retorno (1 Co: 11 23-27). 369

R 19 **Al celebrar este sacramento,** el Pueblo de Dios marcado en A L por el sufrimiento que necesita liberación, celebra por anticipado, "la victoria y el triunfo de la muerte de Jesús" (SC 6) e implora fuerzas para superar el pecado de injusticia y la violencia que rompen la armonía de la convivencia social. Al celebrar la Pascua del Señor, pasa de la muerte a la vida, del cansancio al servicio; entra en comunión vital con Cristo (Jn 6, 56-57) y a través de El, con el Padre en el Espíritu Santo. Esta comunión lo compromete a vivir en comunión con todo el cuerpo de Cristo que es la Iglesia, sobre todo con los pobres, con los desamparados, a quienes ama y sirve (4). 370

(1) Cf LG 49
(2) Cf Mc 6, 34-44
(3) Cf Rm 6, 1-23
(4) Cf Hech 2, 42-47

ME 25 En la Eucaristía quedan asumidos los sufrimientos y las muertes del pueblo latinoamericano para nacer a una vida nueva. La Eucaristía, pues, como actualización de la Pascua en el hoy y aquí de nuestro acontecer humano; como realidad y proclamación de Cristo, muerto y resucitado, siempre presente hasta el final de los tiempos, se torna fuente y energía de liberación cristiana, alimento de la unidad ya existente y proyectada en perspectiva escatológica. Por todo ésto, la Eucaristía es una fiesta (1). 371

3.2.3. Comunión orgánica

CH 17
PAN 6
PAR 10 Jesús convoca y construye constantemente a su Iglesia, por su Espíritu, también como comunión externa, visible y orgánica. 372

Visible, porque en continuidad y analogía con la Encarnación del Verbo, en la vida de la Iglesia, sacramento de salvación, se ha de manifestar de forma históricamente perceptible la presencia del Espíritu que libera e impulsa la historia hacia la unidad (2). 373

Orgánica, pues en la actividad y estructura de la Iglesia ha de aparecer históricamente no la vida dispersa de diversos individuos, sino la comunión y unidad interior de sus miembros. La Iglesia es la expresión comunitaria, social, una y, por consiguiente orgánica, de su fe y de su interna unidad en la caridad (3). 374

CH 17
AR 3
CO 23
BO 14
PE 56
ME 25
RD 6
PAR 4
EC 31
CH 17
PAR 11 Para formar su Iglesia, como comunión vital y comunidad orgánica, Cristo le envía su espíritu y la construye sobre el fundamento de los Apóstoles, que tienen por sucesores a los Obispos, en la función de regir al pueblo cristiano. Le otorga su Espíritu, como principio vital e interior. Este Espíritu, aún distribuyendo diversos dones y ministerios y llevando a los fieles por distintos caminos de santidad, impulsa a todos hacia la profunda y vital comunión (4). El mismo asiste al cuerpo episcopal de la Iglesia para que cumpla el servicio fundamental de guardar la unidad del Pueblo de Dios, sin apagar el Espíritu ni uniformar la rica y compleja variedad de sus dones, sino "discerniéndolo todo, para quedarse con lo bueno" (1 Tes 5,21; LG 12). 375

ME 25
Er 7.2 El carisma y la institución no pueden ser realidades opuestas ni dualísticamente distanciadas, pues proceden de un mismo Espíritu y por Él construyen la comunión de los creyentes (5). 376

Los Obispos y el pueblo cristiano de A.L. aman, con particular afecto, al Sucesor de Pedro, el Sumo Pontífice. Ante todo, porque Cristo instituyó en su persona el principio y fundamento perpetuo y visible de la unidad de fe y comunión (LG 18). El preside la comunidad de amor (6). También lo recuerdan nuestros pueblos porque, a pesar de las situaciones anómalas en las relaciones con la Santa Sede, vividas en los decenios de la emancipación, no se desvincularon de ella sino que buscaron unirse más con el centro de la unidad católica. La figura del Sumo Pontífice se ha conservado 377

- (1) Cf Lc 22, 14-20
- (2) 1 Jn 1, 1-4
- (3) Cf 1 Cor 12, 27-28
- (4) Cf Ef 4, 4-13
- (5) Cf 1 Cor 12, 4-6
- (6) Cf S. Ignacio de Ant. Rm Prol. Funk I, 252

de un modo especial en A.L. como símbolo de una fe que expresamos en la adhesión a su persona.

3.3. Jesús, por su Espíritu, fortalece y renueva a la Iglesia

EC 30 La Iglesia es sacramento universal de salvación y unidad. Evangeliza dando testi- 378
Fr 7.4. monio de humildad y pobreza y dejándose evangelizar y renovar constantemente por Cristo y por su Espíritu. La Iglesia continúa en sí misma la existencia de Cristo.

BR 18 Así "como Cristo cumplió la redención en la pobreza y en la persecución, la 379
BO 13 Iglesia es llamada a seguir ese mismo camino para comunicar a los hombres los frutos de la salvación" (LG 8) (1).

GU 7 Por eso ha de dar testimonio de "humildad y abnegación" (ib). Como Cristo, 380
CO 24 quien a evangelizar a los pobres y levantar a los oprimidos (Lc 4,18), dió un signo
EC 29 de mesianidad, la Iglesia "abraza a todos los afligidos por la debilidad humana; más aún, reconoce en los pobres y en los que sufren la imagen de su fundador pobre y paciente" (LG 8); se dirige a ellos de manera preferente en su misión evangelizadora y ofrece así un signo de su credibilidad, al no buscar la gloria y el poder de este mundo; al recoger en su seno a quienes no disponen de poder, riquezas ni eficacia terrena (2).

Si bien la Iglesia continúa la existencia de Cristo, sin embargo, no es Cristo. 381
Es por El y para El (LG 3). Cristo asumió la pobreza y el dolor del mundo, mas en El no se halló pecado. La Iglesia, por el contrario, recibe en su propio seno a pecadores, y, a excepción de María, ninguno de sus fieles puede creerse sin culpa (3).

Cristo asumió las tensiones del mundo pero estas no llegaron a escindirle en 382
su ser, de modo que hubiera en él algo no santo. La Iglesia, en cambio, comunidad implantada en esta existencia terrestre, recoge en sí misma los conflictos de las culturas en las que vive, las divisiones de las sociedades con las que se entrecruza y de las épocas de la historia por las que transita. Todo refluye en ella misma debilitando su propia cohesión interna (4).

EC 28 Por su humana debilidad, por su pobreza y por el pecado de sus miembros, la 383
E 74 Iglesia necesita ser constantemente evangelizada, liberada y renovada por la fuerza del Espíritu. Sobre sus miembros recae la ley de una incesante renovación (5).

La Iglesia "confortada con el poder de la gracia de Dios... para que persevere 384
como esposa digna de su Señor" (LG 9), no es el Reino de Dios en su plenitud escatológica. En ella comienza a germinar el Reino y crece también la cizaña (6).

3.4. Breve recapitulación

La Iglesia es el lugar espiritual desde el cual Dios comienza a restablecer en 385

- (1) Cf Mc 8, 31-35
- (2) Cf Mt 5, 3-12; Lc 6, 20-23; Mt 25,40-45; 1 Cor 1,26-31
- (3) Cf 1 Jn 1,8-10
- (4) Cf 1 Cor 1, 11-12; 6, 1-8; 8, 1-6; 11, 17-22; Rm 13, 1-7
- (5) Cf Ap 2, 4-5; 2,16; 3,3; 3, 18-19
- (6) Cf LG 5; Mt 13, 24-30; Ap 2, 1-3,22

Cristo, su plan obstaculizado por el egoísmo del pecado: la unión de los hombres entre sí, a través de la integración de todos los valores auténticos de la humanidad y la unión de los hombres, por la fe, en la comunidad de amor que es Dios mismo. Misterio sacramental de comunión que hace presente a Dios en el mundo.

La Iglesia es "misterio" y por lo mismo objeto de nuestra fe, obnubilado con frecuencia por la imperfección y el pecado de sus miembros. 386

Por ser objeto de nuestra fe, es también contenido de evangelización. Ella es parte del anuncio salvífico, aunque sólo en función de la profesión de fe en el Padre, en Jesucristo, Hijo de Dios y en el Espíritu. Así la evangelización no se descentra de su núcleo fundamental: Cristo y la Santísima Trinidad. 387

La consideración del Antiguo y del Nuevo Testamento ofrece un esquema de lectura cristológica de la historia, a partir de la tensión que permanentemente surge entre la vocación de la humanidad a la comunión, sus rupturas y la necesidad de liberación y reconciliación. 388

No encontramos estos tres momentos solo en la historia de la humanidad sino también en nuestra Iglesia. 389

Ella se sitúa en un nivel diverso del de las culturas y las sociedades: el de la fe, a partir de la cual se congregan los fieles entre sí y con Dios. Por eso, la Iglesia realiza en sí, ya durante esta historia, una comunión. Sin comunión no habría Iglesia. Pero no realiza en sí la plena comunión y santidad porque está acosada y debilitada por las rupturas y el pecado. Mientras peregrina, su unidad y la santidad de sus miembros serán imperfectas. 390

En los fieles de la Iglesia entra el egoísmo y el odio. Entre ellos se da el mentiroso, el que profana el amor, el que es infiel a sus lazos familiares, el soberbio y el avaro. También el opresor de sus hermanos. Ella recoge en su seno las contradicciones de la sociedad en que vive y las idolatrías de la cultura en que se encarna. La comunidad eclesial se encuentra dividida por la brecha entre ricos y pobres que, sin embargo, no ha de ser erigida en un esquema clasista, con el que se interprete ideológicamente la realidad de la misma Iglesia. El secularismo no es algo exclusivo de una "modernidad" que hubiera dejado intacta a la Iglesia; la injusticia no es un hecho exclusivo de la sociedad civil sino que entra en la Iglesia, a través de los miembros que son también sus miembros. Por todo esto, la Iglesia de A.L. denuncia las situaciones de pecado existentes, colocándose bajo el juicio de su propia denuncia. 391

La constatación del pecado, dentro de la Iglesia, no ha de llevar a sus fieles a un conformismo estático sino a la humildad; al reconocimiento de la necesidad de una continua evangelización, redención y renovación por parte del Señor; así mismo los debe llevar a acrecentar el impulso por reconstruir constantemente su íntima unidad de comunión, para poder estar a servicio de una nueva civilización, en la que los pueblos del Continente reafirmen su fraternidad y rehagan su interna unidad sobre la base de la justicia.

En un nivel diverso, el de la existencia en la fe, se conserva y reitera en la comunidad eclesial la perseverancia histórica del misterio del mal y del pecado y el anhe- 393

lo por la total liberación para una plena comunión con el Espíritu que habita en ella y entre los fieles que la integran.

4. EL MINISTERIO DE EVANGELIZACION

4.1. Ministerialidad de la Iglesia

La Iglesia es sacramento de salvación en Cristo (LG 1). No tiene luz o eficacia propia e independiente sino que la recibe de Cristo, "luz de los pueblos" (1). Su sacramentalidad es de índole ministerial: depende de Cristo y sirve a Cristo y a la humanidad. 394

Cristo realiza la salvación de los hombres haciéndose "siervo" (ministro, diácono). Para esto asume la condición humana con todos sus valores y con las limitaciones que no implican pecado. 395

La Iglesia a su vez continúa la ministerialidad de Cristo que ha de ser, por lo tanto: encarnada, de toda la Iglesia, diversificada y orgánica. 396

Encarnada, para responder a las diversas necesidades de la Iglesia y del mundo; a las distintas regiones, situaciones, estados de vida y a los diferentes grupos humanos, particularmente los más necesitados (2). 397

De toda la Iglesia: Pablo VI reitera la enseñanza del Concilio Vaticano II: "La Iglesia entera es misionera, la obra de la evangelización es un deber fundamental del Pueblo de Dios" (AG 35; EN 59) 398

Por consiguiente, todos en el Pueblo de Dios son evangelizadores. Este principio es obvio para Pablo VI, porque "el que ha sido evangelizado, evangeliza a su vez... Es impensable que un hombre haya acogido la Palabra... sin convertirse en alguien que a su vez da testimonio y anuncia". (EN 24). (3) Principio no solo especuativo sino práctico, que ha de orientar la actividad pastoral. De él se sigue que es necesario organizar acciones pastorales evangelizadoras, basadas en el Pueblo de Dios, evangelizador (4). 399

Diversificada, porque todos participan de la misión evangelizadora, pero de distintos modos. Cristo, raíz y fuente de todo ministerio, hace participar a unos de su capitalidad, esto es, de su potestad para presidir la comunidad de la Iglesia (5), y a otros de la multiforme variedad de servicios y carismas, suscitados por el Espíritu, para la edificación de toda la Iglesia. Así, en el seno de la Iglesia se realizan diversas tareas (EN 66). 400

Orgánica, porque la diversidad de tareas y la variedad de ministerios exige, para no caer en el aislamiento, la dispersión de fuerzas o el individualismo, ser integrado dentro de una pastoral orgánica del conjunto de la Iglesia diocesana, regional o universal. La acción pastoral de la Iglesia ha de situarse, no obstante la ten- 401

(1) Cf Lc 2,32; LG 1
(2) Cf EN 30
(3) Cf ib n. 13
(4) Cf Hech 1,9-11
(5) Cf LG 10; AG 39

sión que ello supone (1), en un punto que satisfaga a la dimensión simultáneamente universal y particular de la Iglesia. Quien evangeliza, ha de hacerlo en la perspectiva de la Iglesia universal y particular (2).

4.2. Finalidad de la Evangelización

PE 48 La evangelización, cuyo concepto ha sido ya brevemente presentado tiene como destinataria a toda la humanidad. Su finalidad es expresada por Pablo VI en términos de "novedad" o de "renovación": "Evangelizar significa, para la Iglesia, llevar la Buena Nueva a todos los ambientes de la humanidad, y, con su influjo, transformar desde dentro, renovar la misma humanidad: "He aquí que hago nuevas todas las cosas" (Ap 21,5; EN 18). 402

La Evangelización siembra la "palabra" evangélica, cuyo dinamismo se desarrolla en un proceso que va desde la conversión de la "conciencia" hasta su proyección sobre las culturas y las sociedades que Cristo quiere renovar con su Evangelio. 403

4.2.1. Evangelización y conversión personal

Re 95 La Iglesia tiende, como inmediato objetivo, a suscitar o a desarrollar en el hombre evangelizado, las virtudes de fe, esperanza y caridad. Este conjunto teológico constituye el núcleo de la existencia cristiana, meta central de la evangelización. 404

La fe, la esperanza y la caridad por su misma naturaleza, generan actitudes de máxima profundidad: se sitúan en la raíz de la personalidad e inspiran, y de por sí determinan, las restantes actitudes humanas. No constituyen un valor más, al lado de otros, sino que se sitúan en la raíz de toda la escala de valores. 405

Con estas actitudes teológicas, el hombre se sitúa fundamentalmente ante Dios, revelado en Jesucristo: por lo mismo, ellas determinan la visión básica que tiene de la totalidad de la vida y del sentido de la muerte; de la historia y de su destino. Inspiran también opciones radicales frente al conjunto de las realidades y los conflictos que le salen al paso en la existencia. Porque la actitud que asumimos con respecto a Dios —más aún, al Dios que se revela— determina el modo fundamental como asumimos la totalidad de la realidad finita. 406

Nc 1.3.1 La fe, la esperanza y la caridad, meta de la evangelización, constituyen "la adhesión al Reino, al mundo nuevo, al nuevo estado de cosas, a la nueva manera de ser, de vivir y de convivir juntos, que inaugura el Evangelio" (EN 23). Dicha adhesión implica una "desadhesión" del mundo viejo, de un reino de supuestos valores no evangélicos. Por eso precisamente hay una "conversión" que es el objetivo de la evangelización (3). 407

La conversión es un proceso continuo, creciente e integral. 408

Continuo, pues ha de retomarse y renovarse constantemente en el acontecer de la vida y ante los desafíos de la existencia. 409

(1) Cf EN 61-64

(2) Cf Nota No. 5 "Los Ministerios en la Iglesia"

(3) Cf Rm 12, 1-2

Creciente: La evangelización suscita, como una semilla arrojada en tierra, la vida de fe, esperanza y caridad. Los gérmenes de estas virtudes, como los de otras, pueden quedar inhibidos, obstaculizados. Requieren un cultivo, por parte de la acción pedagógica y ministerial de la Iglesia, que ha de proseguir dando el alimento de la palabra y de la Eucaristía al evangelizado. A su vez, éste ha de contribuir con su esfuerzo personal. 410

NI 1
PAR 5 Integral: La evangelización busca suscitar una "transformación", una "novedad": "la novedad del bautismo" (EN 18), como signo de una vida nueva, de un hombre nuevo. 411

El núcleo de esta renovación comienza en la conciencia (EN 18), no entendida como algo simplemente intelectual, sino como centro de vida. Se trata de una vida nueva. La renovación que busca la evangelización se origina en el interior de la conciencia personal pero se traduce en la actividad del hombre (1) y por consiguiente en vida transformada (2). Se traduce en las formas de relación con los demás hombres: la evangelización lleva a una nueva manera de convivir (3). Los gérmenes de fe, esperanza y caridad, por consiguiente, han de llegar a inspirar la vida entera, las diversas actitudes que requiere la conducta moral y social, digna del hombre evangelizado y bautizado (4). 412

4.2.2. Ingreso en la comunidad eclesial

La evangelización lleva al evangelizado a ingresar en la Iglesia mediante el bautismo, signo de vida nueva. La adhesión "al mundo nuevo, a la nueva manera de ser, de vivir, de vivir juntos, que inaugura el Evangelio,... no puede quedar en algo abstracto y desencarnado; se revela concretamente por medio de una entrada visible en una comunidad de fieles. Así pues, aquellos cuya vida se ha transformado, entran en una comunidad que es en sí misma signo de la transformación, signo de la novedad de vida: la Iglesia, sacramento visible de la salvación" (EN 23). 413

EC 28 Para responder siempre mejor a su índole de signo y testimonio de salvación y unidad, la Iglesia ha de evangelizarse constantemente a sí misma, recobrar y reconstruirse. Por ello, la evangelización, cuyo agente total es el Pueblo de Dios, tiene como destinatario el mismo Pueblo. La evangelización tiene como objetivo la reconstrucción constante de la Iglesia en su comunión, en su vitalidad y en su conexión orgánica, indispensable para realizar su misión. Aquí está la honda razón de ser del sacramento de la penitencia, esto es, de su eficacia renovadora. 414

La Iglesia se evangeliza constantemente a sí misma y evangeliza las culturas y las sociedades, anunciando el Reino de Dios y convocando a la comunión; en consecuencia, denunciando las idolatrías y ofreciendo el perdón de Dios. 415

* * * * *

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- (1) Cf EN 18
 - (2) Cf EN 23
 - (3) Cf EN 18
 - (4) Cf Ef 4, 1-5

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
PLaza 1-4000

Date January 11, 1979

TO: Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum

FROM: Jacob Kovadloff

Urgent

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Please talk to me about this
- Read and file
- Returned as requested
- Your comments please
- No need to return

Remarks: Please find enclosed xeroxes of the materials that I just mentioned to you in the elevator. Sorry if I am pushy, but I am anxiously awaiting the materials that Abe asked you about in his memo. I badly need the materials in order to have time to translate them into Spanish and take them along to Puebla with me.

Many thanks.

cc: Abe Karlikow

Mexico Pope's Visit Stirs Old Debate in Mexico

By Marlise Simons

Special to The Washington Post

MEXICO CITY, Jan. 7—When Pope John II celebrates a mass in Mexico City's Aztec Stadium, as he plans to do later this month, he will violate the Mexican constitution on several counts.

Police could fine the Roman pontiff, because it is illegal for a non-Mexican to celebrate a mass and for a mass to be celebrated outside a church. The Mexican state would even have the right to confiscate the giant, privately owned soccer stadium.

No one believes this will happen, of course, but it illustrates the irony of the pope's choosing for his first papal journey aboard a country that has one of the largest Roman Catholic populations in the world but nevertheless is officially anticlerical. For more than a century, Mexico has refused to have diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

The Pope is traveling to such apparently hostile territory to inaugurate the third Latin American Bishops' Conference on Jan. 26. The 17-day meeting of the church hierarchy will chart the church's social and political role in this overwhelmingly Catholic region for the next decade. The new, activist pope, according to church fathers, is determined to set the tone of this crucial meeting.

The fact that this involves his stepping on Mexican soil has caused much controversy here.

"You'd think the visitor was the Spanish conqueror Cortez," one observer said.

The reason for the current intense debate is that although 90 percent of Mexico's population is Catholic and many are deeply devout, the history of the church-state conflict here is longer and bloodier than that of any other country on this continent.

There is widespread speculation here that the pope's presence may revive the conflict.

Ferocious religious persecutions began during the 19th century liberal re-



POPE JOHN PAUL II
... challenging traditions

form when the reactionary, Spanish-dominated church schemed against the republican government that had finally fought off the Spanish conquerors. Another anticlerical wave, after the 1910 revolution, caused the church hierarchy to declare an unprecedented strike that lasted three years.

Only in the late 1930s after the notorious "cristero wars," did years of bitter, bloody fighting between Catholic guerrillas and officially backed terrorists come to an end.

Today the constitution still forbids priests to wear clerical garb, toll church bells, organize processions or teach religion in schools. Yet, stripped of all its wealth and despite these restrictions, the church still has immense influence and is the only national organization outside the government's control.

The planned arrival of the pope, therefore, has set off intense political discussion, with heated polemics in the press and awkward statements

from uncomfortable government officials.

"I wish the pope would perform a miracle and not come to Mexico," a harassed presidential aide sighed a few days ago.

As the first rumors started coming from Rome, the government went on the defensive and officials repeated: No the pope had not been invited to Mexico. Newspaper headlines added to the discomfort by blurring: "With or Without Visa, John Paul II Will Come."

A foreign ministry official produced a statement saying: "The pope has made no request for a visa. If he files an application, it will be handled like that of any other tourist."

When the visit was confirmed, the embarrassed government made a turnabout. Although Mexican President José Lopez Portillo told reporters last week that diplomatic relations with the Vatican would not be reestablished, he will meet privately with the pontiff.

The Foreign Ministry, in turn, has cabled thorough instructions to its European embassies and consulates to issue John Paul II a "distinguished visitor's visa" should the Vatican apply.

Officials now hope that the pope's reported homework on the touchy situation here will prevent him from making any inadvertent remarks that might set off an anti-clerical reaction. But a deeper worry in government and liberal circles is the scramble for political mileage that has already begun.

The open, they know, can draw the massive crowds which the government can only get by trucking people in. The question is, who will capitalize on this.

In this country, where politics has long been the government's domain, there are numerous civic groups that act as lobbies, many made up of conservatives operating under the auspices of the conservative bishops.

Despite Pope John Paul's progressive image, conservative groups are

placing advertisements welcoming the pope as a way of making propaganda for themselves.

Businessmen's groups, clamoring for an audience with the pope, have offered whatever resources the church will require in the coming weeks.

A strange new bedfellow for these conservatives is the recently legalized Mexican Communist Party, which has also announced it will prepare a public welcome for the pope. This will give the Communists a chance to make gains at the expense of the government party which as to remain silent because of the country's anticlerical laws.

For a further whiff of intrigue, the pontiff's presence will inevitably affect a deepening conflict within the Mexican church. The majority of conservative bishops has been campaigning against the small group of progressives to the point of creating a split within the hierarchy.

Last year the conservatives tried to get the Vatican to dump Mexico's most controversial figure, the outspoken and popular Bishop of Cuernavaca, Sergio Mendez Arceo. The conservatives lost that round. On his recent visit to Rome, Mendez Arceo was given full papal support and told to stay.

Now the different Catholic and conservative cities in Mexico are competing for a visit and preferably a papal mass. Puebla, the beautiful Spanish colonial town and the site of the bishop's conference, is obviously on the list, and Guadalajara and Oaxaca are strong possibilities. The pope may even see an Indian community and a rodeo.

Whatever the outcome of the bishop's conference, his visit will excite many Mexicans. A cartoon in a local paper captured the Mexican paradox well. It showed a bureaucrat publicly criticizing the pope's visit, but privately—clutching his rosary—jumping for joy.

Las tendencias del papado de Juan Pablo II

A un mes del comienzo de su pontificado, Juan Pablo II no termina de sorprender a los miembros de la curia romana. Mientras por una parte se expresa como un firme defensor de la tradición religiosa y severo adversario del comunismo, por la otra derriba con la más completa soltura las formalidades del protocolo. A unos podrá gustarle más que a otros, pero sin duda. Juan Pablo II es un Papa con rostro propio.

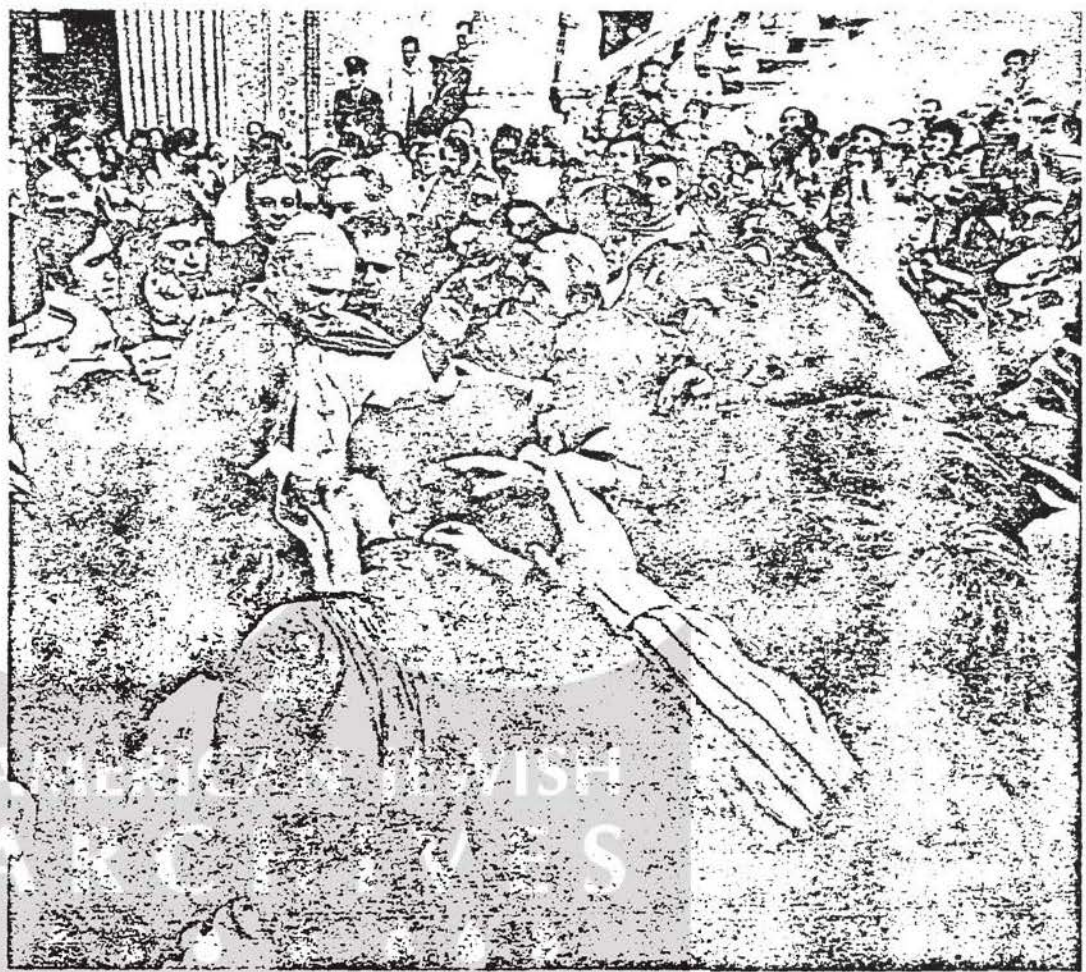
Durante una audiencia que concedió a los padres superiores de las principales órdenes religiosas —salesianos, jesuitas, dominicos, benedictinos, franciscanos, etc.— el Sumo Pontífice subrayó el valor de la tradición sin perjudicar la actualización que supone el Concilio Vaticano II.

"Si decimos que la vida de la Iglesia —mantuvo el Papa— tiene dos dimensiones, la vertical (oración a Dios) y la horizontal (compromiso social), las órdenes religiosas deben, sobre todo, tener en cuenta las dimensiones verticales. Hoy debe ser también así."

Según observadores del Vaticano, esta recomendación papal para que las órdenes cultiven sobre todo la vida de oración busca desalentar el interés activo que algunas de ellas han expresado (directa e indirectamente) por las cuestiones políticas.

El Papa insistió en sus conceptos al afirmar a los superiores generales que *"no debéis temer recordar frecuentemente a vuestros hermanos que una pausa de verdadera adoración a Dios tiene más valor y rinde un mejor fruto espiritual que la más intensa actividad, incluso la actividad apostólica"*, añadiendo que es mejor *"no ceder a las radicalizaciones sociopolíticas, que a largo plazo demuestran ser inoportunas, contraproducentes y causa de nuevos abusos"*.

Esta sería advertencia contra la politización del clero que sigue a la audiencia concedida al obispo francés Marcel Lefebvre una semana antes. Lefebvre, quien fue suspendido hace dos años por Pablo VI, fue calificado esta vez desde la radio vaticana como *"la ovejilla perdida que el buen pastor siempre quiere volver a encontrar"*: un comentario que pone en evidente tono menor las disidencias pasadas.



El personal estilo de Juan Pablo II; mezclado entre los fieles sin protocolo.

Siendo el Papa un defensor del Concilio Vaticano II, no es hostil a las misas en latín porque *"los polacos jamás olvidamos nuestra lengua madre, el latín romano"*.

Carlo Confalonieri, un cardenal influyente en tiempos de Paulo VI, comentó sin malicia: *"Le ha bastado un mes para dar vuelta todo. El protocolo de siglos voló en mil pedazos. Su contacto con el pueblo es directo y abierto. Las ideas políticas, distintas de lo esperado, y esto es nada más que el principio: todos esperan cambios más profundos en la Iglesia"*.

Cambiar, bien puede consistir en volver a valerse de lo bueno del pasado. Al hacerse cargo del arzobispado romano, en San Juan de Letrán, el Papa indicó: *"Hay excesiva diferencia entre mis curas de Cracovia, llenos de celo, pobres y heroicos, y los sacerdotes vaticanos. Desde ahora deben acabarse los trajes fantásticos. Quiero soldados de Dios, con cuello romano, vestidos de negro y una cruz grande en el pecho, y no un traje a la moda y una cruz de oro minúscula comprada en una joyería"*.

A la vez, el Papa ha renunciado a la silla gestatoria y al "nos" mayestático. Sobre este punto, se afirma que incluso llegó a amenazar al director de "L'Observatore Romano" con un traslado a un puesto menor, porque insistió en divulgar uno de

sus discursos con el "nos" al que es refractario.

Los viejos funcionarios del protocolo, aunque sin duda escandalizados por semejantes reformas, han debido ceder ante la real popularidad del Sumo Pontífice, quien con sus constantes "escapadas" para mezclarse con los fieles logró reimplantar una antigua costumbre de la feligresía romana: dar una vuelta diaria por la plaza de San Pedro *"para ver qué novedades tiene para ofrecer el Papa"*.

El Papa afirma que la Santa Sede debe también acentuar su vitalidad, y mientras ordena a los jesuitas que aumenten el número de las emisiones de Radio Vaticano dirigidas a los países del Este crítica el desordenado aumento de la burocracia interna (desde 1961, el número de empleados aumentó de 1.335 a 3.200). Sobre la Iglesia en el Tercer Mundo, estudia su futuro, asegurando que *"América latina tiene el valor de un laboratorio para estudiar el comportamiento cristiano en una sociedad histórica dada"*.

Deportivo, de espíritu luchador, quizás hasta excesivamente vital para la ceremoniosa parsimonia de la curia, el Papa Juan Pablo II se propone, al parecer, sacudir hasta los cimientos el edificio de las costumbres vaticanas. □

NHT 1/4/79



Missing Language

To the Editor:

It was ironic that Pope John Paul II conveyed his Christmas blessings in 24 languages, including Arabic, but did not use the language which could have been understood by the one in whose name the blessing was sought.

(Rabbi) JUDAH CAHN
New York, Dec. 28, 1978

POLITICAL REPORT

Chile moves to head off boycott + Bolivia Padilla protects his right flank
 Latin Letter Puerto Rican threat + Beagle Channel mediation + Mexico Pope's visit
 Ecuador assassination plot + Nicaragua plebiscite dropped + Cuba Castro's attack

Chile: new cabinet

President Pinochet's new labour minister has moved immediately to placate the AFL-CIO: he has announced a programme for restoring essential trade union rights in an attempt to head off the threatened boycott.

The key appointment among President Augusto Pinochet's six new cabinet ministers is the labour minister, José Piñera Echenique. Harvard-educated, but a 'Chicago boy' in his economic beliefs, he is closely linked to the economic 'clan' of the Cruzat family. Until his appointment last week he was a director of the Bank of Santiago, consultant to Industrias Forestales and editor of the magazine *Economía y Sociedad*, all of which enterprises belong to the Cruzat clan. He had been widely tipped for the economy ministry, and the weekly *Ercilla*, to which he contributed regularly, leaked his appointment. His job is the delicate one of trying to persuade the United States union organisation, the AFL-CIO, to call off its threatened boycott of all Chilean trade (LAER VI, 48; LAPR XII, 49).

Piñera was appointed to the post after members of the AFL-CIO leadership had flatly refused to 'waste time' talking to the stubborn incumbent, Vasco Costa. This message was given to finance minister Sergio de Castro when he went to Washington on 20 December for urgent talks with AFL-CIO chief George Meany. The speed with which Costa was replaced is one more indication of how seriously Santiago is taking the threat. Piñera may be rather more diplomatic in manner than his predecessor, who made no secret of his belief that strikes should remain permanently banned in Chile. But Piñera is firmly committed to the maintenance of the present economic policies, which offer little scope for greater trade union freedom. Nevertheless, Piñera moved rapidly to indicate the willingness of the regime to comply with Meany's reported

conditions for lifting the boycott, which are: free elections for union officers in all unions; freedom to hold union meetings without the presence of police, and without the subsequent detention of speakers; a return to the system of levying union contributions directly from wages, and the re-establishment of free collective bargaining to determine wages and conditions.

At a meeting with trade union leaders on 2 January, Piñera announced the immediate restoration of the right of assembly without previous permission, and spelled out the government's programme for trade union normalisation. He promised a return to free collective bargaining and the restoration of the right to strike. This latter concession will be hedged with certain restrictions. He also reversed previous policy by saying unions would be allowed to collect members' dues by a direct levy on wages, and said that new trade union elections would be held in the middle of this year. The minister left plenty of small print to be filled in, and it is too early for the AFL-CIO to claim a complete victory, but Tucapel Jiménez, a leader of the 'group of ten' unions, described the meeting as very positive. He said it was the first time an official of the junta had recognised the serious negative effect of the government's economic policy on the workers, and had admitted the need to restore trade union rights. A spokesman for the central chamber of commerce expressed the hope that the minister's announcements would provide the necessary conditions for calling off the boycott.

Before his appointment, Piñera's line on the boycott had been to make light of it. In the last issue of *Economía y Sociedad*, he argued that the economic model was now strong enough to withstand the effects of the measure, which would prove impracticable and difficult to maintain, and could be circumvented relatively easily. He conceded that it could be bad for small and medium producers, and warned that it might increase unemployment. In his attempts to mediate he has the help of Peter Grace, the president of the American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD), who visited Chile

on 29 December to offer his services. Piñera can also hope for some involuntary help from within the AFL-CIO, which is split over the issue. One sector, headed by longshoremen's leader Thomas Gleason, is afraid that the boycott may strengthen the position of Chile's left-led 'Communist' unions, rather than the centre-right wing Christian Democrat 'group of ten' unions which the AFL-CIO backs. Gleason is hesitating to back the call for a total boycott, which has the support of Meany and Sol Chaikin of the garment workers; instead he may support a weaker resolution in favour of selective blackings.

The issue is to be resolved at the ORIT meeting in 8 January. In the meantime, Meany is encouraging his Chilean brothers to use the threat to try to wring concessions from the government. In Latin America, the Brazilian unions are reported to have rejected the original ORIT resolution in favour of the boycott, but the Peruvians are equally predictably reported to have supported it.

One of the main new appointees, Roberto Kelly at the economy ministry, will not support a softer line with unions. Kelly, a retired naval captain, headed the state planning department, Odeplan, until this appointment; there, he advocated reducing unemployment by the simple method of reducing the employer's responsibility to his workforce, thereby encouraging greater mobility of labour (LAER VI, 17 & 19). He replaces Pablo Baraona, the only public reason for whose departure seems to have been his desire to return to private life to earn a better salary. Kelly is replaced at Odeplan by his deputy, Miguel Kast. The mining minister, Enrique Valenzuela, is replaced by a naval captain, Carlos Quiñones, who will follow Valenzuela's line in fighting for the further denationalisation of the industry (LACR II, 50). Quiñones had been in charge of mining affairs in the Magellanes region, with special responsibility for oil exploration.

Other changes are in education, where Vice-Admiral Luis Niemann hands over to Gonzalo Vial, and returns to active service. Vial is a founder and one-time director of the weekly *Qué Pasa*, which is closely linked to the right-wing Catholic Opus Dei movement. In the housing ministry, retired army General Jaime Estrada Leigh, who previously headed the national nuclear energy commission, takes on the job of trying to persuade private builders to invest in unprofitable public housing.

Before the changes were finally announced, on 26 December, two other military ministers were rumoured to be on their way out. They were Generals César Benavides (defence), and René Vidal (secretary to the government). But the President personally confirmed that both had his full confidence.

Bolivia: no left tilt

President Padilla is taking good care to cover himself against the possibility of ex-President Banzer rallying right-wing business and military opinion against his government.

President David Padilla used his end-of-year message to correct any impression, which might have been created by recent utterances (LAPR XII, 50), that his government might constitute an opening to the left. In a series of important definitions, he said that he would not end the military occupation of the mines; that he did not propose to dissolve the *campesino*-military alliance; and that he opposed the participation of trade union leaders as candidates in political elections.

On all these issues he opposed the unanimous recommendations of the Bolivian political parties, presented to the government during the last weeks of 1978. President Padilla was evidently on his guard against propagandists inside the armed forces, who see him as the Bolivian Kerensky planning to hand over the government to the left.

In fact, Padilla suggested that his government would leave the future civilian government to take the most important strategic decisions facing Bolivia. This possibly means that he will seek to avoid a major devaluation, for example. However, he did cover himself by saying his government would not hesitate to take unpopular measures if necessary.

Having slapped down the left, President Padilla assured the business community of his fervent support for private enterprise and productive industry. In this, as in his other remarks, Padilla clearly had General Banzer in mind. The former President had been strangely silent in recent weeks, and popular rumour has it that he is gathering money and allies (both civilian and military) to block the road to elections.

The only sweetener in the President's speech was a suggestion that he might be able to announce new oil discoveries during the first months of 1979. He also made it clear that he hoped to use the fact that the Organisation of American States is to hold its annual general assembly in La Paz in April to build international support for Bolivia's claim to a way to the sea. It is, after all, the hundredth anniversary of the War of the Pacific, which led to the loss of the coast. He said diplomatic relations with Chile would not be restored until Chile ended its demand for an exchange of territory as the appropriate solution to the problem.

Latin Letter

'Belfast' warning on Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico: Another Belfast is likely to emerge in Puerto Rico if the United States does not come up with a policy for its 'decolonisation,' a former senior Puerto Rican official writes in the winter issue of *Foreign Policy*. 'The problem of Puerto Rico is colonialism,' says José Cabranes, who served as special counsel and Washington representative for former governor Rafael Hernández Colón. 'Decolonisation stands at the front and centre of the island's politics and its relations with the United States,' Cabranes says.

According to the article, 'Puerto Rico: Out of the Colonial Closet,' the need for decolonisation is crystal clear. Because of its lack of congressional representation and its economic dominance by the United States, Puerto Rico can only be considered a colony, and almost all of the island's political leaders now admit this. Cabranes criticises the absence of any official United States policy to 'lift the enormous psychological burden of decades of dependency and political inferiority.'

Mainland benefits

Cabranes traces the origins of Puerto Rico's present commonwealth status, the creation of Luis Muñoz Marín, the populist figure whose Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) won control of the island's legislature in 1940 with a commitment to 'bread, land and liberty.' This relationship has been of significant economic benefit to the United States. By 1977, Cabranes writes, Puerto Rico's annual purchases from the mainland had soared to more than us\$3.9bn. Purchases of United States consumer goods per head of population were higher than those of any other country. Total United States investment on the island was estimated at us\$15bn; the 1950s and 1960s had seen the arrival of 'runaway' textile and electronics corporations drawn by the island's low-wage labour market.

After describing the social bases of each of the three major political tendencies on the island—those favouring commonwealth status, statehood and independence—Cabranes argues that the Puerto Rican sense of powerlessness has been deepened in recent years by the economic dislocation resulting from the island's massive financial problems. This frustration, he says, led Puerto Ricans to realise that their colonial condition had to change, and the statehood and commonwealth advocates came out of the colonial closet at the United Nations last September (LAPR XII, 36).

The article hits hard at what Cabranes sees as Washington's diplomatic nearsightedness in responding

to the unanimous Puerto Rican call for change. Although President Carter promised last July 'to support whatever decision the people of Puerto Rico reach,' and United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young asserted that 'the United States would do nothing to stand in the way' of United Nations observers at the proposed 1981 Puerto Rican political referendum on status, the actions of United States officials during the UN hearings 'suggested that the Carter and Young statements had no substance beneath them,' according to Cabranes.

While manager of Hernández Colón's Washington office, Cabranes identified strongly with the *autonomista* wing of the PPD. When Hernández Colón lost the 1976 gubernatorial election, Cabranes returned to his alma mater, Yale University, where he is now general counsel. He has recently been publicly associated with the pro-statehood Democrats, led by Franklin Delano López and Resident Commissioner Baltasar Corrada del Río, who have made the island's political status an issue in the United States and have the sympathetic ear of Jimmy Carter. The radical shift in Cabranes' status preference apparently results from his belief that the interdependence of Puerto Rico and the United States is inevitable and that statehood would bring Puerto Ricans maximum political rights.

The Cabranes article, however, does not overtly favour statehood. His purpose is to prod the State Department into developing a more aggressive position on the issue. Despite its many virtues, the article's major error is that it follows the traditional habit of Puerto Rican leaders in looking to Washington for a solution to the island's future. □

For the record

Colombia: José Gonzalo Forero Delgado, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, has been promoted to three-star (or sun, in the Colombian case) general by President Turbay, subject to approval by the senate. Vice-Admiral Güidberto Barona Silva has been promoted to full admiral, thereby becoming only the fifth Colombian to hold this rank. Admiral Barona has been appointed commander of the navy. Major-General Raúl Alberto Paredes Diago has been promoted to full general, and has replaced General Alfonso Rodríguez Rubiano as commander of the air force. Brigadier-Generals Francisco Afanador Cabrera and Angel María Gómez Jáuregui (air force) have been promoted to major-

general, and Rear-Admiral Héctor Calderón Salazar has been appointed vice-admiral.

Six army colonels have been promoted to brigadier-general, as follows: Manuel Guerrero Paz, Hernán Hurtado Vallejo, Ricardo José Medina Escobar, Luis Alberto Andrade Anaya, Diego González Ossa and Guillermo de la Cruz Amaya. General Andrade has been appointed commander of the seventh army brigade, and General Guerrero is now deputy chief of staff of the army. Captain José Gómez Avila has been promoted to rear-admiral and appointed director of matériel of the navy.

Air force Colonel Alfredo Ortega Caicedo will be promoted to brigadier-general later this year and Captain Enrique Grau Araújo will be appointed rear-admiral. The commander of the Bogotá police, Colonel Jorge Enrique Bulla Quintana, has been replaced by Colonel Hernando Sáchica Aponte.

General Guerrero, as a colonel, presided over the court martial which sentenced five civilians to more than 100 years' imprisonment for the assassination of General Ramón Arturo Rincón Quiñones in 1975 (LA X, 5 & 7). This decision has finally been overturned by the civilian courts, and the accused completely exonerated. General Afanador, as the attorney-general's delegate for the armed forces, is very much involved in the investigation into allegations that members of military intelligence tortured suspected guerrillas during interrogation (LAPR XII, 46). □

Cuba: The number of Cuban technicians, specialists and political advisers working in Angola is to be raised to 10,700 this year, Ramiro Valdés, vice-president of the council of state, said recently after a meeting in Havana of the Cuban-Angolan mixed commission. □

Dominica: The Caribbean island of Dominica became the 151st member of the United Nations on 6 December. Dominica became the second smallest nation in the United Nations, with a population of only 60,000. □

Paraguay: The United States ambassador, Robert White, attended the inauguration of the first human rights conference held in Paraguay during 9-10 December, organised by the Commission for the Defence of Human Rights in Paraguay. □

Correction

Peru: In the story on arms limitation talks (*Latin Letter* XII, 47) it was inadvertently suggested that Peru was planning to acquire the rights to produce 'the supersonic Israeli aircraft, the Kfir, as well as improved versions of the Mirage III and V'. In fact, the Kfir is the improved version of the Mirage III and V. □

Beagle Channel: divine

intervention

Both Argentina and Chile seem anxious to make concessions in order to smooth the path of the papal envoy, but he is still at the stage of trying to get negotiations restarted in a tense and hostile climate.

Cardinal Antonio Samore, like a hybrid of Pope Alexander VI and Henry Kissinger, spent the last days of 1978 and the first of 1979 shuttling between Buenos Aires and Santiago in an effort to avert war in the South Atlantic. For the first time since May, when the result of the international arbitration was announced, the two parties to the Beagle Channel dispute seem to be making substantive concessions, which could conceivably lead to a settlement. Cardinal Samore is a veteran of Latin American diplomacy. He was papal nuncio in Bogotá and other Latin American capitals in his younger days (he is now 73) and played an important part in setting up the Conferencia del Episcopado Latinoamericano (Celam), which is responsible for the coming bishops' meeting in Puebla, Mexico.

Samore first listened to the positions of the two sides and then suggested a possible formula which might lead to a settlement. This included recognition of Chile's right to the three disputed islands, Lennox, Nueva and Picton, but limited Chile's maritime claims, which are based on the new angles of projection resulting from the arbitration. According to the *Financial Times* correspondent, Robert Lindley, Argentina is willing to recognise Chilean sovereignty over the islands, provided Chile concedes a sovereign corridor giving Argentina access to the naval base of Ushuaia without sailing through Chilean territorial waters. Argentina is also demanding sovereignty over some of the smaller islets to the south of Nueva.

The cardinal is being extremely cautious in his public utterances. He is not willing to see more than 'a glimmer of light', and emphasises that his main concern at present is to get the parties back to the negotiating table. It seems clear that both Presidents favour a negotiated solution, but Videla remains under heavy pressure from his generals to seek a military solution. War is probably out of the question, however, while Cardinal Samore remains in the area offering mediation. The cardinal did indicate that later, when he had made his report, Pope John Paul II might offer to arbitrate between the two sides. In such a case, perhaps the only precedent might be the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1493, when Pope

Alexander VI decided on the conflicting colonial claims of the Catholic monarchs of Portugal and Spain by drawing an imaginary line from north to south, 370 leagues west of the Azores.

One Argentine general said that if President Pinochet did not accept Argentina's 'final offer', there would certainly be a war. But it seems likely that there is considerable room for talking before Samore gives it up as a bad job. In the meantime, the Argentine authorities in the war zone continue to make threatening noises, and to arrest and harass Chilean residents.

Mexico: divine headache

The announcement of the Pope's forthcoming visit to Mexico has been received with unrestrained glee by the Church, the private sector and the right in general, but with some concern by the government.

It was four days before the government produced any official reaction to the announcement, made just before Christmas, that Pope John Paul II was to visit Mexico at the end of January to open the third Latin American bishops' conference (Celam) in Puebla. Mexicans have just undergone one remarkable historical experience—the first visit by a King of Spain last November (LAPR XII, 47). But the first-ever visit by a Pope is a different matter, given the century and a quarter of bitter dispute between Church and State after independence from Spain. Fears that the visit might resurrect these bitter divisions make it a real headache for the government, and indeed may well have delayed the announcement until only a month before it was due.

When it came on 26 December, the government's official reaction made clear just how uneasy it was. In the communique read by President José López Portillo's senior cabinet minister, Jesús Reyes Heróles, minister of Gobernación (the interior), the government said the Pope would be treated as a 'distinguished visitor', not a visiting head of state, as he would in every other Latin American country. That disposed of the difficult protocol problem of how the Pope should be treated by Mexico, a constitutionally secular state, and the only fervently Roman Catholic country in the world which has no relations with the Vatican.

More awkward still, however, are the political problems posed by the visit. In a characteristically pithy comment, Reyes Heróles said: 'There are no problems of faith. There may be problems of political attitudes in the name of faith.'

Although there have been objections to the Pope's visit from certain sections of the left, the minister declared with emphasis that it in no way invalidated 'the Mexican solution to the problem of Church-State separation, a separation which remains inviolable'. In a clear reference to the bloody feuds of the past, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, between religious and anti-clerical forces, Reyes Heróles said: 'Existing legislation will be followed in spirit, but without excesses from either side. That is, no acts contrary to our Church-State separation, but also no excessive severity which had its origins in a stage of struggle now fortunately long gone.'

If the government's flexibility over existing legislation means what it seems to, then the Pope will probably be allowed to travel in an open car from Mexico City's airport, where he arrives on 26 January, to the Basilica of Guadalupe, Mexico's most holy shrine, where he will celebrate Mass and open the Celam conference. He may also travel in an open car the 130 kilometres from Mexico City to Puebla the following day, a route which religious organisations have said they will line shoulder to shoulder the whole way. This would violate the law which prohibits priests, lowly or exalted, from appearing in their habits in public.

The government may also allow another law to be broken, which says that religious ceremonies may not be held in public outside churches. Religious organisations are pushing hard for public services and blessings to be held in large sports stadiums in both Mexico City and Puebla. Like many Mexican laws, however, the country's anticlerical legislation is not always rigorously applied in practice, and the government turns a blind eye to many violations. But the government can hardly turn a blind eye to the Pope, so the Mexican Church may be fined a nominal 50 pesos if it breaks the law by holding a religious service in public. The government will probably choose to ignore the law which forbids foreign priests to practise religion in Mexico. It remains to be seen whether it will obey the law which obliges the state to take over any building other than a church used for a religious ceremony. The capital's Aztec stadium belongs to the privately-owned Televisa television consortium.

President López Portillo is expected to have a private meeting with the Pope, but not to go to the airport to greet him, nor to attend any religious ceremonies. However, he has created a new post, his personal representative to the Pope, and appointed Jorge Martínez Gómez del Campo, formerly director of the Banco de Fomento Cooperativo. An unexpected group at the airport will be the leaders of the Mexican Communist Party, which last year called for full political rights to be restored to priests. The party has

also joined with right-wing pressure groups in demanding that diplomatic relations should be established with the Vatican.

During his five days in Mexico the Pope is expected to go to both Guadalajara and Oaxaca, where he will meet Indian communities. Conservative forces, both in and out of the Mexican Church, are already trying to use his visit to their own advantage, as are more progressive groups. The extent to which the government can damp down the political aspects of the visit will depend to a great extent on the Pope himself. Although he has already established a reputation in Rome as a gregarious and sociable man, it is not yet clear whether he has appreciated that Mexico's fervent Catholicism is not an integral part of its strong nationalist feelings, as it is in his native Poland.

The only religious group in Mexico apparently unconcerned about the Pope's visit is the extreme conservative Unión Católica Trento, which regarded Paul VI as an apostate and heretic, and considers the papal throne vacant since his election.

Ecuador: plot thickens

There is mounting evidence that a deep-laid political conspiracy underlay the assassination of Abdón Calderón Muñoz in November. The government has attempted to allay suspicions about its involvement.

The dismissal of the minister of the interior, General Bolívar Jarrín Cahueñas, on 20 December, was clearly connected with the assassination of the politician Abdón Calderón Muñoz three weeks earlier (LAPR XII, 49). In the intervening period, protests had grown at the apparent inability of the police (of which the interior minister is the head) to lay hands on the culprits, despite abundant evidence of their identity. Vice-Presidential candidate Osvaldo Hurtado, of the Concentración de Fuerzas Populares-Democracia Popular coalition, went so far as to describe General Jarrín as an 'obstacle' to the electoral process, which is due to culminate in April 1979. Hurtado thereby gave expression to widespread fears that the assassination might be part of a conspiracy to frustrate the plans for returning power to civilian hands.

Suspicions of a plot with some official involvement were strengthened on 27 December, when the new interior minister, Rear-Admiral Víctor Hugo Garcés Pozo, admitted that one of the

suspects arrested in connection with the Calderón case, Humberto Rivera Ortiz, was a member of the political security branch of the police. Garcés was quick to add that Rivera was an 'infiltrator', put there by extremist agitators, and that the police were in no way involved in the assassination. He also announced that the head of the seven-member assassination squad was Abel Salazar, a lawyer who until September had been employed by the Guayaquil municipal government. He had given himself up to the Quito police a few days earlier, and five of the suspects were reported to be in custody.

Salazar had been the leader of a right-wing terrorist group known as Atala, which operated in the Guayaquil state university a few years ago, apparently with discreet support in high places. Among its members were Guillermo Méndez Baldeón and Luis García Almeida, the two-man team who, according to the police, were actually responsible for the killing of Calderón Muñoz. Méndez had apparently told a friend in Ambato that he, too, was a secret police agent, and that some very important people were involved in the conspiracy. Méndez was arrested on the strength of the friend's evidence, but García remained at large this week, and was thought to have left the country.

The involvement of the Guayaquil municipal authorities in a series of terrorist outrages earlier in the year had been widely suspected, and Salazar at that time was legal adviser to the then mayor, Guillermo Molina Defranc. Méndez and Salazar were also alleged to be members of a strong-arm squad organised by the campaign managers of Liberal presidential candidate Raúl Clemente Huerta, who was widely regarded as the representative of the Guayaquil commercial and financial oligarchy. His failure to secure a place in next April's run-off would, on the face of it, give his supporters sufficient reason to sabotage the entire process by whatever means at their disposal.

The government has promised a full investigation into the shadowy forces behind the murder of Calderón Muñoz, and showed its good will by dismissing the head of the national police, General Alberto Villamarín Ortiz, along with General Jarrín; he has been replaced by his second-in-command, General Humberto León Polo. One of the first official acts of the new interior minister was to sack the head of the Guayaquil criminal investigation department, SIC, Colonel Silvio Arias Torres, who had so conspicuously failed to pick up the assassins' trail.

The change of minister is unlikely to bring about any important changes in policy; a gap of almost 24 hours between the dismissal of General Jarrín and the appointment of Admiral Garcés was taken up with urgent consultations between

the ruling triumvirate and the military high command, so the new minister presumably has the backing of the armed forces. These same military chiefs had assured General Jarrín of their unqualified support only a week before he was removed, so the permanence of the new arrangements cannot be taken for granted. However, the commitment of the majority of senior officers to see the electoral process through appears to remain intact.

To bolster their resolve, a group of prominent civilians, led by ex-Presidents Galo Plaza Lasso and Clemente Yerovi, have set up a committee to defend the re-establishment of democracy. This is committed to supporting the official timetable, and rejects the call for a constituent assembly and the annulment of last July's elections which has come from some of the main right-wing forces.

Nicaragua: Tachito's theme

President Somoza is again calling the tune; the formal opposition and the international mediation effort are in almost total disarray.

Nicaragua's new year began in much the same fashion set by 1978. There were violent demonstrations last Monday against the government of President Anastasio Somoza. Armed youths were also reported to have clashed with Somoza's National Guard, leading to an as yet undetermined number of deaths in Managua, León and Granada. These latest incidents came shortly after fighting last month in the north between the Guard and Sandinista guerrillas, apparently the most serious since September's civil war (LAPR XII, 50).

The violence has again been intensifying after a temporary lull during the United States-led effort to mediate between Somoza and the Frente Amplio de Oposición (FAO). The mediation looks now to be on its last legs, if it has not collapsed altogether. Shortly before Christmas the relatively liberal-minded FAO spokesman, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, said that conversations with Somoza were 'dead'. Other FAO members, however, have in the past seemed willing to keep talking with the President no matter what conditions he might lay down for a settlement, and within this context of FAO disunity Somoza has now seized the initiative.

Somoza feels himself in a position to make no concessions at all to the positions of both the FAO and the mediators; now he has thrown out the

Cuba: on the attack

proposition for a plebiscite in February. Ironically Somoza, in November, first suggested a plebiscite, and the FAO and mediators took up the proposal. Last week the President rejected the proposition by claiming that the mediators' condition that the plebiscite should be internationally supervised was a 'juridical absurdity'.

Somoza clearly has no intention of signing away his family's dynasty to even the most conservative elements of the opposition; he seems happy to take his chances in any renewed offensive by the Sandinista guerrillas. Somoza's durability has dismayed the chief United States mediator, William G. Bowdler, who has been pushing for *Somocismo sin Somoza*. Bowdler is said to have been telling friends in the United States that he even favours a National Guard coup against Somoza as a prelude to a business-backed regime. The Guard, however, is at least as hated as the President himself.

Internationally, Somoza has been moving to consolidate his position by maintaining close contacts with fellow members of the Consejo de Ejércitos Centroamericanos (Condeca). He recently had secret talks with the Presidents of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, giving credence to speculation that Condeca would act on Somoza's behalf if requested.

By virtue of the National Guard's superior strength in arms and numbers, Somoza could probably contain a further all-out offensive by the Sandinistas. But the President's closer contacts with other Condeca members have, significantly, been made at a time of apparently increased unity among the three guerrilla factions. Speaking in Mexico City last week, Tomas Borge, leader of the Guerra Popular Prolongada (GPP) faction, announced the reunification of the GPP with the Tercerista and Tendencia Proletaria guerrilla groups. For the time being, the Sandinistas also seem to have opted for tactics of engaging the National Guard in small to medium-scale skirmishes, usually in areas bordering Honduras and Costa Rica. Local observers argue that the guerrillas still lack the necessary grassroots organisation to carry out another full offensive.

The Sandinistas are also being hampered by continuing clean-up operations carried out by the Costa Rican Civil Guard against guerrilla camps there. Somoza closed the border with Costa Rica on 26 December and threatened to invade the country unless the government in San José stepped up its anti-Sandinista operations. As well as prompting an appeal to the OAS from Costa Rica for protection against a Nicaraguan invasion, Somoza's threat has also intensified the current debate in Costa Rica on a rapid build-up of the country's armed forces (LAPR XII, 50).

Cuba's leaders celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the revolution with an ideological reaffirmation, taking the form of a blast at China and the United States.

Diplomats who might have thought that the changes in Cuba's system of economic management (LAER VI, 50) and the programme for the release of political prisoners (LAPR XII, 49) signalled a change in the politics of the Cuban leadership were treated to a dose of Havana's old one-two at the new year. In speeches to mark the twentieth anniversary of the revolution, President Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl, the head of the armed forces, delivered blistering attacks on the United States, Egypt and China.

Fidel Castro's speech was delivered at a special session of the national assembly of people's power, held, according to the official account, 'to reiterate to the world the principles which rule Cuban foreign policy linked to the forces of progress and socialism'. To cries from the audience of '*Fidel, Fidel, seguro, a los yanquis dales duro*', Castro charged the United States with hypocrisy and causing the deaths of thousands of people in Latin America. Egypt was accused of betraying the Palestinian cause, but the fiercest attacks were reserved for China. The diplomatic representatives of all three countries walked out of the Karl Marx theatre where the session was held.

If anything, Raúl Castro's speech, at a massive military parade in Havana, was even more critical of the Chinese. 'The new mandarins,' he said, had sold their revolutionary birthright for a mess of pottage. Castro was referring to the recent United States decision to re-establish diplomatic relations with China; the decision followed massive purchases by Peking of Western technology. Raúl said the West was pursuing with China the policy which it had applied to Nazi Germany. Then, he said, the West had 'thrown against the USSR a war machine in the hands of chauvinists blinded by expansionist ambitions and dreams of world hegemony'.

Both of the Castro brothers emphasised that Cuba would never follow the Chinese road, though there were soothing words, too, about a commitment to peaceful coexistence between nations with different social systems. United States officials would do well to mark these words; for too long they had imagined that Cuba's African policy, for example, was negotiable. But they could take heart, too, on the question of peaceful coexistence. Despite the rapid deterioration in Cuban-Chinese relations, China continues to be an important trading partner of Cuba.

News in brief

Argentina: The government has freed 192 people it had been holding without charge. Further prisoners in this category are being put under house arrest, exiled, or given provisional liberty. Officials have voiced satisfaction at the December negotiations over the Malvinas/Falklands, which led to an agreement in principle on an outline scheme for scientific research on the islands.

Brazil: President Geisel decreed at the end of the year that people banished from the country would become ordinary citizens once again. The category of 'banished' was introduced for political prisoners released as ransom for kidnapped ambassadors; it includes some of Brazil's most prominent union leaders. It is not clear whether they will be allowed to return freely to Brazil.

Colombia: The M-19 guerrilla group has claimed responsibility for a raid on the Brigada de Institutos Militares (BIM) military arsenal, north of Bogotá, on 3 January, in which they seized more than 5,000 assorted arms. An M-19 press release bore the signature, for the first time, of Carlos Toledo Plata, a former Anapo congressman.

Dominican Republic: Widespread protests against the government, the first since it took office last August, have followed its decision to raise the price of petrol and other oil products.

El Salvador: The Dutch manager of the local Philips subsidiary was released last month after being held for 36 days by FARN guerrillas (LAPR XII, 48). Philips is now reported to have paid a US\$4m ransom, and Dutch overseas radio broadcast a lengthy guerrilla manifesto to El Salvador. Two British bankers and a Japanese industrialist are still being held by the FARN, which, in return for the businessmen, is demanding that the military regime release five political prisoners. The government has claimed that it has no political prisoners (LAPR XII, 44 *Latin Letter*).

Honduras: Valentín Mendoza, a member of the Partido Nacionalista (LAPR XII, 32 & 47), has been appointed to the key post of finance minister. Carlos Manuel Zerón is the new minister of economy, and Mendoza's post at the ministry of economic planning is being taken over by Virgilio Cáceres Pineda (LAPR XII, 35, *Latin Letter*). The

chief of the central bank, Guillermo Bueso, who has been under continual pressure from the military junta to resign, is reported to be looking for a new job (LAPR XII, 33).

Latin America: Pope John Paul II is to make the first visit by a pontiff to Santo Domingo, where he will spend 12 hours on 25 January on his way to Mexico. The Pope has been invited to visit Guatemala after leaving Mexico, but has given no reply yet. Reports in the Colombian press, quoting Archbishop Rosendo Huesca Pacheco of Puebla, Mexico, that the Pope would visit Brazil this year were received with surprise by the Brazilian bishops' conference, which said he had been invited for 1980.

Mexico: United Nations secretary general Kurt Waldheim has been received by President López Portillo and foreign minister Santiago Roel during an unofficial visit to Mexico. He goes on to Jamaica and Cuba.

Peru: The country's main labour unions, led by the Communist CGTP, have called a general strike for 9-11 January, in protest against government economic policy. The price of petrol was increased by up to 20% on 3 January.

Peru: Vice-Admiral Jorge Parodi Galliani has been replaced as commander of the navy and member of the ruling junta by Vice-Admiral Carlos Tirado Alcorta. Rear-Admiral Jorge Villalobos Urquiaga has replaced Vice-Admiral Francisco Mariátegui Angulo as minister of fisheries; Admiral Villalobos was formerly director of the naval academy. Mariátegui is the new inspector-general of the navy. President Morales Bermúdez has also announced that foreign minister José de la Puente Radbill will be replaced at the end of January, presumably by Carlos García Bedoya, the current ambassador in Washington. De la Puente has come under attack for his conciliatory attitude towards Chile, particularly over the arrest of four Chileans accused of spying in Peru just before Christmas.

Puerto Rico: Secretary of state Reinaldo Paniagua, the cabinet's most influential figure, resigned last week, sparking a new crisis for the government of Carlos Romero Barceló. Paniagua's resignation was preceded, a few weeks earlier, by those of the chief of police, Roberto Torres González, and the president of the government's development bank, Mariano Mier.

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Draft: Suggestions for a press release to Bert Gold and Morton Yarmon

"The Latin American Catholic Bishop Conference of Pope John Paul II to the American Continent."

American Jewish Committee representatives travelled to Puebla to express their concern about the terminology referring to the Jewish people which was included in some of the CELAM conference working documents which did not reflect the spirit and substance of the guidelines and suggestions for implementing the conciliar declaration Nostra Aetate which had been prepared after the Ecumenical Council II.

The two AJC representative Mr. Sergio Nudelstejer, Director of AJC's Central American Office and Mr. Jacob Kovadloff, Director of AJC's South American Office, joined the 3500 journalists and others who had come to Puebla as observers.

Prior to the Conference the Pope met with the Mexican interfaith Committee which included a delegation of the Central Committee of Mexican Jews. The delegation included Mr. Sergio Nudelstejer AJC Director in Mexico who also is General Director of the Central Committee of Mexican Jews. The Jewish delegation presented the Pope with a beautiful silver plate with the date inscribed in Spanish and Hebrew. During his visits to Guadalajara and Monterrey the Pope received Jewish community leaders from those two cities.

One of the presidents of the Puebla Conference, who is also ~~XXXXXX~~ chairman of the Vatican Commission for Latin America, Sr Sebastiano Cardinal Paggio was presented a letter by Mr. Kovadloff, Director of South American Affairs at the AJC. The letter read as follows: "In the name of Mr. Richar Maass President, and Mr. Bert Go ld executive vice-president and on behalf of the executives and members of the AJC, I have the honor to convey

to your eminence sincere wishes for the success of the deliberations taking place in this city by many distinguished personalities of the Catholic Church in Latin America as well as from the Vatican and many other countries.

May we kindly express to your Holiness Pope John Paul II our cordial and respectful welcome to the American continent, this being his first trip abroad since he became pontiff. We know of the ^{Charitable} ~~pius~~ and humanitarian activities of Pope John Paul II as a priest, bishop and archibishop of Crakow in his Diocese in

his hometown Poland. We are aware to his sympathy and regard for the masll number of the Jewish survivors of the Holocout who returned to Crakow. His relationship and fraternal regard for the Jewish civtims deserves our recognition.

Because of this the AJC as an institution which has pioneered in promoting inter-religious dialogue in the U.S. as well as throughout the world follows with great interest the presence of Pope John Paul II in this continent, as well as the deliberations of the Puebla Conference in which the difficult problems affecting the world 700 million Catholics are being confronted.

We pray for the successful achievement of those goals common to all: peace, justice and harmony among people and nations of the world. As Jews we are hopeful that the spirit of the II Ecumenical Council and the Encyclical - Nostra Aetate (October 19, 1965), as well as the guidelines which resulted from a series of important conferences including those of IJCIC and the CELAM in Medellin 10 years ago, will be strengthened and implemented in this

conference. We invoke the words of Pope ~~John XXIII~~ ~~John XXIII~~ when he said

I am Joseph, your Brother.
 "... spiritually we are all Semites".

While in Puebla Mr. Kovadloff met with several Latin American dignitaries including Monsignor George Mejia, VATICAN
I.D.
Secretary for the Commission of Catholic-Jewish Relations. In response to the concern expressed regarding the working papers, Monsignor Mejia informed Mr. Kovadloff that he had presented an alternative document relating to Ecumenism which referred specifically to resolutions regarding Judaism which were in the framework of the previous conferences. He referred especially to efforts at promoting dialogue, text emendations and a strong condemnation of anti-Semitism.

Other dignitaries with whom Mr. Kovadloff spoke were equally empathic in asserting that the Puebla Conference would continue in the spirit of the ecumenical council and to ~~continue~~ reiterate the strong condemnation of religious intolerance voiced at the previous CELAM Conference in Medellin.

Mr. Sergio Nudelstejer who also serves as chairman on the Latin American conference on Soviet Jewry presented a ~~letter to the CELAM executives and a memorandum~~ ^{& Memo} regarding the Jews in the Soviet Union.