LATIN AMERICAN 2012



LIVING WELL - LIVING WELL TOGETHER SUMAK KAWSAY

Our cover image, by Maximino CEREZO BARREDO



Sumak Kawsay, the Good Life, that is to say the ancestral Indigenous utopia of the Indigenous people of Abya Yala, which was ignored and set aside—if not suffocated—by the colonizers, inspired and sustained Indigenous struggle and resistance. Today it is revived through the self-affirmation of these peoples in their determination to put it on the table and offer to the Continent this contribution to the construction of a New Society, above all at this time when we see the failure of the model of unlimited development, of "always living better," of "living better than the others" and of "at the expense of nature."

Mino Cerezo rounds out that global, harmonious, complete, rounded vision that brings together heaven and earth, nature and humanity, animals, vegetables and humans, as a place for everyone, including St. Francis' Brother Wolf, the threatened whale, the lion and the lamb of Isaiah, the dove of peace and the olive leaf...

Sumak kawsay (in the Quichua of Ecuador). Suma qamaña (Aymara). Teko porã (Guaraní). Küme mogen (Mapuche of Chile y Argentina).

Other resources:
Primer, courses, digital Archive, etc.
Cfr. page 239.

This year we remind you...

We put the accent on vision, on attitude, on awareness, on education... Obviously, we aim at a practice. However our "charism" is to provoke the transformations of awareness necessary so that radically new practices might arise from another systemic vision and not just reforms or patches. We want to ally ourselves with all those who search for that transformation of conscience. We are at its service. This Agenda want to be, as always and even more than at other times, a box of materials and tools for popular education. Take a look also at «servicioskoinonia.org/teologiapopular», where we habitually publish our "courses of popular education."

<u>latinoamericana.org/2012/info</u> is the web site we have set up on the network in order to offer and circulate more material, ideas and pedagogical resources than can economically be accommodated in this paper version. As in the past, we will continue the complentarity between paper and electronic versions.

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Using the entrance of the "telematic archive of the Agenda" (servicioskoinonia.org/agenda/archivo), you can also read or copy the texts of the Agenda, both of the current year (after February) and of prior years.

Additionally, if you want to be advised of new additions (new material, activist campaigns, important new bibliographic information) that we are able to make available in the page of the Agenda, subscribe (without cost) to "Novedades Koinonía" that, in brief weekly or biweekly emails, will communicate this new information to you (without sending attachments, but providing you with the direct link).

Subscribe at http://servicioskoinonia.org/informacion/index.php#novedades; you can also unsubscribe at any moment at this address. If you have any problems, you can contact the email address which appears in the portal.

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Holistic Vision of the World Latin American Agenda 2012

The 2012 Latin American Agenda is happy to dedicate its pages to the indigenous Utopia of "the Good Life," Sumak Kawsay in its Quechua expression, the most well-known throughout the Continent. It does not deal with a new theme precisely, but it is true that only in the past few years have indigenous peoples been able to bring out this wealth of wisdom into the light and offer it to the world as their contribution to the human adventure. Listening to this proposal, embracing it, publicizing it in our Continent and beyond, and meditating on it—this is what we want to do in this Agenda, adding ourselves to the collective reflection on Sumak Kawsay that is occurring inside and outside of the Continent.

The Good Life should be combined with a **Good** Life Together: we cannot live well if we cannot live well in harmony with each other, understanding this, effectively, in a holistic sense: harmonious coexistence between humans, with other species—in order to avoid "speciesism"—and with all of nature.

The Good Life is not the same as an isolated good life, nor is it the better life of accumulation or undefined progress pursued at all costs. The Good Life can lead, in large part, to degrowth, to "natural" life, to a sobriety so that all can live well. The most radical part of Sumak Kawsay, without making it explicit, presents us with the necessity and urgency of a "systemic change." What is in play under the thematic of all this debate is the unviability of the current system and the necessity of pushing ourselves to find an alternative, beginning, without a doubt, by changing our heads.

This systemic change includes recognizing the erroneous paradigms which are the foundation on which we have constructed our entire structure, identifying the historic moment and the detours we have taken, changing our concepts and basic notions which are

causing damage, and urgently preventing a return to our poorly-chosen paths and the pernicious growth to which we still feel absurdly attached.

Well, at the same time as we listen to and deeply embrace this indigenous proposal of the *Good Life*, we also want to put it in dialogue with the Great Causes of Latin America, which we have always advocated. Do the Popular Cause, Indigenous Cause, Black Cause, Feminist Cause, and Ecological Cause fit within this *Good Life*? Are they still relevant? Are we still in an appropriate time for the Great Causes, or, like some have said, have we passed the time for utopias or historical projects?

We could say that, for all of us, the Great Utopias have configured the Latin American Utopia of these times. Our traditional Latin American Good Life has been made from the force and passion of the struggle for these Great Causes. These have marked the ways of action and of praxis to struggle for another possible world, that for Christians is a concretization of that other Good Life that Jesus announced and called Malkuta Yahvéh, the Reign of God. For these Great Causes we have expended ourselves generously; to them we have consecrated the greater part of our lives; and for them our martyrs and witnesses have sacrificed their very lives. Because of this, we want to add to this Agenda some of these personal testimonies.

We have structured the **content** of the Agenda in the following way:

First we try to take up, listen to, and embrace this indigenous proposal of *Sumak Kawsay* in **SEEING**. Several authors, including some of the leading intellectuals of the indigenous proposal, expose us to it and explain it.

Next—in **JUDGING**—different authors join their reflections to discern the proposal—its riches, its

possibilities, and possibly its limitations—in order to put them in dialogue with the Great Causes of Latin America that traditionally make concrete our struggle for the Latin American *Good Life*.

In **ACTING**, we bring together steps, suggestions, invitations, testimonies...that signal paths to take and opinions and conclusions about this dialogue with *Sumak Kawsay*.

Fraternally/Sororally,

José María VIGIL



Translator's Note: English does not have entirely adequate translations for the Spanish "el Buen Vivir" or "el Buen Convivir," central terms throughout this Agenda. The Spanish term "el Buen Vivir" can be translated as either "the Good Life" or "Living Well." This "Good Life" of Sumak Kawsay can be distinguished from a solitary, individual pleasant life (una buena vida) that does not implicate a holistic understanding of our place in the mystery of the universe. "Convivir" could be translated as "to coexist," but is better understood as "to live together," or, even better, "to live together in harmony."

Pedagogical Use of the Agenda

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

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

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

Ecumenicism

This agenda is dictated by a "total ecumenicism," not a "remainder ecumenicism." Because of this, we do not eliminate what is only Catholic or only Protestant, but we

unite the two. Thus, in the list of the Saints, the Protestant and Catholic commemorations have both been included. When they do not coincide, the Protestant commemoration is in cursive. For example, the Apostle Peter is celebrated by the Catholic Church on February 22 ("the Chair of Peter"), and for the Protestant Churches on January 18 ("the Confession of Peter"); the differences can be distinguished typographically.

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

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

A Non-Profit Work

In many countries, this Agenda is edited by popular and non-profit organizations that use the money received from the sale of the agenda

unite the two. Thus, in the list of the Saints, the Protestant and Catholic commemorations have both been included. When they do not coincide, each edition.

In all cases, the Latin American Agenda, in its central coordination, is also a non-profit initiative. It was born and developed without help from any agency. The money generated by the Agenda, after adequately compensating the authors who write in its pages, is dedicated to works of popular alternative communication and international solidarity.

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

A Collective Agenda

This is a collective work. Because of this, it has gotten to where it is today. We continue to gladly receive suggestions, materials, documents...

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

9

By Way of a Friendly Introduction

THE GOOD LIFE, TO LIVE TOGETHER IN HARMONY

In 2011, our Agenda reached out as far as God: We asked, "Which God?" It seemed that we could go no further; we had gone as far as the Mystery. The truth is that we can and must go further, by coming closer, moving more within, by interpreting humanly and historically the lived experience of the Mystery-God and by discovering and welcoming God in the on-going journey of the human family. In 2011 the Agenda asked "Which God?" and in 2012 it asks "Which humanity?" What sort of humanity can we and do we want to be; what life can we and do we want to live; what sort of co-existence do we aspire to. From the very first issue, 21 years ago, our Agenda has taken up the challenge of contributing modestly but with a lot of passion to the analysis of and commitment to the Great Causes of Our America. However, enlarging the horizon, our Agenda has come to be Latin American and global. Great causes are inevitably global, above all in this time of globalization. And they are great causes because they deal with our lives, society, the planet and the universe...

We have always witnessed to the fact that our Causes were "worth" more than our lives because they are what give meaning to life. We are what we love, what we do and what we dream. The word that dreams and is engaged has always accompanied the Agenda in its every regard and proposal: "Utopia." We are unrepentantly dreamers; we believe in the Ethiopian proverb that says, "A tribe that does not dream is dead."

This 2012 Agenda also has a dream and, strengthening the viability of our dreams, it meets up with another word, one that is a pregnant source of the ancestral utopia of our indigenous peoples, taken up again at a point when certain "major" words are being eroded. These latter words are taken as real dogmas of a supposed "well-being," of unlimited progress, of a history that has come to its "culmination." Some of these words are so ridiculously taken as "major" that they go so far as to epitomize happiness in a bottle of Coca Cola.

The liberating phrase, the *Good Life*, in the Andean translation called Sumak Kawsay, comes forward to greet us as a Gospel of Life that is possible and dignified for all persons and all peoples. It is the Good News of Good Life in the face of the bad life of the immense majority and which confronts that insulting and blasphemous "good life" led by a minority that is trying to be the only group, allowed into the common house of humanity.

The Agenda proclaims the "Good Life - Good Life Together" because we cannot imagine a good quality of human life without a good co-existence among humans. We are relationship, sociability, communion, love. It is abundantly clear that a good personal life has also has to be communitarian; but it is better to bring it out explicitly so as not to fall into assumptions that don't pay attention to what we need to understand and embrace vitally, radically. I am myself and also the whole of humanity. There are two problems and two solutions: other people and myself. This cannot just be "taken for granted;" we need to shout it aloud.

CIMI, the Indigenous Missionary Council of Brazil, in its Week of Indigenous Peoples 2011, launched a three-part document of conscientization and commitment to the Indigenous Cause with its theme: "Life for All and for Always." They then added: "Mother Earth cries out for the Good Life." CIMI in Brazil defines it this way: "The concept of the Good Life goes in the opposite direction of a model for development that considers the Earth and Nature to be consumer products.... It is a system of life set against capitalism, because this latter has become a model of death and exploitation.... We need to think about the Good Life as a system for a viable life, taking into account the historical dimension and the possibilities that it offers for the future. To bring this about we need to consider the Good Life as an alternative to the capitalist model, creating a historical memory, by taking life and hope into account, precisely, not from the perspective of the conquerors," but rather always and radically from the perspective of the life, hopes, lamentation and the blood of those who have been conquered. "In order to practice the Good Life, we need to listen to what those who struggle each day for a more fraternal and just world have to say."

Professor Dávalos says that "social movements, and especially the Indigenous movement, have proposed a new paradigm of living and living together that is not based on development or the idea of growth but rather on different concepts such as those of conviviality, respect for nature, solidarity, reciprocity, complementarity."

CIMI's document calls for "life for all and for always." It is the "always" that walks with the anxiety and hope of mortal humanity throughout history. We cannot think about living well without simultaneously considering dying well. Death is the last great particularity of life, the ultimate verse of the sonnet. If there is no response to death, there is no response to life. By being grateful for and by drawing on everything that philosophy and science can offer by way of "quality of life," we make a definitive call to hope. Good Life—Good Life Together—Good Death.

Jesus of Nazareth, prophet of the great Utopia ("Be good as God is good, Love as God loved us, Give your life for those you love") proclaimed with his life and death and with his victory over death, the *Sumak Kawsay* of God's Reign. Jesus is, in his own person, a lasting and universal paradigm of the *Good Life*, the *Good Life Together*, and the *Good Death*.

PEDRO CASALDÁLIGA



MARTYROLOGY ANIVERSARIES 2012

LATIN AMERICAN MARTYROLOGY

35 años: 1977

- 1.1: Mauricio López, rector of the University of San Luis, Argentina, protestant, member of the World Council martyrs in solidarity with the disappeared, Argentina. of Churches, disappeared. Assassinated in March.
- 27.1: Miguel Ángel Urusa Nicolau, Salesian priest, disappeared, martyr to Argentinian youth.
- 1.2: Daniel Esquivel, Paraguayan worker, martyr to the Paraguayan immigrants in Argentina.
 - 9.2: Agustín Goiburú, medical doctor, Paraguay.
- 12.3: Rutilio Grande, pastor, Manuel Solórzano and Nelson Lemus, peasants, martyrs in El Salvador.
- 16.3: Antonio Olivo v Pantaleón Romero, martyrs among the peasants of Perugorría, Argentina.
- 21.3: Rodolfo Aquilar, pastor, 29 years old, martyr for the liberation of México.
- 8.4: Carlos Armando Bustos, Capuchin, witness to the faith among the poor in Buenos Aires, assassinated.
 - 27.4: Rodolfo Escamilla, priest, martyr, Mexico.
- 6.5: Oscar Alajarín, militant in the Methodist Church, among the Indigenous peasants of Guatemala. martyr to solidarity in Argentina.
- 11.5: Alfonso Navarro, priest, and Luis Torres, altar server, martyrs in El Salvador.
- 13.5: Luis Aredez, medical doctor, martyr to solidarity among the poor in Argentina.
- 23.5: Elisabeth Käsemann, militant German Lutheran, detained, tortured and assassinated, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 14.6: Mauricio Silva Iribarnegaray, Uruquayan priest, struggles of Chilean unionists. Little Brother of the Gospel, street cleaner in Buenos Aires, martyr to the poor. Kidnapped and disappeared.
- 11.7: Carlos Ponce de León, bishop of San Nicolás, martyr to justice, «officially» in an accident, Argentina.
- 10.8: Jesús Alberto Páez Vargas, leader of a peasants' movement, father of four children, disappeared. Peru.
- 26.8: Felipe de Jesús Chacón, peasant, catechist, assassinated by the security forces of El Salvador.
- 22.9: Eugenio Lyra Silva, lawyer in the federation of agricultural workers, martyr to justice in Brazil.
- 18.10: Massacre of the Aztra refinery, Ecuador. More than 100 dead for protesting against the company that didn't pay them.
- 9.11: Justo Mejía, peasant unionist and catechist, martyr to the faith in El Salvador.

- 27.11: Fernando Lozano Menéndez, student at the Catholic University, assassinated by the military, Peru.
- 8.12: Alicia Domont and Leonie Duquet, Religious,
 - 28.12: Massacre of the peasants of Huacataz, Peru.

30 años: 1982

- 6.1: Victoria de la Roca, Guatemalan Religious, martyr to the poor of Esquipulas. Disappeared.
- 8.1: Domingo Cahuec Sic, Achi Indigenous, catechist, delegate of the Word in Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.
- 10.1: Dora Azmitía «Menchy», 23 year old teacher, martyr to young catholic students in Guatemala.
- 18.1: Sergio Bertén, Belgian Religious, and companions, martyrs to solidarity with the peasants of Guatemala.
- 20.1: Carlos Morales, Dominican priest, martyr
- 22.1: Massacre of peasants in Pueblo Nuevo, Colom-
- 30.1: María Magdalena Mónico Juárez, catechist, assassinated by the Hacienda Police, El Salvador.
- 13.2: Santiago Miller, North American Religious of La Salle, martyr to liberating education among the Indigenous peoples of Guatemala.
- 25.2: Tucapel Jiménez, 60 years old, martyr to the
- 3.3: Hipólito Cervantes Arceo, Mexican priest, martyr to solidarity with the exiles of Guatemala.
- 3.3: Emiliano Pérez Obando, delegate of the Word and district judge, martyr to the Nicaraguan revolution.
- 17.3: Jacobus Andreas Koster, «Koos», and companions, journalists, martyrs to the truth in Latin America, El Salvador.
- 1.4: Ernesto Pili Parra, militant, martyr to peace and justice in Caquetá, Colombia.
- 22.4: Félix Tecu Jerónimo, Achi, Indigenous person, delegate of the Word, Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, Guatemala.
- 29.4: Mons. Enrique Alvear, bishop of the poor, persecuted by Pinochet, pastor and prophet in Chile, dies.
- 9.5: Luis Vallejos, Archbishop of Cuzco, Peru, threatened for his option for the poor, dies in an «accident.»
 - 8.6: Luis Dalle, bishop of Ayaviri, Peru, threatened

for his option for the poor, dies in an «accident.»

- 12.6: Another massacre in Río Sumpul, El Salvador. More than 300 peasants, almost all of them elderly, women and children, are assassinated when they try to reach the border.
- 27.6: Juan Pablo Rodríguez Ran, Indigenous priest, martyr to Justice in Guatemala.
- 13.7: Fernando Hoyos, Jesuit, educator to the Indigenous, killed by the army, Guatemala.
- 20.8: América Fernanda Perdomo, Chief of Public Relations for the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, kidnapped.
- 12.9: José Alfonso Acevedo, «Foncho», catechist, martyr to serving the displaced of San Salvador.
- 17.9: Alirio, Carlos and Fabián Buitrago, Giraldo Ramírez and Marcos Marín, catechists of the parish in Cocorná, assassinated, Colombia,

25 años: 1987

- Formosa, Argentina, martyr to the defense of the land.
- 21.3: Luz Marina Valencia, Religious, martyr to Justice for the peasants of Mexico.
 - 31.3: Roseli Correa da Silva, peasant in Natalino, Brazil.
- 10.4: Martiniano Martínez, Terencio Vázguez and Abdón Julián, committed Baptists, martyrs to freedom. Oaxaca, México.
- 8.5: Vicente Cañas, Jesuit missionary, an example of missionary inculturation, assassinated by those who wanted the land of the Indigenous peoples, Mato Grosso, solidarity in Peru. Brasil.
- their land, in Bagadó, Colombia.
- 25.5: Bernardo López Arroyave, Colombian priest, martyr at the hands of land owners and the military.
- 2.6: Sebastián Morales, Evangelical deacon, martyr to faith and iustice. Guatemala.
- 15.6: Twelve persons assassinated in Santiago de Chile by security forces in the «Operación Albania».
- 21.7: Alejandro Labaca, Vicario de Aguaricó, and Inés Arango, missionary in the Ecuadorian jungle.
 - 23.7: Peasant martyrs of Jean-Rabel, in Haití.
- 27.8: Héctor Abad Gómez, medical doctor, martyr to the defense of human rights, in Medellín, Colombia.
- 22.10: Nevardo Fernández, martyrs in the struggle for the Indigenous demands in Colombia.
- 23.10: João «Ventinha», squatter in Jacundá (PA), Brazil, assassinated by three gunmen.

- 25.10: Carlos Páez and Salvador Ninco, Indigenous leaders, Luz Estela and Nevardo Fernandes, workers, Colombia.
- 26.10: Herbert Anava, Coordinator of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador.
- 29.10: Manuel Chin Sooj and companions, peasants and catechists, martyrs in Guatemala.
 - 8.11: Indigenous martyrs of Pai Tavyeterá, Paraguay.
- 12.11: Miquel Ángel del Tránsito Ortiz, coordinator, parish animator, assassinated while assuring security to the church in Plan del Pino, El Salvador.
- 15.11: Fernando Vélez, lawyer and militant, martyr to human rights in Colombia.
 - 3.12: Víctor Raúl Acuña, priest, Peru.
- 28.12: More than 100 prospectors in Serra Pelada, Marabá, Brazil, surrounded by the pólice on the bridge over the Tocantins River, with more than 70 disappeared.

20 años: 1992

- 6.1: Augusto María y Augusto Conte, militants, wit-25.2: Caincoñen (Atilio Caballero), Indigenous leader, nesses to solidarity and the cause of human rights in Argentina.
 - 6.2: Sergio Méndez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, Patriarch of Solidarity, dies.
 - 15.2: María Elena Moyano, «Mother Courage», deputy mayor of Lima, assassinated for her struggle against terrorism.
 - 15.4: Aldemar Rodríguez, catechist and companions, martyrs to solidarity among youth, Cali, Colombia.
 - 1.10: Julio Rocca, Italian lay missionary, martyr to
- 18.12: Manuel Campo Ruiz, Marianist, assassinated 15.5: Indigenous martyrs, victims of dispossession of in prison by the prison quards, to rob him while he was visiting a prisoner. Rio de Janeiro.

15 años: 1997

- 19.05: Manoel Luis da Silva, landless, assassinated by the landowners in São Miguel de Taipú, where he had camped with 40 families. The police covered up the crime.
- 16.10: Fulgêncio Manoel da Silva, rural unionist, martyr to Justice, shot in Santa María da Boa Vista. Brasil.
- 8.12: Samuel Hernán Calderón, priest who worked with peasants in Oriente, Colombia, assassinated by paramiliaries.
- 22.12: Massacre of Acteal, Chiapas, México. Paramilitary groups linked to the landowners attacked an Indigenous group of pacifist Tzotzil, 46 dead.

Results

Premios otorgados en 2012....



• El Premio del Concurso de Cuento Corto Latinoamericano (350 euros) ha sido otorgado a Yolanda CHÁVEZ (yolachavez17@att.net), de Los Ángeles, California, EEUU, por su cuento «El desierto». Publicamos su cuento corto en esta misma edición de la Agenda (págs. 236-237). Una mención honorífica ha sido hecha por el Jurado en favor de Oscar José RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ, de Caracas, Venezuela (vangelis42@gmail.com), por «La esperanza tiene rostro de caminos abiertos» y a Juan Bautista GATICA AMENGUAL, de Santiago de Chile, (gatica_amengual@hotmail.com), por su cuento «Hilton Corrientes».

Convocamos para el año que viene la XVIIIª edición del Concurso (pág. 17).

Una amplia antología de «Cuentos cortos latinoamericanos» -ya más de ochenta-, no sólo los ganadores, sino los mejores de entre todos los que han sido presentados a concurso a lo largo de nuestros veinte años, está siendo puesta en línea como una sección de los Servicios Koinonía, en: servicioskoinonia.org/cuentoscortos

• El premio del Concurso de **Páginas Neobíblicas**, dotado con 350 euros, ha sido concedido a **Diego Facundo SÁNCHEZ CAMPOO** (yiyosanchez99@hotmail.com), de Mendoza, Argentina, por su página neobíblica «Por el doble camino de Emaús». Publicamos en esta edición el texto (págs. 238-239). El Jurado otorga también una mención honorífica a la página de **Richard Joel RICO LÓPEZ** (tsurichardrico@hotmail.com), de Acarigua, Venezuela, por su página «Plegaria en dolor mayor», y a la de **Milton Leonel CALDERÓN** (pjl@lasalle.edu.ec), de Guayaquil, Ecuador, por su página «La Justicia en Lc 15,11-32. Una lectura desde lo juvenil». Felicitaciones a los ganadores, y a todos los participantes...

Convocamos la XVIIª edición de este Concurso en esta

Agenda Latinoamericana'2012 (pág. 17).

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

• El jurado del Concurso de Género sobre el tema «Género y compromiso político», patrocinado por el Centro de Comunicación y Educación CANTERA, de Managua, Nicaragua, ha otorgado el premio, dotado con 500 US\$, a Marilín PEÑA PÉREZ (marilin@planm.occ.co.cu), de Santiago de Cuba, por su trabajo «Revolucionar la espiritualidad es un camino cierto hacia el cambio social» (lo publicamos en la página 240).

Con las mismas bases bajo un nuevo enfoque, queda convocado el certamen para el año que viene, con el tema de «Feminismo y la Utopía del Buen Vivir» (pág. 17).

• En el Certamen de Novedades Ecoteológicas, convocado por el Grupo de investigación «Ecoteología», de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá, el Jurado ha otorgado un accésit a Emilio ROJO, emilioestudio@hotmail.com, de Partido de Tigre, Buenos Aires, Argentina, por su trabajo «Elogio a la transparencia: Breve ensayo sobre el agua y nuestra relación con ella. Aporte a nuestra espiritualidad y teología». El accésit incluye un juego de materiales ecoteológicos y ecopedagógicos.

Felicitaciones a todas las personas que participaron en el esfuerzo por liderar el cambio de paradigma en la relación con la Madre Tierra, la resignificación de la experiencia de Dios y la responsabilidad en el cuidado de la Creación

Con una nueva temática, es convocado de nuevo este año en su VIIIª edición (pág. 20).

....para los certámenes convocados en 2011



• En el Certamen «Hacia un Concilio macroecuménico», ha quedado desierto.

Con las mismas bases, nueva dotación y nueva temática, es convocada la XIª edición del Certamen (páq. 19).

• El premio del concurso convocado por el **Col.lectiu Ronda**, de Barcelona, ha sido otorgado a «Belén, posada del peregrino», de Saltillo, Coah., México. Vésae el veredicto del Jurado del Colectivo Ronda (pág. 16).

El concurso es convocado nuevamente para el próximo año, con nueva temática, en su ya X^a edición (páq. 18).

• El **Premio Antonio Montesinos**, patrocinado por la **Revista Alternativas** y la **Fundación Verapaz** de Nicaragua, ha sido otorgado a José COMBLIN en su XVIª edición.

Recordamos que para este Premio se puede presentar candidatos para la consideración del Jurado; véase la convocatoria, renovada para su XVII^a edición (pág. 17).

- El concurso convocado por «**Redes de Solidaridad** y esperanza», ha tenido como ganadora a Maite PÉREZ MILLET, de Santiago de Cuba, quien ha recibido los 500 dólares y el diploma acreditativo del premio. Felicitaciones cordiales.
- El Jurado de la Comissió de l'Agenda Llatinoamericana, de Girona, ha otorgado el Premio a la Difusión de los Principios del Decrecimiento (dotado con 500 euros), en su tercera edición, a **Eduardo Julio LÓPEZ BASTIDA**, profesor de la Universidad de Cienfuegos, Cuba.

El concurso es convocado en su IVa edición (pág. 16).

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

Cada año, los premios de los concursos de la Agenda Latinoamericana se publican en la edición siguiente, y también, el primero de noviembre, en su sede virtual: http://latinoamericana.org La Revista **«ALTERNATIVAS»**y la Fundación **VERAPAZ**,
de Managua, Nicaragua, otorgan el

«PREMIO ANTONIO MONTESINOS al gesto profético en defensa de la dignidad humana», en su XVIª edición, de 2012, a:

José COMBLIN

Abandonó su patria, Bélgica, casi recién ordenado sacerdote, para venir, a sus 35 años, a trabajar a América Latina, secundando la llamada de Pío XII en ayuda de este Continente. Entró en contacto con jóvenes de la JOC, fue profesor de teología, escritor prolífico, pero, sobre todo, animador de agentes de pastoral y de comunidades pobres comprometidas.

Fue llamado por dom Hélder Câmara a ser su asesor, y colaboró largamente con él.

Estuvo en los inicios mismos de la reflexión que daría origen a la teología de la liberación, y a alguno de sus grandes temas, como la opción por los pobres. Fue expulsado de Brasil, y luego de Chile, teniendo que pasar un buen tiempo como «turista visitante» en cuanto a su estatuto legal.

Toda su vida fue un testimonio de seguimiento de Jesús y de vivencia convencida de su Evangelio, desde una opción radical por los pobres, por la defensa de los derechos humanos, dedicando su vida principalmente a las comunidades pobres, campesinas, de la periferia de las ciudades, del interior del campo.

El 27 de marzo de 2011, estando en pleno acto de servicio a las comunidades populares campesinas, le sorprendió la esperada muerte, para el «gran viaje», al que él con frecuencia se refería. Su vida entera ha sido «un gesto profético en defensa de la dignidad humana».

IX PREMIO COL·LECTIU RONDA

Defensa jurídica de los pobres y dimensión espiritual

VEREDICTO

Al IX Premio "Col·lectiu Ronda" correspondientes a la "Agenda Latinoamericana 2011" han presentado sus experiencias en relación con la defensa de los más pobres siete entidades.

Por países, las siete participaciones corresponden a: una procedente de Cuba, dos de Chile, dos de México, dos de Nicaragua y finalmente una de la República Dominicana.

Todos los trabajos presentados formulan su experiencia con la defensa de los pobres a partir de su propia dimensión espiritual.

Por temáticas afectan especialmente a colectivos excluidos por distintas causas, si bien todas ellas tienen su origen en la explotación del sistema neoliberal. Destacamos, menores, mujeres, inmigrantes y sus familias, presos, y personas con discapacidad.

Todas las experiencias relatadas reúnen cualidades más que suficientes para ser objeto de un reconocimiento por parte de la sociedad, y también por parte de Ronda, aunque lamentablemente no lo podemos otorgar a todos los participantes.

En cualquier caso es una llamada de atención sobre situaciones de extrema fragilidad en que el sistema coloca a determinados colectivos más pobres y una firme esperanza en las luchas emprendidas por los postulantes al premio a fin de que estas situaciones de grave injusticia desaparezcan.

El veredicto, adoptado por unanimidad, se otorga al trabajo presentado bajo el título «México, Cementerio de los Centroamericanos», de «Belén, posada del migrante y Frontera con Justicia, AC de México», de Saltillo, Coah., México, tanto por su activo posicionamiento y denuncia de la violación de los derechos de los inmigrantes –especialmente centroamericanos—en su transitar maltratado hacia unas condiciones de vida mejores, con toda clase de riesgos, vejaciones, torturas e incluso la muerte, en manos de las bandas delictivas y con el consentimiento e implicación de las «fuerzas del orden», como por la labor de acogimiento y defensa que llevan a cabo en la «Posada del migrante en Belén».

Can Fulló 8 de abril de 2011. Col·lectiu Ronda, Consejo Rector.

PREMIO A LA DIFUSIÓN DE LOS PRINCIPIOS DEL «DECRECIMIENTO»

IV^a Edición

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

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

Temática: El «decrecimiento», como alternativa al crecimiento ilimitado.

Contenido y formato: Se premiará a la persona, comunidad o entidad que, mediante trabajos escritos, organización de cursos o conferencias, trabajos de investigación, realización de material audiovisual, creación de material pedagógico para adultos o escolares, ejecución de acciones directas, etc., realice una mejor difusión de los principios del «decrecimiento».

Plazo y envío: Los trabajos o memorias de los actos organizados tendrán que llegar antes del 31 de junio de 2012 a: Comissiò de l'Agenda Llatinoamericana, Calle Mestre Francesc Civil, 3 bxs. / 17005-GIRONA / ☎ (34) 972 21 99 16. Correo-e: llatinoamericana@solidaries.org

Idioma: En cualquiera de los idiomas en que es publicada esta Agenda: catalán, castellano, portugués, inglés o italiano.

Premio: 500 euros. El jurado lo podrá declarar desierto, pero también podrá conceder uno o más accésits de 100 euros. La decisión del jurado se hará pública el 1 de noviembre de 2012 en: latinoamericana.org/2012/premios y en: llatinoamericana.org

Concurso de «Páginas Neobíblicas», XVIIª edición

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

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

- 3. Los trabajos habrán de llegar antes del 31 de marzo de 2012 a: agenda@latinoamericana.org
- 4. Premio: 400 euros y su publicación en la Agenda'2013.

Será hecho público el 1 de noviembre de 2012 en http://latinoamericana.org/2013/premios

Concurso «Género y compromiso político», XVIIª edición

El Centro de Comunicación y Educación Popular CANTERA (www.canteranicaragua.org) v la Agenda Latinoamericana convocan la XVIIª edición del concurso «Perspectiva de género en el desarrollo social». Las bases son:

- 1. Temática: «Feminismo y la Utopía del Buen Vivir. El aporte del feminismo al Buen Vivir armónico entre los géneros, la Naturaleza y el Universo». En estilo de ensayo.
- 2. Extensión e idioma: Máximo de mil palabras, ó 6000 pulsaciones. En castellano, portugués, o en otros idiomas adiuntando una traducción al castellano.
- 3. Los trabajos habrán de llegar antes del 15 de marzo del año 2012 a: Cantera, Apdo. A-52, Managua, Nicaragua, cantera@ibw.com.ni, tel.: (505)-2277.5329
- 4. El texto ganador será premiado con 500 US\$. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, pero podrá también conceder uno o varios accésits de 100 US\$.

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

- La Revista «Alternativas» y la Fundación Verapaz convocan esta XVIIª edición del «Premio Antonio Montesinos al gesto profético en defensa de la dignidad humana en América Latina». Bases:
- 1. Se guiere significar con esta distinción a la comunidad, grupo humano o persona cuya defensa de los derechos humanos actualice mejor hoy el gesto profético de Antonio Montesinos en La Española cuando se enfrentó a la violencia de la conquista con su grito «Éstos, ¿no son seres humanos?».
- 2. Cualquier grupo, persona o comunidad puede presentar candidatos a este premio, razonando los motivos v acompañándolos con firmas si lo cree oportuno, antes del 31 de marzo de 2012, a: Fundación Verapaz / Apdo. P-177 / Managua / Nicaragua / tel.: (505)-2265.06.95 / rafael_aragonm@yahoo.es
- 3. El jurado admitirá a concurso tanto acciones puntuales, cuanto trabajos duraderos o actitudes proféticas mantenidas a lo largo de mucho tiempo.
 - 4. Premio: 500 US\$. Podrá ser declarado desierto.

Concurso de «Cuento Corto Latinoamericano», XVIIIª edición

- La **Agenda Latinoamericana** convoca esta décimo octava edición del Concurso, con las siguientes bases:

 1. Puede concursar toda persona que sintonice con las Causas de la Patria Grande.

 2. Extensión e idioma: máximo de 18.000 pulsaciones. En castellano o portugués.

 3. Temática: el cuento debe tratar de iluminar, describudos su propio carácter literario, la actual coyuntura espiritual de América Latina: sus utopías, dificultades, motivaciones para la esperanza, alternativas, la interpreta-3. Temática: el cuento debe tratar de iluminar, desde
- ción de esta hora histórica...
- 4. Los textos deberán llegar antes del 31 de marzo de 2012 a: agenda@latinoamericana.org
- 5. El cuento ganador será premiado con 400 euros, y será publicado en la Agenda Latinoamericana'2013 (en unos 18 países). El fallo del jurado será hecho público el 1 de noviembre de 2012 en http://latinoamericana. org/2013/premios
- 6. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, pero también podrá conceder accésits de 100 euros.

PREMIO «COL·LECTIU RONDA» X^ EDICIÓN

EXPERIENCIAS SUMAK KAWSAY / EL VIVIR BIEN

La cooperativa de trabajo **Col·lectiu Ronda de Barcelona, asesoría jurídica, laboral, económica y social** dedicada al servicio de las personas y clases marginadas por el sistema neoliberal, fiel a su tradición de pensamiento y de compromiso, convoca la Xª edición del premio Col·lectiu Ronda, para el año 2012, para contribuir a fortalecer las iniciativas de convivencia armoniosa entre todas las personas y colectividades.

Desde Europa poco conocemos del SUMAK KAWSAY/EL VIVIR BIEN. No obstante para el Col·lectiu Ronda la Utopía que proponen los Pueblos Indígenas -utopía, camino y fin- basado en la convivencia en comunidad, en la hermandad y en la complementariedad, sin explotadores ni explotados, sin marginadores ni marginados coincide plenamente con el paradigma que tantas veces tratamos de alcanzar.

Así pues esta convocatoria se dirige a aquellas experiencias en las que se trate de Vivir Bien, en el sentido que le reconocen los Pueblos Indígenas en las que se prime vivir en comunidad, vivir en armonía con las personas y con la naturaleza, compartir y trabajar. En definitiva, en las experiencias ancestrales, pero sumamente presentes, de SUMAK KAWSAY. Especialmente se dirige a aquellas entidades o comunidades donde se preste especial atención a los excluidos, marginados, oprimidos y todos aquellos que individual o colectivamente sufran cualquier clase de dominación o explotación.

Por todo ello, el Col·lectiu Ronda,

CONVOCA:

a las entidades, grupos, colectivos o personas que desde una dimensión SUMAK/KAWSAY, o próxima a ella, se dediquen a fomentar el Vivir Bien en el sentido expuesto, de acuerdo con las siquientes bases:

BASES:

Presentación de un informe claro y concreto sobre la experiencia llevada a cabo y su relación con el Sumak Kawsay/Vivir Bien. Se deberá referir el contexto social, la composición y la motivación de la entidad concursante, así como las actividades realizadas y la evaluación de los resultados obtenidos. Se deberá incorporar la presentación de la entidad y una memoria explicativa de sus actividades.

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

Envío y plazos: Se deberá presentar antes del 31 de marzo de 2012 a las siguientes direcciones de correo electrónico: *agenda@latinoamericana.org* y a *jpujol@cronda.coop* Se puede consultar otra forma de envío a las mismas direcciones.

Premio: 1500 (mil quinientos) euros. Podrá ser declarado desierto, y también ser concedido algún accésit.

EL BUEN VIVIR Y LA UTOPÍA DE JESÚS

Planteamiento

La teología latinoamericana de la liberación trajo a primer plano de la atención del cristianismo el redescubrimiento del carácter histórico-escatológico del mensaje de Jesús. El mensaje central de Jesús, la «Causa» por la que vivió, luchó y murió no había sido una doctrina, o una moral, la vida sobrenatural, o una institución religiosa... sino una Utopía, que él consideraba el sueño mismo de Dios, el «Reinado de Dios». La teología de la liberación recordó a todas las Iglesias que sin «vivir y luchar por esa Causa-Utopía de Jesús» no hay verdadero cristianismo.

Pero, ¿podemos ignorar los cristianos que la huella de Dios, su revelación, también se ha manifestado en muchas otras tradiciones religiosas? ¿Qué valor podemos reconocer los cristianos, desde el punto de vista ético y teológico, a la propuesta de «el Buen Vivir» que diferentes tradiciones indígenas americanas vienen haciendo valer públicamente en nuestras sociedades latinoamericanas? ¿Qué relación podemos reconocer y establecer entre la utopía de el Buen Vivir y la Causa de Jesús?

La **Agenda Latinoamericana Mundial**, en la undécima edición de este certamen, **CONVOCA** a los teólogos y teólogas,

y les invita a elaborar teológicamente esta temática, sobre las siguientes

BASES:

- -Pueden participar teólogos/as de cualquier país y de cualquier confesión o religión. Se valorará especialmente la participación de las teólogas, aunque sin discriminación de género hacia los teólogos.
 - -Extensión mínima: 15 páginas (30.000 pulsaciones).
- -Los trabajos han de ser inéditos y originales, bien centrados en el tema, y serán presentados en castellano, portugués o catalán.
- -Entrega: antes del 31 de marzo de 2012, por correo-e, a la **Agenda Latinoamerica- na** (agenda@latinoamericana.org), con copia a raul.fornet@mwi-aachen.org
- -El premio, patrocinado por el **MWI**, **Missionswissenschaftliches Institut** de Aachen (Aguisgrán, Alemania), consistirá en 1.000 (mil) euros.
- -Al participar, los concursantes otorgan a los convocantes el derecho a publicar los textos ganadores en cualquier medio.

Contests

CONCURSO DE



EXPERIENCIAS ECOTEOLÓGICAS «REINADO DE DIOS Y SUMAK KAWSAY»

VIII^a Edición

El equipo de investigación «ECOTEOLOGIA», de la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, de Bogotá, Colombia,

CONVOCA al concurso de experiencias ecopedagógicas «REINADO DE DIOS Y SUMAK KAW-SAY: innovaciones ecoteológicas frente a la crisis ambiental», cuyas bases son:

- 1. **Participantes**: El certamen tiene un enfoque macro-ecuménico, por tanto pueden participar, sin ningún tipo de restricción, todas las personas, comunidades e instituciones que sintonicen con las causas de la Patria Grande con un sentido de responsabilidad frente al cuidado de la Creación.
- 2. **Temática**: Dado el enfoque general de la Agenda Latinoamericana Mundial 2012, cada trabajo deberá socializar experiencias ecopedagógicas (cursos, talleres, foros, salidas, jornadas, etc.) que, de manera creativa y eficaz hayan abordado el aporte de la ecoteología a la solución de la crisis ambiental, teniendo en cuenta el diálogo intercultural entre la perspectiva del Reinado de Dios y el *Sumak Kawsay*. En este sentido, se busca explicitar una «eco-sofía» que, en doble vía, nutra el cristianismo con los aportes de las tradiciones ancestrales y a su vez, enriquezca las culturas con la vida en abundancia ofrecida por Jesús a través de los signos, hechos y palabras con los que reveló el Reinado de Dios.
- 3. **Pautas**: Para presentar las experiencias, los concursantes pueden hacer uso de videos, fotografías, diapositivas, etc., en los que se describa el contexto, las estructuras ecológicas, los problemas ambientales, el perfil de los participantes, se precise el carácter del evento, y se expliciten los contenidos ecoteológicos, metodologías y estrategias didácticas con los que articulan la sabiduría del Evangelio con la sabiduría propuesta a través del *Sumak Kawsay* en el horizonte de la sostenibilidad de la vida en el planeta. En cualquiera de los casos, es necesario redactar un documento descriptivo y analítico de la experiencia. La extensión máxima para este documento es de 10 hojas tamaño carta (o 20.000 pulsaciones) en castellano o portugués. Si el trabajo está en otro idioma diferente debe incluirse una traducción al castellano.
- 4. **Plazo**: Los textos deberán llegar antes del 31 de marzo del 2012 a: *ecoteologia@gmail.com* con copia a: *acaceres@javeriana.edu.co* o a: Carrera 5 No 39-00, Piso 2 Edificio Arrupe, «Equipo Ecoteología», Facultad de Teología, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C., Colombia.
- 5. **Incentivos**: El texto ganador en cada modalidad será premiado con 300 US\$ y un paquete de materiales ecopedagógicos. El jurado podrá declarar desierto el premio, así como conceder uno o varios accesits. Así mismo, los mejores trabajos serán divulgados a través de la página de la Universidad Javeriana, desde el enlace de Ecoteología. La Agenda Latinoamericana Mundial definirá si publica total o parcialmente aquellos trabajos que mejor contribuyan a impulsar el diálogo ecología teología en nuestro *0ikos*: la Creación.

NAMERICA: THE MOST UNEQUAL CONTINENT 2000-2009: THE HOTTEST DECADE

THE RICHIEST 20% RETAIN 57% OF THE WEALTH THE ATLANTIC INCREASING 0'3° PER DECADE

Santander, May 11, 2011

"At the end of 2010, Latin America remained the most unequal region in the world." That's what Amnesty International affirmed in its 2011 Annual Report. though the rate of increase in temperatures has been The State of Human Rights in the World.

Among the 15 most unequal countries in the world, Institute of Oceanography (IEO). 10 are found in Latin America and the Caribbean. The most unequal is Bolivia, followed by the Comoros, Madagascar, South Africa, Haiti, Thailand, Brazil, Ecua- congress on climate change in the North Atlantic, dor, Uganda, Colombia, Paraguay, Honduras, Panama, Chile, and Guatemala. The UN recognizes that in recent years there has been a reduction in inequality in Brazil. In Latin America countries with less social inequality are Costa Rica, Argentina, Venezuela and Uruquay.

Thanks to the advent of popular democratic governments in recent years, public spending for social programs has reached, in general, 5% of GDP for the 18 countries of the region. From 2001 to 2007 per capita social spending increased by 30%.

Today in Brazil 20% of family income comes from public money transfer programs, such as retirement, "Bolsa Familia," and social assistance. According to the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), in 1988, such transfers accounted for 8.1% of per capita family income. Since then, thanks to governmental social programs, 21.8 million people have climbed out of extreme poverty. This money transfer policy has made up for the losses suffered by the population in the decade between 1980 and 1990, when wages were damaged by inflation and unemployment. In 1978, only 8.3% of Brazilian families received government resources; in 2008, the index rose to 58.3%.

There has been progress in reducing poverty in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela. Although there is evidence of a slow diminishment, nearly one fifth of bacteria. the population still lives in extreme poverty. Despite the reduction in inequality in many countries—especially in Venezuela—most of the less developed have not seen tangible improvements. Thus, at the end 2010, "Latin America remained the region with the most inequality in the world."

The decade between 2000 and 2009 was the warmest on record to date in the North Atlantic, alslowing in the second half, as reported by the Spanish

This is one of the most relevant pieces of information released today, in the second day of the scientific held this week in Santander by the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, the Organization of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (NAFO) and the IEO, a public agency dedicated to research in marine sciences.

In a statement, the IEO said the average temperature of the North Atlantic is increasing by an average of 0.3 °C degrees per decade in surface waters and 0.2 ° per decade in waters that are 1,000 meters deep or more. However, in the most Northern areas, warming is more acute and temperatures are increasing about 1 ° per decade.

Scientists at this congress, held in Spain for its third meeting, after Finland (1991) and the United Kingdom (2001), have observed moreover, that ocean warming is especially affecting North Atlantic plankton.

This effect is seen in two ways:

first, there are changes in the proportion of different marine species present in the waters;

secondly, there are also changes in the size structure of planktonic communities, increasing the proportion of the smallest living organisms, such as

"These changes in base levels of the trophic chain may affect the rest of the chain, since the larger beings feed on the smaller, eventually reaching all the marine organisms of the Atlantic North, including species of commercial fishing interest," emphasizes the IEO.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TODAY: VERY FAR FROM SUMAK KAWSAY

United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

According to this UN document, the current situation of Indigenous people is very distant from their utopia of the Good Life. Here is an extract. We highly recommend a complete reading and study of the document..

A continuing injustice. Indigenous peoples suffer from the consequences of historic injustice, including colonization, dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, oppression and discrimination, as well as lack of control over their own ways of life. Their right to development has been largely denied by colonial and modern states in the pursuit of economic growth. As a consequence, indigenous peoples often lose out to more powerful actors, becoming among the most impoverished groups in their countries.

One-third of the world's poor. Indigenous peoples continue to be over-represented among the poor, the illiterate, and the unemployed. Indigenous peoples number about 370 million. While they constitute approximately 5 per cent of the world's population, indigenous peoples make up 15 per cent of the world's poor. They also make up about one-third of the world's 900 million extremely poor rural people.

Suicide, violence and incarceration. Smoking and substance abuse are more common amongst indigenous peoples; suicide rates and incarceration rates are also higher. These problems are more pronounced in urban areas, where indigenous peoples are detached from their communities and cultures, yet seldom fully embraced as equal members of the dominant society. Indigenous peoples are also more likely to suffer from violent crime.

A problem in developed countries too. The wellbeing of indigenous peoples is an issue not only in developing countries. Even in developed countries, indigenous peoples consistently lag behind the non-indigenous population in terms of most indicators of well-being. They live shorter lives, have poorer health care and education and endure higher unemployment rates. A native Aboriginal child born in Australia today can expect to die almost 20 years earlier than his non-native compatriot. Obesity, type 2 diabetes and tuberculosis are now major health concerns amongst indigenous peoples in developed countries.

High levels of poverty. Studies of socio-economic conditions of indigenous peoples in Latin America show that being indigenous is associated with being poor and that over time, that condition has stayed constant. Even when they are able to accumulate human capital [i.e. education or training opportunities], they are unable to convert that to significantly greater earnings or to reduce the poverty gap with the non-indigenous population. This finding holds for countries where indigenous peoples are a small fraction of the overall population, such as Mexico and Chile, as well as in countries where a large portion of the population is indigenous, such as in Bolivia.

Indigenous cultures threatened with extinction.

The importance of land and territories to indigenous cultural identity cannot be stressed enough. However, indigenous peoples have continued to experience loss of access to lands, territories and natural resources. The result has been that indigenous cultures today are threatened with extinction in many parts of the world. Due to the fact that they have been excluded from the decision- making and policy frameworks of the nation-states in which they live and have been subjected to processes of domination and discrimination, their cultures have been viewed as being inferior, primitive, irrelevant, something to be eradicated or transformed.

90 per cent of all languages will disappear within 100 years. It is usually estimated that there are between 6,000 and 7,000 oral languages in the world today. Most of these languages are spoken by very few people, while a handful of them are spoken by an overwhelming majority of the world. About 97 per cent of the world's population speaks 4 per cent of its languages, while only 3 per cent speaks 96 per cent of them. A great majority of these languages are spoken by indigenous peoples, and many (if not most) of them are in danger of becoming extinct. Roughly 90 per cent of all existing languages may become extinct within the next 100 years.

Dying languages, damaging communities. While some indigenous peoples are successfully revitalising languages, many others are fighting a losing battle, where languages are simply no longer passed from one generation to the next. Most governments are aware of this language crisis but funding is often provided only for the recording of languages, while limited funds are diverted to language revitalization programmes. Language, furthermore, is not only a communication tool, it is often linked to the land or region traditionally occupied by indigenous peoples; it is an essential component of one's collective and individual identity and therefore provides a sense of belonging and community. When the language dies, that sense of community is damaged.

Indigenous peoples account for most of the world's cultural diversity. Throughout the world, there are approximately 370 million indigenous peoples occupying 20 per cent of the earth's territory. It is also estimated that they represent as many as 5,000 different indigenous cultures. The indigenous peoples of the world therefore account for most of the world's cultural diversity, even though they constitute a numerical minority.

New technologies force resettlement. The promotion of new technologies such as improved seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides, the introduction of cash-crop cultivation and large plantation schemes have caused environmental degradation and destroyed self-sustaining eco-systems, affecting many indigenous communities to the point of forcing them to resettle elsewhere.

The cost of unsustainable development. Large dams and mining activities have caused forced displacement of thousands of indigenous persons and families without adequate compensations in many countries. Several communities have been moved out of national parks against their will, while tourist development in some countries has resulted in the displacement of indigenous people and their increasing poverty. When indigenous peoples have reacted and tried to assert their rights, in most instances they have suffered physical abuse, imprisonment, torture and even death.

Climate change threatens very existence of indigenous peoples. For many indigenous peoples, climate change is already a reality, and they are increasingly realising that climate change is clearly not just an environmental issue, but one with severe socioeconomic implications. The World Bank also sees climate change as having the potential to hamper achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, including those on poverty eradication, child mortality, combating malaria and other diseases, as well as environmental sustainability. For many indigenous peoples, climate change is a potential threat to their very existence and a major issue of human rights and equity.

Severe impact on women. Forced evictions and the dispossession of lands have particularly severe impacts on indigenous women, who, as a result, often have an increased workload as they must walk long distances to find alternative sources of water or fuel wood, or are driven out of income-earning productive activities and into a situation of economic dependence on men.

Lack of respect and resources cause critical education gap. Too often, education systems do not respect indigenous peoples' diverse cultures. There are too few teachers who speak their languages and their schools often lack basic materials. Educational materials that provide accurate and fair information on indigenous peoples and their ways of life are particularly rare. Despite the numerous international instruments that proclaim universal rights to education, indigenous peoples do not fully enjoy these rights, and an education gap between indigenous peoples and the rest of the population remains critical, worldwide.

Despite efforts, no solution in foreseeable future. Even in countries where the general level of schooling among indigenous peoples has increased, for instance in several Latin American countries and Canada, the quality gap in schooling persists, resulting in poor education outcomes for indigenous peoples. The conditions of extreme poverty, exclusion and isolation do not bode well for sustainable and multicultural indigenous education programmes.

THE GOOD LIFE, ANDEAN TRADITION

FERNANDO HUANACUNI

Public Forum «The Good Life of the Indigenous Andean Peoples»

The presentation of Fernando Huanacuni, Bolivian Aymara, at the public forum "The Good Life of the Indigenous Andean Peoples," held on Thursday 28 January at the Congress of the Republic of Peru. The event was organized by the Andean Coordination of Indigenous Organizations (CAOI). Huanacuni is the author of a study for CAOI titled "The Good Life/Living Well: Philosophy, Politics, Strategies and Experiences of Andean Indigenous Peoples." It is available at www.minkandina.org.

Everything is interconnected, interrelated and interdependent

We will share here in our pacha—space and time—reflections of this torrent of water and the watersheds of our grandfathers, our grandmothers.

The teaching of our grandparents is not only rational, but it has momentum and strength of experience, and clarity of the mind and the heart. Under the new conditions of reality that have brought us modernity, development, humanism, anthropocentrism, and the deterioration of our life and all of life, the vigorous, strong, translucent voice of original indigenous peoples is emerging.

We have to go towards something, somewhere. In Aymara we say *Taki*, the sacred path. Along this path appear allin kausay (Quechua) sumak gamaña (Aymara), vivir bien (Spanish). This horizon allows us to rebuild our strength, our vitality, know who we are, how we live, what forces we have, and who accompanies us.

Harmony and balance

Living well makes us think that we should live in harmony and balance. In harmony with Mother Earth. Pachamama is neither a planet nor the environment... she is our Mother Earth. Living in harmony with the cosmos, because the cosmos also has cycles, rhythms. Living in harmony with history, we know that we are living in the times of Pachakuti, the epoch of rearrangement of life, the revitalization of natural forces in the face of the unnatural behavior Western thought.

Living well is to live in harmony with the cycles of Naturalization process life, knowing that everything is interconnected, inter-

related, and interdependent; living well is to know that the deterioration of a species is the deterioration of the whole; the thoughts and wisdom of our grandfathers and grandmothers give clarity to the horizon of our journey.

The indigenous movement, in the horizon of *living* well, not only seeks to reconstruct political, social, legal, and economic power: essentially, it seeks to reconstruct life, to allow us to rediscover ourselves.

We are Pachamama

We are children of Mother Earth, we are children of the universe. Therefore there is no human-nature dichotomy. We are nature, we are *Pachamama*; we are Pachacamac, we are life. Therefore, we are also responsible as "farmers of life."

In these new emerging conditions, to reconstitute our identity is to return to basic principles, not of humans, but of life, of nature. Back to our wisdom, our ancestors, the sacred path. This is not a regression, but rather the reconstitution of the principles and values that have no time, that have no space.

Living in balance with whom? With all forms of existence. "Everything lives," we say in Aymara: the mountains, rivers, insects, trees, stones, everything lives. Therefore, everything is part of a perfect balance of life. In order to reconstitute living well, we must live in balance with all forms of existence and not only with everything we see. We must live in balance with what we do not see: our grandparents, our ancestors, because they too are with us.

We need to leave that monoculture, national vi-

sion, that "mental monoculture." Monoculture has deteriorated Mother Earth, her vitality and fertility. We also have to to leave the mental monoculture that has stifled the natural capacity we each have. We are emerging into plurinational states, leaving behind colonial states, the republics that have sunk us into only human individuality.

When we talk of *living well*, we are talking about a process of naturalization and not only humanization, because the process of humanization that the West has envisioned still sees humans as "the kings of creation" and other beings as objects. Living well means entering into the process of naturalization, returning to our nature, knowing that everything lives Time of Pachakuti and knowing that everything is interconnected and all interdependent. Exiting the premises of the West. The West says, "winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." And so we enter into an unfair competition, dishonest among humans. Not only with humans, but with all beings. Living well means understanding that if one person wins or loses, we all win or lose.

Living well means looking carefully at the horizon. recognizing that human life is not the only parameter, and that understanding through logic is the only way. In Aymara, we say, "Without losing our heads, we walk the sacred path of the heart." It means opening ourselves up to life; it means realizing that life has to reconstitute important facets of life itself.

Reconstituting our identity

The state that we are questioning—humanist, individualist, hierarchical, predator, homogenizing—emerges from one worldview, and that worldview has an individual, machista, and humanist character. Therefore, in reconstructing the culture of life within the horizon of living well, we must rebuild our worldview and that means our identity. It means asking the fundamental questions: who we really are, what kind of heart we have, who have been our ancestors, and with what force have we been able to walk.

This is a time of reorganization of life, pachakuti we say in Aymara and Quechua. Reorganization not only to achieve political power, but essentially to rebuild life. This is the message of our grandparents, and it now resounds more strongly faced with the adverse conditions of humanity to which modernism and capitalism have sunk us.

Living well, not "better than"

We must differentiate living well from living better. Living better means winning at the expense of another, accumulating for the sake of accumulate, having power for the sake of power. But living well is to restore the sacred balance and harmony of life. Everything that lives is complemented by an ayni that is a consciousness of life; avni is the knowledge that everything is interconnected. The tree does not live for itself; the insect, bee, ant, mountains, do not live for themselves but in complementarity, in permanent reciprocity. This is what we call ayni.

The big question is: "what do we live for?" Because from the Western view, it would seem that there is a virus that is deteriorating life itself in its entirety, without any type of distinction, large or small. A deterioration of all of us and of life itself. Today, our generation is awakening to the call of a generational responsibility, knowing that we are not individual beings, we are the eyes of our grandparents, we are the voice of our grandparents. So too are we the action and hope of our grandparents. We are also the seed of those who will come after us, the seed that will contribute to strengthening the culture of life.

Given these unnatural conditions, natural forces are being strengthened and revitalized: this is the time in which we live. Pachakuti, a reordering of life, a good time. We have a grandfather named Tata Avelino Sinani, who created the ayllu school, demonstrating a pedagogy and system for community education. He said that the best time to see is during the darkness.

In Aymara it is said the time is now, not tomorrow, not the past. So all this wisdom of living well our horizon, path, and force of living well—is showing us the greatness of the life of our grandfathers and grandmothers, today reflected in the hope of our generation.

Living well is restoring balance and harmony, understanding that there are cycles of Mother Earth. Therefore we must plant and harvest in season, not at other times. We need to leave the monoculture that has destroyed our lives and the fertility of Mother Earth. We need to leave the "mental monoculture" that prevents us from seeing the true diversity of life.

THE GOOD LIFE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF ECUADOR

Preamble

WE [WOMEN and MEN], the sovereign people of Ecuador, recognizing our thousand-year-old roots, forged by women and men from different peoples, celebrating Nature, the Pacha Mama, of which we are a part and that is vital for our existence, invoking the name of God and recognizing our various forms of religiosity and spirituality, calling on the wisdom of all the cultures that enrich us as a society, as heirs to the social struggles for liberation in the face of all sorts of domination and colonialism,

And with a deep commitment to the present and the future,

We decide to construct

A new way of living together as citizens, in diversity and harmony with Nature, in order to achieve the **good life**, the **sumac kawsay**;

A society that respects, in all its dimensions, the dignity of individuals and collectivities;

A democratic country, committed to the integration of Latin America—the dream of Bolivar and of Alfaro—, peace and solidarity with all the peoples of the earth; and

Exercising our sovereignty, in Ciudad Alfaro, Montecristi, Province of Manabi, we proclaim the present Constitution...

Articles that Quote Sumac Kawsay or the Good Life

Art. 14.- The right of the population to live in a healthy and ecologically balanced environment that guarantees sustainability and the good life, *sumak kawsay* is recognized.

The preservation of the environment, the conservation of ecosystems, biodiversity and the integrity of the genetic patrimony of the country, the prevention of environmental damage, and the recuperation of degraded natural spaces is declared to be in the public interest.

Art. 26.- Education is a right of persons throughout their life and an unavoidable and inexcusable duty of the State. This constitutes a priority area for public policy and for State investment, a guarantee of equality and social inclusion as well as an indispensable condition for the good life.

Art. 32.- Health is a right guaranteed by the State, of which the realization is linked to the exercise of other rights, including the right to water, food, education, physical culture, work, social security, healthy environments and other elements that sustain the *good life*.

Art. 74.- Individuals, communities, peoples, and nationalities will have the right to benefit from the environment and natural riches that allow the *good life*. Environmental services will not be subject to appropriation; their production, leasing, use and enjoyment will be regulated by the State.

Art. 83/7.- To promote the common good and to place the general interest before particular interests, in conformity with the *good life*.

Art. 85/1.- Public policies and the offering of public goods and services are designed to bring about the *good life* and all rights, and are formulated on the basis of the principle of solidarity.

Art. 97.— All organizations will be able to develop alternative forms of mediation and solution of conflicts, in cases that the law permits; they will be able to act through delegation of the competent authority, assuming the proper shared responsibility with this authority, to demand reparation for damages incurred by public or private entities; to formulate proposals and economic, political, environmental, social and cultural claims; and other initiatives that contribute to the *qood life*.

Art. 250.- The territory of the Amazon provinces forms part of an ecosystem required for the environmental balance of the planet. This territory will constitute a special territorial district for which there will be an integral planning gathered together into a law that will include social, economic, environmental and cultural aspects with a territorial ordering that guarantees the conservation and protection of its ecosystems and the principle of the *good life*.

Art. 258.- The province of Galapagos will have a government under a special framework. Its planning and development will be organized in view of a strict adherence to the principles of the conservation of the

environmental patrimony of the State and of the *good life*, in conformity with what the law determines.

Art. 275.- The framework for development is the organized, sustainable and dynamic ensemble of the economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental systems that guarantee the realization of the *good life* of *sumak kawsay*.

The *good life* will require that individuals, communities, peoples and nationalities effectively enjoy their rights and exercise responsibilities in the framework of inter-culturality, respect for their diversities and of harmonious co-existence with Nature.

- **Art. 277.** In order to achieve the *good life*, it will be the general duty of the State:...
- **Art. 278.** In order to achieve the *good life*, it pertains to individuals and collectivites as well as their various forms of organizations to...
- Art. 283.- The economic system is social and in solidarity; it recognizes the human being as subject and end; it tends toward a dynamic and balanced relationship between society, the State and the market, in harmony with Nature, and it has as its objective to guarantee the production and reproduction of the material and immaterial conditions that make possible the *good life*.
- **Art. 290/2.** There will be care that the public debt does not affect sovereignty, rights, the *good life* and the preservation of Nature.
- **Art. 319.** Various forms of organization of production in the economy are recognized. This includes communities, cooperatives, public or private, associative, family, domestic, autonomous and mixed enterprises. The State will encourage forms of production that assure the *good life* of the population and will discourage those that violate their rights or those of Nature; it will encourage production that satisfies internal demand and guarantees an active participation of Ecuador in the international context.
- **Art. 387.** It will be the responsibility of the State:
- **I.** To facilitate and encourage the incorporation in society of knowledge relevant to the objectives for development.
- II. To promote the generation and production of knowledge, to foment scientific and technical investigation, and to strengthen the realization of the *good life*, of *sumak kawsay*.

...AND IN THAT OF BOLIVIA

Chapter two:

PRINCIPLES, VALUES, AND PURPOSES OF THE STATE

Article 8. I. The State assumes and promotes as ethical and moral values those of a plural society: ama qhilla, ama llulla, ama suwa (don't be lazy, don't be a liar, don't be a thief), suma qamaña (live well), ñandereko (a harmonious life), teko kavi (a good life), ivi maraei (the land without evil) and qhapaj ñan (the noble path or life).

- II. The State is sustained by the values of unity, equality, inclusion, dignity, liberty, solidarity, reciprocity, respect, complementarity, harmony, transparency, equilibrium, equality of opportunity, social and gender equity in participation, the common good, responsibility, social justice, distribution and redistribution of social goods and products in order to *live well*.
- **Art. 9**. In addition to those established by the Constitution and the law, the essential objectives and functions of the State are:
- **1.** To constitute a just and harmonious society founded on decolonization, without discrimination or exploitation, with full social justice, in order to consolidate pluri-national identities.
- **2.** To guarantee the well-being, development, security and protection as well as the equal dignity of persons, nations, peoples and communities, and to foster mutual respect and intercultural, intercultural, and plurilingual dialogue.
- **3.** To reaffirm and consolidate the unity of the country, and to preserve the pluri-national diversity as a historical and human patrimony.
- **4.** To guarantee the fulfillment of the principles, values, rights and duties recognized and consecrated in this Constitution.
- **5.** To guarantee access of individuals to education, health and work.
- 6. To promote and guarantee responsible use and planning of natural resources., as well as to encourage its industrialization through development and the strengthening of the productive base in its various dimensions and levels and also the conservation of the environment for the well-being of current and future generations.

BOLIVIA: THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF LIVING WELL

ÁLVARO GARCÍA LINERA

Vice President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, La Paz.

Bolivia is a country that is learning to accept itself after centuries of negation caused by a colonialism that taught us to be ashamed of our diversity. For too long, the state had us believe that Indians were the disgrace of this land. When early settlers exploited us, they doubted we had souls; in the Republic we were defined as peoples who needed a patron in order to survive, while they imposed servile relations on us; in the 70's, some dictator came up with the idea of importing white Africans to "improve the race," clearly showing that colonialism has been the historical form of permanent domination towards the plurinational majority of Bolivia.

Our country, unlike our Latin American neighbors, was formed amid the uncertainty and fear of Indian identity felt by the settlers, creoles first and then republicans, who, after the uprising of Tupac Katari in 1780, lived through the historical trauma of the siege of the cities and the Federal War in 1899, becoming permanent enemies of the Indian community and extending widespread exclusion in order to avoid any temptation to democracy.

That is why in the great national wars against neighboring countries—which we lost all of—indigenous/native/campesino peoples, as "cannon fodder," were on the front lines, defending a country they did not feel a part of and in which they had not been called to participate. Nevertheless it was in these spaces in which the diversity of a plurinational country was discovered and recognized as such, and where the socialist movements that would change Bolivia began to take shape.

External wars and internal wars, the most common in this feudal society which defended itself against Indian siege, over the years, knit together increasingly large social networks and increased the demand for the construction of a new country.

Bolivia's history is studded with military dictatorships and exclusive democracies, which only expressed the feudal structure of a society that never wanted to look in the mirror and see its reality. It lived facing the First World, copying, imitating, and serving the interests of these countries, doing this with the complicity of local authorities.

The indigenous/native/campesino peoples, the great majority of the country, only saw the faces of the patrons change in different moments of history. Included were

the progressive sectors who, rather than recognizing them as protagonists, made them objects of paternalism and dependency, also expressions of colonialism.

However, alongside this feudal action, the people embraced resistance as part of their historical reality. The more they were repressed, the more they recognized their identity and affirmed it in their harmonious relationship in communities and with nature, and they distinguished themselves from those whose politics were based on hatred, greed, and racist contempt.

That's why we say that the violent civilizing actions of repression and oblivion engendered the proposal of "Living Well" as a response. It meant not ceasing to fight against oppression and servitude, but avoiding thinking like the oppressors, not hating, discriminating, envying, and above all, exploiting the work of others. It tried to envision an entirely different civilizing proposal, which would make "community" and living in complementarity with nature indivisible with being human.

Therefore, the great battles that the social movements unleashed against neoliberalism were converted into historical reference points for the country and the Continent, for the defense of natural resources and life. The Water War in Cochabamba, the Gas War in El Alto, and the innumerable Indian/native/campesino sieges generated the context for the fall of neoliberalism and the historic possibility of a new era.

The election of Evo Morales as President signifies a historic break in the history of Bolivia and Latin America. For the first time, the majority has voted for one of themselves, risking letting go of patronage and peonage and daring to build a different world. Therefore, one of the first measures undertaken by the new government was precisely to convene a Constituent Assembly to define the contours and complexities of the new country. This was an assembly that would, for the first time, bring together representatives of the plurinationality of Bolivia, but also of minorities who for decades had governed this country. The majority of this plurinationality had a full process of encounter, where they dealt with the challenge of reconciling the local mandates each assembly member received from their constituents with the perspective of creating a national vision for Bolivia. This was the foundational moment when diversity began to weave together the pieces of its past to build a new history.

The Unity Pact, which brought together the major Indigenous/native/campesino organizations (CSUTCB, Bartolinas, CONAMAQ, CIDOB, and APG) and was key in the anti-neoliberal struggle, also supported their proposals and reflections on the process of change, and it was present in the Constituent Assembly. Not only were about half of the assembly members MAS-IPSP, but they came with a proposed document which clearly articulated that suma gamaña (living well), ñandereko (harmonious life), teko kavi (good life), ivi Maraei (Land without evil) and ghapai ñan (noble path or life)...express Andean-Amazonian utopias and have been a form of community life of resistance to colonialism. Today these are being rescued as strategies to confront the capitalist world. For hundreds of years, our people have survived in harmony with the Pachamama and with the community, and utopias have been part of our lives. Now, upon being converted into the indigenous/native/campesino political project, these utopias have become a path to walk on towards a new history.

The politics of consensus is part of community life, as are rotations of responsibility. In this way, despite the opposing plots that, through their racism, victimized assembly members, destroyed state goods, and humiliated campesinos in the street—in sum, the feudal response to the inclusive and communitarian proposal for the country—the Constitution of the Plurinational State was approved. It recognized that we are part of the history of a republican and liberal history, but it also incorporated the communitarian horizon of Living Well, which would be extended and accomplished by social organizations and the Plurinational State. It has constitutionalized the recognition of our plurinational identity that is structurally linked to this utopia of Living Well as both a reality and as work yet to be completed.

Throughout the Constitutional text, harmonious coexistence between these two ways of understanding the country is proposed. Along with the individual rights that were an accomplishment of the liberal Europe of the French Revolution and have been the measure of the Constitutionalism with which our republics were inaugurated, the collective rights of the Indigenous/native/campesino are included. There has been so much struggle and so much blood has been lost on this Continent for these rights to finally be recognized by the United Nations. Bolivia was the first country to constitutionalize this historic achievement, paradoxically for a country that turned its back to on reality and whose dominant classes looked to the First World only to copy the legislative model that was used in the republican era.

Regarding justice, that of the powerful over the oppressed, in the interpretation of ordinary justice, something was incorporated into the constitutional spectrum that was always denigrated, but sometimes accepted by the colonists when they permitted indigenous communities to have their own justice. Today, "Indian" justice (community justice) has stopped being something of folklore and it is now recognized that there are different and plurinational forms of improving our ability to live together in harmony and solve conflicts.

Also, the political representation of indigenous/native/campesino peoples in the institutions of the State have been constitutionalized, and although many of these spaces have been gained thanks to the merits of specific persons in the context of equality and inclusion, spaces for representation have also been legally created so that this country will never again exclude whole peoples.

The question of Autonomies is another big issue that has been constitutionalized in the right to self-determination of indigenous people because, ultimately, those who had lived during centuries as subordinates but still resisting today now have the opportunity to also rebuild territorially within the Plurinational State.

Another key area of participation is that of the Economic Community that, within the framework of the Plural Economy recognized by the state, is now fully recognized as an economy of life that has survived almost totally underground, permitting that the communities could live by sharing together in the poverty that they had been subject to by the permanent colonization of the oligarchies. The biggest challenge is to make sure that this economy, originating from the community, can be a response to the capitalism that, in addition to intensively exploiting labor, is also wiping out the planet's resources.

Perhaps the most important part of the constitutional spirit is that the indigenous/native/campesino peoples are part of the country and a constituent part of the Plurinational State. "President Evo" is the historical expression of this achievement of the struggle of the peoples and the historical reason for why all Bolivians have a legitimate right to dream of a better life. Indigenous/native/campesino peoples are the vanguard of the Democratic and Cultural Revolution that is now building a country for everyone, but which has as its political horizon a Communitarian Socialism that will allow for Living Well to become a reality. This is a historic act of creation that only the revolutions of our people are capable of accomplishing.

WORDS ON THE GREAT CAUSES

We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness; an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction.

The law of duty is more powerful to me than the feelings of the heart. Nobody commands my heart except my conscience.

A good and courageous man should be indifferent to the shocks of bad luck.

Courage, skill, and perseverance correct misfortune. Simón BOLÍVAR race.

With the poor of the earth I wish to cast my lot. Doing is the best way of speaking.

The only signature worthy of a man is that which he has left written with his deeds.

In order to go ahead of others, it is necessary to see more than them.

Every true man must feel on his own cheek every blow struck against the cheek of another

One minute on your feet is worth more than a lifetime on your knees.

Calmly watching a crime is the same thing as committing it.

It is not permissible to violate another person's rights in order to keep the rights that you enjoy.

The good of many is preferable to the opulence of a few.

Love how you can, love who you can, love everything that you can. Don't worry about the end result of your love.

Amado NERVO

Our philosophy and our liberation cannot just be one more stage in the liberation of the human being, but its final stage. The human beings we need to liberate aren't just those in the Americas or the Third World, but all human beings, including the dominators.

Leopoldo ZEA

We will go towards the sun of Liberty or to Death; and if we die, our Cause will continue living. Others will follow us.

Injustice has no reason to exist in the Universe, and it was born from the jealousy and antagonism of men, before they had understood its spirit.

The sovereignty of a country is not discussed. It is defended with arms in hand.

I want a free country or death.

My greatest honor is coming from the womb of the oppressed, who are the soul and the nerves of the

By nature, my character is receding, and I only talk a lot when they touch the glands that are infected by acute latinoamericanitis.

Augusto César SANDINO

I feel such a patriotism for Latin America, for any country in Latin America, that in the moment it might be necessary, I would be ready to give my life for the liberation of any Latin American nation, without asking anything from anybody.

Every day we must fight for the love of living humanity so that it is transformed into concrete acts, in acts that serve as an example of mobilization.

I have felt Guatemalan in Guatemala, Mexican in Mexico, Peruvian in Peru, as today I feel Cuban in José MARTÍ Cuba and as I feel Argentine here and everywhere. That's a layer of my personality—I can't forget mate and barbeque.

> I do not know if we are very close relatives, but if you are capable of trembling with indignation each time there is an injustice in the world, we are companions, which is the most important thing.

> The true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love.

Be able to feel, deep down, any injustice done against anyone in any part of the world. It is the most beautiful quality of a revolutionary.

Ernesto CHE GUEVARA

Let us Peruvianize Peru.

We have the responsibility of not ignoring our national reality, but we also have the responsibility of not ignoring the world reality. Peru is a fragment of the world which is following a trajectory of solidarity.

All workers who are in these moments are dying in the streets of Berlin, or the barricades of Hamburg, are not giving their lives just for the cause of the German proletariat, but for our own Cause.

Juan Carlos MARIÁTEGUI

Every manifestation of democracy, whether in the political, social, or cultural order, is fed by the economic democracy that produces a profound change of structures.

The governor who tries to guide his country towards democracy has to begin by truly being a democrat, demonstrating his tolerance for the opposition, no matter how crudely it conducts itself, in meetings, in the press, in personal diatribe.

Education is the heart of the peoples and the fertilizer of the armies of liberty.

Posterity will do us justice.

I have not deserved death because I haven't committed any sin other than free Costa Rica and bring peace to the (Central American) Republic.

The Cause of the Peoples cannot admit of the least delay.

Let the most unhappy be the most privileged.

Let the Indians govern themselves in their communities.

For me, there isn't anything more sacred than the will of the many peoples.

I am not for sale, I don't want any other prize for my labor than to see my nation free.

For those who consecrate their lives for the liberty of their Country, what awaits them is prison.

The Homeland is love and sacrifice.

We aren't small, it is just that we are on our knees. The law of love and the law of sacrifice cannot be separated.

When tyranny is law, revolution is order.

The empire that we challenge is large; but our right to liberty is larger.

The victory of one Puerto Rican over another is the defeat of the country.

Pedro ALBIZU CAMPOS

One doesn't put conditions on the homeland.

Omar TORRIJOS

Being young and not being a revolution is a biological contradiction.

Salvador ALLENDE

To say the true word is to transform the world. The Pedagogy of the oppressed has stopped being

that of the oppressed and has become the pedagogy of humans in the process of permanent liberation.

Pablo FREIRE

The only Causes worth living for are those that are Lázaro CÁRDENAS also worth dying for.

Albert CAMUS

Being on the left means believing that one cannot be happy by oneself.

Paul THIBAUD

There are people who struggle for a day, and they Francisco MORAZÁN are good. There are others who struggle for a year, and they are better. There are some who struggle many years, and they are better still. But there are those who struggle all their lives, and these are the indispensible ones.

Bertold BRECHT

I am a man of Causes. I lived always preaching, struggling, like a crusade, for the causes that move me. There are many, too many: the salvation of the Indians, the education of children, agrarian reform, José Gervasio ARTIGAS socialism with freedom, universal necessity...Truly, I have accumulated more failures than victories in my struggles, but this doesn't matter. It would have been horrible to be on the side of those who won those battles.

Darcy RIBEIRO

Add your favorite frase...

II. JUDGING UTOPIAS YESTERDAY AND TODAY

THE GOD WHO IS ALWAYS COMING

† JOSÉ COMBLIN

João Pessoa, Brazil

• In John's Book of Revelations the name of God is "the one who is, who was, and who is coming" (1:4). It doesn't say, "who will be," which would be a typical formulation for the Greek philosophers and which would indicate that God was immutable, always the same, one who never does anything new. John intends precisely to refuse to accept that God and to proclaim that God is in movement, changes, brings about new things. At the end of the book he says, "the Spirit and the Bride say: Come!" (22:17). "Yes, come guickly!" (22:20).

As long as there are Christians or Jews in the world, there will be utopias, impossible projects, dreams of a different world, because they are the only religions that announce a God "who is coming," and not so much one who will be. In chapters 7 and 20 of his revelations, John had a vision of the reign of a thousand years, the reign of Christ in the midst of his people, a reign of peace and happiness. That reign will come before the end of the world and the arrival of a new world, a new heaven and a new earth, a new Jerusalem, with the definitive reign of God.

This vision of John had a major impact during the first period of Christianity. It imparted an extraordinary strength to the martyrs. They knew that, after their sufferings, they would enter a reign of happiness on a new earth. During the entire history of Christianity, the hope for a reign of a thousand years has given Christians courage in times of persecution, disaster, or cataclysm.

Millenarianism, the reign of a thousand years, was always condemned and opposed by ecclesiastical authorities, who saw in that expectation a rejection of the ecclesiastical institution. To hope for a reign of Jesus on earth was to reject the ecclesiastical institution as if it had nothing to do with the reign of Christ. The official doctrine says that, before the final judgement, there will only be the Church as we know it todav.

• Christian millenarianism has its roots in the Old Testament in texts such as that of Ezekiel 37. At times, Jesus seems have aroused similar hopes. The

disciples hoped to govern the world with Jesus, in his kingdom. In Mark 10:30, Jesus promises the persecuted a recompense now and in eternity as if, before the end of the world, there would already be a compensation for them. The faithful who acclaimed Jesus during his entry into Jerusalem hoped that he was arriving in order to set up his reign. When he began to speak of his death, the millenarian hopes fell apart.

The persecutions of the first centuries gave rise to a renewal of the millenarian hopes. Some historians think that the announcement of the arrival of the reign of a thousand years on this earth was one of the motivations for the conversion of many inhabitants of the Roman Empire, especially the victims who were suffering most under the Empire.

When Constantine decreed the freedom of the Church and decided to convert it into the official religion of the Empire, there were bishops and Christians at the base who thought that the reign of Christ on earth was beginning.

That millenarianism served the interests of the governing class especially because, for the victims of the empire, the signs of the reign of a thousand years were not very clear. But the Empire fell in the West and the Roman Church adopted the pretention that Christendom was the realization of the reign of Christ on earth. The prevailing attitude was that their times were the last in the history of the world before the end that had been announced. No other reign of Christ on earth was to be expected except that of the reign of the Church in Christendom.

But, confronted with the corruption of the Roman Church and of broad sectors of the episcopal and monastic world, a prophet appeared. Joachim of Fiori was an abbot at the end of the twelfth century, who announced the coming of a reign of the Holy Spirit. The idea had a great following among the brothers of Saint Francis in the 13th and 14th Centuries. That reign of the Holy Spirit would be a reign without power, animated by monks and Christians without power. It was a new version of millenarianism.

The corruption of the Roman Church grew exten-

sively with the Avignon Popes in the 14th century. The complaints protesting the avarice and ambition for wealth of the popes grew into a clamour that demanded a general reform in the Church. And the Reformation came about. Luther believed that his Reformation was a new phase in the preparation for the end of the world. In the reformed world, that idea of a new millennium had its adherents. However, very quickly a major insurrection of the peasants and artisans in Germany (1525) took place and all the princes, Protestant and Catholic, repressed it.

Thomas Müntzer was the theologian of the insurrection, known as the War of the Peasants. He insisted that the rebel peasants would bring about the reign of a thousand years. In Munster, in 1534, the Anabaptists who took the city had the same hope: they were beginning the reign of a thousand years. As one might have expected, those insurrections were repressed with horrendous cruelty.

Millenarianism inspired many popular revolt movements. Those movements had no military power; they counted only on the power of God. The certainty of bringing about the reign of Christ gave them the necessary energy and confidence.

• There was also a political millenarianism in which the governing power considered its government as a realization of the reign of Christ in this world. Beginning with Theodosio, at the end of the 4th Century, the Church was identified with the Byzantine Empire that lasted until 1453 when the capital was conquered by the Turks.

The millenarian ideology of Byzantium was handed over to the Holy Roman Empire beginning in th 10th Century. In the West also the Church was transformed into a service for the Empire. The Church was the political-religious function of the clergy. Whoever really looked for the Gospel took refuge in the monastic life where the only truly Christian communities were formed.

When Constantinople fell and with it the Byzantine Empire, the reign of the millennium was transferred to Russia. The reign of Christ went from Rome through Byzantium and from there to Moscow. The Czar of Russia was the representative of Christ in the reign of God on this earth.

Political millenarianism had other expressions. After the Holy Empire, its new form was the chosen people. In the 19th Century, when England conquered India and Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, a perception arose that England was the God's chosen people to govern the world. R. Kipling was able to announce that "the British Empire is the most beautiful realization of God after creation." However, England was confronted with the rivalry of Germany. Wrapped up in two destructive wars, it had to pass the government of the world to the United States where political militarism was and still is very strong.

From the beginning, that is to say, since the arrival of the Puritans in 1629, the USA was born with the sense that it was a chosen nation. The Puritans were destined to set up the reign of a thousand years, the reign of Christ. That ideology has never been lost. Even today, the United States considers itself charged by God with the task of governing the world as the people chosen from all the others. Every president expresses that conviction in his inaugural address.

• There was also an ecclesiastic millenarianism. To the kings of Spain and Portugal the popes bestowed America as a possession. Their mission was to establish the reign of Christ there. Their duty was to expand the Church. When Hernán Cortés began the assault of Tenochtitlan, capital of the Aztecs (Mexico City today), he ordered the following text to be written on the banners of his troops: "We follow the standard of the cross; with it we will conquer!"

In spite of Medellin and its inspiration, remnants of that system continue to exist even today in the Latin American church. Catholic triumphalism perdures.

When the European powers conquered the greater part of Africa and Asia, Catholic and Protestant missionaries on that continent had, as their aim, to implant the Church. They did not seek evangelization but rather, with the help of the colonial powers, the extension of the Reign of Christ. It was a millenarianism that has an impact even today. Implanted Churches were put in place, not evangelized peoples.

• The French Revolution is a symbolic event: the beginning of Christendom's disintegration and the birth of a secularized society. The Catholic Church did not know how to respond to science and technology any more than the Protestants. It defended the remnants of Christendom and continues to defend itself. But, they have lost almost all influence in society. Millenarian religious continue to exist in sects, without society's protection, other than in the United States, which is the most developed country in science and

technology, but which, at the same time, is the country with the strongest opposition to the worldview offered by the sciences and with the greatest attachment to biblical literalism. It is also the country with the largest number of millenarian religious sects.

In the rest of the world, science and technology were adopted by a new capitalist class that ended up taking power and broadcasting its ideology. The capitalist class was born with a secularized expression of millenarianism. Their project is to use science and technology to create a new humanity rather than the reign of God that Christendom had failed to bring about. Seeing that religion had not achieved what it promised, the capitalists promised a better life, one that was really human. They picked up where the clergy left off and with the aim of directing society toward happiness on earth, not in heaven.

In Brazil, the official program of governments and of the nation is "development," that is to say, precisely the utopia of the capitalists, namely the transformation of the social and material condition through science and technology. The emerging countries are convinced that their mission is to transform their countries into a copy of the USA. Every country in the world wants to become one day like the USA.

In practice, that secularized version of the reign of God consists in the extraordinary promotion of a small part of humanity: those who concentrate in their hands the resources of science and technology that allow them to seize natural resources for themselves. The masses provide the workers; otherwise they are outside the system. Capitalists themselves dare not promote their millenarian ideology anymore; they merely say that theirs is the only option, that there is no alternative to their system.

Capitalist society generated a reaction among the masses of oppressed and exploited workers. The 20th Century was the century of secularized millenarian expectations of the victims of the capitalists. Revolutions happened that were partly successful and partly frustrated.

First there was the reaction of the masses of industrial workers, and then later that of peasants. In that context socialism was born. It is a project for a society in which property is collective. In the capitalist world, property is in the hands of a few. This is true both of ownership of the land and also of machines. The owner exploits because the worker, in order to eat,

has to accept what is offered. The 20th Century was the century of socialism, of the dream of a socialist society in which property would be social. In practice, workers' unions were able to achieve certain rights and some participation in property. However, the socialist revolutions ended up giving way when confronted with the offensive of property owners. Although they had to make some concessions, the capitalists ended up winning. Radical socialism, which suppressed all private property, in practice concentrated property in the hands of the State and did not achieve the dream. The communist structure continues today in Cuba and North Korea.

There were political utopias in the colonies. The colonized people dreamed of political independence. The independence revolutions managed to save them from economic oppression. However, foreign companies pulled the former colonies into submission.

Feminism was another utopia of the 20th Century. The women's revolution made important advances. Still, and above all in the world of ordinary people, women's dependence is still very rough due to working conditions and the accumulation of domestic tasks.

The utopia of racial equality had some results that were more or less felt in various countries. The struggles against discrimination did not eliminate the social inferiority of Blacks.

Both struggles are still current and urgent. Much can be done through strong organization in society.

• What future utopias might be possible? Today, what often happens is a repetition of old utopias. While there is still talk of socialism, industry has lost much of its importance in the current economic situation,. There are no longer any large and homogenous working classes. While jobs grow, it is in the service sector. However, a workers' movement has not vet made its appearance in the service sector [in Brazil tr.1, even though those workers are often exhausted and exploited by excessive stress at work. Another problem lies in the concentration of companies: Countries haven't been able to control the multinationals. huge corporations with a global reach. To do so, a national movement is not enough; A world movement is needed. Apart from that, world powers have the ability to resist movements in small countries. The United States never accepts decisions taken by the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, or other world organizations.

Will China be willing to accept these decisions when it the large majority of the population possible. Or will becomes the leading power?

• But here is where two dangers appear that threaten all humanity. No longer a question of utopias or of dreams, we are dealing purely and simply with survival.

The first danger is found in nuclear arms. More than 20 countries now have nuclear bombs and the number will grow, inevitably. There are already enough bombs to annihilate all humanity several times over and in a few hours. While there is no political will to use nuclear arms up till now, the high military echelons in various countries already have studies on lowintensity nuclear arms. A scenario for a nuclear war is not difficult to imagine.

The second danger is the destruction of Nature. An ecological movement has appeared. It proposes a lifestyle that respects Nature and was born as a utopia in the last century. Already we can see the evils provoked by the destruction of Nature through industry, garbage, contamination of water, air, and soil, etc. The ecological dream generated political movements to control the destruction of Nature and substitute a greener life for consumerism. They fight against contaminating industries, against the increase of garbage that leads to sickness and threatens the survival of life on the planet. The warming of the planet seems already to be provoking turbulence in the climate. Ecology is no longer a utopia; it is a life or death issue. We no longer need to dream; we need to stop the death of Nature. Instead of dreaming of a utopia, what we have is distress.

Given that situation, the project of an "unlimited development" of production, as presented by the capitalists, is disqualified, though by no means abandoned. However, we don't know how to control the power of the 500 corporations that will soon be 400 and then 300 until their final concentration into a super-hero that will, in the end as always, fall. And then what will happen?

After the clergy, came the capitalists. The capitalist ideology has been abandoned for some time already. And so? Will another class, another human group arrive bearing another utopia?

• The situation in Latin America still isn't clear. We still don't know if the current governments of Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and other countries, are precursors of the new class that will make support of they be the next victims of repression from the North American Empire?

Bolivarianism pulls together fragments from socialist movements of the last century. But, it does not seem to have formed a popular conscience. What keeps Chavez in power is his own charismatic personality, much more than his ideology. He has managed to significantly improve the conditions of the lower classes of society and that has earned him the support of the people. In Bolivia what maintains the power of Evo Morales is the cohesion of the Indigenous peoples, above all the Avmara. It is a cohesion that does not arise out of an ideology but rather out of a history. Nor is there an ideology in Ecuador that could guarantee popular power for Correa. What is happening in the governments of Argentina and Uruguay can hardly be considered a political ideology. We have not yet managed to discern whether what is happening in the Latin American Left is based on a solid ideology or is in search of an ideology.

• Are there still religious utopias? In the Vatican it is the utopia of a resurrected Christendom that prevails. It is the utopia of Benedict XVI and of movements like Opus Dei, the Legionaries, Communion and Liberation, and others. They accept as an inevitable fact a reduction in the number of Catholics. Catholics will necessarily be a small minority. However, they will form a minority of the strong, solid, and uncompromising, a nucleus like a diamond. Thanks to them, the Church will be able to acquire political and economic power that will make it the elite of humanity, the indispensible elite to direct the world and recreate Christendom. That is the prevailing utopia that directs Vatican politics.

There are groups in the Church that dream of a return to the years of Medellin. They are lay groups with a few priests and religious but, without the support of the hierarchy. Their dream is of a truly Gospel Church. It was the utopia of Vatican II that is today only a minority, at least in Europe and in the Americas. On the other hand, the growth of Pentecostal churches originating in the United States might point to the growth of utopias of a fundamentalist sort. Still, utopias, of one sort or another, continue and will continue, and it is up to us now to be their witnesses and to struggle to bring them about.

THE MAJOR ISSUES TODAY: LIVE WELL; LIVE WELL TOGETHER

ALFREDO GONÇALVES

São Paulo, SP, Brasil

What do expressions like "change of epoch," "paradigm change," or "a new model of civilization" mean? In his classic study, The City in History, Lewis Mumford refers to two contrasting archetypal models of urban life: the symbiotic and the predatory. According to this historian, "they did not constitute absolute options but pointed in different directions. The first was the path of voluntary cooperation, that of mutual accommodation, of communication and of a broader understanding. The other was that of predatory domination that leads to exploitation without mercy and in time to a parasitic weakening since the way of expansion, with its violence and conflicts, transformed the city itself into an instrument destined to extraction and concentration of surplus."

Mumford also thought that historically, "the urban heritage took two paths." The model of symbiosis with nature and its limited resources in which maternal care prevails with the good life and pacific coexistence, gave way to the predatory model marked by patriarchal domination, disposed to conquer all the possibilities of the environment, of human strength and the cultural patrimony. The design of the circular city, as a nest, womb, welcome, was replaced by the geometry of the rectilinear stroke and square corners where the progress of mathematics occupied a central role in quantifying, calculated, assuring production. The pointy symbols, like obelisks and towers, predominantly masculine, displaced earthenware vessels, plaited tresses and rounded utensils with a feminine inspiration.

It is not amiss to say that in the Western countries in particular, science and technology were always placed at the service of a model that was strongly predatory. The law of natural selection, that of Darwin in The Origin of the Species, ended up being applied without reserve to socio-economic and political development. The penetration of virgin lands and the merchandizing of their riches, along with the decimation of Indigenous peoples, were basic feature of the advance of capitalist and neoliberal economy, first of all as mercantilist, then industrial and finally financial. It is obvious that the industrial revolution provided, in

this respect, a gigantic impulse ending in what Eric J. Hobsbawm named "the era of the empires."

The results of this indiscriminate and irresponsible use of natural resources are well known. Also well-known are the violent reactions of nature in the face of the equally violent action of human beings against it. To the violence of a project of exponential growth at any cost, the planet responds with irritation: with alternating droughts and flooding; unexpected waves of cold and heat that make the distinctions of the seasons fade; unusual storms like hurricanes, typhoons, strong winds; massive human migrations with millions of "climate refugees or migrants"...

In this perspective and without any pretension of denying the Copernican theory, the planet Earth is today the subject of endless debates. Scientists, social and environmental movements, among other lively and active forces, constantly warn us about deforestation and desertification of the soil, pollution of air and of water, the growing emission of greenhouse gases, the melting of glaciers and planetary warming and the extermination of numerous species of plants and animals, etc.

It isn't enough to save human life in an anthropomorphic perspective. It would be useful to return to another reading of the book of Genesis. In the covenant that God establishes with the people of Israel, symbolized by the rainbow, the text insists not just on the life of human beings. The words are emphatic: the covenant is signed in the name of "all living beings and all future generations." The will of God is not only to defend life in all its forms biodiversity but also to conserve it for eternity (Gen. 9,12-17). What is at issue is a new way of relating with things and persons. The ideal of modernity has been to produce, to sell, to buy and to consume. Today we urgently need to rethink civilization entirely in the sense of a pacific, fraternal co-existence in solidarity with the planet and with nature in order to to respect the right of the Earth to generate life!

The protection of life, along with its multiple ecosystems, is beyond the capacity of any single country or nation, of any religion or political party, of any

people or culture. It is a universal task that nobody can avoid. Every species of life that disappears from the earth lessens the human possibilities for survival. Everywhere, ecological awareness is growing that we either save biodiversity or we perish along with the planet.

According to Pablo Suess, we do well to remember the Indigenous idea of sumak kawsay (the good life), of the Quechua nation that was extensively debated during the Peoples' Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia. In fact, a totally renewed relationship is at work in the search for a new civilizing paradigm that is just, sustainable and planetary. It is a relationship with the planet and its natural resources, with living beings in general and with persons in particular. It's not a matter of struggling to achieve the way of life of the developed nations or of the elites in marginal countries. The fever of consumerism that is promoted in those countries through strident forms of marketing, propaganda, and publicity are not adapted to the natural rhythm of the multiple forms of life. To maintain that model, millions of persons end up being systematically excluded, placed at the margin of history and of life itself.

The challenge for the Great Causes today is the reconstruction of a new way of living that is frugal, responsible, and equitable. For the good life and living well together to be extended to all living beings, including plants, animals and people and to the organically interconnected biodiversity, we have a double task. On the one hand, we need to suppress ostentatious and scandalous luxuries; on the other hand we need to combat hunger and misery in all its forms. In a word, the new paradigm begins with the assumption that we need to eliminate the asymmetries and imbalances that divide continents and countries, as well as the extremes of lifestyles within a single nation.

The new world order, based on the paradigm of care and responsible coexistence with nature and its various life forms, includes within it the need for a feminine touch. It's not just a question of achieving a larger participation of women in decisions regarding the socio-economic and political-cultural model. Above all it is a matter of rediscovering the feminine potential that exists in every person, male or female. It is a potential that has remained asphyxiated by the

feverish agitation of a culture of production, doing, keeping up appearances and consuming.

If it is true that after the crisis we come to the crossroads, this latter constitutes the positive side of the former since crisis is synonymous with ambiguity. Once the anguish has passed, along with the dejection and perplexity that every crisis produces, we need to lift up our heads and go forward. And that is where we come to the crossroads that presupposes taking a position in a double sense. On the one hand, it involves being open to the various alternatives present including cultural, social, political and religious pluralism. On the other hand we need the courage to reflect and deepen our understanding of the causes and consequences of the crisis itself and then to embrace new options. In a word, at the crossroads, the crisis becomes heavy with life, the desert is revealed as fertile and darkness obliges us to light small fires. Today these lights become the thousands of initiatives by people at the grassroots springing up all over the place, especially in the social economy. They point to the possibility of a renewed civilization in which the exploitation and accumulation of a few will be replaced by the idea of the good life and of living well together.

Life teaches us that, in tragedies and storms, the rudder of the boat tends to pass over into the hands of women, or at least to the feminine side of every human being, who, in the turbulence of the agitated waters, takes the upper hand through wisdom and patience that waits for the right moment to go off in a new direction. As long as the waves are very high, it is impossible to see the beam of the lighthouse and orient the ship. Once the storm has calmed down, then the light begins to illumine the dark night and make it possible to steer with assurance in the direction of the port. A crossroads, on the other hand, is a good moment to turn to the roots and sources of the original project and to return to the maternal cradle. But this turn only makes sense to the extent that it serves to make us stronger and help us move forward toward the frontier. In the midst of the crisis, those who are weak and nostalgic take refuge in the cradle while adults, energized by original and vital milk, feel challenged by the blows of history and of the future, by the Great Causes or by the need to recycle, reuse and recreate civilization itself.

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UTOPIA IN PRESENT TIMES

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H. Marcuse, the German philosopher, wrote in 1967 *The End of Utopia*, as he was enthralled by the technological developments which make real today what in other times was called utopia. The Japanese-American thinker, F. Fukuyama, announced "the end of history" when he witnessed the fall of the socialist empire and the permanence of democracy in the USA, which for him brings the end of history and of all utopia. What remained? Technology and capitalism. A sad destiny for humanity... if it were true.

Why did Utopia die? This is the challenge for all thinking and acting of human beings. Utopia is threatened by death, eternity present in time, skepticism about the future, and the neoliberal system which tries to impose itself as the total fulfillment of the human being. Utopia is stimulated by rebellion against death as the final and relentless destiny of humankind, and in the words of Gadamer "wishes always more future" and shouts the dream expressed by the World Social Forum: Another world is possible!

UTOPIA'S ECLIPSE

Technologies battle against Utopia, creating for us a kind of world where all our needs are immediate, now, without any more effort than the talent of scientists. We entrust them the "incredible new world", provided that we obtain bulky profits and companies fill their purses. Two powerful destructive forces are merged against Utopia: technology and the neoliberal capitalist system. They downgrade the human being to a robot, a thing, almost an animal, and intoxicate him with the present. They need nothing from the future. Everything can be obtained here and now.

In order that no breath of transcendence appears, they have invented the cell phone and the technologies of information and communication. In this way, in idle times – when dreams generally appear – people stay plugged to voice and music machines. TV newsflashes, You Tube, Twitter, Facebook, MSN and a huge paraphernalia of the media, fill their heads with images for every taste, from sensationalism of alien catastrophes to the most gaudy pleasures. There is no time to be alone. But, there are no dreams without

silence, without tranquility it is impossible to imagine a better world, there is no utopia without solitude.

Utopia lacks the double distance of time and space. It is not here nor today. It is tomorrow, and in another place. Virtual culture destroys both dimensions. Time is felt as linear, and any distance can be reached in space without leaving the room. It is enough to stare at the computer screen to see pictures and listen to people from any part of the world. What else can be desired?

Ironically, virtual culture performs the definition that Saint Thomas gave of eternity: "the perfect possession of an endless life, all together and simultaneously". We increasingly have the feeling of possessing the endless life that is produced in a million internet sites. In fact, the whole life of a person would not be enough to visit them all. They seem unfathomable. And that occurs "fully and simultaneously". Then, if we already possess eternity, what else can we wish for?

That eternity created by us appears more interesting than the one promised by religion, as a monotonous heaven, full of angels and dull saints. Here everything passes through our senses, made for pleasure; in heaven... it is not clear. What theologians have to say is not very attractive. Globalization substitutes perfectly for eternal life, due to its quickness, novelty, colorfulness and abundance of supplies. Nothing else is needed.

And, to close the circle of plenitude, society has uncountable boutiques and kilometers of windows full of consumer goods. Eyes are not enough to see everything. Hands get tired of touching things. Hearts jump from one to another, forgetting almost to beat. In one word: the globalized consumer society, the virtual culture, bears no room for Utopia. Utopia is finished.

UTOPIA'S REVIVAL

However there is a big problem: present day society and culture cannot totally silence the human being, nor all human beings. There are some energies kept intact and resistant people, despite this big doses of material, psychological and spiritual anesthesia, pull up their sleeves and start to think, to dream

and to fight for a different world.

There are the women. They smell male chauvinism in the air of society and culture. They do not feel acknowledged in the building of politics, in various institutions, structures and social relations, in churches... in the weaving of history. They are aware of their own singular, original dignity. They sketch a utopia of a world without male chauvinism, in which they can play a unique and irreplaceable role. They search without concession the vocation and profession they dream of, they do not accept being molded by the male figure, or to mimic men. This is the feminist Utopia, which mobilizes not only women but also bright and mindful men: a world without male chauvinism, without the exploitation of the body and occupation of women, without the vilification of their dignity.

If the Earth could speak, it would have given an outcry long ago against the devastating exploitation to which we subject her. There are more people every day who acknowledge this tragedy and become spokespeople of the Earth's outcry. This is the ecological wave, opening utopic roads to build a world in Franciscan harmony with nature, of equilibrium in the exploitation of non-renewable resources, of simplicity. To strict jurists' dismay, we speak of "the Rights of the Earth", of "property of all, goods that cannot be privatized, like water, land, air"... There is the Earth Charter, to proclaim those rights. Ecology Utopia!

Human beings tamed the wild animal. In this way their job was made easier and they obtained more profit. A great achievement. But the worm of evil corroded their hearts: why not do the same with that other animal, the one provided with intelligence and a great many other qualities? And so they did. There you have the poor, the exploited, the marginalized. Society grew and the poor may be counted by the millions. But the human being stopped, thought and dreamt. Why not build a different world in which the poor are not exploited any more, where there is collaboration, harmony, fraternity, solidarity to produce goods in a society with equal rights? Liberation Utopia!

The same instinct of domination triggered another perversity. Some human groups felt owners of the earth and goods, or they coveted them. There they found human beings like them... what to do? Impose by force, conquer territories and profitable goods with weapons, take advantage of possible superiorities

to defeat those who oppose their domination plans. There is war. It appeared attractive because it even multiplied the weapons industry. There came deaths by the million, unthinkable destruction. Sad lesson. Then, what are we to do? Walk in the opposite direction: Peace Utopia!

At first their origin was the same, they all belonged to the same black race. Millennia of procreation differentiated the bodies. Social and political factors created linkages between race and domination, race and superiority of possibilities. Racism won. There, in the utopian horizon, is not the end, but the beginning of human beings, born from the same race, consorting with their diversity in the same banquet of creation. Ethnic Utopia!

Initially there was nothing that eyes now can see. Not even chaos, simply nothing. The biblical human being, thinking about this game between nothing and things, reached God the Creator: in the beginning there was God. He spent millennia considering everything as coming from the creative gesture of Yahweh, One and Only. Jesus arrived. Talked about God as Father and Spirit. And our intelligence opened up for a greater mystery: "in the beginning there is no solitude of the One, but the communion of the Three" (L. Boff). Everything came from a God that is a trinity, a communion.

Who will have the courage to say something as stupid as that history has come to an end, that technology and capitalism have defeated Utopia, when eyes see what they see and intelligence thinks what it thinks?

AND CHRISTIANS?

We have God's Kingdom. It is not Utopia. It is more than Utopia. This ends in the horizon of history, while God's Kingdom combines the "now" with the "not yet". The "now" was proclaimed by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount; it encourages us to strive for all utopias, nurturing them. Mathew talks about the "not yet", when imagining Judgment Day in which all who were committed with terrestrial utopias will reside in the definitive Kingdom. "Come, blessed of my Father, receive the Kingdom as heritage" (Matt 25:34). Then yes, all "utopias" (without place) will end, because they will have been transformed in "topias" (places) of life, justice and love in fullness: God's Kingdom accomplished in God's eternity.

NATURE IS NOT MUTE

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The world is covered with dead landscapes; the natural forests succumb; the poles are melting, we can no longer breathe the air or drink the water; flowers are now plastic and food, sky and earth are becoming thoroughly insane.

And while all this is happening, a Latin American country, Ecuador has written a new constitution in which, for the first time in the history of humanity, the possibility is opened of recognizing the rights of nature.

Nature has much to say and the time in coming for us, her children, to stop being deaf. Perhaps even God listens to the call that is sounding from this Andean country and adds an eleventh commandment that had been overlooked in the instructions given to us on Mount Sinai: "Love nature, of which you are a part."

An object that wants to be a subject

For thousands of years almost everyone had the right to not have rights.

In practice, there are still many who have no rights, although at least today the right to have them is recognized and this is much more than a gesture of charity on the part of the masters of the world for the consolation of their servants.

And nature? In a way we could say that human rights include nature because she is not a postcard to be looked at from outside. Still, nature knows very well that even the best of human laws treat her as an object for possession and never as the subject of rights.

Reduced to a mere source of natural resources and good business, she can be legally wounded and even exterminated without attention to her complaints and without legal norms imposing any limitation to the impunity of the criminals. In the end, in the best of cases, the human victims are able to demand a more or less symbolic compensation, always after the damage has been done. However, the laws do nothing to avoid or stop the attacks against the earth, water or the air.

It sounds strange, doesn't it? I mean that nature should have rights. A bit crazy. As if nature were a person! On the other hand, it sounds entirely normal that large companies in the United States should

enjoy human rights. In 1886, the Supreme Court of the United States, a model of universal justice, extended human rights to private corporations. The law recognized the same rights for them as for persons, including the right to life, to freedom of expression, to privacy and all the rest. It was as if the companies were living, breathing bodies. But, more than a hundred years have passed and this continues to be the case. Nobody is surprised.

Cries and whispers

There is nothing unusual or abnormal about the project that has incorporated nature into the new constitution of Fcuador.

This is a country that has suffered a long series of devastations throughout its history. To give only one example: During more than a quarter of a century, until 1992, the petroleum country, Texaco, vomited with impunity 18,000 million gallons of poison on land, rivers and people. Once it had completed this work of benevolence in the Amazon region of Ecuador, the company, originally from Texas, celebrated its marriage with Standard Oil. From then on, Rockefeller's Standard Oil was called Chevron and was directed by Condoleezza Rice. Later, an oil pipeline transferred Condoleezza to the White House while the Chevron-Texaco family continued to contaminate the world.

However, the wounds opened in the body of Ecuador by Texaco and other companies are not the only source of inspiration for this major juridical novelty that has come into being. In addition, and with no less importance, the defense of nature forms part of a process of recuperation of the oldest traditions of Ecuador and all America. It is proposed that the State recognize and quarantee the right to maintain and regenerate the vital natural cycles. It is not by happenstance that the constituent assembly began by identifying its objectives for a natural rebirth with the ideal of life called Sumak kawsay. This means, in Quechua, a harmonious life, one that includes harmony among us and with nature. It is harmony that gives birth to us, nourishes us, shelters us as well as having its own life and values beyond that of ourselves. Miraculously, those traditions continue to be vital in

Since the sword and cross landed on American lands. the European conquest punished as a sin of idolatry the adoration of nature with penalties like whipping, hanging or burning by fire. The communion between nature and the people, a pagan custom, was abolished in the name of God and later in the name of Civilization. So it is that throughout America and the world, we continue paying the consequences of this enforced divorce.

THE GOOD LIFE, THE GREAT INDIGENOUS PARADIGM

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We want to propose some reflections on "the *Good Life.*" This is a very old paradigm that shows us an ancestral wisdom of the Indigenous American peoples. It also reveals their identity.

The Good Life or Living Well carries a universal, hope-filled message in the face of a world that is in the process of losing its most profound and important moral values. It is presented to us as an alternative to the "better life" of Western culture. The "better life" relates to our personal income, to our level of consumption and to the satisfactions that modern technology offers us. The Good Life is related to harmony with all our brothers and sisters, with different cultures, with God and with nature.

Faced with modernity and its blind faith in progress, the *Good Life* (*Suma Qamaña* in Aymara and *Sumak Kawsay* in Quechua) suggests a different way of living that is open to the entire world and to all people. It looks toward a society that is more fraternal, egalitarian and just. It is a new paradigm with a logic that is very different from the "post-modern" mentality, which is tremendously individualistic and oriented to the economy.

The Good Life can help us recognize reality and ancestral myths not in a rigid way that follows our social patterns but as an incentive to open dialogue with other cultures. It is an invitation to enter into relationship with "the other" in a different way, by accepting and respecting both equality and differences.

This new paradigm profoundly questions the major projects of modernity. The *Good Life* proposes another way of living that is grounded in the ethic of coexisting on the basis of agreements and alliances.

It also invites us to abandon our protagonism in favour of new actors so as to construct, beyond political dogmatism and the reigning corruption, a society where we find the common good, solidarity, subsidiarity, equity, peaceful coexistence, and so on.

It implies also a reformulation of the whole educational project for an authentic formation. It could help us as an update in our own context of the four basic principles proposed by UNESCO:
a) to learn to learn, b) to learn to be, c) to learn to do and d) to learn to live together.

The *Good Life* becomes an ethical imperative and a network for solidarity in order to overcome inequities, return dignity to everyone and raise the self-esteem of those who are downcast. It involves struggling to make possible the great Utopia of universal fraternity among all peoples and races.

Nevertheless, everything is not so simple. There are a lot of ambiguities present. There is, for example, the Aymaran paradox in that the Aymara communities have a strong sense of community but, on the other hand, a growing individualism that weakens and even wipes out the links of solidarity.

It is evident that what the *Good Life* proposes is far from being a concrete reality in our

Aymaran communities. It is an ideal, a big cultural project that can lead us to an ethical challenge when faced with the crisis of values in our modern culture.

SUMAR RAWSAY: HORIZON, PLATFORM, ALLIANCE

PABLO SUESS

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The sumak kawsay paradigm, of Quechua origin, points to the concept of the traditional good life of the Andean world. In their Constitutions, Bolivia and Ecuador have taken up this concept and have tried to contextualize it in today's world as an alternative project to the developmentalism of globalized economies. The interpreters of sumak kawsay point to its character as a critical, pluralist and democratic process. Sumak kawsay should be understood as a political platform with a utopian horizon and as an alliance of different cultures and multiple sectors that are willing to construct new social relationships on the basis of a new relationship with nature.

An Emigrant Utopia

Contrary to what one might think, utopia is an emigrant from the prosperous countries, which supposedly no longer need it and so it arrives in poor countries. The dominant political discourse rejects the great story that resists the reduction of the word to headlines in the newspapers, propaganda slogans or clichés. In this great story, with utopian contents that are not easily reduced to everyday pragmatism, we hear echoes of the all-enveloping cause and critique of those who are not in conformity with the world as it is. That cause guestions the aggressive imperatives of the consumer society with its demands for growth, accelerated production, and instant satisfaction. With the blessing of the communications media, the oppressor becomes attractive, the corrupt are forgiven, and the oppressed are despised. We are thus witnesses to a lowering of the revolutionary spirit of a proletariat that has become middle-class, of unions that have become bureaucratic, and of popular leaders who have turned into administrative machines for supposedly progressive governments.

The churches should offer a major counter-cultural capital, which at the same time questions the dominant culture and valorizes marginal cultures. Yet, it has accommodated itself within the system in return for recognition of its institutional freedom and its historic prestige. However, that accommodation has a high price, namely the loss of the critical spirit both *ad extra* and *ad intra*, that is to say, the slow and silent corrosion of its prophetic spirit and the recognition of the difference between ideal and reality.

A critical spirit allows us to be aware of the difference between the installed order and the constitutional proposal that preceded the installation of that order. In the installed order we are dealing not just with the order represented by the States and their governments. The Church also forms part of that historic installed order, which always needs a new critical view. In religious temples there also exists a difference between laws that flow from the divine order and those others that are obeyed because of institutional practices. There is, as well, a difference between what the Gospel proposes and the institutional response.

Many will still remember the indignation of certain sectors when confronted with petitions for forgiveness that the then Pope John Paul II addressed on various occasions to Jews, Africans, and Indigenous peoples. During the Fourth Conference of CELAM, in Santo Domingo, on October 19, 1992, when the proposal was made for a collective petition for forgiveness addressed to the Indigenous Peoples, the Archbishop of San Juan de Cuyo, Argentina, Italo Severino di Stéfano, stated that a request like that would not be appropriate because it could be used by ideological sectors and would reflect a guilt complex that would diminish the ardour of the new evangelization.

During the General Audience in Rome two days later, the Pope once again took the position that such a request for forgiveness was opportune: "The prayer of the Redeemer rises to the Father and, at the same time, to men [sic], against those who have committed many injustices. To these men [sic] we are continually asking forgiveness, above all from those first inhabitants of the new land, to the *Indians*, and to those who were deported from Africa as slaves for heavy labour. 'Forgive us our offenses': this prayer also is part of evangelization...."

The difference between the shortfall of ecclesial reality and its promise, between the reigning order and the eternal truth, is legitimately pointed out by loyal sectors of secular society and the church itself that aspire to conformity between the institution and its messianic founder, while recognizing that this will always be incomplete. The fragility of the ecclesial reality, when it is lived with humility and a desire for forgiveness, could honour the institution that does not negotiate its ideals on the basis of the lesser evil but rather remembers

them in pronouncing its mea culpa.

As we saw in Santo Domingo, this zeal of the prophets, theologians, and pastors has not always been well received by sectors that live at a certain distance from the daily life of the people of God. Their theologies are not contextualized and they give replies to secondary questions. This was the reason why, at a certain moment, the Theology of Liberation and Indigenous Theology, among others, were silenced by sectors that considered Medellin (1968) an accident in the history of the Church. On the contrary, we are dealing with the ascension of traditions of millenia and the rooting of the gospel in these cultures. According to Saint Irenaeus, the ascension is the prelude to redemption (Puebla 400). Even today, the merest mention of those theologies, that represent the prophetic post-conciliar grace of the Latin-American church, is vetoed. If theologians became institutional functionaries and not defenders of the afflicted, theology would degenerate into ideology.

But, the new wine of the Great Cause of the Reign of God does not fit into the old wineskins (Cf. Matt. 9,18) of systemic functionality. Official condemnation to clandestinity generates traumas, but also forges strategic languages. Prophecy can move toward other spaces and indicators, among which we recognize today that of sumak kawsay, good life, the Quechua world. In the encyclical Pacem in Terris, of John XXIII, in Vatican II and in Medellin, what were called "signs of the times" - the freeing of workers, of colonized countries, and of women- in reality were gospel struggles that had been abandoned by the churches. Metamorphosized, they reappeared in the secular world because in their ecclesial cradle they did not find a space to live or even to rest temporarily. From the horizon of the Utopia of the Reign of God, we are all posseiros [land occupiers without title - tr.] of hope, without an exclusive hold on the truth. To own it this way would mean the end of history. Hope continues as an eternal emigrant in search of truth in the midst of those who live in desperation.

Happiness, Dignity, Resurrection

According to Ernst Bloch, the social utopias of the good life, with their focus on the economic system, point to happiness, or at least to the reduction of hunger and misery. The utopias of natural right, with their focus in the cultural and juridical field of human rights, point to dignity, the head held high and to the legal protection of freedom and security. In practical terms, life is threatened on both fronts: by hunger and

by scorn or, as Marx used to say, at the base and in the superstructure. The primacy of human dignity demands that priority be given to economic liberation. Between both, there is a relationship of means and ends.

The suffering of the little ones -of those who are overcharged and who suffer hunger as well as those who are devalued and who suffer humiliation-points to ethical challenges of humanity caused by the acceleration of destructive capital. And it is this suffering that can change the course of history, namely, the self-reflective and organized suffering that generates discernment and awareness among the poor in differentiating suffering that can be avoided and the inherent human condition. The specific names of these ethical challenges are: liquidation of human and natural resources as well as genetic and psychological manipulation ad intra as well as in function of the overall market. Out of all this, urgent tasks for transformation emerge: the redistribution of goods according to the capacities of the planet Earth, the recognition of the Other in a perspective of universal harmony, and the democratic participation of everyone, without class privileges.

However, for a utopia that brings happiness and dignity something more is still needed to bring about the good life. When hunger and scorn are distanced from human life, there still remains the threat of a privileged appropriation by a few. For that reason, the good life needs to be thought out in a way that benefits everyone. This third utopian element, distributive and redistributive justice leads us to remember, concretely, those who died without justice having been done. The utopian horizon includes, besides happiness and dignity, not the justice of the conquerors and of the survivors, but also the justice of those who have not known justice, living or dead. The Messiah will come when there is enough space at the table for everyone. But, the Messiah will also come as the memory of those who, punished by hunger and scorn, fell into the pit of oblivion. Justice for all is unthinkable without the grace of resurrection of the dead and the final judgement (See Spe Salvi, 43), The history of humanity has shown that the desire for resurrection and victory over death brought together the medical healers and shamans, the theologians and the philosophers, in a battle, that, even now, has neither been won nor lost. It is present in almost all cultures and can be set in possible contexts that are very different. From the triptych of happiness, dignity, and the continuity of life, we understand that sumak kawsay will always be a project, a horizon, and a dangerous hope.

HE WILL COME, I HAVE SEEN HIM

OUTLINE OF A PROJECT UNDER CONSTRUCTION

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"And that which will be revealed to the people will surprise them all, not because of its exotic nature, but for having been always hidden, while being obvious" (Caetano Veloso).

SUMAK KAWSAY as a project

In the mental picture of humanity, in the suffering faces of the poor and in the walls of systems there are crevices, sometimes even cracks, through which rays of light and instants of happiness appear. These are times when utopian hopes of a perfect world without hunger or contempt, are woven. From some of those crevices in the system, constitutional discussions in Bolivia and Ecuador have appeared as regards the planetary paradigm of quechua origin: the *sumak kaw-say*, which means a *good way of living*. At this historical time in which we are witnessing the depletion of civilization, discussions about the real possibility of a *good way of living* are held also in other countries.

The sumak kawsay, as a utopian horizon, is a critical and self-critical paradigm under construction that aims at multiple segments and all cultures. It points towards an exit from a situation of slavery and opens a road of renovation. Not everybody desires a new path, which will be demanding. Some people honor the situation of slavery and others adapt to it, coming to terms with an unwarranted life through alleviation measures. When progressive governments start poverty eradication programs funded by the surplus value of labor exploitation or the export of non-renewable natural resources, those programs perpetuate the deprivation they aim to eliminate.

The good way of living paradigm, with its utopian horizon, is not a recipe nor can it be a description of a government program in its details. *Sumak kawsay* is the vision of *another possible world*. In that world, humanity is part of nature but does not dilute in it. Through cultural conquests, humanity did not release itself from nature, but added essential elements to it, such as freedom and equality, dignity and autonomy, solidarity and hope, values and meaning.

But in the history of its cultural evolution it also added a destructive force to nature and to human

beings as well. This force surpasses natural destruction because, being barbaric, it is a culture in itself. Therefore, the cultural additions that humans have incorporated may be employed for progress or domination, for civilization or barbarism. With that essential knowledge, the planetary paradigm of *sumak kawsay* attempts to show hints of a new equilibrium, which we could call a reconciliation between humanity and nature, or an alliance between the victims of human barbarism.

Due to its restorative nature and utopian horizon, the *sumak kawsay* proposal was not boosted by the superpowers of the globalized world. It burst from the historical and cultural memory of small countries and exploited segments of population, mainly indigenous, from Bolivia and Ecuador. In human history, what appears as radically new, revolutionary and messianic is always born in the peripheries and frontiers of empires.

Discernment, transformation, limit

What are the axes of the utopian horizon incorporated into the constituent and foundational paradigm of *sumak kawsay*, which tries not simply to reproduce a millenary quechua tradition but to exhibit it to the modern world powers?

The good way of living must be seen as historical learning, as an alternative to human and economic development today and as a new consensual synthesis of traditional knowledge, republican history, democratic society and the dream of a life that allows the merging of finitude and dignity, materiality and spirituality. The utopian horizon of the *sumak kawsay* brings forth two tasks, a critical task – discernment of the past explained by the pathological and destructive potentials that block the future of humanity – and a modifying task, inspired in the productive and humanizing potentials of today. The first task, the critical one, is one of warning; the second, a modify-

ing one, will describe the beauty of a new dawn and a picture of which it will only show the first strokes. Where the *sumak kawsay* of 2012 surpasses the limits of "the first strokes", where it starts to portray the future with more details than simply principles and values, then it will deceive not only children and grandchildren, but all people, because it will have incorporated creativity and hope in a picture that is measurable, pragmatic and foreseeable. Implementing the *good way of living* for everyone is not a linear process planned in offices. "It will surprise them all, not because of its exotic nature, but for having been always hidden, while being obvious."

Brief criticism of the present model

The sumak kawsay drastically criticizes the development model based on growth, on speeding up production, on accumulating profit and on the use of natural resources. Indigenous communities are suffering today the mortal impact of extraction when their territories are crossed by boundaries imposed by mining industries or agribusinesses (soy and sugar cane).

The good way of living must not be mistaken for wellbeing on the hope of unlimited growth and consumption, but rather as an emergency brake and a search for a new post-extractive model. Extractive activities prevent States from being autonomous and nations from being free because they create dependence in the areas of energy, fishing, mining and agriculture. All extractive activities are incompatible with the paradigm of a good way of living. In the field of energy, whoever thinks about the future of humanity must replace the use of non-renewable sources, stigmatize the deterioration of the environment and think of a new post-petroleum economy.

The deterioration of the environment is due to the fight of man against nature. The indigenous populations, who since colonization have been considered "natives", have also been incorporated into the destruction of nature.

He will come, I have seen him

Nature is not an enemy but an ally. Natural law points not only at human dignity but also at the dignity of nature as an ally to the good way of living of humankind. *Sumak Kawsay* grants nature its rights.

Human beings are part of nature. Therefore, the *good way of living* exceeds the Cartesian dichotomies between res cogitans and res extensa, between nature

and humanity, and interweaves linear time with circular time, myth with history and production objectivity with the subjectivity of mother earth, which is matrix, womb and mother. Sumak kawsay or the good way of living is possible when people live in community with others and with nature. By considering nature as subject and not object and treating it as an ally and not as enemy, the sumak kawsay proposes its incorporation into history, not as productive force but as a reciprocal relationship between allies who are both social and natural beings.

In the good way of living the value of the use of the product is more important than its exchange value which is let down by the surplus value and is expropriated by capital. The revaluation of human beings and of nature is part of that divine wisdom that humanity has received through various ways.

Kingdom, resistance, defiance

The construction of *sumak kawsay* is done through the practice of a radical citizenship, concerned about the material and spiritual conditions of citizens. The multiculturalism of this project goes beyond the quechua culture and aims at the contribution of a wide alliance for life.

Christianity as a way of life has an important contribution to make - though not unique - to the good way of living. It interprets the present wisdom in the different roads of resistance and defiance of the Kingdom in the cracks of the oppressive system and the alienated society. That wisdom crosses history and makes it ever possible for life to be born and humanity to coexist. The wisdom of the Kingdom, as wisdom for a good coexistence, demands detachment which destabilizes the system due to a consented distancing from the privileges of class society. Detachment, as a practice of freeing oneself of the unnecessary so that everybody has the necessary, goes beyond what is private and individual. Detachment for the individual may be understood as conversion, asceticism, in its communitarian or sociopolitical form, as rupture and solidarity.

The utopian horizons of the Kingdom and the *sumak kawsay* can join their critical and creative energies to make that possible. The new way of living and coexistence will not be structured by prosperity understood as "more and better" but by happiness, dignity, meaning and hope.

2012: UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL YEAR... OF SUSTAINABLE ENERGY FOR ALL

The General Assembly,

Reiterating the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and of Agenda 21, and recalling the recommendations and conclusions contained in the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development concerning energy for sustainable development...

Recalling further the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on the Millennium Development Goals and its outcome document...

Concerned that over three billion people in developing countries rely on traditional biomass for cooking and heating, that one and a half billion people are without electricity and that, even when energy services are available, millions of poor people are unable to pay for them,

Recognizing that access to modern affordable energy services in developing countries is essential for the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, and sustainable development, which would help to reduce poverty and to improve the conditions and standard of living for the majority of the world's population,

Emphasizing the importance of investing in access to cleaner energy technology options and a climate-resilient future for all and the need to improve access to reliable, affordable, economically viable, socially acceptable and environmentally sound energy services and resources for sustainable development, and taking into consideration the diversity of situations, national policies and specific needs of countries, in particular developing countries,

Emphasizing also the need to take further action to mobilize the provision of adequate financial resources of sufficient quality and arriving in a timely manner.

Reaffirming support for the implementation of national policies and strategies to combine, as appropriate, the increased use of new and renewable energy sources and low-emission technologies, the more efficient use of energy, greater reliance on advanced energy technologies, including cleaner fossil fuel technologies, and the sustainable use of traditional energy resources, as well as the promotion of access to modern, reliable, affordable and sustainable energy services and the enhancement of national capacities to meet the growing energy demand, as appropriate, supported by international cooperation in this field and by the promotion of the development and dissemination of appropriate, affordable and sustainable energy technologies and the transfer of such technologies, on mutually agreed terms, to developing countries and countries with economies in transition,

- 1. Decides to declare 2012 the International Year of Sustainable Energy for All;
- 2. Notes the efforts of the United Nations system to work towards ensuring energy access for all and to protect the environment through the sustainable use of traditional energy resources, cleaner technologies and newer energy sources;
- 3. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with relevant agencies within the United Nations system and UN-Energy, and mindful of the provisions of the annex to Economic and Social Council resolution 1980/67, to organize and coordinate activities to be undertaken during the Year;
- 4. Encourages all Member States, the United Nations system and all other actors to take advantage of the Year to increase awareness of the importance of addressing energy issues, including modern energy services for all, access to affordable energy, energy efficiency and the sustainability of energy sources and use, for the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, sustainable development and the protection of the global climate, and to promote action at the local, national, regional and international levels.

and of cooperatives

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that cooperatives, in their various forms, promote the fullest possible participation in the economic and social development of all people, including women, youth, older persons, persons with disabilities and indigenous peoples, are becoming a major factor of economic and social development and contribute to the eradication of poverty...

Noting with appreciation the potential role of cooperative development in the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the indigenous peoples and rural communities...

- 1. Takes note of the report of the Secretary General;
- 2. Proclaims the year 2012 the International Year of Cooperatives:
- 3. Encourages all Member States, as well as the United Nations and all other relevant stakeholders, to take advantage of the International Year of Cooperatives as a way of promoting cooperatives and raising awareness of their contribution to social and economic development:
- 4. Draws the attention of Member States to the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General for further action to promote the growth of cooperatives as business and social enterprises that can contribute to sustainable development, eradication of poverty, and livelihoods in various economic sectors in urban and rural areas and provide support for the creation of cooperatives in new and emerging areas;
- 5. Encourages Governments to keep under review, as appropriate, the legal and administrative provisions governing the activities of cooperatives in order to enhance the growth and sustainability of cooperatives in a rapidly changing socio-economic environment by, inter alia, providing a level playing field for cooperatives vis-à-vis other business and social enterprises, including appropriate tax incentives and access to financial services and markets:
- 6. Urges Governments...to give due consideration to the role and contribution of cooperatives by, inter alia:
- kesolution 64/146 available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/64/136 (a) Utilizing and developing fully the potential and contribution of cooperatives for the attainment of social development goals, in particular the eradication of poverty, the generation of full and productive employment and the enhancement of social integration;
 - (b) Encouraging and facilitating the establishment and development of cooperatives, including taking

measures aimed at enabling people living in poverty or belonging to vulnerable groups, including women, youth, persons with disabilities, older persons and indigenous peoples, to fully participate, on a voluntary basis, in cooperatives and to address their social service needs;

- (c) Taking appropriate measures aimed at creating a supportive and enabling environment for the development of cooperatives by, inter alia, developing an effective partnership between Governments and the cooperative movement through joint consultative councils and/ or advisory bodies and by promoting and implementing better legislation, research, sharing of good practices, training, technical assistance and capacity-building of cooperatives, especially in the fields of management, auditing and marketing skills;
- (d) Raising public awareness of the contribution of cooperatives to employment generation and to socioeconomic development, promoting comprehensive research and statistical data-gathering on the activities, employment and overall socio-economic impact of cooperatives at the national and international levels and promoting sound national policy formulation by harmonizing statistical methodologies;
- 7. Invites Governments, in collaboration with the cooperative movement, to develop programmes aimed at enhancing capacity-building of cooperatives, including by strengthening the organizational, management and financial skills of their members, and to introduce and support programmes to improve the access of cooperatives to new technologies;
- 8. Invites Governments and international organizations, in collaboration with cooperatives and cooperative organizations, to promote, as appropriate, the growth of agricultural cooperatives through easy access to affordable finance, adoption of sustainable production techniques, investments in rural infrastructure and irrigation, strengthened marketing mechanisms and support for the participation of women in economic activities;
- 9. Also invites Governments and international organizations, in collaboration with cooperatives and cooperative organizations, to promote, as appropriate, the growth of financial cooperatives to meet the goal of inclusive finance by providing easy access to affordable financial services for all[.]

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Latin American Agenda 🍆

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YEAR 2012:

YEAR 6725 in the Julian calendar.

Year 5772 in the Jewish Era (5773 begins on Sept. 17, 2012).

Year 1433 of the Hijri calendar (began on Nov. 26, 2010;

the year 1434 begins Nov. 15, 2012).

There is a Gregorian-Hijri Dates Converter at www.islamicfinder.org/dateConversion.php

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Num 6,22-27 / Ps 66 Gal 4, 4-7 / Lk 2,16-21

1508: The colonization of Puerto Rico begins.

1804: Haiti becomes world's first Black republic. National holiday.

.1959: Victory of the Cuban revolution.

1977: Mauricio López, Rector of the University of Mendoza, Argentina, member of the World Council of Churches, disappeared.

1990: Maureen Courtney and Teresa Rosales, Religious women, assassinated by U.S.-backed Contras in Nicaragua.

1994: Indigenous campesinos stage Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico.

2003: Lula takes office as President in Brazil.

International Day of Peace

First quarter: 07h14m in Aries

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₹ Monday	₹ Tuesday	/¼ Wednesday
Basil the Great Jn 1,19-28 Gregory of Nazienzen J.K. Wilhelm Loehe 1904: US Marinesland in the Dominican Republic to "protect U.S. interests."	1Jn 2,29-3,6 / Ps 97 Genevieve Jn 1,29-34 1511: Agüeybaná, 'El Bravo', leads a rebellion of the Taino people against Spanish occupiers in Puerto Rico, the 'Cry of Coayuco'. 1981: Diego Quic, Popular Indigenous leader, cate	1Jn 3,7-10 / Ps 97
		<u></u>

_ Thursday	/S Friday	∽∕ Saturday
Kaj Munk 1534: Guarocuya, "Enriquillo," Christian leader in La Española	1Jn 5,5-13 / Ps 147 Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar Mk 1,7-11 1848: The Guarani are declared Paraguayan citizens by decree of Carlos A. López. 1915: Agrarian reform in Mexico, fruit of the revolution, first distribution of landholdings in Latin America. 1927: To combat Sandino, American troops occupy Nicaragua. They will leave only in 1933. 1982: Victoria de la Roca, a Guatemalan Religious who worked for the poor, is disappeared. 1986: Julio González, bishop of Puno, Peru, dies in a suspicious accident. 1992: Augusto Maria and Augusto Conte, human rights activists, are martyred in Argentina.	govern the province. 1981: Sebastião Mearim, rural leader in Para, Brazil, assassinated by «grileiros».

Epiphany	
Isa 60,1-6 / Ps 71	
Eph 3,2-6 / Mt 2,1-12	
Severino	
1454: Pope Nicholas authorizes the enslavement of any	
African nation by the king of Portugal as long as the	
people are baptized.	
1642: Galileo Galilei dies, condemned by the Inquisition. The	
Vatican will "rehabilitate" him 350 years later.	
1850: Juan, leader of the Queimado revolution is hanged in	
Espírito Santo, Brazil.	
1912: Founding of the African National Congress.	
1982: Domingo Cahuec Sic, an indigenous Achi delegate of	
the Word, is killed by the military in Rabinal, Guatemala.	

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Monday

Isa 42,1-4.6-7 / Ps 28 Acts 10,34-38 / Mk 1,7-11 Aldo

Janduim Indians in Brazil. 1858: First known strike in Brazil, by typographers, pioneers 1920: The League of Nations is created following the 200

of workers' struggles there. 1959: Rigoberta Menchú is born Chimel, Guatemala.

Full Moon: 08h30m in Cancer

Eulogio, Julián, Basilia

Tuesday

1Sam 1,-9-20 / Int. 1Sam 2 Mk 1,21-28 Higinio, Martín de León

1662: Authorities in Lisbon order the extermination of the 1911: Five month strike by the shoemakers of São Paulo, 1839: Eugenio Maria de Hostos is born, advocate for Puerto for an 8 hour day.

massacres of the First World War.

1978: Pedro Joaquin Chamorro is assassinated, journalist who fought for civil liberties against the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

1982: Dora Azmitía «Menchy», 23 years old, teacher, martyr to young Catholic students, Guatemala.

1985: Ernesto Fernández Espino, a Lutheran pastor, martyred.

Wednesday

1Sam 3,1-20 / Ps 39 Mk 1,29-39

15: Raul Castro Bocel, campesino anti-mining acti by Guatemalan authorities.	

17 Thar	ypa
L- / -/	1Sam 4,1-11 / Ps 4
Benedict, Tatiana	Mk 1,40-4
1694: 6500 men begin the si	ege of Palmares that will la
until February 6.	
1948: The United States Supre	me Court proclaims the equali

of blacks and whites in schools.

Friday 45 Hilary, George Fox

1Sam 8,4-22a / Ps 88 Mk 2,1-12 Fulgence

Saturday

1Sam 9,1-9 / Ps 20 Mk 2,13-27 ast 1825: Frei Caneca, republican revolutionary and hero of 1988: Miguel Angel Pavón, director of the Honduran Human Rights Commission, and Moisés Landaverde are

assassinated. 1997: 700,000 South Korean strikers march on behalf of social rights.

Ecuadorian Confederation, shot. ity 1879: Roca begins the desert campaign in Patagonia Argentina.

1970: Nigerian Civil War ends with the surrender of Biafra. 1893: U.S. Marines land in Hawaii to impose a constitution, stripping monarchical authority and disenfranchising the Indigenous poor.

2001: Earthquake in El Salvador, 7.9 on the Richter scale, 1200 dead, 4200 disappeared.

Second Sunday in Ordinary Time	
1Sam 3.3b-10.19 / Ps 39	
1Cor 6.13c-15a.17-20 / Jn 1.35-42	
Efisio	
1919: Rosa Luxemburg, revolutionary social philosopher, killed	
following an unsuccessful revolt in Berlin.	
1929: Martin Luther King Jr. born in Atlanta, Georgia, USA.	
1970: Leonel Rugama dies in the revolutionary struggle	
against the Somoza dictatorship. 40 years.	
1976: The government of Bahia (Brazil) suppresses the	
police records of the Candomblés.	
1981: Estela Pajuelo Grimani, campesina, 55 years old,	
11 children, martyr to solidarity, Peru.	
1982: The Constitution of Canada acknowledges the rights	
of First Nations.	
1990: Collapse of the Brazilian currency.	

Marce

Monday

Tuesday

the Salvadoran revolution.

1Sam 16,1-13 / Ps 88

Mk 2,23-28 Beatrice, Prisca

Wednesday 1Sam 17,32-51 / Ps 143 Mk 3,1-6

1899: Treaty of Berlin divided Samoan Archipelago between 1961: Patrice Lumumba, African independence hero, The confession of Peter

1535: Founding of the City of Kings, (Lima).

1981: Silvia Maribel Arriola, nurse, first Religious martyr in 1978: Germán Cortés, Christian activist, a martyr for the cause of justice in Chile.

In memory of lobal Mashib, a child slave who, with the 1988; Jaime Restreno López, priest, martyr for the cause, 1981; José Eduardo, union leader in Acre. Brazil, contracted

1Sam 15,16-23 / Ps 49 Mk 2,18-22 Anthony Abbot

murdered.

Germany and the USA, usurping traditional rulers. 1992: Chapultepec Peace Accords end 12 year civil war 1981: Ana M. Castillo, militant Salvadoran Christian murdered. 1867: Rubén Darío is born in Metapa, Nicaragua. in El Salvador.

World Day against Child Slavery

support of the Liberation Front of Pakistan Workers, closed several factories employing child slaves (solidaridad.net). Last Quarter: 10h08m in Libra	of the poor, Colombia. 1991: The Persian Gulf War begins. 1994: Earthquake in Los Angeles. 1996: Juan Luis Segundo, liberation theologian dies Uruguay. 2010: Earthquate in Haiti, 7.3 on the Richter scale. More than 250,000 dead, plus total destruction. 2010: A commission in the Netherlands concludes that the invasion of Irak in 2003 was illegal.	murder. 1982: Sergio Bertén, Belgian Religious, and companions are martyred because of their solidarity with Guatemalan peasants.
		<u></u>

1 Thursday	70 Friday	7 /1 Saturday
Henry of Upsala 1897: Battle of Tabuleirinho: the sertanejos stop the Army 3 kms. Outside Canudos, Brasil. 1817: An army under General José de San Martín crosses the Andes from Argentina to liberate Chile from Spanish rule. 1969: Jan Palach, a Czech student, dies after immolating	1Sam 24,3-21 / Ps 56 Fabian and Sebastian Mk 3,13-19 1973: Amilicar Cabral, anti-colonial leader in Guinea Bissau, killed by Portuguese police. 1979: Octavio Ortiz, a priest, together with four and catechists, are killed by government troops in El Salvador. 1982: Carlos Morales, Dominican, martyr among the Indigenous campesinos of Guatemala. 2009: Barack Hussein Obama, first Afro-American President of the United States, takes office.	1972: Gerardo Valencia Cano, bishop of Buenaventura (Colombia), prophet and martyr for liberation.
Thirrd Sunday in Ordinary Time Jon 3,1-5.10 / Ps 24 1Cor 7,29-31 / Mk 1,14-20		
 1565: «Tata» Vasco de Quiroga, bishop of Michoacán, precursor of the Indigenous reductions. 1932: Peasant plan to revolt against oppression in El Salvador 		
sparks massive reactionary violence. 1982: Massacre of campesinos from Pueblo Nuevo, Colombia. 2006: Evo Morales, Indigenous Aymara, becomes President of Bolivia.		

Monday

2Sam 5,-10 / Ps 88 Mk 3,22-30 Francis de Sales

Tuesday

2Sam 6,12b-15.17-19 / Ps 23

Mk 3,31-35 Conversion of St. Paul

 $oldsymbol{\exists}$ Wednesday

Acts 22,3-16 / Ps 116 Mk 16,15-18

1870: 173 Piegan people massacred by U.S. cavalry on 1835: Blacks organize an urban revolt in Salvador, Brazil. Week of Prayer for Christian Unity the banks of the Marias River in Montana.

1914: Revolt of the Juazeiro, Brazil. Victory of the sertanejos commanded by P. Cícero.

1958: Fall of the last Venezuelan dictator: General Marcos Pérez Jiménez.

1983: Segundo Francisco Guamán, a Quechua campesino, murdered

New Moon: 08h39m in Aquarius

Street office by neo-fascists in Madrid, Spain.

1977: Five union lawyers were murdered in their Atocha 1917: USA buys Danish West Indies for \$25 million.

1919: League of Nations founded at Treaty of Versailles talks

following World War I.

1524: The "Twelve Apostles of Mexico" leave Spain, Franciscans.

1554: Founding of São Paulo, Brazil.

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7/3 Thursday	ק'ל Friday	₹ Saturday
2Tim 1,1-8 / Ps 95 Timothy, Titus and Silas Lk 10,1-9 1500: Vicente Pinzón disembarks in North East Brazil - before Pedro Alvares Cabral. 1813: Juan Pablo Duarte, Dominican Republic's national hero, is born. 1914: José Gabriel, 'Cura Brochero', priest and prophet of Argentina's campesinos, dies. 2001: Earthquake in India: 50,000 victims.	 1554: Pablo de Torres, bishop of Panama, first exile from Latin America, for defending the Indigenous peoples. 1945: The Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland is iliberated. Holocaust Memorial Day. 	Thomas Aquinas Mk 4,35-41 1853: José Martí, 'Apostle of Cuban Independence', is born. 1909: US troops leave Cuba after 11 years for the first time since the end of the Spanish American War. 1979: Puebla Conference begins, Mexico.

Fourth Sunday in Ordinary Time	
7 Dt 18,15-20 / Ps 94	
1Cor 7,32-35 / Mk 1,21-28	
Valero 1863: Shoshone resistance broken by massacre of over	
200 people on the Bear River in Idaho by US cavalry.	
1895: José Martí, poet and national hero, launches the Cuban war of independence.	
1985: First national congress of MST.	
1999: The dollar reaches 2.15 reales, critical moment in the fall of the Brazilian currency.	
2001: Pinochet is tried as the author of the crimes of the "caravan of death."	
2010: Tony Blaire testifies before the commission investigating	
him for his participation in the invasion of Irak in 2003.	

Rio Grande, Texas.

LIVING BETTER OR LIVING A "GOOD LIFE

LEONARDO BOFF

Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil

According to the dominant ideology, everyone in the world wants to live better and to enjoy a better quality of life. In general terms this quality of life is associated with the Gross National Product, GNP, of each country. The GNP represents all the material goods produced by a country. Therefore, according to this criteria, the better positioned countries are the United States, followed by Japan, Germany, Sweden and others. The GNP is a measure invented by capitalism to stimulate more production of material goods for consumption.

In recent years, in view of the growth of poverty and urban slum districts in the world and even due to a sense of decency, the UN introduced the category HDI, "Human Development Index." The HDI includes intangible values such as health, education, social equality, care of nature, gender equity and others. It has enriched the meaning of "quality of life", that was previously understood in a very materialistic form: one enjoys a good quality of life who consumes more and better. According to the HDI, tiny Cuba is better off than the United States, even though her GNP is comparatively much lower.

First among all countries is Bhutan, lodged between China and India, at the foot of the Himalayas, materially very poor, but which officially established the "Index of Gross Interior Happiness." This is measured by qualitative, not quantitative criteria, such as whether the authorities govern well, with equitable distribution of the subsistence agricultural surplus, of the harvest of vegetation, and the sale of energy to India, with good health and education and, especially, a high level of cooperation among everyone, to quarantee social peace.

In the native traditions of Abya Yala, the name of our Indoamerican continent, instead of "living well" people speak of "a good life." This category entered

the Constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador as the social object to be pursued by the State and by all of society.

To "live better" implies an ethic of unlimited progress and brings us into competition with others to create more and better conditions to "live better." However, so that some may "live better", millions and millions have to and had to "live poorly." That is the capitalist contradiction.

On the contrary, a "good life" points to an ethic of that which is enough for the whole community, and not only for the individual. A "good life" implies an integrating holistic vision of the human being, immersed in the great earthly community, that includes, besides humans, the air, water, soil, mountains, trees and animals; it is to be in profound community with Pachamama, (Our Mother Earth), with the energies of the Universe: and with God.

regrating holistic vision of the human being, imersed in the great earthly community, that includes, sides humans, the air, water, soil, mountains, trees d animals; it is to be in profound community with chamama, (Our Mother Earth), with the energies of e Universe; and with God.

The main concern is not to accumulate. Moreover, other Earth provides all that we need. With our ork we supply that which due to excessive attacks e can not give us, or we help her produce what is ough and decent for all, including the animals and e plants. A "good life" is being in constant harmony th all, celebrating the sacred rites that continusly renew the connections with the cosmos, and th God.

A "good life" invites us not to consume more than that the ecosystem can support, to avoid the production of residuals that we can not absorb with security d spurs us to re-use and to recycle that which we we already used. It will be a frugal and recyclable insumption. Then, there will not be scarcity.

In this time of searching for new paths for humand, the idea of a "good life" has much to teach us. Mother Earth provides all that we need. With our work we supply that which due to excessive attacks she can not give us, or we help her produce what is enough and decent for all, including the animals and the plants. A "good life" is being in constant harmony with all, celebrating the sacred rites that continuously renew the connections with the cosmos, and with God.

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THE LEFT AS A GREAT CAUSE

RAFAEL DÍAZ SALAZAR

Madrid, Spain

The history of the left is that of a long march in the struggle against the barbarity caused by humans. This struggle has sought to reduce injustices and to achieve greater brotherhood between these beings called—not in vain—rational animals. We know now that in the development of civilization there is ample evidence of the one and of the other, and we can't say which abounds more: animality or rationality.

The struggle to abolish barbarity and achieve human brotherhood is very ancient. Some have identified the birth of the left with the history of three workers' Internationals which arose in 1864, 1889 and 1919, respectively. Others trace its emergence to earlier dates, such as the Revolution of 1789, the the struggle against the barbarity caused by humans.

to earlier dates, such as the Revolution of 1789, the first phase of the development of utopian socialism in England and France in the 1810 decade, or the publication of the Communist Manifesto (1848). There are some even that have declared that the historic roots of the modern socialist left must be searched for further back, no less than two hundred years before the publication of the Communist Manifesto, specifically in the period of the English Civil War (1642-1652), in which the radical movement, the Diggers, appeared defending egalitarian ideas.

Using the generic name of left to describe the set of movements that have fought and continue to struggle against the barbarism of exploitation and the domination which impedes brotherhood, equality, and freedom, we have to go even further back. Based on this premise, I would place the origin of the left in the slave rebellion led by Spartacus in the years 73-71 BC, a war that ended with his death at Apulia in the battle against the troops of M. Licinius Crassus, and the final victory of Pompey, who annihilated the slave army.

During these 2,073 years, the struggles for liberation by millions of human beings have fed the humanizing course of the river of history. I believe that we should insert our perspective into a very wide horizon that gets rid of, once and for all, the image of the fall of the Berlin Wall as the end of history and the beginning of a one-dimensional future marked by the

failure of the Bolshevik experiment. After all, it is just one more of many events that have occurred in the long history of seeking how to construct a world that harmonizes equality, fraternity, and liberty. This wide perspective is able to free the left from excess ideological baggage and to center it on its moral roots and humanizing objectives. From this focus, political cultures, ideologies, and programmes turn into mere means, into instruments that should surrender to the dynamic of trial and error in order to continue pursuing the social and moral ends that are those that truly achieve the most profound identity with what today we classify in colloquial language as "the left."

For these reasons, if one were to search for an adjective to exactly capture the basic identity that unites this past and its future, I think that the best might be Spartacist, much more than Marxist, socialist or post-Marxist. Spartacus serves as an archetype of a left that seeks the eradication of human suffering caused by mechanisms of exploitation and domination and that appeals to the moral uprising, to the political commitment of all those who—from different ideologies, ethics, or religions—want to end situations of inhumanity and inequality around a common program of action.

The struggle will continue with or without the name of left, Marxism, or socialism, as long as there are groups of humans that rebel against exploitation, domination, and the impoverishment of some beings by others. This idea should be made very clear at the moment in which it is necessary to know how to very clearly distinguish between the goals of the modalities and the methods for achieving them. Ours is a time to anchor ourselves on the essentials and be very open in the search for mediations of all kinds in order to reach the goals of the left which have to be redefined in each historical context.

The essential point is to know how to set the goals and means of a universal collective project in order to see that the remaining exploitation, injustice, oppression, inequality, and poverty decrease.

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Monday Wednesday **Tuesday** 2Sam 15,13-14.30;16,5-13a / SI 3 2Sam 18,9-10.14b.24-25a.30-19,3 / SI 85 2Sam 24,2.9-17 / SI 31 Mk 5,21-43 Cecilio, Viridiana Martina Mk 5,1-20 1629: Antônio Raposo, bandit, destroys the Guarani 1865: The 13th amendment to the US Constitution 1870: Jonathan Jasper Wright is elected to the Supreme missions of Guaira, P.R., Brazil, and enslaves 4,000 abolishes slavery. Court, the first Black man to reach a position this high 1980: The Spanish Embassy Massacre in Guatemala in the United States judiciary. Indigenous persons. 1948: Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated. City - 40 Quichés including Maria Ramirez and 1932: Agustin Farabundo Martí and companions are executed 1972: Fourteen civil rights marchers are killed on Bloody Vincente Menchú are killed. in massive wave of repressive violence in El Salvador. 1977: Daniel Esquivel, pastoral worker with Paraguayan Sunday in Northern Ireland by British paratroopers. First Quarter: 05h09m in Taurus immigrants to Argentina, martyred. Non-Violence and Peace Day

Mk 6,1-6

7	Thursday
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Presentation of the Lord

Mal 3,1-4 / Ps 23

«villeros» en Argentina. He was kidnapped and killed.

Heb 2,14-18 / Lk 2, 22-40 Blas and Oscar 1976: José Tedeschi, Worker priest, martyr to those in Ansgar of Hamburg

shantytowns in Argentina sacerdote obrero, mártir de los 1795: Antonio José de Sucre, South American independence

Friday

leader, born in Cumaná, Venezuela.

Sir 47,2-13 / Ps 17 Mk 6,14-29 Andrés Corsino

Saturday

1Kings 3,4-13 / Ps 118

Mk 6,30-34

1794: Liberation of the slaves in Haiti. The first abolitionist law in Latin America.

1927: The Prestes Column takes refuge in Bolivia.

1982: Syrian troops attack Hamas killing thousands of civilians. 1989: Alfredo Stroessner, dictator in Paraguay is removed in a fierce military coup. 1991: Expedito Ribiero de Souza, president of the Brazilian Union of Rural Workers, is assassinated.	born.	 1979: Benjamín Didincué, Colombian indigenous leader, martyred for his defense of the land. 1979: Six workers killed and dozens injured in police attack on the Cromotex factory in Lima, Peru. 1981: The Massacre of Chimaltenango (Guatemala). 68 campesinos are killed. 1992: An attempted State coup in Venezuela.

Fifth Sunday in Ordinary Time Job 7,1-4.6-7 / Ps 146 1Cor 9,16-19,22-23 / Mk 1,29-39 Âgueda 1977: The Somocist police destroy the contemplative community of Solentiname, a community of Solentiname, a community committed to the Nicaraguan revolution. 1988: Francisco Domingo Ramos, labor leader, is assassinated on orders of large landowners in Pancas, Brazil. 2004: Rebels take over of the city of Gonaives, Halti triggering events leading to fall of Aristide government.
1Cor 9,16-19.22-23 / Mk 1,29-39 Águeda 1977: The Somocist police destroy the contemplative community of Solentiname, a community committed to the Nicaraguan revolution. 1988: Francisco Domingo Ramos, labor leader, is assassinated on orders of large landowners in Pancas, Brazil. 2004: Rebels take over of the city of Gonaïves, Halti triggering
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2004: Rebels take over of the city of Gonaïves, Haiti triggering
events leading to fall of Aristide government.



Monday

1Kings 8,1-7.9-13 / Ps 131 Mk 6,53-56 Richard

Tuesday

1Kings 8,22-23.27-30 / Ps 83 Mk 7,1-13 Jerome Emiliani

Wednesday

1Kings 10,1-10 / Ps 36 Mk 7,14-23

1694: Zumbí and companions are besieged in Palmares. 1756: Armies of Spain and Portugal massacre 1500 Guarani 1712: Slave revolt in New York. Without gunpowder, they fled into the jungle. at Caiboaté, RS, Brazil.

1812: Major repression against the inhabitants of the

letters, dies. 1992: Dom Sergio Méndez Arceo, bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico and Patriarch of Solidarity.	1974: Independence of Granada. national notiday. 1986: Jean Claude Duvalier leaves Haiti alter 29 years of family dictatorship. 1990: Raynal Sáenz, priest, is assassinated in Izuchara, Peru. Full Moon: 22h54m in Leo	Ruliombos of Rosario, Brasil. Istance las Heras leads an army across the Andes to join San Martin and liberate Chile from Spain. Samuel Hammond, Delano Middleton, and Henry Smith die, and 27 others wound as police fire on civil rights protestors in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

•	Tharso

1Kings 11,4-13 / Ps 105 Mk 7,24-30 Scholastica

Miguel Febres Cordero Chinese New Year (Yüan Tan).

1977: Agustin Goiburu, Paraguayan doctor, disappeared

martyred in Guatemala.

1Kings 11,29-32;12,19 / Ps 80 Mk 7,31-37 Our Lady of Lourdes

1763: Treaty of Paris ends the Seven Year War with France 1990: Nelson Mandela freed after 27 years in prison. ceding Dominica, Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago 1998: The communities of Negras del Medio Atrato (Colomand Canada to England.

for the poor, dies in a suspicious car accident.

1Kings 12,26-32;13,33-34 / Ps 105 Mk 8.1-10

bia) gain collective title to 695,000 Hectares of land. 1985: Felipe Balam Tomás, missionary, servant to the poor, 1986: Alberto Koenigsknecht, Peruvian bishop and advocate 2006: First woman president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet inaugurated.

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Sixth Sunday in Ordinary Time Lev 13,1-2.44-46 / Ps 31 1Cor 10,31-11,1 / Mk 1,40-45

1541: Pedro de Valdivia founds Santiago in Chile.

1542: Orellana reaches the Amazon.

1545: The conquistadores reach the mines of Potosí, where 8 million indigenous people will die.

1809: Abraham Lincoln born in Kentucky, USA.

1817: San Martín defeats the monarchists in Chacabuco.

1818: Independence of Chile.

1894: The Nicaraguan army occupies Bluefields and annexted the Mosquitia territory (Nicaragua).

2005: Dorothy Stang, advocate for the poor and the environment, murdered by land barons at Anapú, Brazil.

Monday

Jas 1,1-11 / Ps 118 Mk 8,11-13 Valentine, Cyril and Methodius

Benigno Tibetan New Year

Tuesday

Jas 1,12-18 / Ps 93 Mk 8,14-21 Claude

-Wednesday

Jas 1,19-27 / Ps 14

Mk 8,22-26

1992: Rick Julio Medrano, a religious brother, is martyred in 1600; José de Acosta, missionary, historian and defender of

	1976: Francisco Soares, priest, martyred in the cause of justice for the poor in Argentina.	service to the persecuted Guatemalan church Friendship Day	indigenous culture, Peru. 1966: Camilo Torres, priest, martyr to the struggles for
•	justice for the poor in Argentina. 1982: James Miller, a LaSalle brother, is martyred for his commitment the indigenous church in Guatemala.	Last Quarter: 18h04m in Scorpio	liberation of the Colombian people. 1981: Juan Alonso Hernández, priest and martyr among the Guatemalan campesinos. 1991: Ariel Granada, Colombian missionary, assassinated
			by guerrillas in Massangulu, Mozambique. 1992: María Elena Moyano, a social activist, martyred for the cause of justice and peace in Villa El Salvador, Peru.
		2578	2003: «First World Demonstration»: 15 million people in 600 cities against the war of the United States against Iraq.
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1 Thursd	Ισγ	1177	Friday
	Jas 2,1-9 / Ps 33		Jas 2,14-24.26 / Ps 111
Juliana y Onésimo	Mk 8,27-33	Servite Founders	Mk 8,34-9,1
1981: Albino Amarilla, campesino catechist, killed by the army.			no is burned alive by the Inquisition for f thinking and expression.
1985: Alí Primera, Venezuelan poe	t and singer for justice to	1909: Geronimo or G	oyaalé a leader of the Apache resistance
the Latin American people.		to U.S. and M	exican Government incursions on tribal
1986: Mauricio Demierre, a Sw			
and several Nicaraguan of	campesino women are	1995: Darcy Ribero	, an activist writer, anthropologist and

Brazilian senator, dies.

1997: 1300 activists of MST march out of São Paulo for

assassinated by US backed Contras.

Simeon Saturday

Jas 3,1-10 / Ps 11

Mk 9,2-13

Simeon Mk 9,2-13 1519: Hernán Cortés leaves Cuba for the conquest of Mexico. 1546: Martin Luther dies in Germany.

1853: Félix Varela, Cuban independence fighter, dies. 1984: Edgar Fernando Garcia, Guatemalan social activist, disappeared.

Brasilia, for land reform.	

Seventh Sunday in Ordinary Time	
Isa 43,18-19.21-22.24b-25 / Ps 40 2Cor 1,18-22 / Mk 2,1-12	
Alvaro and Conrad	
1590: Bernadino de Sahugún, missionary and protector of indigenous cultures of Mexico, dies.	
1861: Serfdom abolished in Russia.	
1990: Students take over traditionally Afro-Mexican Ten- nessee State University demanding equal economic	
treatment.	

Monday Jas 3,13-18 / Ps 18 Eleuthere, Rasmus Jensen 1524: The Mayan Memorial of Solola records the "destruction 1934: Augusto C. Sandino, Nicaraguan patriot, executed 1910: U.S. Marines intervene in Nicaragua.

of the Quiches by the men of Castile."

freedom in Colombia.

Mk 9,14-29 Peter Damian

Tuesday

Jas 4,1-10 / Ps 54

Wednesday Ash Wednesday: Joel 2,12-18 / Ps 50

Mk 9,30-37 Chair of Peter 2Cor 5,20-6,2 / Mt 6,1-6.16-18

1943: White Rose members, a German resistance movement, are executed by Nazis.

1985: Campesinos are crucified in Xeatzan, during the 1979: St. Lucia gains independence. National holiday.

by A. Somoza. 1974: Domingo Lain, priest, martyred in the struggle for 1965: Malcolm X, Afro-American leader, is assassinated.

1978: Decree 1142 orders Colombia to take into account the language and culture of the indigenous peoples.	on-going passion of the Guatemalan people. New Moon: 23h35m in Pisces	1990: Campesino martyrs in Iquicha, Peru.
World Day for Social Justice (U.N.)		
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77 Thursday	√ Friday	√ Saturday
Dt 30,15-20 / Ps 1 Bartholomew and Policarp, Lk 9,22-25 Ziegenbalg 1903: Guantanamo Bay, in Cuba, leased by the United States "in perpetuity." 1936: Elias Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado of the Nationalist	Isa 58,1-9a / Ps 50 Mathew Apostle, Sergio. Mt 9,14-15 1821: The Plan of Iguala proclaims Mexican Independence, national Holiday. 1920: Nancy Astor, first woman elected to parliament, gives her first speech in London. 2008: Fidel Castro retires after forty-nine years as the President of Cuba.	Isa 58,9b-14 / Ps 85 Justo y Valero, Mk 5,27-32 Isabel Fedde National Day for the Dignity of the Victims of the Armed Conflict, Guatemala. 1778: Birthday of José de San Martín.
First Sunday of Lent Gen 9,8-15 / Ps 24 1Pet 3,18-22 / Mk 1,12-15		
Paula Montal, Alejandro 1550: Antonio de Valdivieso, bishop of Nicaragua, martyr in the defense of the indigenous people.		
1885:Berlin Conference divides Africa among European powers. 1965: Jimmie Lee Jackson, Black civil rights activist, murdered		
by police in Marion, Alabama. 1992: José Alberto Llaguno, bishop, inculturated apostle of the Tarahumara indigenous people of México, dies.		

esumen

THE SOCIALISM OF THE GOOD LIFE

BOAVENTURA DE SOUZA SANTOS

Coimbra, Portugal

A Civilizing Debate

An important way of analyzing the continent is through civilizing debate. We have a civilizing debate in our continent. It is not simply a transition from capitalism to socialism; it is something much broader, or at least different. This civilizing debate has been in the continent since the Conquest, when many ancestral indigenous cultures of the continent were destroyed. But due to a hard struggle, particularly in the past 30 years, the indigenous movement and the African movement have managed to rescue this cultural diversity and this has allowed an expanded debate that does not exist on any other continent.

It is a debate of different worldviews, of different conceptions of development, of the State...but they are trying to talk. It is a very difficult dialogue, but not the "clash of civilizations" of Samuel Huntington; it is something different. It is the possibility a new dialogue, difficult, but it has to be done, because the new constitutions, the transformative constitutionalism of the continent, are already demonstrating the possibilities of dialogue. It is what the Constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador demonstrate. How could we have thought that these forgotten indigenous peoples would be able to place in the Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia such a strong conceptual presence? So strong that it is the pride of Ecuadorians and Bolivians, the pride of progressives throughout the world? Where does the word *Pachamama* come from? Where does Sumak Kawsay—which we have made our own come from? We are learning from them and it is the wealth of this civilizing debate.

So I say that there is not one transition in Continent, but two: the transition from capitalism to socialism and the transition from colonialism to self-determination. In short, from racism to the possibility of harmonious coexistence between different nationalities within the same State. And here begin the problems of sovereignty.

The very simple but difficult to ground argument is that plurinationality reinforces nationalism. The

concept that we are all Ecuadorians, Bolivians, Brazilians, Portuguese, etc. came from the liberal concepts of citizenship and the civil, geopolitical nation. However, there is an ethnic-cultural concept that has been reclaimed not only in Ecuador, but also Ethiopia, New Zealand, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland...It shows the possibility of another type of nationality. A nationality that has ethno-cultural roots but does not clash, does not create an inevitable conflict with the previous concept of the nation. Thus, indigenous peoples and Afro-descendant peoples of this continent have fought for self-determination, but never for independence. For many years, what they have wanted is not independence, but recognition of their nations.

I am going to say something that could be polemical: I have never seen people as nationalistic as indigenous people, so in love with their country. They fought and died for their country in the wars of independence and after independence: they are Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Columbians, but they are also Aymaras, Quechuas, and Shuar. On the contrary, they strengthen the idea of a stronger nation, made of diversities.

Sovereignty and participation

This I think is the advance that Ecuador will bring to the world. There are two important points I would like to signal. The first is that the citizen's revolution of Ecuador is not a revolution of liberal citizenship. There are different forms of citizenship: both individual citizenship and the citizenship of native peoples and their ancestral organizations. These are nationalities, identities that come together into a national project, which is the project of their country, but with their membership rules, their ancestral forms, with their law, with their autonomies, that in no way endanger the nation, but, on the contrary, reinforce it.

Thus my idea of sovereignty is that it is being strengthened in the continent, and there is probably no country that is a better symbol of this revindication of sovereignty than Ecuador. There was the military base in Manta, the audit of debt, the free trade

agreement, and the closing of negotiations between the Andean Community and European Union. That is, there is a movement in this country for its sovereignty, for its nationalism. There is a new nationalism on the left which is plurinational. We must recognize this element of plurinationality and diversity of citizen participation. And I think that this participation is what gives richness to the process. Why? Because there are different forms of participation and this participation makes use of different methods within the same constitutional framework, which is not challenged.

We can actually combine these two transitions: from capitalism to socialism and colonialism to self-determination. The difference between talking about 21st Century Socialism and the Socialism of the Good Life is not trivial. The Socialism of the Good Life combines two transitions: from capitalism to socialism, and from colonialism to decolonization, the end of racism, the end of extermination.

And this leads to other conceptions of democracy. Bolivia's Constitution says there are three forms of democracy. It enriches the theory that came from the North—this is why we need theories from the South. It says there are three forms of democracy: representative democracy, participatory democracy, and community democracy. These are different democratic forms that seek to enrich forms of participation, because they join with and are not opposed to representative democracy. They enrich representative democracy. Why? Because representative democracy is liberal and does not defend itself against fascist forces, as we have seen thousands of times in this Continent and Europe. Therefore it is necessary to have strong, radical, and revolutionary forms of democracy. These are those that arise from all these struggles, which additionally oblige us to have different conceptions of time.

The transition from capitalism to socialism has a duration of 200 years, we could say in its most mature form. The transition from colonialism to decolonization was of longer duration, since the Conquest. Here, really, when we enter into considering these processes of long duration, peoples are seen in different ways. I was surprised that indigenous peoples are not spoken of; almost nothing of their role, of their protagonism in many of these processes. We have to ask, "Why?"

Because the presence of indigenous peoples cannot be measured by quantitative criteria of representative democracy, for the simple reason that the fewer they are, the more important they are. Because the fewer there are, the more terrible was the genocide. The more that were killed, the more important they are, essential today for historical justice. We are not talking about racial justice; we are talking about historical justice. Hence, the richness of the constitutional processes of Bolivia and Ecuador in this recuperation of justice. It is not only social justice. It is also historical justice and therefore it strengthens the transition to another way of life.

Pachamama's Rights

When we speak of the rights of Pachamama, are we talking about something indigenous? No. We are talking about a mixture. What I call an "ecology of knowledges." It is a blend of knowledge: ancient wisdom with modern, Eurocentric, progressive knowledge, Why? The language of law and the language of Pachamama. In the indigenous worldview, this concept of rights does not exist, there is a larger concept of duty rather than the concept of rights. The Rights of Pachamama is a wonderful blend, between thought Eurocentric and ancient thought, and this is wealth we must not dismiss. It is the wealth of the organized social capital of this diversity. This force, if it is wasted now that we have plurinationality in the Constitution, would be a loss of decades. This huge novelty is what we call "transformative constitutionalism." Modern constitutionalism erased differences in the name of equality. But this killed more indigenous people after independence than before. That was a tragedy.

So we have to see how to create a future that recognizes the ancestral. Western modernity never knew how to: the future is always ahead of us, never behind us. We are rescuing the past as a way of future, more respectful of the diversity of this continent.

And this is the wealth, in my opinion, of the Socialism of the Good Life, which is perhaps the most beautiful expression of 21st Century Socialism. This is because sometimes when I hear 21st Century Socialism being spoken of, it sounds too similar to 20th Century Socialism. When we speak of the "Socialism of Good Living," there is no confusion—something new is emerging.

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<i>5</i> √√ Monday	7)(;:\ Tuesday	Wednesday
Lev 19,1-2.11-18 / Ps 18 Gabriel de la Dolorosa Mk 25,31-46 1844: The Dominican Republic declares independence from Haiti. National holiday.	Román Isa 55,10-11 / Ps 33 Román Mt 6,7-15 1924: The US Marines occupy Tegucigalpa. 1985: Guillermo Céspedes Siabato, a lay person committed	Jon 3,1-10 / Ps 50 Lk 11,29-32 2004: Faced with the advance of a military uprising, Aristide leaves Haiti on.
1989: Free-market reforms spark protests in Caracas, Venezuela, the «Caracazo». Government repression leaves 400 dead.	to Christian to Socialism and to the Base Ecclesial Communities, worker, teacher, poet, assassinated by the army, Colombia. 1989: Teresita Ramirez, a sister of the Companions of Mary,	
Commission of Human Rights of Anioquia, Colombia, assassinated. 2005:40 out of 57 countries, members of the World Covenant against Tobacco are legally bound. 2010: Earthquake in Chile, 8.8 on the Richter scale,	is assassinated in Cristales, Colombia. 1989: Miguel Angel Benitez, priest, killed in Colombia.	
leaves 500 dead.		
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Thursday

Esth 14,1.3-5.12-14 / Ps 137 Mt 7,7-12 Simplicio

Rosendo, Albino George Herbert

John and Charles Wesley 1739: British sign a treaty with Jamaican runaway slaves 1836: Republic of Texas declares independence from Mexico. 1791: John Wesley dies in England.

1954: Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores 1897: Third attack against Canudos, Brazil. and Andrés Figueroa Cordero attacked the U. S. 1901: US Platt Amendment limited autonomy of Cuba as a 1982: Emiliano Pérez Obando, judge and delegate of the House of Representatives demanding Puerto Rican independence.

2002: U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan begins.

1959: Founding of the CLAR, Latin-American Confederation

at the time, Brazil.

Friday

condition for eventual removal of occupying troops.

Ezek 18,21-28 / Ps 129

Mt 5,20-26 Emeterio, Celedonio, Marino

1908: Birth of Juan Antonio Corretjer, Puerto Rican poet,

founder of the Socialist League. 1982: Hipolite Cervantes Arceo, Mexican priest martyred for his solidarity with Guatemalan exiles.

Saturday

Deut 26,16-19 / Ps 118

Mt 5,43-48

word, martyr of the Nicaraguan revolution.

1963: Goulart proclaims the Workers' Statute, a step forward 2000: The dictator Pinochet returns to Chile alter 503 days of detention in London.

2005: The WTO condemns the U.S. cotton subsidies that

of Religious. Last Quarter: 02h21m in Gemini	 harm free trade.

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Second Sunday of Lent Gen 22,1-2.9-13.15-18 / Ps 115 Rom 8,31b-34 / Mk 9,2-10

1962: The United Status begins to operate a nuclear reactor in Antarctica.

1970: Antonio Martinez Lagares is assassinated by police in Puerto Rico.

1990: Nahamán Carmona, a street child, is beaten to death by the police in Guatemala.

2004: The Argentinean navy acknowledges for the first time that it carried out torture during the dictatorship.



Monday

Dan 9,4b-10 / Ps 78

Tuesday

Isa 1,10.16-20 / Ps 49

Mk 23,1-12 Perpetua and Felicity; Thomas Aquinas

Wednesday Jer 18,18-20 / Ps 30

Mt 20,17-28 1524: Cakchiquel kings, Ahpop and Ahpop Qamahay were

burned to death by Pedro de Alvarado during the Spanish conquest of Guatemala.

1994: Diocesan priest Joaquin Carregal, prophet of justice dies in Quilmes, Argentina

Lk 6,36-38 Olegario, Rosa de Viterbo 1766: Spanish governor assumes control over former the 1817: The revolution at Pernambuco, Brazil.

French territory of Louisiana. 1836 Mexican forces defeat pro-slavery secessionist force 1940: Soviet authorities ordered execution of more than 25,000 Polish POW's and elites in Katyn forest.

1996: 3,000 families effect the Landless Movement's largest 1996: Pascuala Rosado Cornejo, founder of the selfoccupation, Curionópolis, Brazil.

at the Battle of the Alamo. 1854: Slavery is abolished in Ecuador.

directed community of Huaycán, Peru, assassinated 2009: Fujimori is sentenced to 25 years in prison. for standing up to terrorists.

2005: The Argentinean Supreme Court confirms the life sentence of Arancibia Clavel for his assassination of Chilean General Prats in 1974 as a crime against humanity.

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Thursday

Jer 17,5-10 / Ps 1 Lk 16,19-31 Dominic Savio

1782: Nearly 100 Munsee wrongly suspected of collaborating Francisca Romana with British in Revolutionary War executed by Pennsyl- 1841: U. S. Supreme Court rules on the Amistad case that vanian militiamen at Gnadenhutten, Ohio.

International Women's Day

Established in 1910 in memory of New York workers who died on March 8, 1857 while demanding better working conditions and the right to vote.

Full Moon: 10h39m in Virgo



Friday Gen 37,3-28 / Ps 104

Mt 21,33-43.45-46 Macario

Africans who had seized control of their slave ship had been taken into slavery illegally.

1965: Rev. James J. Reeb, Unitarian minister and civil rights activist, martyred in Selma, Alabama.

1989: 500 families occupy a hacienda and are forced out by military police leaving 400 wounded and 22 Saturday

Mic 7,14-15.18-20 / SI 102 / Ps 1 Lk 15,1-3.11-32

1928: Elias del Socorro Nieves, Agustinian, Jesus and Dolores Sierra assassinated for proclaiming their

1945: Firebombing of Tokyo results in deaths of more than 100,000 people, mostly civilians.

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Third Sunday of Lent	
Ex 20,1-17 / Ps 18	
1Cor 1,22-25 / Jn 2,13-25	
Constantino, Vicente, Ramiro	
1797: Defeated by the English, the Garifunas of Saint Vincent are deported to Honduras.	
1914: Opening of the Panama Canal.	
1966: Henry Marrow violently dies in a racially-motivated	
crime in Oxford, North Carolina.	
1990: The dictatorship of Pinochet takes a step toward	
"State-approved" democracy. Patricio Aylwin becomes president.	
2004: Terrorist attack in Madrid leaves 200 dead and	
1400 injured.	

Monday Wednesdav VDD29DT 2Kings 5,1-15a / Ps 41 Dan 3.25.34-43 / Ps 24 Deut 4,1.5-9 / Ps 147 Mt 18,21-35 Matilde Inocencio, Gregorio Lk 4,24-30 Rodrigo, Salomón, Eulogio Mt 5,17-19 1930: Gandhi leads Salt March in nonviolent defiance of 1957: José Antonio Echeverria, student and Catholic Action 1549: Black Franciscan, Antony of Cathegeró, dies. British colonial rule. activist, dies in the struggle to free Cuba from Batista 1795: Garifunas leader Joseph Satuyé killed by British 1977: Rutilio Grande, parish priest, and Manuel and Nelson, dictatorship. colonizers. peasants, martyred by the military in El Salvador. 1979: Coup d'etat brings the New Jewel Movement to power 1849: Moravian missionaries arrived in Bluefieds (Nicaragua) 1994: The Anglican Church ordains a first group of 32 women in Grenada. to evangelize the Mosquitia. priests in Bristol. 1983: Marianela García, lawyer to the poor, founder of 1997: Declaration of Curitiba: International Day of Action 2005: Argentina extradites Paul Schaefer to Chile, ex-Nazi the Human Rights Coalition, martyr to justice in Against Dams and in favor of water and life. collaborator with Pinochet in the "Colonia Dignidad," El Salvador. 2009: Evo Morales begins to distribute landholdings to Indigeaccused of disappearances, torture and sexual abuse 1998: María Leide Amorim, campesina leader of the landless, nous peoples under provisions of the new Constitution. assassinated in Manaus in revenge for having led an of minors. occupation by the Landless Peoples' Movement.

Thursday

Jer 7,23-28 / Ps 94 Lk 11,14-23 Raimundo de Fitero Louise de Marillac

1961: The Alliance for Progress is created.

1986: Pastor Antonio Chaj Solis, Manuel de Jesús Recinos and evangelical companions are martyred for their 1977: Antonio Olivo and Pantaleón Romero are martyred 1982: Jacobus Andreas Koster "Koos" and fellow journalists dedication to the poor.

1995: General Luis García Meza is sentenced to 30 years in prison for crimes committed following the 1980 military coup in Bolivia. This is the first case of the imprisonment of Latin American military involved in coups.

Last Quarter: 02h25m in Sagittarius

Friday

Hos 14,2-10 / Ps 80 Mk 12,28b-34 Patrick

1630 Benkos Biohó, heroic anti-slavery leader, dies in 1973: Alexandre Vanucchi, student and Christian activist, Colombia.

for their commitment to the land struggle in Argentina.

Saturday

Hos 6,1-6 / Ps 50 Lk 18,9-14

assassinated by Brazilian police.

committed to the truth, are assassinated in El Salvador.

1990: María Mejía, Quiche campesino mother involved in Catholic Action is assassinated in Sacapulas, Guatemala.

Fourth Sunday of Lent 2Chr 36,14-16.19-23 / Ps 136	 	
Eph 2,4-20 / Jn 3,14-21		
Cyril of Jerusalem 1907: U.S. Marines land in Honduras.	 	
1938: Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas decrees the nationalization of oil.		
1981: Presentación Ponce, Delegate of the Word, martyred along with companions in Nicaragua.		
1989: Neftali Liceta, priest, martyred along with Amparo Escobedo and companions among the poor in Peru.		
Escobedo and companions among the poor in Peru.		
		87

Wednesday Tuesday Monday 2Sam 7.4-5a.12-14a.16 / Ps 88 Ezek 47,1-9.12 / Ps 45 Isa 49,8-15 / Ps 144 Mt 1,16.18-21.24a Serapión Jn 5,1-3.5-16 Filemon and Nicholas Joseph 1849: The Quemado Revolution, Brazil. More than 200 1838: The government of Sergipe (Brazil) prohibits the Baha'i New Year "Africans" and those suffering contagious diseases World Forest Day Blacks proclaim the Liberation of slaves. 1806: Benito Juárez, born in Oaxaca, México. from attending school. 1915: Uprising of the Quechuas and the Aymaras in Peru; led by Rumi Maka. 1982: Rios Montt leads a State coup, Guatemala. 1937: Ponce massacre, Puerto Rico. 1980: First Afro-American Ministry Meeting, in Buena- 1995: Menche Ruiz, catechist, popular poet, missionary 1975: Carlos Dormiak, Salesian priest, assassinated for his commitment to Liberation, Argentina. to base Christian communities in El Salvador, dies. ventura, Colombia. 1982: Argentina's military landing on South Georgia Island 2003: U.S. lead invasion of Iraq begins without U.N. mandate. 1977: Rodolfo Aquilar, a 29 year old parish priest, martyred in Mexico. triggers Falklands War with Great Britain. 1987: Luz Marina Valencia, nun, martyr for justice among 1991: Felisa Urrutia, a Carmelite nun working with the poor, the campesinos of Mexico. assassinated in Cauga, Venezuela. Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Jn 5,7-30

Jn 7,40-53

77	Thurs	day
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Bienvenido, Lea

1873: Spanish National Assembly passes law abolishing 1606: Toribio de Mogrovejo, Archbishop of Lima, pastor 1918: Canadian women gain the vote. slavery in Puerto Rico.

struggles of the Bolivian people. 1988: Rafael Hernández, campesino, martyr in the struggle 2003: Rachel Corrie, human rights volunteer, killed by for land, Mexico.

World Water Day

New Moon: 15h37m in Aries

Friday

Wis 2,1a.12-22 / Ps 33 Jn 5,31-47 Toribio de Mogrovejo Jn 7,1-2.10.25-30 José Oriol

1980: Luis Espinal, priest and journalist, martyred in the 1976: Maria del Carmen Maggi, Argentine professor and martyr for liberating education.

Palestinian homes.

2005: Chile admits to the assassination by the dictatorship of Carmelo Soria in 1976.

Saturday

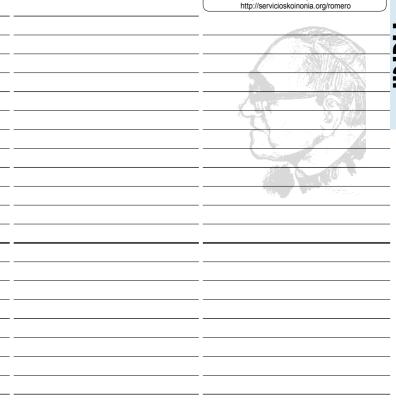
Jer 11.18-20 / Ps 7

to the Inca people, prophet in the colonial Church. 1976: Argentine 'Dirty War' which killed 4,000 and disappeared 30,000, begins with a military coup.

1980: Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, "Saint Romero of the Americas" is assassinated.

Israeli bulldozer while protesting the demolition of 2004: Kirchner converts the torture centre from the dictatorship into the Museum to the Memory of Terrorism of the Argentinean State: 4,000 assassinated and 30,000 disappeared.

Visit today the Romero page and his homilies:



25
Annunciation

Fifth Sunday of Lent Jer 31,31-34 / PPs 50 Heb 5,7-9 / Jn 12.20-33

1807: Enactment of Slave Trade Act abolishes slavery in Great Britain and Ireland.

1986: Donato Mendoza, Delegate of the Word, and companions murdered for their faithful work among Nicaragua's poor.

89

SUMA QAMAÑA: LIVING WELL AND NOT BETTER

DAVID CHOQUEHUANCA

Chancellor of the Plurinacional State of Bolivia, La Paz

Suma Qamaña (in Aymara "living well") is based on the experience of our peoples. Living Well means to live in community, brotherhood, and especially in complementarity, that is to say to share and not to compete, to live in harmony among people and as part of nature.

Suma Qamaña is at odds with luxury, opulence and waste, it is at odds with consumerism. It is not the same as to live better, living better than another, at the cost of the other. We are not seeking, we do not want that anybody live better. What we want is that all are able to live well. On the other hand, to live better is to be taught to compete, for example, to be the best student at school, in order to sell more, to earn more money, to seek more luxury at the expense of others. To steal, to compete against nature, to lie, is not Suma Qamaña. That possibly allows us to live better, but it is not Suma Qamaña, since in order to live better, compared with the neighbour, it is necessary to exploit. This produces a deep competition. This concentrates wealth in few hands.

Suma Qamaña is based on Ama Sua, Ama Llulla and Ama Qhella, don't steal, don't be lazy, don't be a liar, jan k'arimti, jan lunthatampi, jan jairampi. These are its principal codes also incorporated into the Political Constitution of the Plurinational State. It is fundamental that within the communities we respect these principles to achieve Suma Qamaña.

To know how to listen and to share, to know how to live and to dream

Suma Qamaña has four fundamental principles:

- 1) To know how to listen has an enormous importance, to listen to each other, to listen to Mother Earth, to all beings, the river, our birds, above all, to the humblest. And those that listen learn, change, and are prepared to serve their people.
- 2) To know how to share is to know how to distribute wealth in a balanced manner between all. That which is of the people is for the people—in Bolivia, nationalizing natural resources, so that they return to the hands of the people. To share is to cease to compete in order to complement, it is to know to give in order to receive, it is to recognize that all are

- brothers and we have a single mother, who is nature, that is Pachamama, that is this earth.

 3) To know how to live in harmony and complementarity as human beings, and especially with Mother Earth.

 4) And to know how to dream, about how to defend our identity, how to complement ourselves in a balanced way, so that the most abandoned have the possibility to share education, health, and natural and communal coexistence.

 To know how to feed oneself, to drink and how to dance

 Among other fundamental aspects. Suma Damaña

Among other fundamental aspects, Suma Qamaña is to know how to feed oneself, to know how to combine suitable meals beginning with the seasons of the year (foods according to their time). To feed oneself well—based of the practice of the ancestors, who were fed with a certain product during all of a season—quarantees health.

We must know how to drink. In our communities we have true celebrations that are tied to the times of the year. Each celebration has a meaning and alcohol is present in the celebration, but it is consumed without excess or hurting anyone. It is not going to bars and poisoning ourselves with beer and killing neurons.

To live well is to know the choreography of the dance, not simply to know how to dance. The dance is related to concrete facts like the harvest or planting. The communities continue honoring Pachamama with dance and music, mainly at agricultural times, although the original dances are considered as folkloric expressions in the cities.

To know how to communicate and how to work

Suma Oamaña is to know how to communicate. In the Plurinational State we seek to reclaim the communication that existed in ancestral communities. Dialogue is the result of this good communication. We have to communicate among ourselves as was previously done by our parents, as they solved problems without conflicts presenting themselves. More than solving (conflicts), we seek to restore (balance) to achieve a communal solution that allows the reconstruction of the harmony of the community as part of mother nature.

Unlike in capitalism, where one is paid to work, in the Plurinational State, we strive for the ancestral way of thinking that considers work as happiness and celebration. By being part of the growth of the individual, in our culture we work from childhood.

In Suma Qamaña, work is happiness, from child to grandfather. To work is to learn to grow, it is like breathing or walking. We do not recognize anybody living and enjoying another's work. Not to work and to exploit someone else possibly allows us to live better, but that is not Suma Qamaña.

ter, but that is not Suma Qamaña.

(is Beyond socialism, the most important is life

We have two ways offered to us, a way that goes on one hand for capitalism, where the most important thing is money, obtaining capital gains, profit, life does not matter, people are of no interest. On the other hand, socialism seeks satisfaction of always increasing needs, as much material things as spiritual, of the human being.

In Suma Qamaña the most important thing is not the human being and even less money; the most important thing is life. Going beyond socialism, everything is based on life. The human being is in second place, first are the ants, the butterflies, the water, the

place, first are the ants, the butterflies, the water, the

simply a very small part. It is not for us to seek a harmonic life between humanity and nature, since we are

Called tumpa in Aymara, the responsibility of com-

thing is based on life. The human being is in second place, first are the ants, the butterflies, the water, the rivers, the stones, the trees, the hills, the moon, the plants, the animal. We ourselves come later.

We are part of the nature, we are nature

As human beings we are a part and "no more" of the cosmos, of nature. We are not the center, but simply a very small part. It is not for us to seek a harmonic life between humanity and nature, since we are part of nature, we are nature. When we say "human being and nature" we separate ourselves from nature.

Called tumpa in Aymara, the responsibility of community is to take care of its members and their surroundings, so that each one takes care of the health and the well-being of all and everything so that nobody lacks. We are always concerned, watching, looking around in curiosity.

In Suma Qamaña, all and everyone are able to feel well, to totally enjoy a life based on codes that have persisted for more than 500 years. They are the identity our grandparents bequeathed us—balance, complementarity, and consensus, these all are linked to Suma Qamaña. On the flipside, we find dignity, justice, freedom, and democracy, which are all related justice, freedom, and democracy, which are all related to living better.

In another context, the construction of a Good Life to counteract the Global Crisis, means ending consumerism, excessive spending and luxury, consuming only what is needed, lowering the global economic bar to levels of production and consummation of energy that the health and resources of the planet allow.

In order to achieve this, the countries of the North above all need to change. They have to take responsibility for the damage, stop climate change and the excessive exploitation of natural resources. They must face up to the irrevocable exhaustion of material and energy. They have to pay the "ecological debt" rather than making the countries of the South pay the external debt—and not only them but all the countries of the world.

To families at the other end of society, who seek only luxury at the cost of millions and millions of other people who have no possibility of living well, who spend millions of dollars in trying to lose weight, in combating obesity, while millions die of hunger every year and the health of the planet deteriorates: you need to become aware of the need to give up luxury and excessive consumerism, to think not just about money and the accumulation of capital but rather to consider other people, humanity, the planet, Mother Earth.

Because of the seriousness of the phenomenon, all Western economies should immediately make a radical turnabout in direction. They should begin the structural transformations needed to substitute the current models of development based on mercantilism, on the irrational exploitation of humanity and natural resources, on the exhaustion of energy and on consumerism. In a relatively short time span, they should abandon industrialization and faith in development as well as healing their addiction to technological solutions on a grand scale. They need to initiate local, regional and global changes toward models that give priority to life, harmony and complementarity between human beings and Nature.

In building the Good Life, our economic and spiritual wealth is directly tied to respect for Mother Earth and the respectful use of wealth that She wants to provide us. The only alternative for the world is when humanity recognizes that we are part of Mother Nature, that we need to re-establish complementary **□** 91 relations with mutual respect and harmony.

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Monday

Braulio

Annunciation Isa 7,10-14;8,10 / Ps 39 Ruperto

1989: Maria Gómez, teacher and catechist, killed for her 1814: Forces under General Andrew Jackson defeat Creek

Tuesday

Wednesday Dan 3,14-20.91-92.95 / Int. Dan 3

Num 21,4-9 / Ps 101 Jn 8,21-30 Sixtus Heb 10,4-10 / Lk 1,26-38 1502: Columbus lands at Carani, Costa Rica.

Jn 8,31-42 1750: Francisco de Miranda, Spanish-American revolutionary

service to the Simiti people in Colombia. 1991: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay sign the Treaty

is born in Caracas, Venezuela. under Red Stick at Battle of Horseshoe Bend in final 1985: Héctor Gómez Calito, defender of human rights, cap-

of Asunción, thus creating the Mercosur. 1998: Onalicio Araujo Barrios and Valentin Serra, leaders of

tured, tortured and brutally assassinated in Guatemala. 1984: The Txukahamãe block a main highway demanding 1988: 14 indigenous Tikunas are assassinated and 23

in Parauapebas, Pará, Brazil.

their lands in Xingú, Brasil. the landless movement, executed by large landowners 2011: Jose Comblin, theologian of liberation, missionary, prophet, and prolific writer, committed to the poorest communities, dies. Brazil.

push to "clear" Alabama of its original peoples.

wounded by the forestry industrialist Oscar Castelo Branco and 20 gunmen. Meeting in Benjamin Constant, Brasil, they were waiting for the help of FUNAI in the face of threats.

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Gen 17,3-9 / Ps 104

Beatriz de Silva Juan Nielsen Hauge

1857: Sepoy Mutiny or War of Independence breaks out against British colonial rule in India.

1904: Birth of Consuelo Lee Corretjer, revolutionary, poet movement.

1967: Oil is brought to the surface for the first time in the Ecuadorian Amazon.

1985: Brothers Rafael and Eduardo Vergara Toledo, militant

Friday

Jn 10,31-42 Benjamín, Jn 8,51-59 Gladys, Juan Clímaco 1492: The Edict of Expulsion of the Jews issued by Ferdinand Amos, John Dunne

and Isabella of Spain. 1870: Afro-American men win the vote in the United States: 1866: Chile, Bolivia and Peru take arms against Spanish

Jer 20,10-13 / Ps 17

ratification of the 15th amendment. and teacher, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence 1985: José Manuel Parada, sociologist, Santiago Natino, 1987: Roseli Correa da Silva, campesina, run down by a art student and Mauel Guerrero, labour leader are assassinated in Santiago, Chile.

First Quarter: 21h41m in Cancer

Saturday

Ezek 37,21-28 / Int. Jer 31 Jn 11,45-57

1767: Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America.

aggression.

landowner's truck in Natalino, Brazil.

Christians, martyred in resistance to the dictatorship in Chile.	
iii Offile.	

_ Palm Sunday	
Isa 50,4-7 / Ps 21	
Phil 2,6-11 / Mk 14,1-15,47	
Hugh	
1680: Lisbon abolishes the slavery of Indigenous peoples in	 -
Brazil, influenced by Antonio Vieira.	
1923: The first feminist congress is celebrated in Latin	
America, in Cuba.	
1964: Military coup against João Goulart. Thus begins 21	
years of military dictatorship in Brazil.	
1980: The great strike of metalworkers in São Paulo and	
the interior begins.	
1982: Ernesto Pili Parra is martyred in the cause of peace	
and justice in Colombia.	
1999: Nunavut, a new Canadian territory is formed to protect	
Inuit culture.	

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Isa 49,1-6 / Ps 70 Jn 12,1-11 Ricardo, Sixto Jn 13,21-33.36-38 Gema Galgani Francis of Paola 1550: The Spanish Crown orders Spanish to be taught to 1948: U.S. President Truman signs the Marshall Plan for Isidore of Seville the post-war reconstruction of Europe. 1775: The Portuguese crown encourages marriages between the Indigenous peoples. 1982: The Argentinean army occupies the Malvinas (Falkland) 1976: Victor Boichenko, Protestant pastor, disappeared Indigenous people, Blacks and Whites. in Argentina. 1884: The Valparaiso Agreement. Bolivia cedes Antofagasta Islands in an attempt to regain control of the archipelago 1986: Brazil approved its Plan for Information Technology. to Chile thus turning itself into a land-locked country. from the British who occupied it in 1833. It will protect the national industry for several years. 1968: Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, 1993: 8 European countries undertake a joint strike against 1992: Institutional State coup by Fujimori, Peru. Tennessee. unemployment and the threat to social victories. 2005: Pope John Paul II dies. 1985: Maria Rosario Godoy, leader of the Mutual Support Group (GAM) in Guatemala, is tortured and murdered along with her 2 year old son. Day of Protest against Child Prostitution

96

Isa 50,4-9 / Ps 68

Mt 26,14-25

Thursday

Ex 12.1-8.11-14 / Ps 115 Vincent Ferrer 1Cor 11,23-26 / Jn 13,1-15 Marcelino 1818: Victory by San Martin at Maipu seals the independence Alberto Durero of Chile from Spain.

1989: Maria Cristina Gómez, a Baptist and women's rights activist, is martyred in El Salvador.

1992: Fujimori dissolves congress, suspends the constitution and imposes martial law.

Friday

Isa 52,13-53,12 / Ps 30 Heb 4,14-16;5,7-9 / Jn 18,1-19,42

1979: Hugo Echegaray, 39 year-old priest and liberation Juan Bta. de La Salle theologian dedicated to the poor in Peru, dies. 1994: Rwandan genocide begins.

Full Moon: 21h19m in Libra

Saturday

Gen 1.1-2.2 / Gen 22.1-18 / Ex 14.15-15.1 Isa 54,5-14 / Isa 55,1-11 / Ba 3,9-15.32-4,4 Ezek 36,16-28 / Rom 6,3-11 / Mt 28,1-10

1868: Thomas D'Arcy McGee, one of the Canadian Fathers of Confederation is assassinated.

World Health Day



EASTER Sunday Acts 10,34a.37-43 / Ps 117 Col 3,1-4 / Jn 20,1-9

Feast of «Vesakh», Birth of Buddha (566 B.C.E.). 1513: Juan Ponce de León claims Florida for Spain.

1827: Birth of Ramón Emeterio Betances, a revolutionary who developed the idea of the Cry of Lares, a Puerto Rican insurrection against Spanish rule.

1977: Carlos Bustos, an Argentinean priest, is assassinated for his support of the poor in Buenos Aires.

World Romani (Gypsy) Day

Established by the First World Romani Congress celebrated in London on this day in 1971



Monday

Acts 2,14.22-23 / Ps 15

Mt 28,8-15 Ezechiel

Tuesday Acts 2,36-41 / Ps 32

Revolution, dies in a military ambush.

Wednesday

Acts 3,1-10 / Ps 104

Jn 20,11-18 Estanislao Lk 24,13-35 1945: U.S. forces liberate the Buchenwald concentration camp from the Nazis.

> 1986: Antonio Hernández, journalist and popular activist, martyred in Bogotá, Colombia.

> 2002: State coup against President Hugo Chávez in Venezuela lasts four days until he is returned to office. Three presidents in 42 hours.

> 2002: The International Criminal Court begins functioning despite the opposition of the United States.

Casilda, Mª Cleofás

Miguel Agrícola Dietrich Bonhoeffer 1920: The US Marines land in Guatemala to protect U.S. 1919: Emiliano Zapata, peasant warrior hero of the Mexican

1948: Jorge Eliécer Gaitán is assassinated in Bogotá, Colombia, 1985: Daniel Hubert Guillard, parish priest, murdered by the sparking the bloody repression of the 'Bogotazo'.

1952: The Bolivian National Revolution begins a period of 1987: Martiniano Martínez, Terencio Vázquez and Abdón fundamental political and economic reform.

1945: Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Pastor in the Lutheran Confessing Church opposed to Hitler, is executed today.

army in Cali, Colombia Julián, of the Baptist Church, martyrs to freedom of conscience in Oaxaca, Mexico.

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that will travel 25,000 kilometers in Brazil.

1992: Aldemar Rodríguez, catechist and his companions are martyred in the cause of youth solidarity in Cali,

1993: José Barbero, priest, prophet and servant to the poorest

Colombia.

brothers of Bolivia.

Acts 3,11-26 / Ps 8

Friday

Acts 4,1-12 / Ps 117

Saturday

Zenón 1797: 25,000 Carib people expelled by the British from the 1873: White supremacists murder 105 black and 3 white 198 island of St. Vincent arrive in Trujillo, Honduras. They

became known as the Garifuna people. 1861: The American Civil War begins with Confederate forces 1925: Gathering in Foz de Iguaçú initiates the Prestes Column

Lk 24,35-48 Martín, Hermenegildo

men in Colfax. Louisiana. 1919: British and Gurkha troops massacre 379 unarmed

demonstrators in Amritsar, India. bombarding Fort Sumter, in Charleston, South Carolina. 1999: The trial of 155 police is transferred to Belem. They 1986: Sister Adelaide Molinari is martyred in the struggle of are accused of the murder of 19 landless people in Eldorado do Carajás, Brazil.

Las Quarter: 12h50m in Capricorn

Jn 21,1-14	Telmo Mk 16,9-15
and 3 white	1981: In Morazán, El Salvador, 150 children, 600 elderly
	people and 700 women die at the hands of the
9 unarmed	military in the largest massacre recorded in recent
	Salvadoran history.

Acts 4,13-21 / Ps 117

the marginalized, Marabá, Brazil.

2010: Reynaldo Bignone is condemned to 25 years in prison for crimes against humanity during the dictatorship in Argentina.

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Second Sunday of Easter		
Acts 4,32-35 / Ps 117		
1Jn 5,1-6 / Jn 20,19-31		
Benedict Joseph Labré		
1961: The Ray of Pigs invasión, Cuha		
1961: The Bay of Pigs invasión, Cuba. 1983: Indigenous campesino martyrs of Joyabaj, El Quiché,		
Guatemala.		
4000: Madalaina Lagados, a Franch purpo, in terturad and		
1989: Madeleine Lagadec, a French nurse, is tortured and killed along with Salvadorans María Cristina Hernández,		
nurse, Celia Díaz, teacher. Carlos Gómez and Gustavo		
nurse, Cella Diaz, teacher. Carlos Gomez and Gustavo		

Wednesday Monday Tuesday Acts 4,32-37 / Ps 92 Acts 4,23-31 / Ps 2 Acts 5,17-26 / Ps 33 Jn 3,5a.7b-15 Perfecto, Galdino Jn 3,1-8 Aniceto Jn 3,16-21 Engracia 1537: Francisco Marroquín, first bishop ordained in the 1919: Mohandas Gandhi calls for a non-violent protest 1695: † Juana Inés de la Cruz, Mexican poet. of "prayer and fasting" in response to the Amritsar 1803: Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian liberation hero, dies New World, founder of the first schools and hospitals. in a French prison. pastor in Guatemala. Massacre 1952: The revolution triumphs: campesinos and miners 1990: Tiberio Férnandez and his companions are martyred 1955: The Conference of Bandung, Indonesia, where the in Trujillo, Colombia for their defense of human rights. Non-Aligned Movement is founded. achieve land reform in Bolivia. 1977: The Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, 1996: The Massacre of Eldorado do Carajás, Pará, Brazil. 1955: Albert Einstein, Nobel laureate, dies. The State military police kill 23 persons. 1998: Eduardo Umaña Mendoza, Colombian lawyer who the Persecuted, the Disappeared and Exiles of Mexico 1998: César Humberto López, of Frater-Paz, is assassinated fought for human rights and denounced paramilitaries, (EUREKA) is established. 2002: Carlos Escobar, Paraguayan Judie, orders the capture in San Salvador. is assassinated. International Campesino Day and extradition of dictator Alfredo Stroessner, who had taken refuge in Brasilia. He is accused of the death in This is the «Labor Day» of campesinos. 1979 of a leader of the teachers union. 2007: 32 die in the Virginia Tech massacre, the worse rampage in modern American history.

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León, Ema

Olavus Petri

Acts 5,27-33 / Ps 33 Jn 3,31-36 Sulpicio

1925: U.S. Marines land at La Ceiba, Honduras.

1980: Juana Tum, mother of Rigoberta Menchú, and her and justice in Quiché, Guatemala.

2005: Adolfo Scilingo, condemned in Spain to 640 years of 1980: Indigenous leaders martyred in Veracruz, Mexico. prison for his participation in the "death flights" during the Argentinean dictatorship.

Pan-American Indian Day



Friday

Acts 5,34-42 / Ps 26

1586: Rose of Lima is born in Lima, Peru. 1871: The Brazilian Franciscans free the slaves in all The birth of Rama, Sikh Religion. their convents.

son Patrocino are martyred in the struggle for land 1898: Spanish American War begins. U.S. forces invade Cuba, Guam, the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

Jn 6,1-15 Anselmo

Saturday

Acts 6,1-7 / Ps 32 Jn 6,16-21

Mohamed is born. Day of Forgiveness for the World.

1792: Joaquín da Silva Xavier, «Tiradentes» (Teeth Puller), precursor of Brazilian Independence, decapitated.

1960: Brasilia is established as the capital of Brazil.

1965: Pedro Albizu Campos, Puerto Rican independence leader, dies.

1971: F. Duvalier dies, Haiti.

1989: Juan Sisay, popular artist, martyred for his faith at Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala.

	in Brasilia by several youth. New Moon: 09h18m in Taurus
46 14 1 СВ	



Third Sunday of Easter 2009: Acts 3,13-15.17-19 / Ps 4 1Jn 2,1-5 / Lk 24,35-48

Sotero, Cayo, Agapito

1500: Pedro Alvares Cabral lands in Brazil, beginning of the invasion of the South.

1519: Cortés lands in Veracruz with 600 soldiers, 16 horses and some pieces of artillery.

1914: U.S. Marines seize the customs house in Veracruz, Mexico.

1970: Earth Day first celebrated.

1982: Félix Tecu Jerónimo, Achí campesino, catechist and delegate of the Word, Guatemala.

1997: The army attacks the Japanese embassy in Lima killing 14 militants of the MRTA occupying it.

the status of his death as a martyr. Mother Earth Day (UN)		



Monday

Acts 6.8-15 / Ps 118

Tuesday

Acts 7,51-8,1a / Ps 30

- Wednesday 1Pet 5,5b-14 / Ps 88

George, Toyohico Kagawa

102

Jn 6,22-29 Fidel

1971: Indigenous peoples rise up against nuclear testing that 1915/17: Death and deportation of almost one and a half 1667: Pedro de Betancourt, apostle to the poor of Guamillion Armenians

Jn 6,30-35 Mark Mk 16,15-20 temala, dies,

contaminates the island of Anchitks. Alaska. 1993: César Chávez, Mexican-American labor activist, dies. World Book and Copyright Day

1985: Laurita Lopez, a catechist, is martyred for her faith 1975: The Indigenous Association of the Argentinean Republic

1965: 40,000 U.S. soldiers invade the Dominican Republic. 1974: Carnation Revolution restores democracy to Portugal. (AIRA) is established.

Since on this day in 1616 Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Miguel de Cervantes and William Shakespeare all died.

2010: Paul Shaefer, head of the "Colonia Dignidad" in the south of Chile during the dictatorship, dies in prison.

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Thursday

in Rwanda.

Acts 8,26-40 / Ps 65 Jn 6,44-51 Zita, Montserrat

Fourth Sunday of Easter

Friday

Jn 6,52-59 Peter Chanel

Saturday

Anacleto, Marcelino, Isidoro. 1995: Quim Vallmajó, Spanish missionary, assassinated 1977: Rodolfo Escamilla, a Mexican priest, is murdered by 1688: The Portuguese Royal Letter reestablishes slavery and

a death squad targeting social activists.

a just war against Indigenous peoples. 1965: Lyndon Johnson orders the invasion of the Dominican

Acts 9,31-42 / Ps 115

Jn 6,60-69

1998: Bishop Juan José Gerardi is assassinated after 1994: First democratic general election in South Africa. publication of the church report "Guatemala: Never Again' on massive human rights abuses.

Republic.

1985: Cleúsa Carolina Coelho, Religious, is assassinated for defending the Indigenous peoples of Labrea, Brazil. 1987: Ben Linder, a development worker, is murdered by

	U.Sfunded Contras in Nicaragua.

Z/E)	Acts 4,8-12 / Ps 117 1Jn 3,1-2 / Jn 10,11-18	
Catherine of Sienna		
1982: Enrique Alvear, Church, dies.	bishop and prophet of the Chilean	
1991: Moisés Cisneros due to violence	s Rodriquez, a Marist priest, martyred and impunity in Guatemala.	
responsible for to	opens a process to judge those orture in the Guantánamo prison during	
the Bush admini Last Quart	stration. er: 11h57m in Leo	

WOMEN AND SUMAK KAWSAY, THE GOOD LIFE

MARGOT BREMER

Asunción, Paraguay

The visible presence of women in the public sphere has been made possible through the organized struggle of many women who broke with a tradition of thousands of years of subordination. The most revolutionary element has been the change to a new vision of humanity, of having rescued humanity from the binary of woman/man in their interrelationships, thus freeing society not only from an androcentric view of the world, but also from inadequate gender roles. From now on, men and women should be considered as equals, mutually respecting and valuing their diversity. But, that is only the beginning of a process that needs to come about in order to begin a new epoch. At this historic moment, with drastic regressions and at the same time very important evolutions, a balance between genders has not been achieved. The struggle needs to continue because the recognition of equality between genders is a paradigm for the reestablishment of many other equilibriums among supposed antagonisms.

Some Principles for the Living of Sumak Kawsay

In order to be able to connect the struggle of women with that of Sumak Kawsay, the Good Life, we need to know some of the principles involved. The utopia of the Good Life is grounded in a cosmic understanding of reality recognized in the Andean lands of Abya Yala for thousands of years. It is a proposal for living together called Sumak Kawsay by those who speak Quechua. It includes all human society and all forms of life on earth. There should not be any inequality in rights between life in Nature and human life, or between men and women, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, social groups, or between territories, etc. There should be supportive conditions of life for everyone. What supports, strengthens and develops this life in its rich diversity is the quality of the interrelationships that point to a cosmic community. This sort of community is made up of diversity through the principles of Sumak Kawsay: reciprocity, solidarity, equality, mutual respect for diversity. It has everyone's support. Here, the difference between woman and man does not focus on a status of equality but rather looks to the dynamics of relationships that orient coming

into interdependence and complementarity. With respect to this principle, Fernando Huanacuni Mamani says, "We are all part of Mother Earth and of life, of reality. Everything depends on everything else; we all complement one another. Every stone, animal, flower, star, tree and also its fruit, every human being is part of a single body. We are united to all the other parts or expressions of reality." The practice of this interrelationship in reciprocity is born of a deep wisdom and spirituality whose teacher is Pachamama herself. She leads everything toward a balanced living together between forms of life that exist in her.

The Andean people say that Sumak Kawsay is a "dream of all human beings, not only of the Indigenous peoples." This offering encourages us to search for existing connections between this Indigenous proposal and the feminine vision regarding life and living together.

The Connections between the Good Life and Women's Struggle

From a woman's perspective, care and sustainability of life have always been priorities. The utopia of the Good Life says the same thing. This vision is inherent in the two "movements" that are coming forward strongly at this point in history. We know that a new vision can propel a change also in the political view of how to sustain life in a country and in the world. The Good Life seeks a human and environmental equilibrium in order to achieve a harmonious coexistence just as women fashion it in eco-feminism. To that end, both sides, Woman and the Good Life, struggle for a new proposal for decreasing consumption and the reduction of a style of life that was imposed by individualistic capitalism. The acquired experience in this struggle teaches us that the Good Life has already begun in the midst of the process of liberation. Elsa Tamez says, "Becoming part of the road to liberation is already to live well, a path of grace."

A Holistic Vision

The challenge of sustaining life on earth requires a holistic and balanced vision that is present both in women and Sumak Kawsay. Both the earth and women are generators and protectors of life. Both, by nature and by their history, can be characterized by their openness to diversity. Women struggle to be recognized as human beings, neither inferior nor superior and yet different from men, in order to be able to have better relationships. The Good Life defends human beings as part of Nature. Through a holistic view, both search for totality in a harmonious equilibrium between diversities. Imagine, from this double perspective, how the redistribution of the production of economic products would be as well as the elimination of privileges and inequalities on a social plane!

Diversity points to more communality

In women's struggle for equality, the goal is never is to invert the existing order. It does not seek to "flip the tortilla," in order to take on the role of the male in society. No. Both women and the model of the Good Life seek unity within diversity since the more we are organized in specific groups, the more our social and communitarian meaning increases. Diversity is as necessary for the life of the human species as biological diversity is for life itself. In fact, a level of crisis caused by diversities helps us to become aware of the real needs of being human.

From Inequality to Diversity

The existing inequalities are one of the main reasons for the struggle for more equality. A situation of inequality is the space where the awareness of experiencing oneself as stripped of one's sacred right to equality and freedom arises once again. Liberation from unjust inequalities seeks necessarily another model of co-existence in which no one is marginalized or excluded. Inequality will always threaten an unjust established order that makes harmonious relationships impossible. This situation has its roots in an unbalanced interrelationship between man and woman. In order to see the whole of reality, we have to leave behind a unilateral and single-faceted view of reality today and enter into another that is more multilateral and many-faceted. The contributions, whether of women or of the Good Life in our struggle for equality between genders and ethnicities, are meaningful for change in our society. For, by including the right to diversity in equality, a new opportunity arises for organizing the future around different perspectives that can accelerate the development of an alternative society that is more plural, more diverse, complementary, egalitarian and integral. The struggle of women

and of the Good Life for more equality is a pioneer in achieving an alternative society.

Final Reflection

Despite the great similarities between the struggles and aims of women and of the Good Life, some differences also exist. For example, from the perspective of the Good Life we cannot think that each person struggles to better his or her own individual life. What is first and foremost is that all human beings, together with all other living beings on this earth, live well.

Another difference from the point of view of the Good Life is that it is unthinkable that a woman view herself as an individual or in isolation. Nature is in her, constitutes her and gives her a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, this vision is not present among modern women. Yet, we know that differences complement one another mutually. I offer the case of consumerism that is always targeting women primarily and alienating them. Women have to be the first in learning to live well by entering into a process of decolonization. For centuries Andean peoples have worked hard to decolonize in order to provide a permanent new meaning to the project of their life.

We always have to take into account that, in the search to transform inequalities, it is not enough to work with only one point of view. Many perspectives are necessary to achieve a real change of civilization. The movements that fight for new perspectives need to express themselves if we are to go beyond the heritage of a monolithic patriarchy that has prevented awareness of other views of our reality.

Now is the time to stay away from a "single path." We live in a kairos in that openness to diversity, whether in the sense of the Good Life or that of women, fits well with the pluralism that has irrupted among us, breaking down "single lines of thinking."

To decolonize and to provide new meaning are permanent tasks in order to be able to express a unity in diversity on the basis of one's own uniqueness. The recognition of diversities, for which women and the model of the Good Life are struggling, achieves its full significance when these pursue common projects. Today we really need to have an alliance between women and the Good Life in order to give witness together to new paths that generate a humanity and a world with more equality and more unity in diversity.



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Monday

Acts 11.1-8 / Ps 41

Tuesday Acts 11,19-26 / Ps 86 Wednesday Acts 12,24-13,5 / Ps 66

Jn 10,1-10 Joseph the Worker 1803: USA agrees to pay France 60 million francs for its Philip and James

Jn 10,22-30 Athanasius Jn 12,44-50 Day of the Honduran Martyrs (First Sunday of May)

Louisiana Territory. 1948: Twenty-one countries sign the founding charter of the OAS in Bogota.

1980: Conrado de la Cruz, priest, and Herlindo Cifuentes, 1979: Ten year-old Luis Alfonso Velásquez is murdered by catechist, are kidnapped and killed in Guatemala. the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

1977: The Mothers of May Square is formed to witness to the violation of human rights in Argentina.

1981: Raynaldo Edmundo Lemus Preza from the Guadalupe 1997: Paulo Freire, Brazilian educator and liberationist Christian Base Community of Soyapango, El Salvador, Christian commitment.

author of "Pedagogy of the Oppressed," dies.

International Labor Day

and his friend, Edwin Lainez, are disappeared for their 1981: The Indigenous Nations Union is founded in Brazil. 1994: Sebastián Larrosa, campesino student, martyr to solidarity among the poor, Paraguay.

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Philip and James

Thursday

1Cor 15,1-8 / Ps 18 Jn 14,6-14 Ciriaco, Mónica

1500: Fray Henrique de Coimbra, first European missionary 14 to touch Brazilian soil.

1963: The police force in Birmingham, Alabama violently repress civil rights protestors.

1991: Felipe Huete, delegate of the Word, and four companions are martyred during the agrarian reform in El 1547: † Cristóbal de Pedraza, bishop of Honduras, «Father Astillero, Honduras. World Press Freedom (U.N.)

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Friday

Acts 13,26-33 / Ps 2 Jn 14,1-6 Máxim

Saturday

Acts 13,44-52 / Ps 97 Jn 14,7-14

493: Pope Alexander VI issues a papal bull "Inter cae-	- 18
tera" dividing the new world between Spanish and	18
Portuguese crowns.	

in America.

of the Indigenous peoples». 1970: Four students die when the Ohio National Guard 0 S

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	Acts 1
láximo	
862: Mexico defeats	the French in Puebla.

893: Birth of Farabundo Martí in Teotepeque, Department of La Libertad, El Salvador. 1521: † Pedro de Córdoba, author of the first catechism 1980: Isaura Esperanza, Legion of Mary catechist who

identified with the struggle of the Salvadoran people, is martyred. 2001: Barbara Ann Ford, a Sister of Charity, is assassinated

Four students die when the Ohio National Guard pens fire on an anti-Vietnam war protest at Kent	in Quiché, Guatemala.
tate University. Martinez de Hoz, ideological superminister of the ictatorship, is arrested at the age of 84, Buenos Aires.	

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Fifth Sunday of Easter Acts 9,26-31 / Ps 21 1Jn 3,18-24 / Jn 15,1-8

Helio

1977: Oscar Alarjarin, Methodist activist, is martyred in the cause of solidarity in Argentina.

1994: The Constitutional Court of Colombia legalizes "personal doses" of narcotics

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Monday

Augusto, Flavia, Domitila

Acts 14,5-18 / Ps 113

Tuesday

Wednesday

Acts 14,19-28 / Ps 144

Acts 15,1-6 / Ps 121

Jn 14,27-31a Pacomio, Gregorio Ostiense Jn 15,1-8 1502: Columbus sails from Cadiz, Spain on his fourth and final voyage to the Caribbean.

1982: Luis Vallejos, Archbishop of El Cuzco, Peru, committed to the 'preferential option for the poor' dies in

Jn 14,21-26 Víctor y Acacio 1937: Sentencing of Prestes to 16 years of prison, Brazil. 1753: Birth of Miguel Hidalgo, Father of Mexico. 1539: Guru Nanak, founder of Sikhism, dies.

1770: Carlos III orders "the various Indigenous languages to 1984: Idalia López, 18 year-old catechist and humble servant be extinguished and Spanish be imponed." of the people, is assassinated by civil defense forces 1987: Vincente Cañas, a Jesuit missionary, is murdered by

in El Salvador.	people seeking to take land from indigenous people he was accompanying in Mato Grosso, Brazil. 1994: Nelson Mandela takes office as President of South 1989: Dutch priest Nicolas van Kleef is assassinated by a soldier at Santa Maria, Panama. 4 mysterious 'accident' after receiving death threats. 1994: Nelson Mandela takes office as President of South Africa after the first multifracial elections in the histor of the country. He was S. Africa's longest serving living.
	International Red Cross Day political prisoner.
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	7 7 Filady	7/ Jululuy
Acts 15,7-21 / Ps 95 Jun de Ávila, Antonino Jun de Ávila, Antonino Jun de Ávila, Antonino Jun de Ávila, Antonino Afro-American, leads the Coro insurrection of Indigenous and Black peoples, Venezuela. 1985: Ime Garcia, priest, and Gustavo Chamorro, activist, are martyred for their commitment to justice and human development in Guanabanal, Colombia. 1986: Josimo Morais Tavares, priest and land reform advocate, murdered by a large landowner in Imperatriz, Brazil.		Acts 16,1-10 / Ps 99 Nereo, Aquilles, Pancracio Jn 15,18-21 Day dedicated to Anastasia, a slave who symbolizes all the Afro-Americans who have been raped and tortured to death by White hacienda owners, Brazil. 1957: The ILO adopts Convention 107 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples that protects them. 1885: Métis armed resistance to Canadian expansion ends at Batoche, Saskatchewan. 1980: Walter Voodeckers, a Belgian missionary committed to the cause of the campesinos, is martyred in Escuintla, Guatemala. Last Quarter: 23h47m in Aquarius
Sixth Sunday of Easter Acts 10,25-26.34-35.44-48 / Ps 97 1Jn 4,7-10 / Jn 15,9-17 Fatima 1888: Slavery is abolished in Brazil. 1977: Luis Aredez, medical doctor, is martyred for his solidarity with the poor of Argentina. 1998: The headquarters of the Justice and Peace Commission of the National Conference of Religious of Colombia is invaded by the army.		

Mathias

Monday

Acts 1,15-17.20-26 / Ps 112

Jn 15,9-17 Isidro, Juana de Lestonnac

1811: Independence of Paraguay. National Holiday.

1980: Massacre of the Sumpul River, El Salvador, where 1903: Victoriano Lorenzo, Panamanian guerrilla leader and more than 600 persons perished.

1980: Juan Caccya Chipana, worker, activist, victim of police 1986: Nicolás Chuy Cumes, evangelical journalist, is martyred

Tuesday

national hero, is shot at Chiriqui.

Acts 16,22-34 / Ps 137

Jn 16,5-11 John Nepomucene, Ubaldo

Wednesday Acts 17,15.22-18,1 / Ps 148 Jn 16,12-15

1818: King João II welcomes Swiss settlers fleeing hunger in their homeland to Brazil.

1981: Edgar Castillo, a journalist, is assassinated in Guatemala.

repression in Peru. 1981: Carlos Gálvez Galindo, priest, martyred in Guatemala. 1 1988: Campesino martyrs for the cause of peace, Cayara, Peru.	in the cause of freedom of expression in Guatemala. 987: Indigenous martyrs, victims of land evictions, Bagadó, Colombia.	
1991: Porfirio Suny Quispe, activist and educador, martyr to justice and solidarity in Peru.	International Day of Conscientious Objectors	
justice and solidarity in Peru.		
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Thursday

Acts 18,1-8 / Ps 97 Pascal Baylon Jn 16,16-20 Rafaela Mª Porras

1961: USA begins a commercial blockade against Cuba 1525: Founding of Trujillo (Honduras).

1980: Attack by Sendero Luminoso on a polling station in 1895: Augusto C. Sandino, Nicaraguan patriot, is born. the town of Chuschi, Peru, marks the beginning of two 1950: The National Black Women's Council meets in Rio 1997: Manoel Luis da Silva, landless farmer, is assassinated decades of violence and repression.

Friday

Acts 18,9-18 / Ps 46 Jn 16,20-23a Peter Celestine

in reaction to the agrarian reform instituted by the 1781: José Gabriel Condoranqui, Tupac Amaru II, leader of

de Janeiro.

Saturday

Acts 18,23-28 / Ps 46 Jn 16,23b-28 1895: José Martí, Cuban national hero, dies in the struggle

for independence. an indigenous rebellion in Peru and Bolivia, is executed. 1995: Jaime Nevares dies, bishop of Neuquén, prophetic

voice of the Argentinean Church.

at São Miguel de Taipu, Brazil.

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World Telecomunication Day Acall to eliminate the enormous imbalance in the production of messages and programs.		
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The Ascension of the Lord	
Acts 1,1-11 / Ps 46 - Eph 1,17-23 / Mk 16,15-20	
Bernardine of Sienna	
1506: Christopher Colombus dies in Valladolid (Spain).	
1976: Exiled Uruguayan politicians Hector Gutiérrez and	
Zelmar Michellini are murdered in Argentina as part	
of the U.S. supported Operation Condor.	
1981: Pedro Aguilar Santos, priest, martyr to the cause of	
the poor, Guatemala.	
1993: Destitution of the President of Venezuela, Carlos	
Andrés Pérez.	
1998: Francisco de Assis Araujo, chief of the Xukuru, is	
assassinated at Pesqueira, Pernambuco, Brazil.	
Full eclipse anular of the sun in China and the Paci-	
fic Region, visible as partial in North America.	

Monday

Felicia y Gisela, John Eliot

Acts 19,1-8 / Ps 67

Jn 16,29-33 Joaquina Vedruna, Rita de Casia

Republic, dies in Puerto Plata.

1981: Pedro Aguilar Santos, priest, martyr, Guatemala.

martyred in the cause of peace in Peru.

World Cultural Diversity Day (UN)

Tuesday

Acts 20,17-27 / Ps 67

Jn 17,1-11a Desiderio, Ludwig Nommensen community at Caldeirão, Brazil.

1942: Mexico declares war on Axis powers.

soldiers to support a State Coup in Santo Domingo.

International Day for Biodiversity

22% of mammal species are in danger of extinction as

Wednesday

Acts 20,28-38 / Ps 67

Jn 17,11b-19

1897: Gregorio Luperón, independence hero of the Dominican 1937: Government massacre of members of a messianic 1977: Elisabeth Käseman, German Lutheran activist, is martyred in the cause of the poor in Buenos Aires,

Argentina 1991: Irene McCormack, missionary, and companions, are 1965: Requested by the United States. Brazil sends 280 2008: The constitutive treaty of the Union of South American

Nations (UNASUR) brings together 12 countries of South America.

Week of Solidarity with the Peoples

New Moon: U1n4/m in Gemini	are 23 % of amphibions and 25% of reptiles. Between 1970 and 2005, globaly, biodiversity was reduced by 30%.	of Non-Self-Governing Territories
	1970 and 2003, globally, biodiversity was reduced by 30%.	
		
		
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4	$\overline{\Delta}$

₹ /¬ Thursday	
Acts 22,30;23,6-11 / Ps 15	
Vincent of Lerins Jn 17,20-26	١
1822: Battle of Pichincha, Independence of Ecuador.	(
1986: Ambrosio Mogorrón, a Spanish nurse, and his	1
campesino companions are martyred in the cause of	
solidarity in San José de Bocay, Nicaragua.	1

25 Friday

3,6-11 / Ps 15 Acts 25,13-21 / Ps 102
Jn 17,20-26 Vicenta López Vicuña
Ecuador. Gregory VII
urse, and his 1810: The May Revolution marks the beginning of self-

of government in Argentina. 1987: Bernard López Arroyave, a priest, is martyred by Iandowners and Colombian military. Saturday
Acts 28 16

Acts 28,16-20.30-31 / Ps 10
Jn 21,15-19 Philip Neri, Mariana Paredes Jn 21,20-25
1969: Enrique Pereira Neto, 28 year old priest, martyr for justice in Recife, Brazil.

1989: Maria Goméz, Colombian teacher and catechist, martyred for her commitment to her Simitri people.

 2005: Edickson Roberto Lemus, campesino organizer, assassinated El Progreso, Honduras. 2011: The marriage of environmentalists Jose Claudio Ribeiro da Silva and Maria Do Espirito snato, in Nova lpixuna, PA, Brazil, assassinated for their struggle against lumber companies. 	landowners and Colombian military.	

Pentecost - Acts 2,1-11 / Ps 103	
1Cor 12,3b-7.12-13 / Jn 20,19-23 -	
Augustine of Canterbury	
John Calvin	
1812: Women from Cochabamba join the fight for independen-	
ce against Spain at the Battle of La Coronilla in Bolivia.	
1975: Quechua becomes an official language of Peru.	
2008: 98 ex-agents of the DINA, are imprisoned for "Operation Colombo" in which 119 people were assassinated.	
2011: Adelino Ramos, peasant leader, victim for his struggle against a destructive landowner in Porto Velho,	
RO, Brazil.	
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THE GOOD LIFE FOR THE GUARANÍ: TEKO PORÃ

BARTOMEU MELIÀ

Asunción, Paraguay

Beyond nostalgia

Is not the relative fascination among modern societies with the idea of the good life a leap into the void? For it is expressed merely in complaints, discomfort, and discontent and it does not rest on traces of memory that are deliberately taken up. Neither does it lead to concrete proposals. The feeling of "living badly" experienced by the majority of the population appears as a fatality that we only come out of by appealing to a utopic good life, without any roots in everyday reality. There is no solution in turning to exotic forms of life that, because of their rarity, are unrealizable and unhistorical. Is it not an illusion to put Indigenous societies forward as a model for the good life? The steps that have led us to living badly are often analyzed by referring to a regressive history of our errors and deviations: wars, market economies, capitalism, dictatorships, consumerism, individualism, and impoverishment. However, are we aware that those paths cannot simply be undone, thus wiping out the unwelcome traces of our "sins?" Nostalgic complaining is not the path of the future.

The Guaraní philosophy of the Good Life

Where are we to go then? Well, to Indigenous American societies, though not by way of imitation, but rather through their philosophy and their way of life. A return to the Indians as a solution is not to be confused with circumstantial aspects of going nude or being painted, living in roundhouses, cultivating natural foods, or singing and dancing during corn festivals. We do not turn to the Aboriginal people as if we were vacationing or as entertainment.

The Good Life is a way of life that the Guaraní call tekó or "the way of being, a system, custom, practice," whose meaning was outlined in the first Guaraní dictionary, the Treasure of the Guaraní Language, written in 1639 by the Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya. It means what today we would call culture and continues to exist even today among all the Guaraní that I know. This tekó is a concept based on the peculiarity of a language and becomes an all-encompassing philosophical reference. Now then, this tekó, in turn, contains a number of attributes and qualities. The most important among them is tekó porã: the good way of being and living. Tekó porã, more than an idea or abstract concept, is a felt experience that penetrates one's being and living. To dwell in a and at the same time shows its aptness: tekó katú is the

place that is not only a location to exist in but an experience of shared life is very important for the Guaraní.

Personally I would never have known the meaning of the expression tekó porã if I had not had the opportunity to live the lifestyle. What is it like? There is a poverty of resources, moderation in consumption, and peace in being together. This is an experience of life that passes from the moment of stepping out of the hammock, taking one's maté next to the fire, feeling how the fog dissipates early in the morning, passing along the path where the traps have been set, or going out to the fields where the traps have been set, or going out to the fields where the crops are sown, in order to take care of them, clean them, and pray over them.

The Good Life I experienced more radically was when, in the 1970's, I lived for long periods among the Enawené Nawé of the Juruena River in Mato Grosso (Brazil). These are the people who are called the "Benedictines of the jungle," because of their long rituals of song and dance that can go on for 12 to 16 hours a day in cycles that run for one or two months. In this experience I accompanied Vicente Cañas, who was assassinated by the landowners on May 8, 1987. [See the martyrology for that day in this Agenda.]

Reciprocity of goods and words

The outstanding quality of the Good Life is reciprocity in the exchange of goods that the Guaraní express through the word jopói: hands open to one another. But, the generalized circulation of goods, unregulated by debts that have to be paid by the proper deadline or in fixed quantities, is expressed rather in the desire to show that one is generous. The most important aspect is jopói, that is to say, the reciprocity of words. There cannot be tekó porã where the word does not circulate freely and without resentment.

The privileged place for the word is tekó marangatú, the way of being holy and religious, expressed through the good and truthful words of the exemplary myths and stories. Essential to tekó marangatú is ritual in its double dimension of song and dance, an encircling language in which the whole community participates in an ascending spiral toward Those on High. In the ritual feasts, drink and food are not absent. Through them reciprocity is concluded in a concrete and tangible way.

Tekó porã also has another element that sustains it

way of being authentic and legitimate, the norm and law of the Good Life. All of this constitutes a real Guaraní philosophy—and theology—formulated systematically and that most people understand and can explain, not just the sages and the shamans or the elderly but also children and adolescents.

It is quite common for each one, in his or her own way, to be able to explain it from his or her own knowledge and experiences. Prophets and poets, in the act of singing what has inspired them, are also theologians who know how to explain the origin of the Word and the relationship of words among themselves. This is a phenomenon that ethnographers have noted with admiration.

The theology of the word-soul presupposes a philosophy about the earthly dwelling as an imperfect likeness of an ideal perfection, the fascination for a new earth and, above all, the pre-eminence of mutual love, whose symbol is the ritual feast with drink and song along the lines of a banguet that has no end.

The place where we are what we are

In the Guaraní cosmology, the earth inhabited by humans is conceived as tekohá, the place of life and being together with all the beings that are present there. Nandé rekohá is the place where we are what we are, the place of our way of being and our culture. The word tekohá contains a holistic vision, that is to say, it points to and at the same time brings about economic, social, political, ecological, and religious relationships so that "without tekohá there is no tekó" (without a place to be, there is no way of being). The Guaraní need the earth with all the life it holds within it in order to be able to live their culture and be Guaraní. Guaraní life is devoted to inter-relationships, to reciprocity. The myth of the Twins brings out the interrelationship between the earth and humanity as on the first order of creation. Nanderuvusú (Our Great Father) carried the sun in his breast. He brought out the first cross (yvyrá joasá), and placed it in an easterly direction, stepped on it and so began to make the earth. The cross remains even today the support of the earth. If He should withdraw the support for the earth, it would fall. (In this way the myth of the Twins begins.)

It is customary to attribute to the aboriginal people of America a conception of the earth as "Mother," with a lap of fertility and breasts of abundance. This image is not common or typical of the Guaraní. For them, the earth is rather a body covered with skin and hair, dressed up with embellishments. The Guaraní have a visual and plastic, even auditory, perception of the earth. How good it is to see and hear the earth with its many colours and innumerable voices. The mountain is high, ka'á yvaté; it

is great, $ka'\acute{a}$ $guas\acute{u}$; it is pretty, $ka'\acute{a}$ $por\~a$; it is golden and perfect, $ka'\acute{a}$ ju; it is like a resplendent flame, $ka'\acute{a}$ rendy; it is a shining thing. The rivers are limpid, y sat'i; white, y $morot\~i$; black, y hu; reddish brown, y $pyt\~a$; or like a stream of water crowned with feathers, paragua'y. Finally, the sea is the colour of all colours, $para\acute{a}$.

Evil on the earth

Certainly recent history has deprived the Guaraní peoples of their jungles, has brought deforestation to their mountains and poison from toxic fertilizers to their rivers and streams; the tekó porã has become tekó vaí, a bad way of living that is insupportable for those who do not have the word. Colonial history is, for the Guaraní, a progression of bad times that seem to have no end or limit. The worst of all the colonial evils was simply to deny land to the Guaraní. Where were they to go? The same devastation reigned in the East as in the West. They were enclosed everywhere. Whatever land had not yet been trafficked or explained, that had not been violated or built upon—which was one of the ideal projections of the earth-without-evil, yvy marane'y—simply no longer existed. The jungles and the hills disappeared. Everything became rural and the rural areas were claimed by the Whites for their cows and to plant soybeans. The entire earth had become bad; mba'é mequã—the bad thing—covered everything.

Migrants, who often passed from one place to another, the Guaraní have never been without land. Now, in search of the land-without-evil, their greatest fear is that one day there would only be evil without land; it would be a total uprooting.

People speak of Guaraní pessimism, proven by the enormous number of suicides in recent years, especially among youth, both male and female. Hanging themselves or drinking poison, they deny the word of the Good Life. But the memory of *tekó porã* is still very present and they speak of the Good Life as something that is possible and that is returning. The words that refer to that way of being have not lost their force. The search for *yvy marane'y*, for the land-without-evil, sustains the untiring agitation of their maracas and the beat of their rhythm sticks during the nights of song and dance.

The people of our Abya-Yala are there. Patiently and firmly they demand to live together in reciprocity of goods and words, a just system of exchange in all our life. It used to be possible and it is possible. And they consider it valid for all times. The Indigenous peoples of America are the memory of our future. If they did not exist, we would have to invent them. Like all of us, who are at the point of reinventing ourselves once again.

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Monday Tuesday Wednesday 1Pet 1,3-9 / Ps 110 1Pet 1,10-16 / Ps 97 1Pet 1,18-25 / Ps 147 Emilio y Justo Mk 10,17-27 Maximino, Jiri Tranovsky Mk 10,28-31 Fernando, Joan of Arc Mc 10,32-45 1830: U.S. President Andrew Jackson signs The Indian 1969: The «cordobazo»: a social explosion against the 1431: 19 year old Joan of Arc is burned at the stake by a Removal Act, thus paving the way for the forced relodictatorship of Onganía, en Cordoba, Argentina. pro-English tribunal. cation of Native Americans from southeastern states. 1978: Guatemalan soldiers open fire on Mayan Q'egchi 1961: Dominican dictator, Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, is assassinated. 1926: A State Coup brings right-wing Salazar to power in demonstrators seeking recovery of ancestral lands Portugal until his death in 1970. 1994: Maria Cervellona Correa, Franciscan sister and 1993: Javier Cirujano, a missionary, is martyred for peace 1980: Raimundo Ferreira Lima, "Gringo", a peasant labor defender of the Mby'a people of Paraguay, dies. and solidarity in Colombia. union organizer, is martyred in Brazil. 2001: The French justice system indicts Henry Kissinger, 2009: One of the soldiers who executed Victor Jara is detained implicated in the assassination of French citizens in Santiago, Chile, after 35 years. under Pinochet. 2004: Central America signs a Free Trade Agreement with the USA, to be ratified by the Congress of each country. First Quarter: 22h16m in Virgo

Thursday

Visitation of Mary

Gen 14,18-20 / Ps 109 1Cor 11,23-26 / Lk 9,11b-17 Justin

Friday

Saturday

faith and justice in Guatemala.

1Pet 4,7-13 / Ps 95 Mk 11,11-26 Pedro y Marcelino for the liberation of peasants of Tierralta, Colombia. 1987: Sebastien Morales, evangelical deacon, martyred for

Jude 17.20b-25 / Ps 62 Mk 11,27-33

1986: First meeting of Afro-American pastoral workers in 1989: Sergio Restrepo, Jesuit priest, is martyred in his fight 1537: Pope Paul III issues a papal bull condemning slavery. Duque de Caxias and São João de Meriti, Brazil 1990: Clotario Blest dies: first president of the Chilean Labor 1991: João de Aquino, union president of Nueva Iguazú,

Federation (CUT), Christian labor prophet. World Day without Tobacco

Brazil, is assassinated. 2009: General Motors announces the largest suspe of payments in the industrial history of the USA

122,550 million in debts.

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The Most Holy Trinity Deut 4,32-34.39-40 / Ps 32	
Rom 8,14-17 / Mt 28,16-20 Charles Luanga John XXIII	
1548: Juan de Zumárraga, bishop of Mexico, protector of the Indigenous peoples.	
1621: The Dutch West Indies Company gains a mercantile trade charter to aid in colonizing Americas.1758: The Commission on Limits meets with the Yanomami	
people of Venezuela. 1885: St. Charles Luanga and companions, Ugandan martyrs, patrons of African youth.	
1963: Pope John XXIII dies.	



Monday

2Pet 1,1-7 / Ps 90 Mk 12,1-12 Boniface

Francisco Caracciolo

massacres of Indigenous peoples in Chile. 1980: José Maria Gran, missionary, and Domingo 1981: The first case in history of SIDA is discovered Batz, sacristan, are martyred in El Quiché, Guatemala.

1989: Chinese government violently suppresses Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrators resulting in thousands of casualties.

International Day of Innocent Children Victims of Aggression



2Pet 3,12-15a.17-18 / Ps 89 Mk 12,13-17 Norbert

1559: Fernando Santillán, judge, reports on the 1968: Robert F. Kennedy shot in Los Angeles, California.

in Los Angeles, USA.

1988: Agustin Ramirez and Javier Sotelo, workers, are martyred in the fight for the marginalized in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

2000: The Court of Santiago removes Pinochet's immunity. He is accused of 109 crimes in the Chilean tribunals and sought internationally.

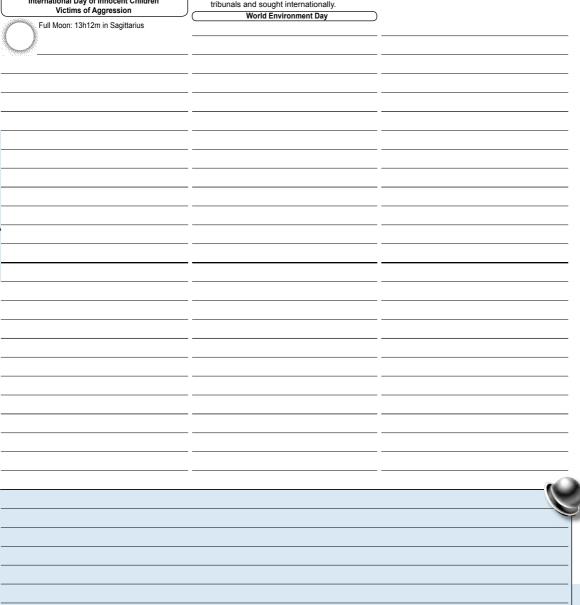
Wednesday

2Tim 1,1-3.6-12 / Ps 122

Mk 12,18-27 1559: El Oidor Fernando Santillán informa de las 1573: Execution of Tanamaco, Venezuelan cacique. 1940: Marcos Garvey, Black Jamaican leader, mentor of Pan-Africanism dies.

1980: José Ribeiro, leader of the Apuniña people, is assassinated in Brazil.

1989: Pedro Hernández and companions, indigenous leaders, martyrs in the struggle for traditional land rights in Mexico.



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7/ Thursday	€: ₹ Friday	(•) Saturday
1Tim 2,8-15 / Ps 24 Roberto, Seattle Mk 12,28-34	2Tim 3,10-17 / Ps 118 Salustiano, Medardo Mk 12,35-37 1706: A Royal Decree orders the capture of the first typographer of Brazil, in Recife. 1982: Luis Dalle, bishop of Ayaviri, Peru, threatened with death for his option for the poor, dies in a provoked "accident" that has never been	2Tim 4,1-8 / Ps 70 Efrén, Columbano, Aidan, Bede Mk 12,38-44
1998: White supremacists drag James Bryd Jr. to his death in Jasper, Texas. 2005: After 30 years of struggle, the lands of the campesinos in the Paraguayan Agrarian Leagues are returned to them.	Guatemalan military.	1981: Toribia Flores de Cutipa, campesino leader, victim of repression in Peru.
The Most Holy Body and Blood of Christ Ex 24,3-8 / Ps 115 Heb 0 41 15 / Mr 44 12 16 22 36		
Heb 9,11-15 / Mk 14,12-16.22-26 Crispulo y Mauricio 1521: The Indigenous people destroy the mission of		
Cumaná (Venezuela) built by Las Casas. 1835: A death penalty without appeal is ordered for any slave that kills or causes trouble for the		
owner, Brazil. 1898: U.S. forces land on Cuba during Spanish- American War.		
1993: Norman Pérez Bello, activist, is martyred for his faith and his option for the poor.		

Barnabas

Monday

Acts 11,21b-26;13,1-3 / Ps 97 Mt 10,7-13

1964: Nelson Mandela is sentenced to life in a South Gaspar, Juan de Sahagún African prison.

1980: Ismael Enrique Pineda, Caritas organizer, and companions are disappeared in El Salvador.

Last Quarter: 12h41m in Pisces



coast of Santa Marta.

in Jackson, Mississippi.

assassinated.

1514: The the first time the "requerimientos" are read

1963: Medgar Evers, civil rights activist, assassinated

1981: Joaquin Nevés Norté, lawyer for the Naviraí

Rural Workers Union in Paraná, Brazil, is

1Kings 17,7-16 / Ps 4

Mt 5,13-16 Anthony of Padua

Wednesday 1Kings 18,20-39 / SPs 15 Mt 5,17-19

1645: The Pernambucan Insurrection begins with the aim of expelling Dutch rule from Brazil.

(to Cacique Catarapa) by Juan Ayora, on the 1980: Walter Rodney, political activist and author of How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, is assassinated in Guyana.

2000: Argentine President Fernando de la Rua apologizes for his country's role in harboring Nazis after World War II.

2003: The Supreme Court of Mexico orders the extradition to Spain of Ricardo Cavallo, a torturer

1935. The war over the Paraguayan Chaco ends.	during the Argentinean dictatorship.
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1Kings 18,41-46 / Ps 64

Eliseo, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazienzen, Gregory of Nyssa

1905: Sailors mutiny aboard the Russian battleship Potemkin demanding political reforms.

1977: Mauricio Silva, Uruguayan priest working with

1980: Cosme Spessoto, Italian priest, pastor, martyr in El Salvador. 30 years.

1983: Vicente Hordanza, missionary priest at the service of the campesinos, Peru.

2005: The Supreme Court of Argentina declares unconstitutional the laws of "Due Obedience" and of "Full Stop."

Hos 11,1b.3-4.8c-9 / Int. Isa 12,2-6 Mt 5,20-26 Ma Micaela, Vito Eph 3,8-12.14-19 / Jn 19,31-37 Juan Francisco de Regis

> primacy of rule of law. 1932: Bolivia and Paraguay begin the war over the Chaco

region. street sweepers in Buenos Aires, is kidnapped. 1952: Víctor Sanabria, Archbishop of San José de Costa Rica, defender of social justice.

1987: Operation Albania: 12 people are assassinated in Santiago, Chile, by security forces.

2005: The Supreme Court of Mexico declares not-binding the crime of ex-President Echeverria for genocide due to the massacre of students in 1971.

Saturday

Isa 61,9-11 / Int. 1Sam 2,1.4-8 Lk 2,41-51 1215: Magna Carta sealed by King John of England, affirms 1976: Soweto Massacre claims the life of 172 students when South African police open fire on

> 1976: Aurora Vivar Vásquez, champion of women's labor rights, is murdered in Peru.

protestors.

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	2001 3,0-10 / IVIC 4,20-04
smael y Samuel	
703: Birth of John	n Wesley, England.
983: Felipe Pucha	a and Pedro Cuji, campesinos, are
martyred in t	the struggle for land in Culluctuz,
Ecuador.	
991: End of apart	heid in South Africa.
World	Anti-desertification Day

Eleventh Sunday in Ordinary Time Ez 17,22-24 / SI 91

Monday Tuesday Wednesday 1Kings 21,1-16 / Ps 5 1Kings 21,17-29 / Ps 50 2Kings 2,1.6-14 / Ps 30 Mt 5,38-42 Romuald Mt 5,43-48 Silverio Mt 6,1-6.16-18 Germár 1815: The defeat of the French at the Battle of Waterloo 1764: José Artigas, liberator of Uruguay and father of Day of the African Refugee. 1820: Manuel Belgrano dies, Father of Argentina. ends the Napoleonic era. agrarian reform, is born. 1954: U.S. sponsored invasion of Guatemala seeks to 1867: Maximiliano, Emperor imposed on México is 1973: Right-wing terrorists open fire on Peronist demonstrators killing 13, near the Ezeiza Airport in Buenos Aires. unseat the democratically elected government of executed by a firing squad. 1986: Massacre of El Fronton penitentiary prisoners 1979: Rafael Palacios, priest, is martyred for his work with Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. Salvadoran Christian base communities. 1997: Brazil approves a law permitting the privatization in Lima, Peru. 1995: Greenpeace wins the struggle to stop Shell and Esso of Communications. New Moon: 17h02m in Gemini from sinking the petroleum platform, Brent Spar, into the ocean, thus avoiding the sinking of 200 others as well. World Refugee Day (UN)

127

Thursday

Louis Gonzaga

Sir 48,1-15 / Ps 96 Mt 6,7-15 John Fisher, Thomas More

Onésimo Nesib 1964: Civil rights activists; James Chaney, Michael Schwerner 1965: Arthur MacKinnon, a Canadian Scarboro missionary, is and Andrewy Goodman are murdered by racists in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

1980: 27 union leaders from the National Workers' Central 1966: Manuel Larrain, bishop of Talca, Chile and president in Guatemala are disappeared. American military advisors participate.

1984: Sergio Ortiz, seminarian, is martyred during the persecution of the Church in Guatemala. Andean New Year

2Kings 11,1-4.9-18.20 / Ps 131 Mt 6,19-23 Zenón, Marcial

1534: Benalcázar enters and sacks Quito. assassinated by the military at Monte Plata, Dominican 1936: Birth of Carlos Fonseca, Nicaragua. Republic for his defense of the poor.

of the Latin American bishop's organization, dies.

Saturday

2Chr 24,17-25 / Ps 88

Mt 6,24-34 1524: The "Twelve Apostles of Spain," Franciscans, arrive on the coast of Mexico.

1967: Miners and their families die in the massacre of San Juan in Siglo XX, Bolivia.

1985: Terrorist bomb destroys Air India Flight 182 bound from Canada to India. It is the largest mass murder in Canadian history.

Dirth of John the Pontist	
7 // Isa 49,1-6 / Ps 138	
Birth of John the Baptist	
1541: Mixton War, Indigenous rebellion against the Spanish sweeps western Mexico.	
1821: Simon Bolivar leads troops in a decisive Battle of Carabobo for the independence of Venezuela.	
1823: The Federation of the United Provinces of Central America is established but lasts only a short time.	
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Wednesday 2Kings 19,9b-11.14-21.31-35a.6 / Ps 47 2Kings 17,5-8.13-15a.18 / Ps 59 2Kings 22,13;23,1-3 / Ps 118 Mt 7,1-5 Pelayo William, Maximus Mt 7,6.12-14 Cyril of Alexandria Mt 7,15-20 Confession of Ausburg, Philip Melancton 1552: Domingo de Santo Tomás and Tomás de San Martín, 1541: Violent death of Pizarro 1524: Talks between priests and Aztec wise men with the 1822: Encounter between San Martín and Bolívar Dominicans, first bishops of Bolivia, defenders of "Twelve Apostles of Mexico." in Guayaguil. Indigenous peoples. 1767: Mexican Indigenous riot against Spanish crown as their 1945: United Nations Charter signed in San Francisco, 1982: Juan Pablo Rodriquez Ran, indigenous priest, is Jesuits missionaries are ordered to leave. California. martyred in the struggle for justice in Guatemala. 1975: Martyrs of Olancho: Colombian Ivan Betancourt 1987: Creation of the Confederation of Indigenous 1986: The International Tribunal of the Hague declares and Miguel "Casimiro", priests, and seven Honduran the USA "guilty of violating International Law for its Peoples of Mexico. peasant companions. aggression against Nicaragua." Internat'l Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking 2007: Brazilian military police anti-drug action results in the International Day in Support of Torture Victims Complexo do Alemão massacre in Rio de Janeiro. First Quarter: 05h30m in Libra 128

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2Kings 24.8-17 / Ps 78 M. 72-12-9 Time use with the count of European immigrants: Peter and Paul Africans and Asians can only enter with the authorization of Congress. 1974: Isselb Peron becomes first female president of Day of the Cautemann Marrys (previously, Day of the Arny). Argentina after he husband, Juan Peron, falls ill. 1985: LS LS maines land in Panama. 1954: US. backed rebels overthrow the legally elected Gustemanna government of Jacobo Arbens. 2001: Valdimiro Montesinos enters the prison at the Naval Base of El Callao, Peru. 2015: Valdimiro Montesinos enters the prison at the Naval Base of El Callao, Peru. 2016: Manuel Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic prison of Josimo Tavares are condemned (Brazil, 1986). 2017: Valdimiro Montesinos enters the prison at the Naval Base of El Callao, Peru. 2018: LS manuel Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatoristic production of the Carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the carbon Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the carbon Cont	√ Thursday	70 Friday	₹(n) Saturday
	2Kings 24,8-17 / Ps 78 Ireneus Mt 7,21-29 1890: Brazil opens the door to European immigrants; Africans and Asians can only enter with the authorization of Congress. 1918: U.S. marines land in Panama. 1954: U.S. backed rebels overthrow the legally elected Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz. 2001: Vladimiro Montesinos enters the prison at the	Acts 12,1-11 / Ps 33 2Tim 4,6-8.17-18 / Mt 16,13-19 Peter and Paul 1974: Isabel Peron becomes first female president of Argentina after her husband, Juan Peron, falls ill. 1995: Land conflict in São Félix do Xingú, Brazil leaves six farmers and a policeman dead. 1997: The three "intellectual authors" of the assassination	Protomartyrs of Roma John Olaf Wallin Day of the Guatemalan Martyrs (previously, Day of the Army) 1520: "Sad Night," defeat of the conquistadores in Mexico. 1927: A.C. Sandino issues his 'Political Manifest' in Nicaragua. 1975: Dionisio Frias, a peasant, is martyred in the struggle for land in the Dominican Republic. 1978: Hermógenes López, founder of Rural Catholic Action, martyr to the campesinos, Guatemala. 2008: Manuel Contreras, ex- police chief of the during the dictatorship is condemned to two life sentences for the assassination in 1974 of the former chief commander of the Chilean Army, Carlos Prats and his wife, in Buenos Aires. Seven other agents of the DINA were

Wis 1,13-15;2,23-24 / Ps 29	
2Cor 8,7.9.13-15 / Mt 5,21-43	
Casto, Secundino, Aarón	
Catherine Winkworth, John Mason Neale	
Canadian National Holiday	
1974: Juan Domingo Perón, three times president of	
Argentina, dies.	
1981: Tulio Maruzzo, Italian priest and Luis Navarrete,	
catechist, are martyred in Guatemala.	
1990: Mariano Delauney, teacher, is martyred in the cause	
of liberation education in Haiti.	
2002: The International Criminal Court becomes operational	
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in spite of US opposition.	

WHICH IS THE GREAT CAUSE FOR WHICH TO LIVE AND FIGHT?

LEONARDO BOFF

Petrópolis RJ. Brazil

Humanity is face to face with an absolutely new problem: it has to fight for and engage seriously in its own survival.

1. Threats to Earth

Until recently we could exploit nature's resources and services at will. We could have all the children we wished. We could meddle in ecosystems under the will and power of businesspeople. We could start as many wars as we thought needed to defend ourselves or to attack any potential aggressor. Now we cannot continue on this path. We have created a war machine of death, with nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, that can kill without a trace all of humanity.

We cannot continue treating planet Earth as we have been doing, as a bottomless trunk of resources. We now acknowledge that resources are scarce and many are non-renewable. Our old, small and limited planet cannot sustain our unlimited development project. If we continue this consumer voracity, producing ever more goods by pillaging nature, we are on the road to a social and ecological tragedy. According to scientists, there is a possibility that an abrupt warming may occur due to the increase of methane gas, which is 32 times more aggressive than carbon dioxide. The climate may jump 3-5 degrees Celius. If this were to happen no form of life known today would have the necessary conditions to survive, even human beings. Maybe some groups of humans could survive in small oasis, secluded in some place in the north.

2. A new beginning: a chance of mind and Heart

The Earth Charter, one of the most serious documents born from the foundations of humanity and adopted by UNESCO in 2003, says as regards this situation: "Our common destiny calls us to a new start. This implies a change of mind and heart; requires a new sense of interdependency and responsibility." This reminds us of Jesus's words: "If you do not change, you will die." To change is to open a new beginning, with a different mind and a different heart. This is what the situation of the Farth and of Human-130

ity is requiring. Now it prevails. We either change or our civilization might disappear. This is a paramount topic. What is central to it is not the future of the West or of the Catholic Church but the future of the Earth and of Humanity; and in what way the West and the Church are collaborating to make this common future possible. This does not appear to be part of collective awareness, nor of nations or churches. Each one thinks not of a common destiny but of personal interests. Thus we are postponing decisions that at a certain time could arrive too late. Something like in Noah's time may happen: he predicted the urgency of change and nobody listened to him, they continued having fun, getting married... And the flood came which devastated the Earth. Only now it is different because there is no Noah's Ark that could save some and let others die: today, we all get saved or we all perish.

3. There is hope: it is a crisis, not a tragedy

Despite the serious menace, we Christians have the firm view that life is stronger than death, and light has a right over darkness. God has the Earth as its temple. The Spirit dwells in it with its creative energy, the Father who attracts everything will not allow his work of love to have a tragic end. There are two possible ways to read this dramatic situation: as a tragedy scenario or as a crisis. In a tragedy everything ends badly. In a crisis things go through a process of purification and maturation. What is incidental and just an aggregate, does not hold and falls.

What is essential remains, around which a new civilization project can be built. This seems to be the present situation. We are slowly building a new way of inhabiting Earth, of producing, consuming and dealing with waste. This will imply many resignations and suffering. No birth is free of pain. But this pain is of a new birth, not from dying. For this transition to be possible and a sustainable future to emerge, some previous and urgent options are necessary, which we will quickly consider now.

4. Restoration of sensitive and heartfelt reason

Up to now the functional-analytic reason was the

one to coordinate all social relations and guided all productive processes. For this kind of reasoning which came into being in modern times, as from the XVII century, the Earth is a simple object, with no intelligence and we have a utilitarian relation with it. It is not alive, and mother of all life communities. The command of the instrumental-analytic reason has obscured the sensitive and heartfelt reason through which we feel we belong to a larger whole, the cry of the Earth and the poor, and we start to overcome this situation. In this reason lie the values and caring attitude to all things alive. If we do not restore the heartfelt reason that complements the other, we cannot feel, love and care for the Earth as Mother and Pacha Mama.

5. Earth as mother and Gaia

From our origins, the Earth has been considered Great Mother, Pacha Mama for Andean peoples, Tonantzin for Mesoamericans. And this is the vision that still today lives in the originating peoples. Presently, it has been confirmed that the Earth is a living thing, a superorganism that articulates the physical, chemical and ecological, in such a way that it can always produce and reproduce life. It has been called Gaia, the name the Greeks gave the living Earth that generates life. This view was only a hypothesis initially, but since 2002 it has been scientifically proved. Because of this and due to the insistence of Evo Morales Ayma, the indigenous President of Bolivia, a project was sent to the United Nations so that 22 April, Day of the Earth, would be called Day of Mother Earth. After a lot of resistance and discussions, the assembly on 22 April 2010 proclaimed solemnly and unanimously that day as Day of Mother Earth.

This recognition has a lot of practical implications. Our relationship with the Earth changes. If it is just earth, we can sell it, buy it, exploit it. But if it is Mother Earth we cannot sell it, buy it or exploit it, we must love it, revere it and take care of it. This attitude must prevail if we want to put a limit to industrial voracity. We are going to produce to cater for human needs but respecting cycles and limits of Mother Earth.

6. Humanity is the Earth that feels, cares and loves

There is a legacy from astronauts who have had

the privilege of seeing the Earth from above, from the moon or their spaceships. They have testified that from above there is no difference between humanity and the Earth. Both are an inseparable and indivisible, unique and marvelous reality. This has come to prove the view of originating peoples who know they are the Earth that walks, that part of the Earth that feels, thinks, loves, takes care and venerates. We are the Earth, that is why the word "hombre" (man) comes from "humus" (fertile soil), and Adam in Hebrew means son and daughter of fertile soil, called adamah. If we really feel Earth, then everything that happens to Earth also happens to us, good or bad. What is more, we are responsible for Earth's health. Our mission is ethical: to tend and as gardeners protect the biodiversity and richness of the terrestrial paradise, of Eden.

If we do not accept that we are the Earth, we have few reasons to care for it. Earth is our only common house, we do not have another one.

7. The good way of living as a civilizational paradigm

Andean cultures have developed throughout the centuries a concept that envelops the type of relation they have with the Earth. It is the good way of living, (sumak kawsay). It cannot be identified with the western better living, as synonym of quality of life. In the present system, quality of life means more access to consumer goods. And so that some may live better, many have to live worse.

On the contrary, the good way of living implies congruence between mankind and nature and its energies, and a loving care towards Pacha Mama.

It implies equity in the relationships among all members of society and the construction of a communal democracy, maybe one of the most important contributions to the idea of western democracy, hardly representative. The good way of living does not pretend to accumulate but aims at an economy of what is sufficient and decent for all.

All this appears as utopia. But it is a necessary utopia, more adapted to the rhythms of nature, and probably the one that will triumph in the future, when humanity discovers itself as a species, sharing the fate of Mother Earth. Chateaubriand said: nothing is stronger than an idea when it arrives to the time of its realization. This time is near.

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7 Mondo	ıy 🗸	Tues	day	/A We	ednesday
Vidal, Marcial 1617: Rebellion of the Tupinambas	ortuguese crown in the 1951:	Denmark frees the slaves The Aflonso Arinos la	in their West Indian colony.	1974: Antonio Llido Me	Am 5,14-15.21-24 / Ps 49 Mt 8,28-34 of the USA, National Holiday. engua, a Spanish priest, was disappea- ilean dictatorship of General Pinochet.
1917: White rioters burned entire bl	ack sections of East St. chabitants as they try to 1978: Figure 1978; but the can be section.	ondemned as a contrave Pablo Marcano García ne Consulate of Chile in bsurdity of celebrating	ention. and Nydia Cuevas occupy	1976: Alfredo Kelly, Pe Barbeito and Jos 1998: Neo-Nazis muro	inical outside of the control of the
South Africa, alter 30 years.		omás Zavaleta, a Salvado n Nicaragua. Full Moon: 20h52m	oran Franciscan, is martyred in Capricorn		
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	/3 Friday	√ Saturday
Am 7,10-17 / Ps 18 Antonio Ma Zaccaria Mt 9,1-8 1573: Execution of Tamanaco, Indigenous leader, Venezuela. 1811: Independence of Venezuela, National Holiday. 1920: Bolivia orders land to be given to "naturals."	Am 8,4-6.9-12 / Ps 118 María Goretti Mt 9,9-13 1415: John Huss dies, in Czechoslovakia. 1907: Frida Kahlo, Mexican painter and political activist, is born. 1943: Nazaria Ignacia March Mesa dies in Buenos Aires,	Am 9,11-15 / Ps 84 Fermín Mt 9,14-17 1976: Arturo Bernal, campesino leader of the Agrarian Leagues, dies of torture, Paraguay. 1991: Carlos Bonilla, a martyr for the right to work, dies in Citalepetl, Mexico. 2005: Coordinated terrorist bombings on London's transit system kill 52 and injure hundreds.

Fourteenth Sunday in Ordinary Time Ezek 2,2-5 / Ps 122 2Cor 12,7b-10 / Mk 6,1-6	
Eugenio, Adriano, Priscila	
1538: Violent death of Almagro.	
1954: Carlos Castillo Armas takes over presidency of	
Guatemala after U.S. backed coup.	
1991: Martin Ayala, night guard for the Council of Marginal	
Communities, murdered by a Salvadoran death squad.	

Mt 10,1-7



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1 7 Thursday	有しなく Friday	1 // Saturday
Hos 11,1-4.8c-9 / Ps 79 John Gualbert Mt 10,7-15	Hos 14,2-10 / Ps 50	
1821: Bolívar creates the Republic of Great Colombia.	1900: Juana Fernández Solar, St. Teresa de Jesús de los	1616: Francisco Solano, Franciscan missionary, apostle to
1904: Pablo Neruda, Chilean Nobel Literature laureate, is born.	1982: Fernando Hoyos, a Jesuit missionary, and his 15	the Indigenous peoples of Peru. 1630: Hernandarias publishes the first norms for the defense
1917: General strike and insurrection in São Paulo. 1976: Aurelio Rueda, priest, is martyred for his work on behalf	year-old altar server are killed in a military ambush	
of slum dwellers in Colombia.	1991: Riccy Mabel Martinez raped and assassinated by	the Bastille Prison.
	Honduras against military impunity.	f 1969: The "Football War" breaks out between El Salvador and Honduras over the expulsion of Salvadoran settlers
	2007: The end of legal impunity in Argentina: the Supreme Court declares the amnesty of the repressors void.	
	Court deciales and anniony of the con-	
Fifteenth Sunday in Ordinary Time		
Am 7,12-15 / Ps 84	l e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	
Efph1,3-14 / Mk 6,7-13 Bonaventure, Vladimir		
1972: Héctor Jurado, a Methodist pastor, is tortured and murdered in Uruguay.		
1976: Rodolfo Lunkenbein, missionary, and Lorenzo Simão		
martyred for the rights of the indigenous in Brazil. 1981: Misael Ramírez, campesino, community animator and		
martyr to justice, Colombia. 1991: Julio Quevedo Quezada, catechist, El Quiché,		
assassinated by the State, Guatemala.	,	
International Day of the Family (U.N.)	,	

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Isa 1,10-17 / Ps 49 Isa 7,1-9 / Ps 47 Isa 10,5-7.13-16 / Ps 93 Mt 11,20-24 Arnulfo, Federico Carmen Mt 10,34-11,1 Alejo, Bartolomé de las Casas Mt 11,25-27 1750: José Gumilla, missionary, defender of the Indigenous 1566: Bartolomé de Las Casas dies at 82, prophet, defender 1872: The great Indigenous Zapoteca, Benito Juárez, dies. people. Venezuela. of the cause of Indigenous peoples. 1976: Carlos de Dios Murias and Gabriel Longueville, 1769: Founding of mission of San Diego de Alcalá marks 1898: U.S. troops seize Santiago, Cuba, during the Spanish priests, kidnapped and killed, martyrs to justice in La expansion of Spanish colonization into California. American War. Rioja, Argentina. 1976: Carmelo Soria, a Spanish diplomat who granted 1976: Sugar refinery workers martyred at Ledesma, 1982: Over 250 campesinos from around the community of asylum to opponents of the Pinochet regime, found Argentina. Plan de Sánchez are massacred by military as part of assassinated in Santiago, Chile. 1980: Bloody military coup in Bolivia led by Luis García Meza. the Guatemalan government's scorched earth policy. 1982: The homeless occupy 580 houses in Santo André, São 1992: Peruvian military death squad disappears professor Paulo, Brazil. Hugo Muñoz Sánchez and nine students from a 2000: Elsa M. Chaney (*1930) dies, outstanding American university in Lima. feminist with studies on women in Latin America.

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Isa 26,7-9.12.16-19 / Ps 101 Justa y Rufina, Arsenio Mt 11,28-30 1824: Iturbide, emperor of Mexico, is executed by a firing squad. 1848: Father Marcelino Domeco Jarauta is shot in Guanajuato for his refusal to cease his resistance	Isa 38,1-5.21-22.7-8 / Int. Isa 38 Mt 12,1-8 1500: A royal document orders the liberation of all Indigenous persons sold as slaves in the Peninsula. They are to be returned to The Indies.	Mic 2,1-5 / Ps 9 Lawrence of Brindisi Mt 12,14-21 1980: Wilson de Souza Pinheiro, trade unionist and peasant activist, assassinated in Brasiléia AC, Brazil. 1984: Sergio Alejandro Ortiz, seminarian, dies in Guatemala. 1987: Alejandro Labaca, Vicar of Aguarico, and Inés Arango, missionary, die in the Ecuadorian jungle.
Sixteenth Sunday in Ordinary Time Jer 23,1-6 / Sl 22 Eph 2,13-18 / Mk 6,30-34 Mary Magdalene 1980: Jorge Oscar Adur, priest and former president of JEC youth organization, is kidnapped by Argentine military. 2002: Bartolemeu Morais da Silva, organizer of land occupations by the poor, is tortured and killed in Brazil.		

Monday vobzsuT Mic 6,1-4.6-8 / Ps 84 Mic 7,14-15.18-20 / Ps 84 Acts 4,33;5,12.27-33;12,2 / Ps 66 Mt 12,38-42 Cristina, Sharbel Makhluf Mt 12,46-50 Saint James, Apostle 2Cor 4,7-15 / Mt 20,20-28 Bridget 1898: The United States invades Puerto Rico. 1978: Mario Mujía Córdoba, «Guigui», worker, teacher, 1783: Simóvn Bolivar is born in Caracas, Venezuela. pastoral agent, martyr to the cause of workers in 1985: Ezequiel Ramin, Colombian missionary, is martyred 1976: Wenceslao Pedermera, campesino pastoral leader, martyr in La Rioja, Argentina. at Cacoal, Brazil for defending squatters. Guatemala. 1980: José Othomaro Cáceres, seminarian and his 13 1983: Pedro Angel Santos, catechist, is martyred in solidarity companions, martyrs El Salvador. with the Salvadoran people. 1981: Spaniard Angel Martinez and Canadian Raoul Légère, 1987: Over a hundred peasant supporters of land reform are lay missionaries, are martyred in Guatemala. massacred by a paramilitary force of landowners and 1983: Luis Calderón and Luis Solarte, advocates for the junta in Jean-Rabel, Haiti. homeless, are martyred at Popayán, Colombia. 1993: 8 street children are assassinated by a death squad 1981: Angel Martínez Rodrigo y Raúl José Léger, catechists while they sleep in the square in front of the church of lay missionaries, Guatemala. the Candelaria in Río de Janeiro.

Joaquim and Ana

Mt 13,10-17 Celestine

Friday

Mt 13,18-23 Innocent, John Sebastian Bach,

Saturday

1980: Seventy peasants massacred by the military in San

1821: Independence of Peru, National Holiday

Juan Cotzal, Guatemala.

Jer 7.1-11 / Ps 83 Mt 13,24-30

1503: The Cacique Quibian (Panamá) destroys the city of 1865: First settlers from Wales arrive in the Chubut Valley Heinrich Schütz, George Frederic Händel Santa María, founded by Columbas.

in southern Argentina. 1847: Repatriated free black settlers from the USA declare 1991: Eliseo Castellano, priest, dies in Puerto Rico.

Liberia's independence. 1927: First aerial bombardment in the history of the Continent undertaken by the USA against Ocotal, Nicara where Sandino had established himself.

1952: Eva Peron, charismatic leader and wife of Juan P dies of cancer.

1953: Assault on the military camp of Moncada in Cubi

First Quarter: 10h56m in Scorpio

nent, igua,	 1981: Stanley Rother, an American priest, is murdered in Santiago deAtitlán because of his dedication to the poor. 1986: International workers, Yvan Leyvraz (Swiss), Bernd
eron,	Koberstein (German) and Joël Fieux (French) are assassinated by the Contras in Zompopera, Nicaragua.
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Seventeenth Sunday in Ordinary Time 2Kings 4,42-44 / Ps 144 Eph 4,1-6 / Jn 6,1-15	
Mary, Martha and Lazarus of Bethania, Olaf	

ELEMENTS OF SPIRITUALITY IN THE BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION

THE LIGHT OF DAY ILLUMINATES THE DAWN

MARCELO BARROS

Recife, PE, Brazil

Speaking of a "Bolivarian spirit" does not mean "sacralizing" a process that is and should remain secular and autonomous. It doesn't mean binding ourselves to religious interests or messianic visions. In this new social and political process that is emerging in several Latin American countries, the expression "Bolivarian spirituality" signifies a deep transformation of structures and demonstrates how this social path itself can help people themselves to find the best that is within themselves. The revolution is not iust socio-economic and political. It unites the social dimension with the interior of each human being and with a community love that passes through both the social and the political, but goes further still. This search, present in the old spiritual paths, is the force of interior unification. In his time, in his way, Simón Bolivar explained: "A person truly becomes a revolutionary when his thoughts, words, and mode of living coincide." The search for this unity, lived in a revolutionary process, opens up people to a new ethic of justice and of concern for life, equality in gender relations, ecological concern, and the dimensions of pleasure and art. With reason, some will see this phenomenon as a cultural expression. There are popular moments that are called mystic. The indigenous and Afro-descendent traditions see the presence of the Spirit in elements of nature, in people, and in all that unites communities into a fuller life. In an old language that needs renovations, many religious traditions speak of "spirituality" as a manifestation of the Spirit, the source of all love. Others simply attribute this process to the loving energy of humanity itself and of the Universe.

1. What is Bolivarianism?

Here, we call "Bolivarian process" the social and political path that, in several Latin American countries, comes from the communities and popular movements and integrates them in the peaceful and democratic struggle for integral liberation of the peoples

of the Continent. In Ecuador, a "citizen revolution" is spoken of. In Bolivia, indigenous protagonism is accentuated more. In other countries, like Paraguay, Uruguay, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, important social and political changes, in some form, are tied to the dream of the liberator Simón Bolívar, at the beginning of the 19th Century.

In Venezuela, throughout the history of the past two centuries, the figure of Bolívar and the goals for which he fought and gave his life have inspired many liberation movements. In the last several years, the lay and humanist mysticism of the political and social process have been called, with reason, the "Bolivarian revolution." There are some who see Bolivarianism solely from the perspective of power. It would be the conquest of governments that are either leftist or aligned with a new type of socialism for the 21st Century. The fact that, in these countries, people connected to the popular sectors have taken political power has been fundamental. But this is not the most important thing. The social and political conquests have found success because they have been supported by indigenous cultures and popular sectors struggling for their liberation.

2. The roots of Bolivarian spirituality

Before indicating elements for a Bolivarian spiritual path, it is fundamental to open ourselves up to what already exists. In the experience that has already been lived in these countries, there is a rich source of spirituality that can feed people and communities involved in this process.

This revolutionary path is fed by the confidence of the people following this way, of a profound hope that this process is leading toward an even greater newness (the new possible word) and principally of the loving energy to guaranty the victory of this dream.

The Bolivarian process surged and was developed in a context of cultures that are considered Christian.

Apart from the many leaders and strugglers who recognize themselves as Christian (Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa, and others), the majority of the communities involved in this process are Christian. Since the 1960s, Ecclesial Base Communities, popular evangelical groups, and currents of Liberation Theology have contributed more and more to this project which can be seen as an instrument of implementation. From a theological perspective this period can be seen as a time of the realization, although partial, of indigenous myths and ideals, like the Land without Evil, the Good Life, etc.

In Biblical language, this project points to and anticipates something of the divine project for the world. The path of spirituality is to accentuate this aspect of the process, helping that it be permanently revised and perfected, from this model.

In the 1980s, Liberation Theology insisted on the "mystic of the Reign." Bolivarian spirituality can concretize this concept, making it more macro-ecumenical (starting with indigenous and Afro-descendent traditions) and more secular (not as something supernatural or transcendent in the traditional sense of the world).

3. Steps to deepen this path

Nobody has ever had to teach a young man how to court his beloved, or how to express his love. Equally, the spiritual path does not have general recipes or strict rules. But, as Erick Fromm said, love is an art. Even more: community and revolutionary love is not instinctive and it demands more education. Because of this, some steps could be helpful:

3.1 A process of loving conversion and sensitization

The old spiritual paths insisted on the necessity of a period of initiation or novitiate. Paulo Freire spoke of a "process of consciencization." This does not mean an intellectual learning, but a training for one's own conversion and internal improvement. In the struggle for liberation in India, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Begin within yourself the change you propose for the world." Don't assume that you are already prepared, or that it will happen spontaneously, without any methods. Know how to be humble and demand of yourself the permanent willingness to start over yet again and advance on the path.

3.2 Insertion into the life of the poor

It isn't enough to provide advice to grassroots groups or to "assist" needy persons, and allow this to give you a certain sense of solidarity. Insertion supposes a certain capacity to really live with them, to "lose time" with the poor, and, in a way, to experience life with them. This does not mean canonizing poverty, but rather not losing the real link with the people through which this mystic can be fed. A part of this insertion is interest in the culture of the poor, their form of praying and celebrating in communities, whether in indigenous traditions, or in popular Christian expressions.

3.3 A path that one does not tread alone

This transformation of spirit (the Gospels talk about *metanoia*, a change of mind) only comes about through an education in dialogue. This presupposes a real opening to interpersonal friendship as a value and part of the spiritual path. Companions can be more than simple comrades in work and struggle. In this sharing in friendship as an experience of grace, it is good to deepen a relationship with a privileged companion with whom you can share most profoundly of your life and open yourself up to hearing most profoundly the opinion of the other. It is essential to always be open to the criticism of companions and exercise with yourself this same self-criticism. In Russia in the 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of *perestroika* (process of rectifying) and *glasnost* (transparency).

3.4 The integration of three mysticisms

In the world today the mystics of care of the body, of health, and of personal wellbeing exist. In so many works of self-help that capitalism helps to divulge, there exists the risk of a certain spiritual egocentrism. If we avoid this, we will find a useful and fruitful tradition. Bolivarian spirituality reintegrates the body and spiritual eroticism into a revolutionary path. Another dimension, which comes from black and indigenous traditions, is the cosmic, today so fundamental for ecological care.

Finally, the opening to the Mystery in our Continent is expressed in the plurality of many religious confessions and Bolivarianism can articulate a rich path of dialogue and collaboration. At base, it is the option for life that Jesus pronounced: "I have come that all might have life and have it in abundance." (Jn 10:10).

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independence struggle, is executed.

dictatorship in Cuba, is shot by police.

Jer 13,1-11 / Int. Deut 32

Tuesday

Jer 14,17-22 / Ps 78

Mt 13,36-43 Alfonsus Ligouri

Wednesday

Peter Chrysólogus 1502: Columbus reaches Honduras. Mt 13,31-35 Ignatius of Loyola

1811: Miguel Hidalgo, priest and hero of the Mexican

negotiated the return of sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama, dies in a suspicious plane crash. 1920: Gandhi begins his civil disobedience campaign in India.

Diego, to whom tradition says Mary, Mother of Jesus, appeared in Mexico.

Jer 15,10.16-21 / Ps 58

Mt 13,44-46

1981: Omar Torrijos, general and political leader who 1917: Frank Little, a mine worker organizer, is tortured and murdered in Butte, Montana.

1958: Frank Pais, student leader and opponent of the Batista 2002: Pope John Paul II canonized Nahuatl peasant Juan 1975: Arlen Siu, 18 year old student, Christian activist, martyr in the Nicaraguan revolution.

1979: Massacre at Chota, Peru.

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in Polar 1981: Carlos for justi	Jer 18,1-6 / Ps 145 mt 13,47-53 ers at Nazi extermination camp of Treblinka nd revolt. Pérez Alonso, apostle of the sick and fighter ce, disappeared in Guatemala. ull Moon: 05h27m in Aquarius	1492: Columbus s first visit to 1960: Niger gains 1980: Massacre o State coup: 1999: Ti Jan, a pi	sets sail from Palos de la F the Western Indies. its independence from Fra f miners in Caracoles, Boliv	ance. via, following a	1849: Anita Gai in Brazil, 1 1976: Enrique prophet a 1979: Alirio Nap gunned v 2006: Julio Sim case follo	Uruguay and Italy, dies Angelelli, bishop of and martyr to the poor soleón Macías, Salvao while celebrating Mas ón is condemned as	s in a retreat from Rome. of La Rioja, Argentina, r. doran priest, is machine- s. a State terrorist: the first of the laws of "Full Stop"	
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R	Eighteenth Sunday in Ordinary Time)
2	Ex 16,2-4.12-15 / PS 77 Efph 4,17.20-24 / Jn 6,24-35							
2000: Carme	de Ojeda arrives at La Guajira, Colombia. n Sánchez Coronel, a teacher's union repre-							
	re, and six others are murdered at a military s in Sardinata, Colombia.							
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Transfiguration 1524: Battle of Junin.

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Dan 7,9-10.13-14 / Ps 96 2Pet 1,16-19 / Mt 17,1-9 Sixtus and Cayetan

1325: Founding of Tenochtitlan (Mexico, DF). 1538: Founding of Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia.

1825: Independence of Bolivia, National Holiday.

1945: The United States drops an atomic bomb on the civilian 2002. In continuing repression of Zapatista communities in population of Hiroshima, Japan.

1961: Kennedy creates the Alliance for Progres

Tuesday

Jer 30,1-2.12-15.18-22 / Ps 101

Mt 14,22-36 Dominic of Guzman

the Liberation of Nueva Granada (Colombia). 1985: Christopher Williams, evangelical pastor, is martyred

for faith and solidarity in El Salvador.

Chiapas, Mexico, José López Santiz, is assassinated 1997: General strike in Argentina, 90% participation.

Wednesday

Jer 31,1-7 / Int. Jer 31 Mt 15,21-28

1819: With the victory of Boyacá, Bolívar opens the way to 1873: Birth of Emiliano Zapata, campesino leader of the Mexican Revolution. His call for land reform inspired other social struggles globally.

1994: Manuel Cepeda Vargas, a Unión Patriótica senator, is assassinated in on-going civil strife in Bogotá, Colombia.

2000: The Supreme Court of Chile removes parlian

962: Independence of Jamaica, National Holiday. 000: Argentinean Jorge Olivera is arrested in Italy and charged with the disappearance of a young French woman during the Argentinean military dictatorship.	in none of his two single sons.	immunity from ex-dictator Pinochet.
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Thursday	1 (n) Friday	1 1 Saturday
Jer 31,31-34 / Ps 50 Fabio, Román Mt 16,13-23 1945: The U.S.A. drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. 1946: The U.S.A. drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. 1984: Eduardo Alfredo Pimentel, Christian activist for human rights and against the Argentinean dictatorship. 1989: Daniel Espitia Madera, Colombian campesinos leader, assassinated. 1991: Miguel Tomaszek and Zbigniew Strzalkowski, Franciscans missionaries in Peru, murdered by Sendero Luminoso. 1995: Military police kill ten landless workers and brutally arrest 192 others in Corumbiara, Rondônia, Brazil. 2077: The BNP Paribas bank blocks three investment funds: the world economic crisis beings.	 1809: First cry for independence in continental Latin America, that of Ecuador, National Holiday. 1974: Tito de Alencar, a Dominican priest, commits suicide as a result of being tortured in Brazil. 1977: Jesús Alberto Páez Vargas, leader of the communal land movement, kidnapped and disappeared, Peru. 	Hab 1,22-2,4 / Ps 9 Clare of Assisi Mt 17,14-20 1898: U.S. forces occupy Mayagüez, Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. 1972: Last U.S. ground combat force pulled from South Vietnam. 1992: The march of 3,000 landless peoples begins in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. 1997: The "Asian Crisis" begins and affects finances throughout the world.
UN Indigenous Peoples' Day Last Moon: 20h55m in Taurus		

(UN International Youth Day)	

Monday Ezek 1.2-5.24-28c / Ps 148 Polycarp, Hippolito 1926: Fidel Castro is born near Mayari, Cuba. 1961: Construction of the Berlin wall. 1999: Colombian journalist and political satirist, Jaime Garzón 1984: Campesinos martyred at Aucayacu, Ayacucho, Peru. Forero, is murdered by right-wing paramilitaries.

Tuesday

Mt 17,22-27 Maximilian Kolbe

Ezek 2,8-3,4 / Ps 118

Mt 18,1-5.10.12-14 Assumption

1816: Francisco de Miranda, Venezuelan Father of the 1914: The Panama Canal formally opens. An estimated Nation, precursor of independence, dies in prison.

1985: Campesino martyrs of Accomarca, department of 1980: José Francisco dos Santos, president of the Union Ayacucho, Peru.

2000: Robert Canarte, union activist, is found dead after being kidnapped two weeks earlier by paramilitaries 1984: Luis Rosales, union leader, and companions seeking in Galicia, Colombia.

→ Wednesday

Rev 11,19a;12,1.3-6a.10ab / Ps 44 1Cor 15,20-27a / Lk 1,39-56

27,500 workmen died during French and American construction efforts.

of Rural Workers in Corrientes (PB), Brazil, is assassinated.

justice for Costa Rican banana workers are martyred. 1989: María Rumalda Camey, catechist and representative of

JJ. 1	wana rumada camey, cateemstand representative
(GAM, captured and disappeared in front of her husba
	and children, Escuintla, Guatemala.

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Rock, Stephen of Hungary

Mt 18,21-29 Jacinto

1819: Calvary charge into peaceful crowd advocating for 1850: José San Martin, Argentine general and key indepen- 1527: Cacique Lempira is assassinated during a peace parliamentary reform leaves 11 dead and hundreds injured in Manchester, England.

1976: Coco Erbetta, catechist, university student, martyr to the struggles of the Argentinean people.

1993: Indigenous Yanomani martyrs in Roraima, Brazil.

2005: Roger Schutz, founder of the ecumenical Taizé movement, is assassinated.

2006: Alfredo Stroessner, Paraguayan dictator accused of crimes against humanity, dies.in Brasilia.

Friday Ezek 16,1-15.60.63 / Int. Isa 12

Mt 19,3-12 Helen

dence leader, dies,

two haciendas in Pontal do Paranapanema, SP, Brazil.

New Moon: 17h54m in Leo

Fechter is shot attempting to cross it.

Saturday

Ezek 18,1-0.13b.30-32 / Ps 50 Mt 19,13-15

conference (Honduras). 1962: Berlin Wall claims its first victim as 18 year old Peter 1952: Alberto Hurtado SJ, Chile's apostle to the poor, dies. He is canonized in 2005.

1997: The Landless Peoples' Movement (MST) occupies 1989: Luis Carlos Galán, a Colombian presidential candidate, is assassinated by drug cartel hit men in Bogotá.

1993: Indigenous Ashaninkas martyrs, Tziriari, Peru.

2000: Two military police in Rondonia are judged guilty of the massacre of Corumbiara against the landless, Brazil.

Twentieth Sunday in Ordinary Time Prov 9,1-6 / Ps 33 Eph 5,15-20 / Jn,16-22 John Eudes 1936: Federico Garcia Lorca, poet and dramatist, murdered by Spanish fascists. 1953: CIA assisted coup overthrows the government of Iran and reinstates the Shah who then awards 40% of Iran's oiffields to U.S. corporations. 1991: Attempted State coup in the USSR. End of Ramadan	

Bernard

Monday

Ezek 24,15-24 / Int. Deut 32 Mt 19,16-22 Pius X

Tuesday

Ezek 28,1-10 / Int. Deut 32 Mt 19,23-30 Queenship of Mary

7 Wednesday

Ezek 34,1-11 / Ps 22 Mt 20,1-16

1778: Birth of the Father of the Chilean Nation, Bernardo 1680: Pueblo Indians revolt and drive the Spanish from 1988: Jürg Weis, Swiss theologian and evangelical O'Higgins.

Santa Fe, New Mexico.

missionary, is martyred in the cause of solidarity with

1940: Exiled Russian revolutionary, Leon Trotsky, is assas- sinated by a Stalinist agent in Mexico City. 1982: América Fernanda Perdomo, a Salvadorian human rights activist, kidnapped along with 5 others including a child. 1998: The U.S.A. bombards Afghanistan and Sudan.	in Bolivia.	2000: Henry Ordóñez and Leonardo Betancourt Mendez, Colombian teacher, union leaders, are assassinated.

ntioquia (FECODE), is killed by paramilitaries in ellin, Colombia. Atorney General of the United States decides to)
stigate cases of possible torture by the CIA during Bush government.	
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Ezek 36,23-38 / Ps 50 Rose of Lima Mt 22,1-14 1821: Spain signs the Treaty of Cordoba granting Mexico independence as a constitutional monarchy. 1833: Slavery Abolition Act passed abolishing slavery in the British colonies. 1948: Founding of the World Council of Churches 1975: The National Institute of Indigenous People is created in Paraguay. International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and its Abolition	1572: King of France orders massacre of Huguenots.	Joseph of Calasanctius, Louis of France Mt 23,1-12 1825: Independence of Uruguay, National Holiday. 1991: Alessandro Dordi Negroni, missionary promoting human dignity, is martyred for his faith, in Peru. 2000: Sergio Uribe Zuluaga, member of the Teacher's Union
Twenty-first Sunday Ordinary Time Josh 24,1-2a.15-17.18b / Ps 33 Eph 5,21-32 / Jn 6,60-69 Teresa Jornet 1968: The Conference of Medellin opens. 1977: Felipe de Jesus Chacón, peasant catechist, is		

assassinated by the military in El Salvador. 2000: Luis Mesa, a member of the university professor's union (ASPU), is murdered in Barranquilla, Colombia.

SUMAK KAWSAY AND THE REIGN OF GOD

WHAT DOES THE INDIGENOUS "SUMAK KAWSAY" SAY TO THE "REIGN OF GOD" OF JESUS OF NAZARETH?

JOSÉ MARÍA VIGIL

Panama, Panama

Sumak Kawsay (SK) is an indigenous utopia with different names and nuances in different languages and cultures of Abya Yala, which, in recent years has been acquiring a new face and weight in Latin America consciousness. It is being proposed with new force to the Continent by indigenous peoples, who are reclaiming it as their own contribution to the construction of the society we all desire.

Jesus of Nazareth also made his proposal, the utopia of the *Reign of God* (RD), which his followers have adopted in our liberating Christianity. Latin American Christians have not been used to reckoning with any utopia other than Jesus' utopia. How do we now relate to the presence of the indigenous utopia of SK? Can we work with the two utopias?

Some say that Christians can only attend to one utopia—that of Jesus—and that no other merits our attention. Others say that the proposal of Jesus is complete and cannot be enriched by any other... Can the two utopias be combined? Or are they perhaps the same?

Only the Utopia of Jesus, the Kingdom of God?

We must remember above all that the utopia of Jesus was not his own invention... He took the idea and the expression RD from the utopia that the prophets had been announcing and proclaiming for several centuries. Jesus did not claim to be original; he embraced the utopia of his people, retaining the best of it.

Moreover, although Christianity has embraced the utopia of Jesus, RD, its content is not perfectly defined, nor is it a sealed packaged...Rather, as "utopia" (no-where) it is a profound aspiration, an ideal horizon where new dreams always arise.

Moreover, not only Christianity is utopian; many other cultures and peoples have been, and are. In reality, Christianity, for most of its history, lost its historical utopian dimension upon converting into a religion of different empires, which were unfriendly to socially transformative utopias. In fact, liberating **154**

Christianity, that of the theology and spirituality of liberation, is a historical recovery of the "movement of Jesus." What he actually inspired was a passionate historical-utopian quest not for "another world," but for this world, inserted completely into the dream of God and human beings themselves ...

Many people, perhaps all, in some manner have nostalgia for an "other world" to which they feel called by a mysterious force that brings all to converge in the search for the Good... Every human heart dreams of utopia, with full love, with the Good.

Where can we find this world? How can we put a concrete face on this utopia? Jesus did not give a "definition" of RD. A traditional theological adage puts it more clearly: *ubi bonum, ibi regnum,* "where there is good, there is the Reign." What is this utopia of RD of which we dream? It would be nothing but "the sum of all goods, unmixed with any kind of evil." All human beings, all peoples have dreamed and dream of the Good, the greatest Good, and Life, Abundant Life, imagined in one way or another.

In fact, human utopia can never be defined, because at that moment it would become limited and paralyzed. As we move on the path of history, the utopian horizon recedes, revealing new landscapes, new gaps to be filled, and renewed demands for the achievement of the Good and Abundant Life. In this attempt to make concrete the global utopia of humanity in every historical moment, isn't there a place for all contributions, old and new, and from different peoples? Or is utopia something original and unique that Christians have an exclusive claim to?

If we no longer believe that there is a "chosen people" or peoples "abandoned by the hand of God," but rather believe that the Mystery of Ultimate Reality communicates with everyone, in their manner, from the limitations and possibilities of each culture, we can then admit that:

- All people can bring their grace, search, inspiration, and intuition of utopia.
 - We ourselves have limits, especially incoheren-

cies and contradictions, like all human reality.

Then, the most correct attitude would be an open heart, listening to all contributions looking for the Good and Abundant Life, welcoming them as coming from the same single source that inspires us all. At the end, we will find that all dialogues about utopia not only enrich us and confront us, but converge with the deep aspirations of all human beings.

What does Sumak Kawsay say to the Reign of God

With this open, humble and macroecumenical attitude, it will be easy to enter into dialogue, even "allowing oneself to be impacted" by SK. Let us see:

- RD and SK, at their foundations, are somehow the same. If the utopia that Jesus announced—which he lived and fought for—was Life, and Life in abundance, in plentitude (Jn 10.10), what else does SK, the *Good Life*, mean but to live in full harmony with ourselves, with our communities, with Nature, and with Mystery? Both are connected from the beginning, with a historical convergence, and inevitable complementarity...
- Converging with RD, SK reminds us of an essential element that Christianity forgot for many centuries: that RD can not be only for another world, but it begins from and should be built starting from this world. The *Good Life* and *Living Well Together* remind we who are followers of Jesus that RD is also an intrahistorical utopia, and it should be built and expanded here: *ubi bonum, etiam ubi bonum vivere... ibi regnum.*

For too long, historical Christianity thought that RD would be an inner realm, spiritual, of "souls," something "supernatural" (and often somewhat of a counter-natural enemy of natural realities). For too long, Christians lived obsessed only by life after death, heaven or hell... SK reminds us that RD should also be built here, in this life before death, in this world.

• Perhaps the greatest lesson SK gives us Christians has to do with nature. Christianity, which, as recognized by many, has been "the anthropocentric religion "(Lynn White), has turned its back on nature, ignoring it on the one hand and, on the other, subjecting it to a merciless depredation. SK reminds us to overcome this "ecological blind spot" that in fact Christianity has suffered in its history.

It will be necessary first to overcome the anthropocentrism or "speciesism" (cf. Pedro Ribeiro in this same Agenda, p. 222), which has meant we have not had eyes for anything other than the human world. We must liberate nature from the disenchantment that we have submitted it to, first by means of our anthropocentrism, and then by Cartesian rationalism and Newtonian mechanics. To reenchant our vision of nature, recognize its mysterious dimension, and, above all, recognize ourselves as part of it and in need of harmonious and full integration into its life, is an urgent "revelation" for which we should thank SK.

- SK does us the immense favor of reminding us of and denouncing the complicity of Christianity with the Western model of understanding the world, that is, capitalism, systemic injustice, developmentalism, undervaluing of nature, the devastation of natural resources, etc., that has not been completely overcome. These are serious flaws, antiutopian and environmentally damaging. They have not fallen from heaven, but have arisen from the Christian cultural matrix. And they are still there, consented to by much of the institution, and still well-installed, to the point of endangering the integrity of the planet unless "Christian" society becomes capable of waking up and stopping the disaster that is approaching us. SK reminds us that without resisting capitalism and the Western depredatory model, RD will not be truly realized in the way that Jesus would preach and practice today.
- As a utopia of brother and sister peoples who were oppressed and subjected, deprived even of the right to make their unique contribution to society human with their cultural and religious riches, the current revindication that the indigenous peoples are carrying out through their utopian worldview can only be greeted with enthusiasm by Christians as a sign that God has lifted up the lowly, has cast the mighty from their thrones, and has spoken and continues to speak through the mouths of many, especially the small.
- SK should be for us a call to humility, rectification, and a new historical and political attitude. At the same time, we should provide critical support to our indigenous brothers and sisters, who are trying to recuperate and reconstruct retrospectively their traditional utopian patrimony. They too can fall into incoherence and lack of true witness.

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Monica 1828: Independence of Uruguay. 1847: The English Superintendent and the Miskito King announce the abolition of slavery in the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. 1928: Kellogg-Briand Pact signed by sixty nations "providing for the renunciation of war as an instrument of 1987: Héctor Ábad Gómez, medical doctor, martyr to the

onday	79	Desput
2Thess 1,1-5.11b-12 / Ps 95		2Th
Mt 23,13-12	Agustine	

Mt 23,23-26 Martyrdom of John the Baptist

dream speech before 200,000 at a civil rights rally in Washington, D.C..

1994: Jean-Marie Vincent, Montfortian priest and 1986: In spite of the prohibition of the Cardinal of Rio de co-operative organizer, assassinated in Puerto Principe, Haiti.

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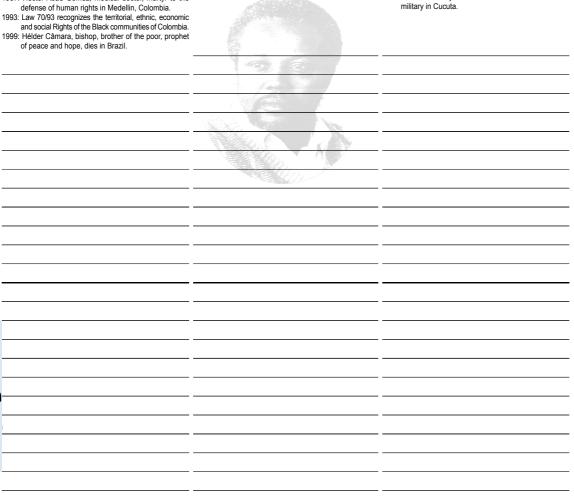
Jer 1,17-19 / Ps 70 Mk 6,17-29

1963: Martin Luther King, Jr. gives his famous I have a 1533: Baptism and execution of Inca Atahualpa by Spanish conquistadors in Peru.

1563: The Royal Tribunal of Quito is created.

Janeiro, the Third Meeting of Black Religious and Priests takes place in that city.

2000: Insurance worker's union leader, Moises Sanjuan, is assassinated by forces believed linked to Colombian



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Félix, Esteban Zudaire 1Cor 1,1-9 / Ps 144 Félix, Esteban Zudaire Lk 24,42-51 1985: 300 FBl agents invade Puerto Rico and arrest more than a dozen activists struggling for independence.	1Cor 1,17-25 / Ps 32 Raymond Nonatu Mt 25,1-13 1925: The U.S. Marines end 10 years of occupation of Haiti. 1962: Independence of Trinidad and Tobago. 1988: Leónidas Proaño, bishop to the Indigenous peoples, dies in Ríobamba, Ecuador. 2002: Adolfo de Jesús Munera López, former Coca-Cola	1Cor 1,26-31 / Ps 32 Gil Mt 25,14-30
Twenty-second Sunday Ordinary Time Deut 4,1-2.6-8 / Ps 14 Antolin, Elpidio 1885: White miners massacre 28 Chinese co-workers at Rock Spring, Wyoming. 2000: Gil Bernardo Olachica, a teacher's union member (FECODE) is killed by paramilitaries in Barrancaber- meja, Colombia.		

Monday

1Cor 2,1-5 / Ps 118

Tuesday 1Cor 2,10b-16 / Ps 144

Wednesday

Gregory the Great

Lk 4,16-30 Rosalía, Albert Schweitzer

Lk 4,31-37 Lawrence and Justinian

1Cor 3,1-9 / Ps 32 Lk 4,38-44

for the "usurpation of the state of Brazil". 1971: Bernardino Díaz Ochoa, a campesino union organizer,

1759: Jesuits are expelled by Lisbon from their Brazilian colony 1970: Electoral victory of the Unidad Popular, Chile. 1977: Death of Ernest Schumacher, economic thinker whose book, Small is Beautiful, influenced a generation of environmentalists and community activists.

1877: Tasunka witko or Crazy Horse, Lakota leader committed to preserving traditions and values of his people, is killed in Nebraska. 1960: Ajax Delgado, Nicaraguan student leader, is

is murdered in Matagalpa, Nicaragua by Somoza forces.

1	1976: Death of Ramón Pastor Bogarín, bishop, founder of the University of Asunción, prophet in the Church of Paraguay.	1984: Andrés Jarlán, French priest, shot by police while reading the Bible in La Victoria, Santiago, Chile. 1995: World Conference on Women, Beijing. 2005: Judge Urso sends Jorge Videla to prison along with 17 other oppressors in the military dictatorship in Argentina.	assassinated. 1983: The unemployed hold a sit-in in the Legislative Assembly in São Paulo.
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Thursday	7 Friday	🖍 Saturday
Juan de Ribera, Zacarías 1522: Juan Sebastian Elcano, Magellan's second in command, completes first circumnavigation of the globe with one of the original five ships and eighteen other survivors. 1860: Jane Addams, social reformer and first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, is born. 1995: 2,300 landless people occupy the Boqueirão hacienda, Brazil. They will be expelled.	1822: "Cry of Ipiranga" marks the independence of Brazil from Portugal, National holiday.	Mic 5,1-4a / Ps 12 Nativity of Mary Mic 1,1-16.18-23 1522: Magellan's ship, the Juan Sebastián Elcan, completes the first trip round the World. 1941: The Nazi siege of Leningrad begins. A million civilian and Red Army defenders die. 1943: Julius Fučik, Czechoslovakian resistance leader, tortured and executed by the Nazis. 1974: Ford offers Nixon a "full and absolute pardon for all the crimes he might have committed when he occupied the Presidency."
		International Literacy Day
		Last Quarter: 15h15m in Gemini
Twenty-third Sunday in Ordinary Time		
lsa 35,4-7a / Ps 145 Jas 2,1-5 / Mk 7,31-37 Peter Claver		
1 654: Pedro Claver, apostle to black slaves, dies in Cartagena, Colombia. 1613: Uprising of Lari Qäxa, Bolivia (Aymaras and Quichuas	<u></u>	
confront the Spanish).		
1990: Hildegard Feldman, a nun, and Ramon Rojas, a catechist are martyred for their service to Colombian		

peasants.

Monday Tuesday Wednesdav 1Cor 5,1-8 / Ps 5 1Cor 6,1-11 / Ps 149 1Cor 7.25-31 / Ps 44 Lk 6,6-11 Proto y Jacinto Lk 6,12-19 Leoncio y Guido Lk 6,20-26 Nicholas of Tolentino 1977: Steve Biko, Black Consciousness Movement leader, 1897: Sheriff's deputies open fire on unarmed immigrant 1973: State coup in Chile against President Allende. is martyred in South Africa. miners at a peaceful demonstration near Hazleton, 1981: Sebastiana Mendoza, Indigenous catechist, martyr 1982: Alfonso Acevedo, catechist, martyr in his service to the to solidarity, Guatemala. Pennsylvania. More than 19 die. internally displaced persons in El Salvador. 1924: U.S. Marines occupy various cities in Honduras to 1988: Martyrs of the Church of San Juan Bosco, in Puerto 1989: Valdicio Barbosa dos Santos, head of rural worker's support the presidential candidate. Príncipe, Haiti. union, shot at Pedro Canário, Brazil. 1984: Policarpo Chem, catechist and co-operative leader, 1990: Myrna Mack, anthropologist and human rights 2001: Bárbara Lee, California congresswoman, votes against kidnapped and tortured by government forces in advocate, is assassinated in Guatemala. granting Bush the power to invade Afghanistan. 2001: Attack on the Twin Towers, New York. Verapaz, Guatemala. 2008: Massacre of farmers in El Porvenir, Pando, Bolivia. to the orders of industralists and landowners, with the connivencia of the Prefect Leopoldo Fernandez, today in prison.

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1Cor 8,1b-7.11-13 / Ps 138	hymn, «Ia E tion agains 1847: Under U.: control of M 1856: Battle of S Walker in M 1920: Birth of Ma activist, wri 1992: The First As	Num 21, 4b- Cross Jala Rodríguez, author of the insu orinqueña», in the Sept. 23, 1868 t Spanish rule in Puerto Rico. Sceneral Winfield Scott, mili dexico City. n Jacinto, defeat of the filibusters licaragua. ito Benedetti, Uruguayan author, ter of exile.	n 3,13-17 Our l rrrectional 1810 insurrec- 1821 itary take 1842 of William 1973 poet, and 1973 D) opens. 1974	Lady of the S 1: The «Cry of 1: Independe in all the oc 2: Francisco of 3: Arturo Hille to the poor 3: Victor Jara tortured an 1: Antonio Llic prisons in 0 1: Pedro Pío	Seven Sorrows of Pain» in Mexico. Ince of Central Americ countries of Central Ame de Morazán, Central Am I by a firing squad in Sa erns, medical doctor, n of Chile. I, Chilean folk singer, a d shot by military in Sa Jó, Spanish priest, disa	Heb 5,7-9 / Ps 30 Jn 19,25-27 a, National Holiday rica. erican labor leader, n José, Costa Rica, artyr in his service and political activist, ntiago, Chile. ppears in Pinochet's	
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Twenty-fourth Sunday in Ordinary Time)	
Isa 50,5-9a / Ps 114							
Jas 2,14-18 / Mk 8,27-35 Cornelius and Cyprian							
1501: The king authorizes the governor of the Caribbean							
islands to import African slaves.				-			
1821: Mexican independence, National Holiday. 1931: Founding of the "Frente Negro Brasileño" in São							
Paulo. It will later be closed down by Getúlio Vargas.							
1955: Civic-military insurrection that deposes Constitutional President Peron							
1983: Guadalupe Carney sj, is assassinated by the							
Honduran army.							
(World Ozone Day (U.N.)							

New Moon: 04h10m in Virgo

Monday Wednesday **Tuesday** 1Cor 12,12-14.27-31a / Ps 99 1Cor 11,17-26.33 / Ps 39 1Cor 12,31-13,13 / Ps 32 Lk 7,1-10 Joseph of Cupertino Lk 7,11-17 Januarius Lk 7,31-35 1981: John David Troyer, a Mennonite missionary, martyred Dag Hammarskjold 1973: Juan Alsina, Omar Venturelli, and Etienne Pesle, priests, victims of the Pinochet police. for justice in Guatemala. 1810: Independence of Chile, National holiday. 1983: Carlos Alirio and Fabián Buitrago, Giraldo Ramirez 1969: The «Rosariazo»: Citizens force the police to retreat, 1983: Independence of Saint Kitts and Nevis. and Marcos Marin, campesinos, catechists, are 1985: Earthquake in Mexico City. in Rosario, Argentina. 1973: Miguel Woodward Iriberri, a priest from Valparaiso, 1986: Charlot Jacqueline and companions, martyrs to assassinated at Cocomá, Colombia. liberating education, Haiti. 1983: Julián Bac, Delegate of the Word, and Guadalupe Chile, is assassinated by the Pinochet dictatorship. 1998: Miguel Angel Quiroga, a priest, is murdered at a 1994: The United States lands in Haiti to return Jean Lara, catechist, martyrs in Guatemala. Bertrand Aristide. Jewish New Year: 5773 paramilitary base in Chocó, Colombia. 2001: Yolanda Cerón, Director of Pastoral Ministry for the Diocese of Tumaco, Colombia, assassinated,

Friday

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martyr to the struggle for justice, Venezuela. 2008: "Day of the Overshoot": we start spending 30% more

resources than are available on the planet.

Wednesday Monday Tuesday Prov 3,27-34 / Ps 14 Prov 21,1-6.10-13 / Ps 118 Prov 30,5-9 / Ps 118 Lk 8,16-18 Cleofás Lk 8,19-21 Cosmos and Damian Peter Nolasco 1533: Caupolicán, leader of the Mapuche, executed by Sergio de Radonezh 1944: Brazilian troops wrest control from the Nazis of the Serchio valley on the central front of the Gothic Line Spanish conquistadors. 1513: Vasco Núñez de Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Panama 1810: The Bishop of Michoacán excommunicates Miguel in Italy after 10 days of fighting. and reaches the Pacific Ocean. Hidalgo, pastor of Dolores, for calling for Independence. 1849: Lucas da Feira, fugitive slave and chief of the resisting 1974: Lázario Condo and Cristóbal Pajuña, Christian leaders of their communities fight for agrarian reform, are 1976: Marlene Kegler, student, martyr of faith and service Sertanejos of Brazil, is hanged. assassinated in Riobamba, Ecuador. among university students of La Plata, Argentina. 1963: Pro-USA military coup in the Dominican Republic 1976: Independence of Trinidad y Tobago. Bosh, an admirer of the Cuban revolution, is deposed. Bible Day, in various countries of America Yom Kippur

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7/7/ Thursday	7//: Friday	ク/(*) Saturday
Sir 3,1-11 / Ps 89	Sir 3,1-11 / Ps 143	Dan 7,9-10.13-14 / Ps 137
		Michael, Gabriel, Raphael Jn 1,47-51
Day of Enriquillo, Quisqueyano Indigenous, who resisted the		1871: The Benedictines are the first religious order in Brazil
Spanish conquest in the Dominican Republic. 1979: Guido Léon dos Santos, a hero of the working class, is	1569: Casiodoro de Reina delivers his translation of the Bible to the printer.	to free their slaves. 1941: Babi Yar massacre results the death of at least 33,771
	1868: Attempt by ex-slaves to defend a white supporter	Jews from Kiev and its suburbs at the hands of the Nazis.
1990: Sister Agustina Rivas, Good Shepherd Religious,		1906: Second US armed intervention in Cuba. It will continue
martyr in La Florida, Peru.	Louisiana.	for 2 years, 4 months.
2002: Mexican military court charges three army officers with the killings of 143 people during the "dirty war"	1871: Brazilian law of the "Free Belly" separates Black infants from their slave parents: the first "abandoned minors."	1992: Congress deposes President Collor, Brazil.
of the 1970's.	1885: Brazilian law of the "Sixty year-old," throws Blacks	
	over 60 into the street.	
	1990: Pedro Martinez and Jorge Euceda, activist journalists,	
	are martyred for the truth in El Salvador.	
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Twenty-sixth Sunday in Ordinary Time	1991: State coup against Constitutional President Jean-	
Num 11,25-29 / Ps 18	Bertrand Aristide, Haiti. 1991: State coup against the constitutional government of	
Jas 5,1-6 / Mk 9,38-43.45.47-48	Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti, 10 years.	
Jerome 1655: Coronilla and companions, Indigenous caciques,	Full Moon: 05h19m in Aries	
martyrs to liberation, Argentina.		
1974: Chilean General Carlos Prats and his wife, witnesses		
for democracy, are assassinated in Argentina at the		
beginning of Operation Condor. 1981: Vincente Matute and Francisco Guevara, peasants,		
murdered in the struggle for their land in Yoro, Honduras.		
1981: Honorio Alejandro Núñez, Celebrator of the Word and		
seminarian, martyr to the Honduran people. 1991: José Luis Cerrón, university student, martyr to solidarity.		

Huancayo, Peru.

SUMAK KAWSAY AND POST-NEOLIBERALISM

THE PROBLEM IS NOT NEOLIBERALISM, BUT RATHER CAPITALISM

PABLO DÁVALOS

-One of the most visible paradoxes in Ecuador is that, while it is an economy based on the American dollar, it has the most advanced legislation on "the Good Life." How can these two realities go together? Beyond the Constitution, what practical consequences does the question of the Good Life have?

- We use the dollar for all transactions: we do not have a national monetary unit. For this reason, dollars must come through foreign business. This has necessarily led to an Ecuadorian economy that is very open to the world markets. In being that open, we are also very vulnerable. The system of dollarization has been sustained, fundamentally, by remittances from emigrants and also by the current state of high prices for petroleum...
 - -So, dollarization is supported through external income...
- Those two sources, petroleum and remittances, have sustained dollarization. That means that the Ecuadorian economy has been converted into an economy of stockholders, of consumption, in which there is no production. This can also been seen in the fact that unemployment—official and hidden—touches 60% of the active population. That means that of 100 Ecuadorians able to work, at best 40 have formal employment.
- What sorts of proposals are coming from the social movements?
- In view of this, the social movements, and especially the Indigenous movement, have proposed a new paradigm of living and co-existing that is not based either on development or on the idea of growth but rather on different notions such as conviviality, respect for nature, solidarity, reciprocity, complementarity. This new paradigm or cosmology is called the theory of sumak kawsay or "the Good Life." In fact it has been recognized in the Ecuadorian Constitution as the alternative regime of development.
- What are the central points of its alternative character?
- In the first place, strategic individualities need to be shattered because in capitalism you think, first of all, of the individual. We say "me first, I am a

Former Deputy Minister of Economy, Ecuador citizen, I am a consumer, I maximize my benefits and profits..." Sumak kawsay suggests solidarity of human beings with one another. This was destroyed by liberal discourse. However, unlike socialist discourse—that proposes a relationship with the wider society, and of society with the State—in sumak kawsay the relationship of the individual is no longer with the State but rather with one's most immediate society, with the community, where human beings have their closest references. And this society, in turn, is related to other societies that are larger so that the structures other societies that are larger so that the structures of power are built up from below and not the other way round.

The second element that sumac kawsay suggests is that we eliminate from our heads the idea that "more is better." By that I mean the notion that we always have to "produce and have more," in the way that the paradigm of development, growth and accumulation dictates. We need to forget the idea that objects constitute the ontology of human beings.

- This presupposes a radical change in our lifestyles...
- Exactly for that, the third element has to do with the dimension of time. We believe that time is linear and so we believe in accumulation. That structure of time, which is the dominant one at this point, belongs to capital. Sumak kawsay proposes returning time to society: a notion of temporality in which time can be an open circle.

A fourth element is to provide an ethical meaning to human co-existence. For liberalism, there can be a political democracy but not an economic democracy. For that reason the creation of corporate shareholders and consumers has absolutely nothing to do with ethics. Sumak kawsay proposes a change: No longer can I mask social decisions in the name of individual consumption. And that means that resources that have been produced by exploitation of labour or environmental depredation can no longer be objects of social exchange. We now have legislation, for example, that defends us from slavery or child labour. But we need to go further.

- When we speak of an alternative in the Southern

Cone, most often it is to propose neo-developmentalism against neoliberalism. What would be the alternative characteristics of this way of neo-developmentalism that we need to have a general agreement about in the region?

- The core of the problem is not neoliberalism but rather capitalism. Neoliberalism is one form that capitalism takes on, a form that is concentrated in the power held by corporations and speculative financial capital. Capitalism can also create new ideological, political and symbolic forms as a way of reinventing itself and being legitimized through forms like these that are not even Keynesian but neodevelopmentalist. Basically they imply thinking that if we exploit nature we are going to have resources for social goals. This is a trap, as is also the idea that circulated in the time of neoliberalism that if we privatize absolutely everything, we are going to have economic stability. It never happened. It's the same thing today: If we exploit all the natural resources, we are still not going to have resources for the social sector, nor for full employment.
- You speak of the capacity of neoliberalism to reinvent itself?
- We are seeing Latin America enter into a process of reconversion characterized by de-industrialization and the production of commodities based in natural resources. In this context, governments use the legitimate monopoly of violence to guarantee territorial plundering, specifically the property of ancestral peoples, in order to circulate those natural resources in the circles of capital. Neoliberalism, through the Washington Consensus and the policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), adjusted their economies in view of the needs of the global system, but that does not mean that neoliberalism has achieved the goal of macro-economic stability. Far from it! Now we are moving into a new dynamic sustained by production and income from natural resources. We need to be on the watch for those discourses that want to justify extractive sources of wealth. The system that we call capitalism has to be changed as also the power relations that run through it along with the imagination that constitutes it. Capitalism has to be sent off to the archives of human history because, if it continues, it is going to put human life on the planet Earth at risk.

- From your point of view, neo-developmentalism is compatible with liberalism. Does this have to do with a kind of turn in the "recipes" of international organizations like the World Bank?
- Economic neo-institutionalism is the doctrine, the theoretical-analytic-epistemological corpus that is directing transformations and institutional change in Latin America and the world. Institutionalism lays out a critical discourse about markets. There is a text of Stiglitz, "The Discomfort of Globalization," published shortly after 2000, where he has a severe critique of the IMF and accuses it of things that we, on the left were saying back in the 80s. But the fact is that Stiglitz was president of the World Bank at that time! He was working in Washington in an office right across from the IMF. This explains how you can have people doing studies at the WB about the reactivation of the State. There was one in 1997: "Reconstructing the State," that lays out the way to reconstruct the State and public institutions. However, it also recommends citizen participation, direct democracy, respect for nature, stopping the toning down of labour laws, and so on. So then, we have one of two things happening: either the World Bank went over to the left or the left became the World Bank.
 - What is your answer?
- We need to begin to discern and position the economic debates, because in the 80s we were clear about what the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism as, for example, in the version proposed by Friedman, Hayek, Von Mises or the creole neoliberals like Cavallo. Now neoliberalism is changing, mutating; the capitalism of 2000 is not at all that of 1990. For that reason we need to turn today to other much more complex theoretical models with a much more interdisciplinary epistemological framework. And what is happening on the Left? We are still criticizing the Washington Consensus when it has already been criticized by the IMF itself and even by the World Bank! So, now we see how the theoretical changes are taking place in economic neo-institutionalism and the Latin American Left has not taken up the opportunity to analyze and discuss economic neo-institutionalism. We cannot remain in the epistemological frameworks that justify a new neoliberal imposition. So, here in Ecuador, we are talking about post-neoliberalism, to refer to the stage of institutional change. 169

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	4	Monda	v	-5	7)	Tue	sday		7	Wedn	esday	
	1542: The war of 1991: The milita Aristide, a 1992: Julio Roo the cause	Child Jesus he Chinese Revolutior of Araucanía begins. Iny expel the constituti	Job 1,6-22 / Ps 16 Lk 9,46-50 a, China's National Day. onal president of Haiti, is martyred in Peru in	1869: 1968: 1972: 1989: 1992:	Mahatma (Tlatelolco M hundreds of the Thre Beginning Honduras I Jesus Emi martyred for Police repi	Gandhi is bo Massacre see If students pe ee Cultures ii of the invas by the Unite lio Jaramillo or peace in s ression of th	Job 3,1-3.11 orn. es the Mexica cacefully prot n Mexico Cit sion of the E d Brand Con , bishop of A cervice of the	an army massacre esting in the Plaza y. Brunka territory in npany. Irauca, Colombia, people. at Carandirú, São	after a States 1980: Maria M of the martyr 1990: Reunit	jia Hawk, leader an life of resistance on Indigenous I Magdalena Enriq Human Rights (ed for her defen	Job 9,1-12.14 d warrior of the Sau to encroachment o ands. uez, Baptist and pres Commission of ELS se of the poor.	Lk 9,57-62 ik tribe dies f the United
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Thursday

Job 19,21-17 / Ps 26 Lk 10,1-12 Plácido y Mauro

nlane and cantures a survivor

Job 38,1.12-21;40,3-5 / Ps 138 Lk 10,13-16 Bruno

Saturday

Job 42,1-3.5-6.12-16 / Ps 118 Lk 10,17-24

Francis of Assisi Theodore Fliedner

1984: Illegal U.S. aid to Nicaraguan Contras confirmed William Tyndal 1226: Death of Francis of Assisi, patron saint of Catholic Action and the environment.

1555: The provincial council of Mexico forbids priesthood to Indigenous people.

1976: Omar Venturelli is martyred for his work among the poor in Temuco, Chile.

2007: The widow and five sons of Pinochet go to prison for appropriation of public funds.

piane and captures a survivor.
1995: The Guatemalan army massacres 11 peasants from
the "Aurora 8th of October" community to discourag
the return of refugees who had fled to Mexico.

when Nicaraguan government shots down a cargo 1976: Over 300 peacefully protesting students are massacred by a coalition of right-wing paramilitary and government forces in Bangkok, Thailand.

ge 1981: Assassination of Anwar al-Sadat, Nobel Peace Prize recipient and President of Egypt.

World Amnesty Day		
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— • • • • • • •	1998: Matthew Shephard tortured, tied to a fence, and left to die)
Twenty-seventh Sunday in Ordinary		
Heb 2 9-11 / Mk 10 2-16	in Laramie, Wyoming because of his sexual orientation. 2001: The USA begins the invasion of Afghanistan.	
Rosario, Henry Melchor, Muhlenberg		
Ntra. Sra. del Rosario, patrona de los negros, Brasil.		
1462: Pius II officially censures the reduction of Africans		
to slavery.		
1931:* Desmond Tutu, South African Archbishop, and Nobel		
Peace Price recipient.		
1973: An army lieutenant and a group of police massacre 15 persons at Loquén, Chile.		
1980: José Osmán Rodriquez, peasant Delegate of the Word,		
is martyred in Honduras.		
1980: Manuel Antonio Reyes, pastor, martyr of dedication to		
the poor, in El Salvador.		

Tais y Pelagia

Monday

Gal 1,6-12 / Ps 110

Lk 10,25-37 Dionisio, Luis Beltrán 1970: Néstor Paz Zamora, seminarian and son of a Bolivian 1581: Death of Luis Beltrán, Spanish missionary in Colombia, 1868: The Grito de Yara proclaims Cuba's independence at

general, is martyred in the struggle for the liberation.

Tuesday

Gal 1,13-24 / Ps 138

Dominican, preacher, canonized in 1671, principal Carlos Céspedes plantation at La Demajagua.

Nednesday

Gal 2,1-2.7-14 / Ps 116 Lk 10,38-42 Tomás de Villanueva Lk 11,1-4

1974. The linst Anienthal palameter to the Southern Cohe meets in Asunción. 1989: Penny Lernoux, journalist, author and defender of the poor in Latin America, dies. 1990: Police fire leaves 17 Palestinians dead and over 100 wounded on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Last Quarter: 09h33m in Cancer	patron of common since 1990. 1967: Ernesto Che Guevara, Argentine physician and Cuban revolutionary, is executed in Bolivia.	Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro. 1970: Pierre Laporte, the Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Labor of Quebec is kidnapped by the FLQ. 2007: Life imprisonment for Christian Von Wernich, chaplain to torturers Argentina. International Day for Natural Disaster Reduction Second Wednesday of October
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ጎ ጎ Thursday	1 7 Friday	1 ₹ Saturday
Gal 3,1-5 / Int. Lk 1 Sload Torres Acosta Lk 11,5-13 Sload: Lik 11,5-13 Lk 11,5-13 Sload: Lik 11,5-13 Lk 11,5-	Gal 3,7-14 / Ps 110 Pilar, Serafin Lk 11,15-26 Cry of the excluded in various countrues of L.A. 1492: A12 AM, Columbus sees the Guanahani Island, which he will call San Salvador (today, Watling). 1909: The pedagogue, Francesco Ferrer I Guardia faces a firing squad in Barcelona. 1925: 600 US Marines land in Panama. 1958: First contact with the Ayoreos Indigenous people, Paraguay. 1976: Juan Bosco Penido Burnier, a Jesuit missionary, is martyred for his charity in Ribeirão Bonito, Brazil. 1983: Marco Antonio Orozco, an Evangelical pastor, is martyred in the cause of the poor in Guatemala.	Gal 3,22-29 / Ps 104
Twenty-eighth Sunday in Ordinary Time Wis 7,7-11 / Ps 89 Heb 4,12-13 / Mk 10,17-30 Calixtus 1964: Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. becomes the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent resistance to racism in the U.S.A. 1973: 77 university students demanding a democratic government in Thailand are killed and hundreds wounded.		

	13	Monday	1 /3 Tu	iesday	11 77 W	Vednesday
	12 ships an 1880: Vitorio, Apa troops. 1994: Aristide take of a military 2008: General Ser Death, is se	Gal 4,22-24.26-27.31-5,1 / Ps 112 Lk 11,29-32 endoza moves up the Río de la Plata with d 15.000 men. che resistance leader, is killed by Mexican	Margaret Mary Alacoqu 1975: Greg Shackleton at Balibo by Indor 1992: Guatemalan F indigenous rights, 1997: Fulgêncio Manoe is assassinated ir 1998: Pinochet is arrest sons were torture during his 17-yea 2008: Garzón opens the	Gal 5,1-6 / Ps 1 e Lk 11,37- and four other journalists are kill esian troops invading East Timo tigoberta Menchú, advocate , receives the Nobel Peace Prize Ida Silva, labor leader and politici o Santa Maria da Boa Vista, Braz ed in London. More than 3,100 pe d, disappeared and/or assassinate r dictatorship. first case against the Franco regim	18 L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L	Gal 5,18-25 / Ps 1
-			World F	oof Day (FAO, 1979)) 	
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┧ 🥂 Thursday	1 Friday	₹ Saturday	
2Tim 4,9-17a / Ps 144	Movement leaders. 2001: Digna Ochoa, human rights lawyer, is assassinated in Mexico City.	Eph 1,15-23 / Ps 8 Laura Lk 12,8-12 1548: Founding of the city of La Paz. 1883: End of the border war between Chile and Peru. 1944: Ubico, dictator, is thrown out in Guatemala by a	
Twenty-ninth Sunday in Ordinary Time Isa 53,10-11 / Ps 32 Heb 4,14-16 / Mk 10,35-45		<u> </u>	
Ursula, Celina, Viator 1971: Chilean Pablo Neruda is awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. 1973: Gerardo Poblete, Salesian priest and a martyr for peace and justice in Chile, is tortured, then murdered.			

Tuesday Wednesday **Monday** Eph 2,1-10 / Ps 99 Eph 2,12-22 / Ps 84 Eph 3,2-12 / Int. Isa 12 Lk 12,13-21 Juan Capistrano Lk 12,35-38 Anthony Mary Claret Lk 12,39-48 María Salomé 1945: The United Nations is founded. 1976: Ernesto Lahourcade, Argentine trade unionist, is Santiago de Jerusalén 1956: Hungarian uprising against Soviet rule begins with 1977: Juan Caballero, Puerto Rican union leader, is martyred for justice. assassinated by a death squad. 1981: Eduardo Capiau, Belgian Religious, martyr to solidarity peaceful demonstrations. 1986: Vilmar José de Castro, pastoral worker and land rights 2005: Rosa Parks "Mother of the Modern-Day Civil Rights in Guatemala. Movement" dies in Detroit, Michigan. 1987: Nevardo Fernández is martyred in the struggle for activist is assassinated in Cacú, Goiás, Brazil, by the indigenous rights in Colombia. UDR of the landowners. World Development Information Day 2009: Víctor Gálvez, catechist, human rights promoter, 1987: Joao "Ventinha", a peasant farmer, is killed by three **United Nations Day** is assassinated for his resistance to transnational gunmen at Jacundá, Brazil. Aniversary of the Signing of the U.N. Charter, 1945. mining and electrical companies. Malacatán, San Marcos, Guatemala. First Quarter: 05h32m in Capricorn

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₹ Thursday	7/3 Friday	77 Saturday
 1887: A sector of the Brazilian Army, in solidarity with the people, refuses to destroy the Black stockades. 1974: Antonio Llidó, Spanish priest, disappeared, Chile. 1975: Vladimir Herzog, journalist, assassinated by the military dictatorship in São Paulo. 	Felicísimo, Evaristo Felipe Nicolai, Johann Heemann, Paul Gerhard 1981: Ramón Valladares, Salvadoran human rights activist, is assassinated. 1987: Hubert Luis Guillard, a Belgian priest is assassinated 1 by an army patrol in Cali, Colombia. 1987: Herbert Anaya, Sawyer, martyr to Human Rights, El Salvador. Aid al-Adha, Muslim Sacrifice Day	553: Miguel Servet, Spanish theologian, physician, and humanist, condemned by Catholics and Protestants alike, is burnt at the stake in Geneva.
Thirtieth Sunday in Ordinary Time Jer 31,7-9 / Ps 125 Heb 5,1-6 / Mk 10,46-52 Simon and Jude Procession of the Black Lord of the Miracles (Christ) in Lima, according to an Afro-Peruvian tradition. 1492: Columbus arrives in Cuba on his first voyage 1962: Sovietleader Khrushchev and U.S. president Kennedy agree on a way to end the Cuban Missile Crisis. 1907: Birth of Sergio Méndez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico and social activist. 1986: Mauricio Maraglio, missionary, martyr to the struggle for land, Brazil.		

WE MUST URGENTLY CHANGE OUR MODEL

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS

La Paz. Bolivia

As a consequence of the culture of domination of nature, our Mother Earth, our Pachamama, is sick, with a mortal wound. The planet is heating up and the climate is changing. The exponential increase in global warming is provoking extraordinary changes in the climate. The vagaries of the El Niño and La Niña phenomena, droughts, floods, heat waves, hurricanes, and tornados are increasingly strong and frequent. We are seeing climactic conditions of extremes we have never seen before, increasing rain in some areas, and causing severe droughts in others, having negative effects in agriculture, forestry, and fishing in every region. The floods in the Western part of Bolivia in the past few years are a direct result of these phenomena.

We are living through an unprecedented climate change caused directly and only by human beings. There is frightening proof that human activity is the principal cause of warming since 1950, particularly by the consumers of Western "civilization" since the industry age. It is estimated that in 1751 the emissions of CO2 that came from fossil fuels was 3 million tons. In 2006, 8,379 million tons were emitted.

The concentration in the atmosphere of gases that are causing the greenhouse effect has increased substantially since the beginning of the industrial revolution (37% in 200 years). The preindustrial concentration was about 280 ppm (parts per million) while in 2008 it was 390 ppm, and if we do not stop emitting these gases, we will reach 600 ppm during the 21st Century, although in the last million years, up to 1960, the concentration of CO2 never surpassed 310 ppm. We have not reached 600 ppm on the planet for 18 million years, while the variation in CO2 has not increased by more than 10% during the last 10,000 years.

If we pass by 2°C the average preindustrial temperature, the harm will be very severe. In 2004, the temperature had already increased by de 0.8°C. The temperature depends on the concentration of CO2. If we go over 400 ppm (in 2016 if current rates continue), we will inevitably reach 2°C before 2050.

But the precarious situation of the planet today is not the fault of 80% of the world population that lives in poverty, but it is caused directly and principally by the methods of development and irresponsible consumption which began with the industrial age in so-called Western civilization. The thirst for profit without motive, the search for luxury, ostentation, and waste of the richest 20% of the population, while millions die of hunger in the world, has made all of us totally dependent on the excessive consumption of the resources of the planet, converting everything into merchandise and extending this overexploitation equally to the forests, flora and fauna, water, land, the human genome, and life itself, as well as minerals and fossil fuels (carbon, gas, and petroleum), which are the major sources of global emissions of greenhouse gases. Since 1860, Europe and North America have contributed 70% of the emissions of CO2. The poor countries, only 2%.

The causes of this Global Crisis, which we feel each day with greater force, are found in the dominant models of capitalist and socialist development that prioritize rapid economic growth and demand collective and individual accumulation of wealth in order to continue with an unstoppable and insatiable consumerism which requires an increasingly irresponsible exploitation of natural resources.

Advanced by Western civilization and now employed on a global level as much as on a local level, these models of exaggerated and unlimited industrialization do not represent any type of solution for humanity and it is impossible for them to be extended to the entire world population, because this increase in our ecological footprint and threatening the survival of living beings and the survival of the planet does not allow for natural resources to be renovated at the pace that they are consumed.

Although they are the principal cause of this Global Crisis, the models of development continue as before with the presumption of unlimited growth, applying the recipes of the market to constantly generate more earnings and promote irrational consumption. The transnational companies and interests of international financial capital are not stopping their expansion, fighting against the winds and seas until they reach the very last corner of the planet. They continue with the exploitation that becomes more and more irrational and irresponsible the more scare the resources of the planet become, even to the point of creating businesses from sickness itself which these models produce.

By continuing to advance this crisis, it can become a threat to world peace when nation states enter into bloody battles throughout the planet for survival and for control of the increasingly scarce resources of petroleum, natural gas, fresh water, key minerals, forests, and farmlands among other resources, causing wars like those of petroleum and gas in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Georgia.

In this panorama, it is no longer is sufficient to struggle for the liberation of impoverished nations from the oppression and exploitation of rich nations, to liberate the South from the North, to struggle for independence and national sovereignty in the face of imperialism...The principal problem is no longer the "poverty" of the South. The problem is the poorly understood "richness" of the North, an increasing and excessive consumption that one planet alone cannot sustain. The impoverishment of the South and the enrichment of the North are advancing in parallel to destroy nature.

It no longer is appropriate to suggest socialism as an alternative to capitalism or neoliberalism, to suggest sustainable development rather than traditional development, to suggest harmony between humanity and nature rather than a culture of domination of nature, to suggest a Culture of Life rather than the capitalist and socialist models of development.

We can no longer voluntarily choose between two options, two equivalent forces that fight in an static context, choosing the model that best serves us. We cannot keep trying to resolve static contradictions between capital and labor, between North and South, between transnationals and original nations, between military domination and the force of communal energy.

We do not live in "normal" times, but exceptional times. We have to open our eyes, become aware of the crisis, go further than normal, understand the importance of the dynamic tendencies in the world, and recognize the grave effects on the equilibrium of nature and the probable crumbling of Western society when cheap energy runs out and climate change becomes more pronounced. The convergence of these tendencies will cause a change that will fall upon us with full force. The old society is dying and the new society has not yet been born. A revolutionary situation is maturing, in the words of the Left.

But, beyond this, *Pachamama* calls out to us, injured but patient. The great Pachakuti waits for us, a cosmic and earthly change approaches, a change of era, an inexorable dawn filled with new life, recuperation of identity, and force.

In this situation, this same crumbling of Western society and the threats to the planet will incapacitate the option of continuing to prioritize the capitalist and socialist development models that promise more of the same. This will present us with an opportunity for the world to listen to us and will give us the great challenge of putting on the table of debate our principles and codes so we can push forward a Culture of Life as the only solution that can save humanity and the planet in the face of this Global Crisis. In the midst of this disjunctive, we need to have the ability and preparation to find concrete paths that bring us to the construction of a new life or, perhaps, at least a new equilibrium for survival. We need to figure out how to take care of and strengthen the resurgence of the native indigenous peoples so that they can be a quide for the salvation of humanity and the planet.

As such, we need to take into account these dynamic tendencies to set up the bases, the foundations of the reconstruction of human society. Without these foundations, without this base, all of the rest, all our talk about combatting exploitation, discrimination, impoverishment for the majority of the population, the struggle against poverty and illiteracy, the recuperation, nationalization, industrialization, and sustainable use of gas and other natural resources, the production and consumption of ecological products, industrial diversification, the promotion of exportation, and openings to new markets...will be based on an analysis outside of reality and, as such, will be worthless.

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Monday Tuesday Wednesday Eph 4,32-5,8 / Ps 1 Eph 5,21-33 / Ps 127 Eph 6,1-9 / Ps 144 Lk 13,10-17 Alonso Rodríguez Lk 13,18-21 Reformation Day Lk 13,22-30 Narcisus 1626: The Dutch buy the island of Manhattan from the 1950: Nationalist insurrection in Puerto Rico, directed by 1553: Alonso Íllescas founds the first Latin American Pedro Albizu Campos. Indigenous people for 24 dollars. black community not to have experienced slavery at 1987: Manuel Chin Sooj and companions, Guatemalan 1979: Santo Dias da Silva, 37 year-old metal worker and Esmeraldas, Ecuador. Christian labor activist, is martyred for Brazilian 1973: José Matías Nanco, Evangelical pastor and his peasant catechists, are martyred. 1989: 14 fishermen in El Amparo, Venezuela are shot by a workers. companions, martyrs to solidarity, Chile. military and police force. 1983: Raúl Alfonsín is elected president in Argentina after 1989: Members of the National Federation of Salvadoran the military dictatorship. Workers Unions (FENASTRAS) are martyred in San Full Moon: 20h49m in Taurus 1987: Nicaragua approves a multi-ethnic Caribbean Salvador, El Salvador. autonomous region, the first in Latin America. World Savings Day 1999: Dorcelina de Oliveria Folador, a physically handicapped activist with the landless movement is assassinated for her denunciation of the powerful in Brazil.

1 Thursday	7) Friday	√ Saturday
Ap 7,2-4.9-14 / Ps 23 All Saints 1Jn 3,1-3 / Mt 5,1-12a	Job 19,1.23-27a / Ps 24 All Souls Phil 3,20-21 / Mk 15,33-39;16,1-6 1965: Norman Morrison, a Quaker, self-immolated in front of the Pentagon to protest United States involvement in Vietnam. 1989: Rape and torture of Sister Diana Ortiz provokes alle- gations of U.S. complicity in the Guatemalan civil war.	Phil 1,18b-26 / Ps 41 Martín de Porres Lk 14,1,7-11
Thirty-first Sunday in Ordinary Time Deut 6,2-6 / Ps 17		
Heb 7,23-28 / Mk 12,28b-34		
Charles Borromeo 1763: The Ottawa (USA) go to battle against Detroit.		
1780: Rebellion against the Spanish led by Tupac Amaru, Peru.		
1969: Carlos Mariguela is executed, São Paulo. 1984: Nicaraguans participate in the first free elections in 56	,	
years. Daniel Ortega wins the presidency. 1995: Anti-peace accords extremist assassinates Israeli		

Wednesday Monday Tuesday Phil 2.1-4 / Ps 130 Phil 2.5-11 / Ps 21 Zacharias and Elizabeth Lk 14,12-14 Leonard Lk 14,15-24 Ernest 1838: Independence of Honduras 1844: Spain grants independence to the Dominican Republic. John Christian Frederik Heyer 1811: First battle fought in El Salvador's war of independence 1866: Imperial Decree 3275 frees those slaves throughout 1513: Ponce de Leon takes possession of Florida. from Spain. Brazil who are prepared to defend the country in the 1917: Victory of the worker-campesino insurrection in war against Paraguay. Russia. The first experience of constructing socialism 1975: Agustín Tosco, Argentine labor leader, dies when unable to seek medical attention due to political repression. 1988: José Ecelino Forero, pastoral agent, is martyred for in the world begins. faith and service in Colombia. 1980: Fanny Abanto, teacher, leader among educators, 1837: Elijah Lovejoy, an American abolitionist and journalist, animator of BECs in Lima, witness to the faith. killed by a pro-slavery mob intent on destroying his 1988: Araceli Romo Álvarez and Pablo Vergara Toledo, printing press in Alton, Illinois. International Day for Preventing the Exploitation of Christian activists, martyrs in the resistance against 1978: Antonio Ciani, student leader, is disappeared on his way the Environment in War and Armed Conflict (UN). dictatorship in Chile. to San Carlos University in Guatemala City. 1983: Augusto Ramírez Monasterio, Franciscan, martyr to the defense of the poor, Guatemala. Last Quarter: 01h35m in Leo

Phil 2,12-18 / Ps 26

Lk 14,25-33

November



Thursday

Phil 3,3-8a / Ps 104 Lk 15,1-10 Theodore

Friday

Lk 16,1-8 Leo the Great

Saturday

Phil 4,10-19 / Ps 111 Lk 16,9-15

1897: Birth of Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Catholic Worker	1
movement, pacifist and social activist.	

1976: Carlos Fonseca, Nicaraguan patriot, teacher and founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is killed. 1977: Justo Mejia, peasant unionist and catechist, is martyred 1987: Indigenous martyrs of Pai Tavyterá, Paraguay.

1938: Kristallnacht sees Nazi pogrom destroy some 2,000 1483: Birth of Martin Luther in Germany. synagogues, thousands of Jewish businesses, kill 91 and arrest over 25,000 Jews.

for his faith in El Salvador.

1984: First Meeting of Black Religious, seminarians and priests in Rio de Janeiro.

1989: The Berlin Wall falls.

1400. Birar or Maran Eduler in Connany.
1969: The Brazilian government forbids publication of
news about Indigenous peoples, gerrillas, the Black
movement and anything against racial discrimination

1980: Policiano Albeño, Evangelical pastor, and, Raúl Albeño, martyrs for justice, El Salvador.

1984: Alvaro Ulcué Chocué, a priest and a Páez, the largest indigenous nation in Colombia, is assassinated in Santander. 1996: Assassination of Jafeth Morales López, popular

2004: The Commission against Torture turns over the testimony of 35,000 victims of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Colombian activist, animator of BECs.

Monday

Titus 1,1-9 / Ps 23 Lk 17,1-6 Leandro **Tuesday**

Titus 2,1-8.11-14 / Ps 36

Lk 17,7-10 Diego de Alcalá

Titus 3,1-7 / Ps 22 Lk 17,11-19

1838: Abolition of slavery in Nicaragua.

Josaphat

1980: Nicoláa Tum Quistán, catechist and Eucharistic minister, is martyred for solidarity in Guatemala.

assassinated in Plan del Pino, El Salvador.

2008: Judge Baltasar Garzón orders the investigation of

is martyred for his support of Uruguayan liberation movements.

1987: Miguel Angel del Tránsito Ortiz, pastoral animator, 1974: Karen Silkwood, labor activist and corporate critic, dies in a suspicious accident in Oklahoma.

New Moon: 23h08m in Scorpio

1969: Indalecio Oliveira Da Rosa, a 33 year-old priest, 1817: Policarpa 'La Pola' Salavarrieta, heroine of Colombian independence, is executed by the Spanish.

1960: National strike of 400,000 railroad, port and ship workers, Brazil.

1984: Cesar C. Climaco, a Philippine politician and prominent critic of the Marcos dictatorship, is assassinated in Zamboanga City, Philippines

executions during the Franco regime in Spain.		Zamodanga Oity, i imppines.
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2Jn 4-9 / Ps 118 3Jn 5-8 / Ps 111 Lk 17,20-25 Margaret, Gertrude Lk 17,26-37 Elizabeth of Hungary Albert the Great 1562: Juan del Valle, Bishop of Popayán, Colombia, pilgrim Day of Sacrifice in Islam. 1858: Death of Robert Owen, social reformer considered in the Indigenous cause. 1982: Founding of the Latin American Council of Churches father of the cooperative movement. 1985: Luis Che, Celebrant of the Word, martyred for his 1781: Julián 'Tupac Katari' Apasa, leader of indigenous (CLAI). uprising in Bolivia, is executed by the colonial army. 1885: Louis Riel, Canadian Métis leader, is executed after faith, in Guatemala,v 1889: Brazil is declared a Republic. a failed rebellion. 1904: US Marines land in Ancón, Panama. 1989: Ignacio Ellacuría, his Jesuit companions and two 1987: Fernando Vélez, lawyer and human rights activist, is female domestic employees of the University of Central martyred in Colombia. America in El Salvador are massacred by the military. Hiira Islamic New Year 1434 International Day for Tolerance (UN) Thirty-third Sunday in Ordinary Time Dan 12,1-3 / Ps 15 Heb 10,11-14.18 / Mk 13,24-32 1970: Gil Tablada is assassinated for his opposition to land grabs in La Cruz, Costa Rica. 1999: Iñigo Equiluz Telleriá, a Basque volunteer, and José Luis Maso, a priest, are assassinated by paramilitaries at Quibdó, Colombia. 2000: Alcira Del Carmen Herrera Pérez, wife of a labor

leader killed in 1996, is taken from her home in Uraba

Antioqueño, Colombia and shot.

Friday

Saturday

Lk 18,1-8

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Ap 3,1-6.14-22 / Ps 14 Ap 4,1-11 / Ps 150 Ap 1,1-4;2,1-5a / Ps 1 Lk 18,35-43 Felix of Valois, Octavio Abdías, Crispín Lk 19,1-10 Presentation of Mary Lk 19,11-28 1681: Roque González, witness to the faith in the Paraguayan 1542: The New Laws regularize the encomiendas in the 1831: Colombia declares itself a sovereign State, thus Church, and his companion Jesuits Juan and Alfonso, New Indies. separating from Great Colombia. 1695: Zumbi de los Palmares, leader of slave resistance 1927: Six striking coal miners are killed by police at the in Brazil, is martyred, National Day for Black Cons-Columbine Mine in Colorado. 1915: Joe Hill, American labor activist, executed after a controversial trial. ciousness in Brazil. 1966: Founding of the National Organization of Women 1980: Santos Jiménez Martinez and Jerónimo 'Don Chomo', 1976: Guillermo Woods, missionary priest, former US (NOW), Chicago. Protestant pastors, are martyred in Guatemala. combatant in Vietnam, martyr, Guatemala. 1975: Peasants of La Union, Honduras, are massacred by 2000: Fujimori, while in Japan, presents his demission as 1978: Ricardo Talavera is assassinated in Managua, mercenaries hired by land barons. president of Peru by fax. Nicaragua by the National Guard. World Television Day (UN) 2000: Enrique Arancibia, former agent of the Chilean DINA, is condemned for the attempts on the life of General Pratts in Buenos Aires on Sept. 30, 1984 Universal Children's Day First Quarter: 15h31m in Aquarius

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Friday Thursday Ap 5,1-10 / Ps 149 Cecilia Lk 19,41-44 Clemente World Music Day. 1910: João Cândido, the "Black Admiral," leads the Chibata Mexican government as part of the fiercely anti-clerical revolt against near-slavery conditions in the Brazilian response to the Cristero Rebellion. 1974: Amilcar Oviedo D., worker leader, dies in Paraguay. 1963: John F. Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas. Brothers in El Salvador.

Saturday Lk 19,45-48 Andrew Dung-Lac

Ap 11,4-12 / Ps 143 Lk 20,27-40

1927: Miguel Agustin Pro, a Jesuit priest, executed by the 1590: Agustín de La Coruña, Bishop of Popayán, exiled and imprisoned for defending Indigenous people.

1807: Joseph 'Thayendanegea' Brant, Mohawkwar chief and tireless negotiator for the Six Nations, dies in Ontario.

1980: Ernesto Abrego, pastor, disappeared with four of his 1957: Diego Rivera, Mexican muralist and husband of Frida Kahlo, dies in Mexico.

1980: The Russell Tribunal studies 14 cases of violation of human Rights against Indigenous peoples.

Christ the King	
Dan 7,13-14 / Ps 92 Ap 1,5-8 / Jn 18,33b-37	
Catherine of Alexandria	
<i>lsaac Wats</i> 1808: A law is signed that concedes land to non-Black	
foreigners who come to Brazil. 1960: Maria Teresa, Minerva and Patria Mirabal, social justice	
activists and opponents of the Trujillo dictatorship are assassinated along with Rufino de la Cruz.	
1975: Independence of Surinam, National Holiday. 1983: Marçal da Sousa, a Tupá'i leader, martyred in the	
struggle for Indigenous land rights in Brazil. International Day for the Elimination	
of Violence against Women	

JUSTICE AS FAIRNESS

MARC PLANA

Mataró, Barcelona, Spain

We are entering into a global society that is intercultural, pluralist, increasingly secular and knowledge-based. Liberation Theology cannot continue contributing as long as it remains inside its Judeo-Christian world with its biblical references. It must consider a theoretical and secular rephrasing of the «liberating principle», in dialogue with current political philosophy.

John Rawls, in 1971, focused political philosophy on the issue of justice. In Theory of Justice, Rawls proposed a theory as the basis of «a democratic society understood as a fair system of ongoing social cooperation». It is a comprehensive system whose subject is the institutions. The institutions must explain and answer to what we owe each other due to the mere fact that we live in a group. Then, what is just is not what is good to do but what we have the obligation to do: we should not have freedom only if we earn it, nor access to medical attention only if we buy it or because the government is in a good mood. We are talking about the rights that we must guarantee as a community.

Rawls deduces that a just society would be one where its citizens can choose their own life project (given their faculty of rationality) and, at the same time are capable of being sensitive to the demands of social cooperation (given their reasonableness). This society would allow the development of two principles. The first regulates those social goods that may never be distributed in an unequal manner: the citizens' basic freedoms and rights. A certain degree of non-negotiable autonomy is necessary so that each person or people can generate and follow its own life project. Individual autonomy is understood here as a quarantee of human dignity. Kant said that humans must always treat one another as a subject and not only as a means (to an end.)

Up to now, we could be talking about mere academic abstractions if it were not that a simple look at the current scene places in doubt the reality of this autonomy. Globalization imposes restrictive models on its economic quidelines; a human being is not only literally a simple means in maguilas or in trafficking networks. She also seems to be just one more piece

that is intercultural, pluralist, increasingly secular and annot continue contributing as long as it remains inside references. It must consider a theoretical and secular in dialogue with current political philosophy.

On a game-board where the gradual acceptance of the rules of the game diminishes more and more her autonomy and redistributes effective freedoms in a very unequal manner. So, according to Rawls' concept of justice, any inequality in the field of rights is not of justice, any inequality in the field of rights is not only morally reprehensible but also unjust; therefore it should implicate the institutions as regulators. However, Rawls does not preach a simple material equality; he accepts an unequal distribution of material goods provided that it does not contradict the first principle and respects the conditions defined in the second one. He would only accept the inequalities linked to positions accessible to all with equal opportunity, and which would structurally benefit those most disadvantaged. The principle is ignored by the present model again: economic differences are increasing not only between countries but also within them.

An alternative opposed to Rawls is to see justice as a guarantee that institutions do not decide what to do with individuals (or with their goods). The protection that Rawls offers in relation to the individual becomes absolute in this proposition, to the point that power is conceived as opposite to the individual. From this perspective, to create an equality of conditions is to avoid overburdening the individual with restrictions that impede her from following her free will (and even less, in the name of a distributive justice, obliges her to give up what she has). It is an important argument, because it is the basis for the present state of things and for the trust in freedom as a source of morality. In view of this argument, critics explain that a simple deregulation or liberalization cannot be called equality of opportunity but meritocracy. On the road to equality, not only we must avoid impositions, but also promote actions to invalidate natural and social circumstances that affect certain

human beings. Otherwise, meritocracy will only be an effective way to legitimate the resultant new inequality. «To be born poor or with physical deficiencies is not unjust. What is unjust is society not doing anything to prevent that these morally arbitrary circumstances socially harm the individuals» (Ángel Puyol).

Access to equal freedom and citizenship for all, therefore, should be promoted by the institutions even when it would imply social regulation. As the philosopher Owen Fiss says, this is not only a guestion of allowing people to speak, but also to distribute loudspeakers. Consequently, there will be need for measures such as providing education or blocking an excessive concentration of power and resources. There is something we should take into account. Are these propositions committed to a certain substantive idea of goodness (that is to say, to a certain idea and promotion of how the citizenry should be)? No doubt about it. But to think, from our historic perspective, that deregulation is fair play rule is simply naïve. On the other hand, should this substantive idea of goodness be seen as an imposition? The human being is always the result of a social «imposition». But it is not the same if the design of this citizenry comes from a self-interested and distant power or from an open, reasoned, plural, and free debate. Neither should we accept others thinking for us nor should we abandon (and stop being conscious of) our social quota of power.

Globalization has raised an important challenge to Rawls. Nowadays, individual interactions go further than state-related ones. The question, then, is to know if we can speak of global justice when there are no institutions that can guarantee it further than the States. So-called Cosmopolitans think that nationality is morally irrelevant and that there are prior and stronger moral obligations among all individuals. These obligations should be capable of organizing us in favour of global equality. Statists, on the other hand, think that the State is the only source of public morals. Inequality exists further but to finish it off is more a solidarity issue (mandatory only in conscience) than one of justice (which implies institutions). The debates between them are rich. Is it acceptable to have a different level of duty with our neighbour,

whose operation is financed by my taxes, than with the Tanzanian peasant with whom I have only voluntary solidarity bonds? Is it possible to create global institutions and an idea of global citizenship? The debate has even been the basis for concrete proposals such as the German philosopher Thomas Pogge's alternative to pharmaceutical patents.

However, the most consistent critique of Rawls is about the conditions for reasonableness. He used to say that justice is based on an idea of citizens sensitive to their duties to each other. Well then, it is not so clear that, despite finding an ideal pact and dialogue situation, humans not always create power structures that subordinate reason and the needs of others to our way of looking at the world (and to our ability to enforce it). In other words, one of the concerns of the present political philosophy is the disintegration of society, its lack of cohesion, the little capability to find the reasons to support life covenants satisfactory to all. In view of this situation,—that some fear to be structural—is it possible that a social conscience will appear just because it is expected from us in a just society? What impediments do we find for that conscience and for social trust? This is one of the questions that political philosophy is trying to answer to avert a world where somebody else's needs are not capable of justifying consensual political solutions if they demand, in exchange, that I give part of my freedom. In this sense, Amartya Sen (The *Idea of Justice*) proposes to start from concrete cases to arrive to praxis of justice better linked to real needs, and less dependence from adapting reality to comprehensive theories.

Joan Vergés writes that political philosophy should promote «a feasible ideal, a realistic utopia, one that could make us believe that there could be more social justice». On this path, Rawls is an essential quotation. His main critic, Nozick, said: «Today, those who work in political philosophy must work according to Rawls' theory or else explain why they don't». Rawls' thinking —and the debates it provokes, debates that are renewed with society's advance—should be seen by Liberation Theology as a challenge and an opportunity for a dialogue.

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Wednesday **Monday** Tuesday Ap 14,1-3.4b-5 / Ps 23 Ap 14,14-19 / Ps 95 Ap 15,1-4 / Ps 97 Lk 21,5-11 Catherine Labouré John Berchmans Lk 21,1-4 Virgil Lk 21,12-19 1883: Sojourner Truth, escaped slave, abolitionist and 1977: Fernando Lozano Menéndez, Peruvian university 1975: FRETILIN, The Revolutionary Frontfor an Independent women's rights advocate, dies. student, dies while being interrogated by the military. East Timor, proclaims the independence of the country. 1984: Campesinos of Chapi and Lucmahuayco, Peru are 1978: George Moscone, Mayor of San Francisco and 1976: Liliana Esthere Aimetta, a Methodist, martyred for the poor in Argentina. martyred. Harvey Milk, a gay rights advocate and politician, 1978: Ernesto Barrera, «Neto», priest, workers, martyr to are assassinated. the BECs, El Salvador. 1980: Juan Chacón and companions, leaders of the FDR, martyrs in El Salvador. 1980: Marcial Serrano, parish priest, is martyred for his work 1992: Attempted State coup in Venezuela. with Salvadoran peasants. Full Moon: 15h46m in Gemini

Эесешреі

1990: Peasants of Atitlán, Guatemala, are martyred.

Intenational Anti-Slavery Day (U.N.)

Decembel

Francis Xavier

Monday

Isa 2,1-5 / Ps 121

Mt 8,5-11 John Damascene, Bárbara 1502: Moctezuma is enthroned as Lord of Tenochtitlán.

Tuesday

Isa 11,1-10 / Ps 71

Wednesday

Isa 25,6-10a / Ps 22

Mt 15,29-37

Lk 10,21-24 Sabas

1677: Portuguese forces under Fernán Carrillo attack 1492: Columbus arrives in Hispaniola on his voyage to

1987: Victor Raúl Acuña, priest, dies in Peru. 2002: Ivan Illich, priest, philosopher and sociologist of liberation, dies. 19	the slave resistance settlement of Quilombo de Palmares, Brazil. 369: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, Black Panther leaders, are shot to death in their sleep by 14 Chicago police officers.	the Americas. 1810: Miguel Hidalgo makes public the Proclamation of Restitution of Indigenous lands to Indigenous peoples, thus ending the system of encomiendas, arrenamientos and haciendas in Mexico. 1824: The Brazilian Constitution, through a complementary law, forbids schooling for lepers and Blacks. 1893: Farabundo Martí, Salvadoran revolutionary, is born. 2000: Two former Argentinean generals during the dictatorship, Suárez Masón and Santiago Riveros, are condemned to life imprisonment by an Italian court. International Volunteer Day
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Second Sunday of Advent Bar 5,1-9 / Ps 125 Phil 1,4-6.8-11 / Lk 3,1-6 Leocadia, Valerio 1569: Birth of Martin de Porres, patron saint of social justice, in Peru. 1824: Antonio Sucre leads independence forces to victory in the final battle against the Spanish at Ayacucho, Peru.

Wednesday Tuesday Monday Isa 35,1-10 / Ps 84 Zac 2,14-17 / Ps 95 Mt 18,12-14 Guadalupe, Juan Diego Eulalia de Mérida Lk 5,17-26 Dámaso, Lars Olsen Skrefsrud Lk 1,39-45 1898: Spain is defeated and cedes Puerto Rico and the 1978: Gaspar Garcia Laviana, a priest, is martyred in the 1531: The Virgin of Guadalupe appears to Juan Diego at Philippines to the USA. struggle for freedom in Nicaragua. Tepevac, Mexico where the Nahuatl people venerated 1948: The United Nations proclaims the Universal Declaration 1994: The First American Summit, in Miami. The governments Tonantzin, "the venerable mother". of Human Rights. decide to create the FTAA, without the participation of 1981: Massacre of "El Mozote." Hundreds of campesinos 1977: Azucena Villaflor, founder of the Mothers of May Square, the people. It will fall apart in 2005. are killed in Morazán, El Salvador. 1983: Prudencio "Tencho" Mendoza, seminarian, martyred is disappeared in Buenos Aires. 1996: The Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 is granted to José in Huehuetenango, Guatemala. Ramos Horta, the author of the peace plan for East 2002: Congress throws out former President Aleman for fraud Timor and to Carlos Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili. of millions, Nicaragua. 1997: The Socialist Government of France approves the 2009: Ronaldo Muñoz, theologian of liberation theology and an example of the coherence between faith, theology reduction of the work week to 35 hours. and practice, dies in Santiago, Chile.

Saturday **Thursday** Friday Isa 48.17-19 / Ps 1 Isa 41,13-20 / Ps 144 Si 48,1-4.9-11 / Ps 79 Mt 11,11-15 John of the Cross Mt 11,16-19 Valerian 1976: 22 political prisoners are executed in army operation Teresa of Avila 1890: Sitting Bull or Ta-Tanka I-Yotank, a Lakota Sioux holy "to eliminate terrorists" at Margarita Belén, Argentina. 1890: Rui Barbosa orders archives on slavery in Brazil to be man and leader, is killed by police on the Standing 1978: Independence of St. Lucy. burned in order to wipe out the memory. Rock Indian Reservation, in South Dakota. 1937: The fall of Nanjing, China to Japanese troops begins 1973: The UN identifies Puerto Rico as a colony and affirms 1975: Daniel Bombara, Argentinean university student, is several weeks of raping and killing of more than 200,000 its right to independence. martyred for his commitment to the poor. civilians and prisoners. 1989: Death of Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov, Soviet nuclear New Moon: 09h41m n Sagittarius physicist, human rights activist and 1975 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, 1975. 2003: José María Ruiz Furlán, a priest who worked in slums of Guatemala with popular organizations, is assassinated.

Zeph 3,14-18a / Int. Isa 12 Phil 4,4-7 / Lk 3,10-18	
Adelaida	
1984: Eloy Ferreira da Silva, Brazilian labor leader, is assassinated for his defense of land rights.	
1990: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former priest, is elected President of Haiti in the country's first modern day	
democratic elections. 1991: Indigenous martyrs of Cauca, Colombia.	
1993: Popular uprising in Santiago del Estero, Argentina.	

Mt 17,10-13

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Jer 23,5-8 / Ps 71 Judg 13,2-7.24-25a / Ps 70 Gen 49,2.8-10 / Ps 71 Juan de Mata, Lazarus Mt 1,1-17 Rufo y Zósimo Mt 1,18-24 Nemesio Lk 1,5-25 1819: The Republic of Great Colombia is proclaimed in 1979: Massacre of campesinos in Ondores, Peru. 1994: Mexican economic crisis: 10 days later the Angostura. 1979: Massacre of peasants in El Porvenir, Opico, El Salvador. devaluation of the peso reaches 100%. 1830: Death of Simon Bolivar, the Venezuelan-born 1985: João Canuto and sons, labor leader in Brazil. 1994: Alfonso Stessel, 65 year-old Belgian priest worindependence leader of Spanish South America, near 1992: Manuel Campo Ruiz, Marianist, victim of police king with the poor, is assassinated in Guatemala Santa Maria, Colombia. corruption, Rio de Janeiro. by an agent of state security. 1948: Uriel Sotomayor, a Nicaraguan student leader, is mur- 1994: The remains of Nelson MacKay are recovered, the 2001: After a speech by President De la Rúa, the dered in Leon for his opposition to Somoza dictatorship. first case of the 184 disappeared in Honduras during Argentinean people take to the streets provoking 2009: Antonio Aparecida da Silva, Black Latin American the 1980s. his demission. theologian dies, in São Paulo-Marília, Brasil. 2001: Claudio "Pocho" Lepratti, dedicated servant of International Migrants Day (U.N.) the poor, is killed by police in Rosario, Argentina (pochormiga.com.ar).

December

Monday

204

(Vigil Mass) Isa 9,1-3.5-6 / Ps 95 Herminia and Adela Titus 2,11-14 / Lk 2,1-14 $1524: Vasco\,da\,Gama, Portuguese\,explorer\,who\,opened\,India\ Christmas$

and East Africa to European colonization, dies in Goa. 1553: Valdivia is defeated in Tucapel by the Araucans. 1873: Brazilian government takes repressive action against 1652: Alonso de Sandoval, prophet and defender of African the quilombo's, African fugitive slave settlements, guerrillas in Sergipe, Brazil.

Tuesday

slaves, dies in Cartegena, Colombia.

1951: Bomb blast kills Harry T. Moore, teacher and U.S.

Christmas

Isa 52,7-10 / Ps 97 Stephen

Heb 1,1-6 / Jn 1,1-18 1864: Beginning of the War of the Triple Alliance; Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay against Paraguay which would suffer 60% mortality of its population.

ZWednesday Acts 6,8-10;7,54-60 / Ps 30

Mt 10,17-22

2004: Tsunami claims more than 300,000 lives around rim of Indian Ocean.

	civil rights activist.	
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77 Thursday	7 ☆ Frida	y	70 9	Saturday	
1Jn 1,1-4 / Ps 96	Holy Innocents 1925: The Prestes Column attacks	1Jn 1,5-2,2 / Ps 123 Mt 2,13-18 Teresina, PI, Brazil. Huacataz, Peru. Issant and youth leader, at a youth assembly on ombia.	Thomas Becket 1987: Over 70 mine attacked and River. 1996: Guatemalan of hostilities than 100,000	1Jr ers from Serra Pelada, Ma d shot by military police a peace accords are signed that saw 44 villages destr	ending 36 years royed and more
Holy Family Sir 3,2-6.12-14 / Ps 127 Col 3,12-21 / Lk 2,41-52					
Sabino 1502: The largest fleet of the time sails from Spain: 30 ships with 1,200 men, commanded by Nicolás de Obando. 1896: Dr. José Rizal, a national hero of the Philippines and one of Asia's first modern proponents of non-violent political change is executed by the Spanish. 1934: Anticlerical 'red shirts' open fire of church goers in Coyoacán, Mexico killing five and wounding many.					205

Monday

Tuesday

Silvester

1384: John Wycliffe dies in England

1972: Carlos Danieli, a member of the Communist Party of Brazil, dies during the fourth day of torture in São Paulo, Brazil

2004: Iginio Hernandez Vasquez, indigenous land advocate, murdered by paid assassins in Honduras.

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Year 2012, within the following UN Decades:

2003-2012: United Nations Literacy Decade, Education for All

2005-2014: United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development

2005-2014: Second International Decade of the World's Indigeous People

2005-2015: International Decade for Action, Water for Life

2006-2016: Decade of Recovery and Sustainable Development of Affected Regions

2008-2017: Second United Nations Decade for the Erradication of Poverty

2010-2020: United Nations Decade ofr Deserts and the Fight against Desertification

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2013 October November December

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II. INUNG ACTOM

THE ART OF SEDUCTION

FREI BETTO
São Paulo, Brazil

All dictatorship is megalomaniacal. The bootsand-rifles based government of Brazil from 1964 to 1985, was no different. The construction of the Trans-Amazon highway symbolizes the arrogance of that military regime.

It cut the forest from East to West. It opened the road parallel to mighty waterways. Instead of improving the navigation of the Amazon River and its tributaries, the dictatorship preferred to force the forest to kneel at its feet. Ponderous machines felled ancient trees of inestimable noble woods, destroying precious ecosystems and altering the ecological balance of the region.

All this in the name of a word so publicized and empty of meaning: *development*. Read: predatory exploitation of the largest rainforest in the world, open to the voracity of mining companies, logging companies, and especially the predatory *latifundia* (large estates), often ending up in slave labor.

But, repeating Carlos Drummond de Andrade, "in the middle of the road there was a stone," the indigenous peoples. How to prevent them from offering resistance? Simple: through the art of seduction. The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) erected *tapini* (huts of leaves). It put into them hunting and kitchen utensils, tools, etc. The Indians, enchanted, gently welcomed the pale faces. And naively they were coopted by mercantile relations and, in exchange for trinkets, lost health, land, freedom and life. One detail: the jungle, not the cat, ate the TransAmazonia, a source of wealth and power of several public works companies.

Today we all are Indians. The *tapini* are the shopping centers, advertising, and trinkets that we place value on. The inhuman imprints its sense on the human, as did the gods of gold denounced by the bibli-

cal prophets: they had mouths but did not speak, had eyes but could not see, they had ears but could not listen, had feet no but could not walk...

We are all under the hypnotic effect of consumerism. No matter if the product is fragile or of poor quality. Its appearance captivates us. Its advertising makes us believe that we are buying the eighth wonder of the world. And, ingenuously, this is also a durable product, even though we are aware that capitalism does not care about the consumer's right but rather the profit margin of the producer.

How do we liberate ourselves from the consumer labyrinth that, in truth, we are consumed by as we consume? I see no exit door except for spirituality, coupled to a worldview. Without spirituality, we run the risk, especially for the youngest, of giving importance to that which has none. Gripped by the low self-esteem advertising instills in us ("you are nobody because you don't have this car, don't wear these clothes, didn't make this trip..."), we look at merchandise as something that adds value to us. It is not enough to have a shirt, handbag or tennis shoes. They have to be branded with the label visible on the outside. For this way, those around us have to recognize our status.

And perhaps envy us. When the person next to us, lacking refined products, is seen as unimportant, then he or she doesn't fit into the current post-Cartesian principle: "I consume therefore I am." The whole person is spiritual whose sense of life takes root in his or her subjectivity and whose choices are driven by altruistic ideals. So they do not make what they own—bank account, securities, home, car, etc.—their self-esteem factor. This is because they know that they have worth in themselves, which is not powered by the possession of goods but by their ability to do

good to others. Their self-esteem is based on generosity, solidarity and compassion. And they are happy because they know how to make others happy.

The market offers everything. All its products come to us wrapped in gift paper: if we buy this car we will be happy, if we drink that beer we will be glad, if we acquire such clothing we will feel cheerful. The only thing the market does not offer is precisely what we seek most: happiness. At best the market tries to convince us that happiness is the result of the sum of pleasures.

But happiness is a spiritual good, not of the senses, of greed, or of arrogance. They are happy who try to unravel their own ego and connect with the Transcendent, the neighbor and nature. That bursting in from outside themselves has a name: love. And it manifests itself in the personal dimensions in the gift of self to another, and in the social in the effort to build a better world.

LIBERATION AND SUMAK KAWSAY

CONSIDERATIONS FROM GENDER EQUALITY

ELSA TAMEZ

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Liberation is a continuous process of leaving a situation of oppression in search of the good life. I like the term Sumak Kawsay because it gives content to the goal for which we have chosen to live these processes of liberation. We have lived through so many struggles... and have lost most, it is true—like Colonel Buendía in One Hundred Years of Solitude, who attempted 30 revolutions and lost all of them. And yet, here we are; we still believe and hope; we sometimes dance at parties where photos of the martyrs and disappeared are glued on the walls of the room. They see us and smile. They accompany us. This is because the processes of liberation are lived simultaneously with the *good* life. Our struggles for the lands of indigenous peoples, against the high cost of living, and against violence towards women are not joyless struggles carried out with long faces. Setting out on the journey of liberation is already a good life and a journey of grace.

Liberation is a continuous and communitarian process. It begins with and anticipates *sumak kawsay*. When I say communitarian, it is because here women and men are present together, from many cultures, motivated by a *sumak kawsay* for everyone. Speaking of liberation alone, without *sumak kawsay*, can hide racial and gender discrimination.

But talking about *sumak kawsay* in the communitarian process of liberation brings to light true interpersonal relationships between men and women and nature. The *good life, sumak kawsay*, cannot be achieved in the fight for justice alone, since this tends to postpone or set aside dimensions of the daily *good life*: a kiss, a well-roasted ear of corn, sharing a nibble of a hot taco with beans and flavorful chiles. *Sumak kawsay* is part of the ethics of care, an essential dimension in struggles for justice.

For women, it is very important to talk about *sumak kawsay* when talking about the liberation of peoples, or the liberation of women. If there is no *sumak kawsay*, there is no liberation, even if we achieve a higher salary or our accomplishments are better recognized. *Living well* is living a true process of liberation. On the other hand, *sumak kawsay* without a vision of liberation on the horizon is nonsensical, illusory and cynical.

TRANSFORMING CAPITALISM: A NECESSITY

INDISPENSABLE FOR LIVING WELL

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Persons, peoples and nature are always in danger in Capitalism

The functioning logic of capitalism is obtaining as much profit as possible in the shortest period of time. The satisfaction of humans' necessities as well as the respect for nature and peoples' cultures are not issues to be respected by capitalism to guarantee its functioning and hegemony as a society governing system. On the contrary, exploitation and plundering have been a base to get profit. Capitalism with a human face... is a contradictory concept.

Essentially, the crisis of capitalism is not negative for its own operation. The crisis acts like pruning shears, removing from society the processes that are left over, those less efficient, and leaves surviving only solid productive processes. For capitalism, crisis represents the necessity of reformation and adaptation so it can exploit more and better.

Reinventing Capitalism: neither possible nor desirable

Along its process of historical evolution, capitalism has passed through crisis moments in which there have been important social and economic changes that again have assured the system a strong and vigorous function. Capitalist globalization was the formula that allowed capitalism to recover from the crisis during the 60's and 70's of the last century. Globalization is a horizontal and vertical expansion of capitalism, and the neoliberal strategic is its mechanism of appropriate management that ensures such an expansion.

Horizontally, under the control of huge transnational companies, it has produced an international division of labor based on the fact that different productive processes are placed where the manufacture is the most economical. The world is converted into a great factory. Alongside this, a vertical expansion of capitalism has occurred. From the 70's on, capitalism

has extended its tentacles to the fullest capacity so as to generate benefits from every corner of society. In fact, social rights, natural resources, and public patrimony were converted into merchandize through diverse practices of privatization, and gradually came to swell the production and financial assets of the increasingly powerful transnational groups.

The neoliberal strategy, through deregulation and liberalization, ensures the hegemony of the market as allocator of resources. It becomes the functional economic strategy policy for the advance and consolidation of global capitalism model. Institutions like the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, and the European Union were erected like a ship's insignia of neoliberalism. By directly or indirectly acting they determined the performance of individual states, the last executors of the neoliberal plan.

Today, this model has collapsed. In August of 2007 with the explosion of the financial crisis, it was obvious that the formula to re-establish the profit that had been developed since the 70's could not make it anymore. Since then we have seen how capitalism's expansion is stagnant. We are seeing how societies view it as imperative to use all their present and future resources to prevent the collapse of this model. Today, societies are imprisoned by the financial power that appears in the mass media under the euphemism of 'the markets'.

The solution to the crisis that arises from centers of power is not good news for common people. The purpose consists in deepening even more the processes of plundering and exploitation of societies as a means of ensuring dominion over the social surplus. Their goal is to turn society into a hypermarket and citizens into consumers with as many rights as the money they hold.

World political leaders, faithful servants of powerbrokers, are meeting to 're-establish' capitalism in magnificent summits to design the measures to return the global system to growth and expansion, a sort of recipe that should control possible mismatches generated by its operation so these episodes—as in the present—do not happen again. Nevertheless, the deployment of capitalist globalization since its beginning has brought social and environmental consequences as well as denial of democracy, which have arisen as insurmountable restrictions to its re-establishment, and make it unviable. No longer can either humanity or the planet put up with the predatory and authoritarian logic that capitalism imposes.

Socialism of 21st century: a desire and a necessity

Moving towards a model of society based on cooperation, participative democracy, and solidarity, where the satisfaction of people's basic necessities is subjected to practices that respect and integrate them into the function of nature and cultural diversity of peoples, today is not just a wish but a necessity.

Realities like global poverty and its consequent migratory phenomena, climate change and all the human and ecological catastrophes that it carries out, the management of scarce natural resources... are issues that have no individual solution. No country or group of countries will be able to face the consequences of these social problems on its own. The times are coming where cooperation, community, and solidarity will be effective to really and seriously face our current challenges. At this point, the logic of selfishness, competitiveness, and private profit will be useless to tackle successfully the challenges that humanity is facing. Keeping going down the path of capitalism as if it were the only possible path would be a grave mistake that surely would lead us towards wars all over the world, to the point of endangering future life on our planet.

Currently, hundreds of millions of people are affected by the logic of capitalism. Whole communities are displaced by the effect of climate change, impoverished and mistreated by the voracity of transnational interests of agribusiness, mining, and oil. Millions of human beings cannot even satisfy their most basic necessities of food and health in a world economy humanly absurd, where the FAO's regular budget for

two years equals to what two industrialized countries spend in dog and cat food for one single week, while the budget for 10 years equals what the world spends on weapons just in one day. All these human beings, brothers and sisters through their shared needs for and feelings of justice and dignity, are the seeds of the global transformation process already underway. Certainly it is difficult because the mechanisms of power and their visible and invisible violence are strong, but today we hear from the five continents the voice of those who fight for this social transformation which is the only human future for the planet.

Timidly, European people have begun to awake from their narcotic sleep of consumerism and awful individualism, becoming aware of the need of resisting the dismantling of social rights won over centuries of struggles. We are witnessing the re-awaking of African people, where the youth are taking the lead in demanding more political freedom and social improvement. And in Latin America, after centuries of subordination, returning to the resilient spirit of our America [nuestroamericano], social movements are beginning many emancipatory projects coming from the common people. These are being concretized by continental projects like the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA).

The resilient spirit of cooperation comes from idiosyncratic projects like those of the Sin Tierra Group of Brazil; participative democracy practices, democratization of wealth and endogenous development projects arising from the hills of Venezuela; the proposal of 'living well', inspired in the ancestral indigenous version of Sumak Kawsay, and from different aboriginal peoples who challenge all dwellers of the planet to build a new model of society where social justice and cultural diversity will be integrated symbiotically with the Pachamama...

All these elements are a beautiful mirror that reflects what the future society can be like, and where it should move forward. Along with many people who quietly and step by step are developing a new world, in different neighborhoods, towns, and communities, we have to announce the birth of this only possible fairer, dignified and joyful new society.

ECONOMY FOR SOLIDARITY

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An Economy of Solidarity

Contemporary society faces enormous challenges. They include poverty, exclusion and marginalization of large social sectors, even of entire peoples in various regions of the world; unemployment in a rising percentage of the workforce; grave injustices and social inequalities leading to the disintegration of human coexistence: international and ethnic conflicts that continue without an appropriate solution; lack of governance and public disaffection with political systems; rising crime and corruption rates; degradation of environmental and ecological balance; hefty private debts and unsustainable public deficits, which create and feed worldwide financial crises; deterioration of the quality of life related to distorted consumption patterns; and depletion of important natural resources and sources of energy necessary for continual development.

The accumulation and aggravation of this set of problems lead us to believe that we are facing the depletion of structural systems, the crisis of economic and developmental models, resulting from the combination of two great dimensions: the financial and business sectors which constitute the capitalist market; and the state and public policies. If this is so, it is necessary and urgent—in order to tackle these major problems and challenges, and avoid a collapse of these world systems—to create and promote a new economy and a new type of development. Furthermore, we believe that the present historical opportunity could lead to the creation of a new and higher civilization, opening up our human experience to yet undiscovered and new horizons.

It is to be noted that something is already on the move through the personal initiative of socially oriented and committed people, who are mostly aware of the mentioned problems. In the effort to overcome the incongruities that we have described above, they provide an initial leadership—although still in a small and limited scale—towards that new economy and a more humane development. These emerging initiatives and processes have been spread, structured, and

known as either an 'economy of solidarity' or 'sustainable human development'.

The economy of solidarity or economy of solidarity is a theoretical and practical search of alternative ways of practicing economics, based on the twin concepts of solidarity and work. The foundation of the economy of solidarity is that the introduction of increased and qualitatively higher levels of solidarity in the activities, organizations, and financial institutions increases micro and macro-economic efficiency, and generates a set of social and cultural benefits that aid those who develop it, the surrounding community, and the whole society.

The solidarity incorporated into the economic activity, transformed into a productive force, in both marketing strategies and in consumption patterns is what is called the 'C factor' (as the letter C gathers many words to express it: community, cooperation, commensality, communication, communion, co-sharing, and many others that begin with the prefix 'co', which means 'together', 'with', or 'in common'). The C factor is the foundation of the solidarity economy, and can be understood as "the unity of consciences, wills, and emotions for the attainment of goals shared by a community, organization, or human group, all encouraging its members and multiplying their achievements."

The economy of solidarity is a real process merging the various experiences and projects of different and multiple sectors and groups: popular movements and base organizations, as well as people of all social sectors who want to develop new types of entrepreneurial activities with an ethical and social orientation; cooperatives and self-governing movements; organizations and ecological movements that discover that environmental problems are caused by a lack of solidarity in patterns of economic development; aboriginal peoples struggling to regain their identity and traditional community cultures, rediscovering in economic, community and solidarity

matters the possibility of living well, working with satisfaction, well integrated into the community and in harmony with Nature; non-governmental organizations that propose objectives of human and social development; public institutions and local authorities who see the solidarity economy as an effective way to foster development at the local level; religious institutions who understand solidarity economy as an alternative of doing economics consistent with their spiritual and ethical inspiration; intellectuals from various disciplines who are seeking new answers to the great social problems of our time; and economists who are becoming aware of the theoretical limitations and inadequacies of their conventional discipline.

The economy of solidarity is a **new conceptual approach** to stand alongside recent economic theories, comprising cooperative economic ventures that are community-based, self-managed, and associational. The economy of solidarity plans to establish a theory capable of: a) providing guidance and criteria for economic efficiency in decision-making and management of operations; b) ensuring a shared identity for all the experiences and searches for alternative economies; c) assuring cultural autonomy needed by any movement in its process to make profound changes in any economy and social life.

The solidarity economy is a major development project, a transformation and improvement of the economy. The economy for solidarity appears as a new way of thinking and producing profound efficient transforming processes, by means of raising awareness and of supporting the will of vast sectors who yearn for a better life, a good living standard, and a more human and convivial society.

The dimension of solidarity to be applied to the economy has several levels, ranging from what can be conceived as a personal project to a global project, passing through intermediate levels of the organized community.

On a personal level, the solidarity economy promotes the development of creative, autonomous and co-operative people, who are neither individualistic nor part of an anonymous and undifferentiated mass,

but integrated into the community and in harmonious relationship with Nature and the environment. In the economic solidarity project people and communities do not delegate to the state or to higher powers what they can do for themselves. This way society is built from the bottom up, and expands from the little to the big.

The solidarity economy project is not partisan or totalizing. It does not attempt to base the entire economy on a single organization model, or even under a single economic rationale. The solidarity economy project is pluralistic because it recognizes the convenience of a sector based on individual initiative, a sector based on solidarity organizations, and a public or state sector of the economy. It does not deny the need and importance of the market, but raises the possibility of creating a democratic, just and solidarity market. It does not reject economic development, but insists that it should be sustainable, focused on the human person, deployed for the benefit of the whole society, and respectful of Nature and the environment.

The economy of solidarity provides a modern, renewed, motivational and engaging language to people and groups struggling for a just, free, united and fraternal society in today's cultural context where statist ideologies have lost credibility, and when traditional conceptions of cooperativism, mutualism and self-management seem to have lost the power to convince and mobilize.

The economy of solidarity offers a possibility of integrating, under a common social identity, the many transformative searches and experiences that have been developed under different names, in reality convergent in their goals and having the same particular economic logic. These should be expanded and deepened under the framework of the economy of solidarity.

Find more information about the economy of solidarity and sustainable human development on: www. luisrazeto.net where there are numerous free articles, books, videos, and courses offered by the author.

THE CHALLENGES OF THE BLACK CAUSE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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In Latin America people are beginning to sing a song that is the fruit of more than 500 years of resistance and struggle of black communities: to denature forever theories that preach racial inferiority and social and racial inequalities.

Those theories disseminated in the past that have legitimized the slavery system in all our countries, even two centuries after officially abolished this system, manifest in ways sometimes subtle, sometimes brutal in all countries, especially in those where the black population represents a significant portion of the national population.

Although its size and status vary considerably from one country to another, there are structural factors that determine the living conditions of black populations in Latin America due to the common features across the continent. The black population has not only disadvantages in the labor market but also is the most affected by HIV, have less access to universities and professional qualification and has the highest rates of illiteracy. The infant and maternal mortality is much higher among blacks, as well as the number of blacks killed by disease and homicide: the double when compared to whites.

There is a constant threat of destruction of black culture and its religious manifestations as well as its expulsion of places and livelihoods, the quilombos, denying them the right to life. Across the continent, despite the peculiarities inherent to each region, there is a reported violence, especially against women and black youth, as to deny strengthen of their ethnic identity. The fight for that identity comes through the rights defense and denunciation of the naturalization of racism in contemporary ideological formulation.

The naturalization of racism manifests itself when the conditions of discrimination, historically built, are considered "things of the past." This leads to a fatalism that carries with it a failure and apathy, pseudo patience or conformation: "it has always been like this, it will remain so," denying to black people the construction of life projects such as men and women alike. This naturalization is a phenomenon that also contributes to bury values such as multiculturalism

and a sense of humanity that are fundamental to a civilized world.

There are two basic sectors of society in which the naturalization process has to be faced with courage and boldness: the world of work and the world of education. The construction of citizenship necessarily entails the guarantee of the right to work and the opportunity to access a quality education system, which constitute a path to the right to life.

In this context, one finds the fruitful discussion on the challenges of the Black Cause in the XXI century. Especially when it comes to racial democracy and it is hidden, in a cynical way, the practice of racism, transforming it into a situation socially invisible that helps to perpetuate the great socio-economic inequalities between whites and nonwhites.

A relevant and strategic challenge of the black population of the continent is recognizing themselves as a human being and asserts them as such. The human condition is what makes us equal rights. These rights must be assumed as a collective and historical achievements of our and future generations.

Necessary condition for achieving this right is to deepen the debate on the issue of black women in their specific dimension, interconnecting race, gender and social class as a way to combat stereotypes, marginalization and historical violence that, specifically, black women in Latin America have faced and still face. Accepting this debate means scheduling, in the context of health policies, the diseases with major ethnical-racial incidence, establishing the critical mechanisms for selection into the labor market, and combat practices that still prevail today, like domestic violence and sexual violence against black women.

A second agenda is to organize the defense of our youth and our religious beliefs against the contemporary barbarism of the so-called 'ethnic cleansing' and of religious fundamentalism, which does not respect different beliefs and seeks to destroy the traditions of African origin. In the defense of youth is necessary to denounce and combat the silent process of extermination of the black youth of the continent, against the consecration of impunity and lack of implementation

of effective policies for social inclusion. These are attitudes that black people and not black people need to assume, in search of a more just and more egalitarian society.

In this respect, the victimization of the black youth of the continent appears as a constant. This is corroborated by the Ministry of Justice of Brazil when, in February this year, announced the «Mapa da Violência 2011» which notes that out of every three people killed, two have black skin. In 2002, 46% more blacks were killed than whites. In 2008, the percentage reached 103%. And if we extract the latest data, we will probably see that they are predicting that the situation got worse.

In parallel with this, food, educational, qualification and productive occupation shortages generate a machine, devouring of perspectives, which makes the prison systems get full. The vast majority of the prison population in our countries is made up of blacks, young blacks. It is denied to these young people the construction of life projects. The dreams of the future are interrupted.

On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that public policies are targeted and elitist, not in order to protect poor and black citizens, much less to perform a social action to promote respect and dignity. The public security services are trained, trained to persecute, humiliate and "hunt down" the black, segregating them in real "apartheid's', by districts and regions.

In this sense, it becomes urgent to intensify policies that translate into programs and projects to strengthen the pragmatic principle of ethnic community, to incorporate the collective identity as a mechanism for consolidation of group rights that reaffirm a socio-cultural heritage. It is necessary to strengthen affirmative action as instruments of social inclusion, to ensure diversity, plurality and confronting prejudice and discrimination.

This means respect for the right to life for black youth, the land rights of the "quilombolas" and their descendants, the right to adequate food, housing quality, the right not to be subjected to torture or cruel treatment or punishment, inhuman or degrading treatment, as well as the right of access to basic health and new information technologies and communication.

The current stage of modern capitalism imposes another major challenge: fight against institutionalized racism, the one hidden in the speech that discrimination is not racial but social, forgetting that the vast majority of miserable Latin Americans are black or indigenous. And that the legacy of slavery still has deep roots in our social and economic structure, determining the hierarchy of power configured in our society, with its new forms of exploitation and marginalization. And, even today, skin color determines a place in society, however much we have progressed and gained rights.

The current challenge wins a larger dimension if we see that we are confronting a dilemma: we are exterminated and absorbed by an institutionalized racism or we move in the assertion of our rights as equal human beings, breaking chains that deny the space for housing, the production of knowledge, social life, that try to bury the socio-cultural heritage of black people and their right to live.

The challenges of the XXI century are those that correspond to the overcoming of darkness, abandonment, suffering, exploitation, the mechanisms that attempt, in the present to deny the land and housing rights of the descendants of the slaves communities. It's always good to remember that the system of slavery in the Americas accounted for about 15 million African men and women uprooted from their land. This has deeply marked both the African and the American continent. The construction of ethnic identity of these people allow the struggle for the ownership of lands historically occupied by these communities, today threatened by agribusiness, the land market of large farmers, multinationals, large real estate projects for builders and the slowness of governments to recognize their legal rights.

The path is to dare to deny the discouragement. Dare to deny the fear. Dare to deny the naturalization; this is the challenge!

'The Quilombo communities were formed by blacks who escaped slavery and by the blacks that lived in vacant land after the slavery abolition as a means of survival and self sustenance. These communities, now inhabited by their descendants, remained at these sites representing a way to preserve values and customs that are an important part of the Brazilian culture formation. "

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THE CAUSES OF SO MANY NATURAL DISASTERS

«BRASIL DE FATO»

Editorial of the edition 412, 19th/01/2011

In January 2011 we suffered another tragedy. Over 600 people lost their lives in the mountain towns of Rio de Janeiro. Tens paid with their lives in São Paulo, Minas Gerais... Television and the media of the bourgeoisie are fulfilling their role: someone else's misfortune turned into a spectacle diurnal, watching everything excepting doing the most important, which is debating about why all this happened.

For television it does not matter to debate the causes. Its goal is not to solve social problems, only increase the audience. And increasing the audience, increases the advertising rates charged to companies.

For the ruling class, the Brazilian bourgeoisie and its representatives in the Brazilian State, it does not interest also to debate the causes of environmental disasters. They know that a more reflective, serious and profound debate would point them as the principal responsible for these tragedies.

Fortunately, serious analysis of scholars and environmental experts have appeared, which lead us to understand and explain where are the real causes of these «natural disasters», caused by human action that have been happening systematically in Brazil. From these assessments, we can enumerate the main ones:

- 1. There was a continuing aggression in the biome of Amazonia and the Cerrado, destroying native vegetation and introducing monoculture and cattle breeding. This changed the rainfall patterns and created a real road that brings torrential rain to the North East.
- 2. There was an aggression by not respecting the environment around the cities, and its protected areas on mountain tops, slopes and riverbanks. So, when the rains increase, they are projected directly onto the existing housing and infrastructure.
- 3. There was a sealing of the cities, due to the automobile, allowing it being faster. Everything is paved. And when it rains, the water velocity increases abruptly, in time and volume.
- 4. There is a continuing inmobiliaria speculation, that only wants to profit by pushing the poor to hillsides, slopes, banks of rivers, streams and wetlands.

- 5. The agricultural production model of agribusiness has introduced extensive monoculture, especially with grass, sugarcane and soybeans, which destabilized the environment destroying all plant and animal biodiversity. This imbalance causes changes in rainfall, in its intensity and concentration in certain regions. That is, torrential rains, concentrated in volume on certain days. This is caused by the type of agriculture, which devastated the balance of natural biodiversity. Hence, family farms, agro ecology and agro forestry practice are crucial to the balance of rainfall, climate and temperatures throughout the national territory, including the cities.
- 6. Brazilian cities are organizing only in terms of individual transportation, the automobile, which only makes a profit for a handful of transnational

installed in the country. Large resources in works of public roads, bridges, tunnels, overpasses are then invested. All this alters the balance of territories that are urbanized territories today.

- 7. The urban population has lost the habit of having gardens, kitchen gardens and advocate more green areas in cities, which still might ease the volume of the balance of rainfall and temperatures. They are also induced to waterproof the outside of their homes.
- 8. No ruler or government agency is concerned with preventive measures, which warn and move people to safe places, as is done in most countries. Just remember that two years ago, Cuba has suffered a storm of unimaginable proportions, which ravaged the country. But they only had three people killed across the country. Because, first, millions of people were displaced into shelters, and the State gave them protection.

The fact is that this is all part of a capitalist model of organizing social life just for profit, which represents the disaster, disgrace and the high cost of lives increasing. So, while society and government leaders must be conscious, assume their responsibilities and take concrete measures to address the real causes, we, unfortunately, assist to the periodic repetition of the environmental and social tragedies.

LISTENING TO THE CRY OF MOTHER EARTH

TOWARDS A NEW SPIRITUALITY OF RESPECTFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Ecumenical declaration presented at the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth Cochabamba, Bolivia

The signatory bodies below, in a meeting held at the World Conference of Peoples on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, having engaged in deep reflection on the role of religions and spiritualities in legitimizing systems leading to the collapse of our planet, while at the same time recognizing its vital force, express our deep concern on Climate Change and its effects, which are an attack on life, especially that of the poorest and most vulnerable people in many parts of the Earth. Mother Earth and the whole Creation is groaning and is in pains of childbirth and requires a new holistic and ecological spirituality in order to preserve life.

We thus declare:

- 1. The cry of Mother Earth, the sustainer of all life forms, is reaching the ears of all people of good will. The desire to increase wealth, the comfort of a luxurious life style, consumerism, indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources and pollution of air, water and soil have brought our planet Earth to the edge of climate breakdown.
- 2. Climate change is the result of a human mentality that regards Nature as an object to be dominated, exploited and manipulated, and humankind as its master and sole measure.
- 3. We acknowledge that a certain interpretation of the Jewish-Christian tradition has contributed in history to encouraging this type of anthropocentrism and the merciless exploitation of Nature, by wrongly interpreting the responsibility to be the carer and advocate of Creation. Every religious system needs critically to revise its role as regards climate change.
- 4. We call, together with indigenous peoples and their wisdom, for a deep conversion of the ruling paradigm and of oppressive structures, as well as our mentality, attitudes and way of life, so as to bring our lives into harmony with Nature, the cosmos and the great mystery of life.

- 5. We believe that the religions and spiritualities of peoples, in mutual dialogue, can guide us in our search for a life in harmony with the Environment, future generations and the cosmos. We thus call on church and religious leaders to make every effort to engage in a wide campaign of awareness-raising and conversion of all believers, in order to contribute to safeguarding life on our planet Earth. We also call on them to make representations to their governments and international bodies such as the United Nations in order that countries commit themselves to take on greater responsibility in caring for the earth.
- 6. We ask political, economic and scientific leaders to take urgent measures to respond effectively to the effects of Climate Change and secure the foundations for abundant life for all, especially for the poorest and for future generations. We trust that the coming United Nations summit on Climate Change, COP 16, to take place in Mexico in December 2010, will prove to be a key event for the future of humankind.
- 7. We commit ourselves to implementing in our organizations, religious institutions and personal lives an eco-centric spirituality, and to take awareness-raising measures to change people's mentality and patterns of consumption.

Associating ourselves with the 'Agreement of the Peoples', we invoke the life-giving Spirit to guide and strengthen us in our commitment to future generations, to Mother Earth, and to the whole Creation.

Cochabamba, 22 April 2010 (Mother Earth Day)

Signatories:

Higher Andean Ecumenical Institute of Theology, ISEAT / Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, EATWOT / World Council of Churches, WCC / Latin American Council of Churches, CLAI / Religious communities living among the people, CRIMPO / Semilla / Evangelical Methodist Church in Bolivia / Bolivian Evangelical Lutheran Church / Mission 21 / Amerindia / CENM / PFE / Centro Misionero Maryknoll / Misiones OMP / Meipi / Cepas-Cáritas.

FOR THE GOOD LIFE, WE MUST OVERCOME "SPECIESISM"

PEDRO A. RIBEIRO DE OLIVEIRA & RODRIGO SALLES DE CARVALHO

Juiz de Fora, MG, Brazil

The project for the Sumak Kawsay, the Living well, includes a proposal for peace that goes beyond the dreamed "universal peace" between peoples. When postulating the necessity of harmony between humanity and nature so that we are worthy sons and daughters of the same Mother-Earth, the theme appears of the domination of the "different" as if they were "inferiors". That form of domination can be seen throughout human history and always counts on an ideology that it tries to justify it by means of prejudice against the victim of the domination. It is enough to remember the role of sexism, racism or eurocentrism as a cultural instrument of domination of women, blacks and first peoples, by the male, white and "civilized" minority. Luckily many social movements have denounced those ideologies and defeated their rationales, although still such forms of domination survive. But it was necessary that women, blacks and colonized peoples raised their voice of protest to demolish the ideologies that hid the domination.

We now are in the presence of another form of domination of the "different" in which, unlike the previous ones, the victims never have argued against the prejudice that crushes them, because though they have voice, they do not speak. It is speciesism: the domination of the species homo sapiens over other living species. This is a guestion of a domination so old that it seems to be natural. In this it resembles slavery, that for many centuries was legal and morally accepted, as if those defeated in war and their descendants lost freedom forever. Also today there are people who justify speciesism with the same several arguments. The literal reading of the Bible, for example, is used in order to affirm that the human being, the "image and likeness" of the Creator, received the mandate "to dominate earth". Philosophy is used to confer on the "rational animal" the attribute of subject, in relation to nature. Also the sciences of 19th century were used to justify the "superiority" of the modern society over other cultures and peoples.

All these arguments have shown their fragility before critical thought in 20th century, the evils of scientific and technological development without limits to become evident. The atomic bomb dropped by the USA on two Japanese cities, the Nazi extermination camps, the massacres of defenseless populations, the growing gap between rich and poor, the totalitarian regimes, the over-exploitation of the natural resources, the environmental imbalances... have put in question the myth of the progress without end, wearing away the old optimism.

It is in the middle of this crisis of thought where the world-wide consciousness of Human Rights consolidates, that there appears the first formulations of the Rights of the Earth and a critique of speciesism. Its departure point is the same as the critique of other forms of prejudices that see in a difference the proof of superiority. In the case of speciesism, it attributes such superiority to homo sapiens, inasmuch as its specie would remain above all the others as if it did not form with them the *great community of* life of which the Earth Charter speaks. It is as if all the alive beings were classified in only two categories: first, the one of the individuals pertaining to the species homo sapiens, and therefore included (at least theoretically, because in practice it is not so) in the field of moral protection and rights; the other category would congregate all the individuals of the other species, that would are lacking moral value and rights, by the fact of being "inferiors". It is possible to ask: would it be an advantage for the human species to get placed separately and above all the other species, in order to treat them as if they only existed to satisfy its' desires?

In order to respond to this question, it is necessary to keep in mind that the consciousness of moral values is like a circle, that the more it is open to include new participants, the richer and more complex it becomes. In breaking down the rigidity of closed societies, one gains in socio-diversity and in the capacity of opening to the new. Exemplary of this was the attitude of Jesus of Nazareth: when welcoming and giving worth to foreigners, lepers, children and women, he broke with the Jewish exclusivism and established a new model for the human coexistence.

The inclusion of the "other" in the moral circle of

a society does not happen through apparent similarity, even because total similarity never exists. The inclusion depends, this yes, on an equality at the deepest level. It was the step taken by the social movements that, when demonstrating the deceits and lies used to sustain racism, sexism and other prejudices that marginalize the "different", opened the way for the widening of society to full participation. And in that process, all have won: the excluded groups got out of their marginal situation, and the society gained in socio-diversity.

From that experience, it is possible to make use of arguments that favor the inclusion of other living species in the specialized circle as the subjects of rights. Our moral sense repudiates any proposal to exclude people with serious mental deficiencies or feeble elders from the right to a life with dignity. Nevertheless, animals like cows, dogs or lions, in spite of demonstrating as much or more perception of themselves and their relations with the external atmosphere as some persons, are excluded from that right. It is imperative to place in question that exclusion of animal species able to perceive themselves, to feel pain, pleasure, want, satisfaction and empathy with their fellows.

We are the only species that is proud of its' consciousness, but it is certain that other species exhibit a degree of sentiency superior to ours. That is to say, they perceive very well, through the senses, that they are individual beings in relation to other beings of their species and of other species and with the natural environment in which they live. Although the limits of the sentiency are not clear, is undeniable that many vertebrate species - at least mammals and birds are sentient.

For what motive, then, we would have to emphasize the consciousness that separates us from other species, to the detriment of the sentiency that unites us to them? Why are all living beings, of all the species that form the biodiversity of this planet, with exception of the species *homo sapiens*, outside the moral scope governed by the right to the life with dignity? How can evolution reasonably be defended, that adapted all the present living beings to survive each one with its own qualities, yet places more worth on human thought than the organization of collectivities of birds or mammals?

They widely asserted deceptive arguments in order to invalidate anyone who defends the Animal Rights and their behavioural consequences - like the *vegetarian* nutritional regime - as the ones they made in other times against abolitionists, feminists, antiracists and human rights militants.

It is important to remember that neither slavery, nor sexism, nor racism were overcome overnight. Each process demanded and still demands a cost (even in human lives), time and militancy, that unfold in different ways. And it is also fundamental to remember that if we decided not to admit the discussion of current ideas, to look for truth and to fight for it, we will be prisoners of a consumer-production system that is bringing about the sixth great extinction of species on the planet and that will possibly take to us towards the extinction of our own human species (optimistic perspectives indicate that the rate of present extinction is seven times greater than the last one before human societies).

Overcoming speciesism demands action on two fronts: one is the critique of the deceptive argumentation that obscures it; the other is the opening of a desire for the inclusion of other species in the area of values and the law. In this way humanity will be able to reach a superior moral level, in which Humans Rights, animal rights and those of the Earth are embraced and will really be respected. Still we don't know exactly how we will arrive at it, but, certainly, the first step is to become conscious of what differentiates us from other species cannot ever be reason to dominate them or to treat them like things. For that reason, our care must be focused in the first place towards the species whose sentiency is evident. They will be the first included in the circle of moral protection and rights.

Since we are equipped with intelligence, we are the agents responsible for the organization of the *great community of life*, so that progressively there are more and more species included. The ancestral wisdom of the *Sumak Kawsay*, the *Living well*, when postulating the necessary harmony between all species, will have to be allied to the achievements of the science and the technology, that already indicate amply the necessity of a moral revolution. There is here a good challenge in this decade that will be decisive for the future of life on the Planet.

TOWARDS ANOTHER NOTION OF "WEALTH"

OUR TRADITIONAL CONCEPTIONS NO LONGER FUNCTION

EDGARDO LANDER

Caracas, Venezuela

We find ourselves before a new and historic planetary condition that we are finally able to see clearly: we are dealing with nothing less than a crisis of civilization, of the impossibility of continuing with the "industrialist and predatory model based on the struggle of humans against nature," in our identification of well-being and wealth with "accumulation of material goods," with the consequent expectations of "unlimited growth and consumption, of more and more." This, simply, is not possible.

It has stopped being a discussion about whether we prefer the model of life of Andean and Amazonian communities or we prefer the model of life of suburban US and Canadian communities, since this has become a radical impossibility. Today, thinking about the planet in terms of "ecological footprints," in terms of the appropriation of the global productive capacity of the Earth, with all of its dimensions of life, it is clear that it is being exploited to such a capacity that it cannot regenerate itself. Human beings who live today are utilizing not just the totality of what can be replaced, but also the part that rightly belongs to future generations.

This occurs, also, in a context in which a very significant portion of the population of the planet has access to neither potable water nor access to food that meets their minimum caloric needs. We are in a situation in which the calculations demonstrate that several decades ago we passed into a zero-sum game: if we are utilizing more than is available, the rich become richer, necessarily reducing the resources available for the poorest.

This is not an apocalyptic prediction of a few feverish environmentalists, but data that cannot be disputed. But, if this is so, why do we continue living **224**

as if this were not occurring? Why do negotiations with the WTO, and policies of development, progress, and industrialization pretend as if these were problems of others? Reality shows us that one of the principal limits for transforming society—beyond the limits imposed by the Empire, dominant classes, transnational companies, or rightist opposition in the case of constitutional reforms—is in our own heads, in a thought process attached to the reproduction of what currently exists, in our weak capacity to imagine other ways of understanding things.

The disciplines in which we are formed, in particular economics, are Eurocentric and colonial: they fracture life into pieces and, arbitrarily, apportion it out for one reason or another. Economics is reduced to a very specific vision that has to do with the inheritance of the construction of the "market society" of the liberal tradition, lamentably accepted in a relatively acritical form by socialist Marxist tradition, in several senses.

Thus, what is understood by "wealth", its quantification, the definition of how it is measured and not measured, is a basic means by which the entire economic realm is measured. But it measures some things and not others. It does not measure the productive capacity of life, all the capacity for subsistence that does not implicate mercantile exchange, all of the realm—widely extended throughout the planet—of the work of women in the home in raising new generations; it measures only a tiny portion of a much more vast process.

At the same time, it ignores destructive processes, which many times appear as an "accumulation of riches" which in reality is a "systematic process of collective impoverishment," because it is destroy-

ing the conditions that make possible what is called wealth itself.

In this sense, continuing to think in economic and anthropocentric terms about the idea of "natural resources" assumes that water, land, and the forests... are resources for economic production. In symbolic terms, this operates in the same form in which feminists have demonstrated the reiteration of patriarchal language operates: when we think about the category "natural resources," automatically we see a "resource" that we can use; if we realize it is being used up, we take care of it, but as a resource.

How can we think in another way? Let's look at an example. In the South of the Orinoco river in Venezuela, there is rich tropical diversity that is connected to the Amazon, with extraordinary levels of precipitation, of biological diversity, with diverse indigenous peoples who have lived for thousands of years here. Including from the directly economic point of view, it is a vital zone for contemporary Venezuela, because its dams provide seventy percent of the electricity of the country. But it so happens that underneath this extraordinary wealth, there is gold, much gold. Brazilian and Venezuelan gold-diggers exploit it, utilizing artisanal techniques: they use hydraulic bombs that raze the vegetation and create great swamps, and then use mercury to collect the gold that is present. With this, vegetation is destroyed, biodiversity is affected, and the generative capacity of water and therefore hydroelectricity is reduced. In the standing pools and marshes, mosquitos that carry dengue proliferate and malaria is returning, a sickness that threatens the lives of the indigenous peoples of the zone; the mercury contaminates the food chain that starts with the fish of these rivers and ends in the urban populations. With this dramatic process, the gold is converted into ingots, deposited again below the earth, now in the vaults of the Central Bank. And the national accounts say that we are "richer"...

There is something that is not functioning properly here. With the criteria that reflect this measure-

ment and evaluation, we are left conceptually helpless to envision a different world. If we want to usefully think about a distinct relationship between humanity and the rest of life, it is necessary to question the presuppositions and disciplinary constructions, the forms of measuring, of quantifying, of evaluating.

Under the predomination of the concepts and instruments that we know and which reproduce themselves as "natural laws," economic projects on the left just as much as on the right can be declared equally successful. Both Hugo Chávez and Alan García could claim that their economic projects are miracles because the growth in both countries is above eight percent. These measurements hide differences and similarities, but they also condition facts: the evaluations that come from these numbers impact the paths to be taken; they are therefore a trap, they induce us to repeat, to reproduce our way of doing things.

In the world today it is possible to observe a tendency to "continue doing the same thing but in a 'greenwashed' way," with an apparent interest for conservation that in practice remains totally at the margin, since the fundamental decisions about economic policies, about investment, about growth, in sum, the model and its measures...continue being dictated from the international organisms, from the World Trade Organization—which has become the major institution—along with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—although this last one is now relatively debilitated. The declarations of the United Nations on the environment are schizophrenic, since they speak of certain principles, certain worries about cultures and nature, but at the same time they reaffirm this destructive economy.

At this level, the problem is not just neoclassic economics, nor is it only the neoliberal model of the economy, but the model of economics itself, the notion of "wealth" itself, the notion of what we quantify, what we measure... This conception, what we today understand by wealth, cannot do anything else but lead us to the disappearance of life on the planet.

HOW TO TEACH SUMAR KAWSAY

LATIN AMERICAN AGENDA

This Agenda hopes to be a vehicle and spokesperson for a theme that should not go unnoticed by any Latin American. For a number of years, it has been proposed by indigenous peoples and has been thoroughly debated in many countries of the Continent. Let us take advantage of the dialogue that is happening on the Continent.

It is not just a marginal theme, or simply cultural or folkloric, or for those who focus on indigenous issues. It is a serious proposal, presented by an authorized interlocutor—the native peoples of this Continent—that challenges not just one detail or element of the model of Western civilization, but its deepest understanding of itself, its fundamental "values." Any person with sensitivity and without prejudices should confront this proposal, embrace it, debate it, and allow its challenges to pass into public opinion.

Do not stay at the margins of this continental dialogue-debate: inform yourself, read, study the theme, take your position...and recognize that, in order to change the world, with frequency, the best and greatest thing we can do is simply change our ideas and help others change theirs, because it is from these changes that modifications in conduct that civilization? change the world really arise. Get to work!

If you are an educator, communicator, former of public opinion, pastoral agent...don't stay on the side of this current continental debate. Don't get distracted, but make yourself present, participate, and pass on the theme to people and communities that you accompany.

We suggest, in this scheme of ideas, a thematic itinerary of pedagogical action that you can modify and accommodate to your context and your listeners. Or make a plan yourself, but get going! We suggest: Seeing:

Activities to understand Sumak Kawsay:

- -Look for a book, article, commentary.
- -Go to the source: listen to indigenous people themselves, their publications, get in contact with an indigenous person.
- -Study the political constitution of Ecuador and Bolivia.

-Make a list of the principal elements of the proposal of the Good Life.

Judging:

- -Every society, in order to be adult, needs to analyze the model of life and civilization that it aspires
- -Analysis of the patron model of Western life. What are the fundamental criticisms of it?
- -The relation of Western civilization with nature. with wealth—what wealth?—with society, living together, personal development.
- -What is the ideal of life in Western capitalist society?

Aggravating conditions:

- -The overpopulation of the planet and the coming wars over water, the end of petroleum.
- -Climate change, its acceleration, and the approaching of the point of no return.
- -Judging the model of current Western civilization. Can it be made universal? Is it sustainable? What are its principal weaknesses?
- -Of what use can Sumak Kawsay be for the creation of an alternative model to the current dominant

From Christianity:

- -How do we explain that capitalism in fact comes from the cultural matrix of Christianity? What are the faults or limits of the classic Christian vision that have made possible this deviation?
- -How does Sumak Kawsay confront-enrich-criticize the Latin American Christian liberating vision?

Actina

What should we do?

- -Urge dialogue-debate on this theme.
- -Promote "systemic change" as something urgent.
- -Create a program of action in our circle, environment, workplace, neighborhood, union.

This Agenda offers a "popular poster" with a fuller quide for how to teach this theme. Take a look at it. along with many other materials that can help you in considering the theme of Sumak Kawsay, available at http://latinoamericana.org/2012/info

The Second Communal Work Project [Minga] of the Latin American Journals of Theology!

In 2011, for the second consecutive year, the Latin American Theological Commission of ASETT, the Association of Third World Theologians, has organized a "Communal Work Project" [Minga] or "Collective Issue" among the theological iournals of the Continent. In 2010 the project focused on "The Planetary Ecological Crisis." In 2011 a collection was prepared on "The 50 Years since Vatican II," that will be observed in 2012.

The following journals are participating:

CHRISTUS, México; SENDE-ROS, San Jose: ALTERNATIVAS, Managua; LA ANTIGUA, Panama; FRANCISCANUM, Bogota; VÍNCU-LUM, Bogota; SPÍRITUS, Quito; PAGINAS, Lima; VOZES, Petropolis: VIDA PASTORAL, Buenos Aires; ACCIÓN, Asuncion; EN-SAYOS TEOLÓGICOS, Asuncion; Cuadernos OBSUR. Montevideo: SOLERIANA, Montevideo; HORI-ZONTE, Belo Horizonte.

Both the collective-minga issue of 2010 on the "ecological crisis" as also the 2011 issue on "Vatican II Today" can be downloaded free of charge at http:// Comision. Teologica. Latinoamericana.org

22 KOINONIA SERVICES

SPONSORED BY THIS «LATIN AMERICAN AGENDA», IN SPANISH A MEETING POINT OF LATIN AMERICAN THEOLOGY ON THE NET

http://servicioskoinonia.org

- 1) Latin American Electronical Theological Journal The first theological journal in Spanish on the internet.
- 2) Latin Americano Biblical Service

Commentaries for each day. Free weekly package by e-mail. In Portuguese, Spanish or Italian. For subscriptions, see below, #19.

- 3) 2000-2036 Biblical Liturgical Calendar http://servicioskoinonia.org/BiblicalLiturgicalCalendar Also in Spanish: servicioskoinonia.org/biblico/calendario
- 4) «Páginas Neobíblicas» Neobiblical Pages Re-reading of biblical scenes, personages and topics. In Spanish.
- 5) Leonardo Boff's Weekly Column (in Spanish) Each Friday, a brief article from Leonardo
- 6) Cursos de teología popular 'Popular' Theology Courses
- 7) Library: http://servicioskoinonia.org/biblioteca 4 «rooms»: general, theological, biblical and pastoral.
- 8) LOGOS: Brief articles, various topics.
- 9) Latin American Martirology: by name, year, country...
- 10) Monseñor Romero's Homepage The homilies that Mons. Romero preached, and more.
- 11) Pedro Casaldáliga's Page His articles, poetry, letters, books, complete works listing.
- 12) Cerezo Barredo's Page

The weekly Sunday drawing and others.

- 13) Pastoral Drawings Galery
- 14) A Poster Offering for Ministry
- 15) Latin American Agenda Page: http://latinoamericana.org
- 16) Archive of the Latin American Agenda

In 3 languages: Spanish, Catalán and Portuguese.

17) TAMBO: http://servicioskoinonia.org/tambo

For a delicious conversation in the context of an internet community committed to the options we tend to call "Latinamerican."

18) Koinonia Newletter of novelties

Free. You will be notified of any Koinonia news.

19) Services by e-mail

Weekly Biblical Service and Koinonia News distributed by e-mail.

20) Koinonia Digital Books

In various languages, publicly available and printable

- 21) Collection «Tiempo axial» (Axial Times) Progressive, cutting-edge theology in Latin America.
- **22) Koinoia's Info:** http://servicioskoinonia.org/informacion

MATERIALES PEDAGÓGICOS SOBRE EL BUEN VIVIR

Spai

MARTÍN VALMASEDA

Cobán, Guatemala, equipocauce.com

A cada párrafo acompaña un enlace a la red. Ante la imposibilidad de incluirlos aquí, remitimos a la «páqina de información y materiales complementarios»: latinoamericana.org/2012/info Allí están disponibles.

1. Expresiones directas de los pueblos andinos

El buen vivir, de Edgar Isch López, voltairenet.org, centra este vocablo en «criar y hacer crecer armónicamente la diversidad de la vida en la Pacha (la tierra)».

El *Sumak kawsay* y teorías del desarrollo, por Pablo Dávalos: comparación del SK con la postura «depredadora» de los tigres asiáticos del desarrollo.

Reflexión de Ariruma Kowii sobre *El Sumak Kawsay* (Leyendas originarias de Otavalo). Plantea cómo la mitología quechua referente a la fundación de los pueblos descubre situaciones, personajes, formas de pensamiento, haciendo una incursión en los orígenes míticos en los pueblos quechuas.

Señales de las madre-tierras andinas, de Juan Van Celssen y Porfirio Enríquez, en edit. Abya Yala, Quito.

El «campesino indómito», una verdadera agronomía andina que parte de un sorprendente conocimiento de la variada ecología local y del clima andino, caprichoso como ninguno.

José María Tortosa (Universidad de Alicante) explica la presencia del *Sumak Kawsay* en las constituciones de Bolivia y Ecuador y esboza una aplicación de este modo de vivir a otras culturas.

Tatiana Roa Avendaño subraya la importancia del Sumak Kawsay como respuesta antisistémica frente al concepto individualista del bienestar de Occidente...

2.- Experiencias de otras culturas semejantes

El *buen vivir* llama también desde la selva. La fundación ecuatoriana Pachamama aporta su voz, sus documentales, su presencia en esta lucha en defensa de la Madre Tierra.

Un paralelo a la visión andina: el *buen vivir* en el enfoque maya (*Chaab'il li qayuam* en idioma queqchí).

En 2011 se reforzó esta reflexión en los pueblos mayas. Cfr la «Agenda de desarrollo de los pueblos indígenas de Guatemala» que marca la fecha 2012/21 como hitos en ese desarrollo. Publicado por la asociación *Rex we* (camino verde, en pocomchí), busca desarrollar «acciones estratégicas y políticas para la

construcción del buen vivir del pueblo indígena».

Juan José Monterroso sobre *La conexión entre el buen vivir y la religión*, en «Voces del Tiempo» (revista de Guatemala) sobre Tierra y espiritualidad maya; dice: «sobre la relación entre Religión/Desarrollo/Pueblos Indígenas, abordo muy débilmente el tema del Desarrollo, ya que hoy por hoy es una categoría un tanto gastada y que amerita su consideración».

Revista «Concilium», 1992, sobre el tema: *Conflictos de la tierra, Utopías de la tierra.*

Tierra profanada, tierra prometida: dos testimonios sobre la cohabitación de los inmigrantes de arriba y de abajo en Santo Domingo de los Colorados, Ecuador.

3.- Búsquedas en otros ambientes

Generalmente el concepto de *buena vida* se expresa en los documentos no indígenas como «desarrollo sostenible». Aunque hay que tener en cuenta que a veces falta en estos documentos y ambientes la convicción de que no somos sólo respetuosos con la tierra sino que somos «parte de la tierra».

Es especialmente recomendable el artículo sobre desarrollo sostenible en Wikipedia.

La reflexión de Leonardo Boff el buen vivir apunta a una «ética de lo suficiente» para la comunidad, y no sólo para el individuo, una visión holística e integradora del ser humano, inmerso en la gran comunidad terrenal, que incluye el aire, agua, montañas, árboles, animales... en comunión con la Pachamama (Tierra), con las energías del Universo y con Dios.

Con mirada superficial resultaría extraño decir que la ecología y el movimiento por los derechos feministas tienen una fuerte conexión. Pero lo aclara Ivonne Gevara «la extraña utopía del ecofeminismo».

Una postura crítica de la situación humana sobre la tierra se encuentra en «Los herederos de la tierra».

Puede abordar los problemas ambientales y sus causas el Observatorio del Medio Ambiente (cf google).

Es difícil encontrar trasposiciones de la utopía campesina andina a las culturas ciudadanas.

nish

En la experiencia quechua y aymara, la distancia de los lugares y estructuras «civilizadas» dan más capacidad de movimiento, sus utopías están más en tierra.

Sobre la vigencia del desarrollismo: la necesidad de un giro conceptual (Gisela Ruiseco) en el que a partir de una dura crítica a los desastres del desarrollismo se termina proponiendo el camino del *Sumak Kawsay* (revista *Volveré*).

El *buen vivir* contra el neoliberalismo. Lo plantea Alipio Montoya: crecimiento y decrecimiento económico. Con una dura crítica que termina llevándonos al camino del *Buen Vivir* de los pueblos andinos.

Con el lenguaje de los últimos años («otro mundo es posible») vs. el poder sacrificial del nuevo orden, sobre la utopía de la familia humana, nos puede ayudar el trabajo de Javier Vitoria Cormenzanza.

El Buen Vivir en imagen y sonido

Que venga el Sumak Kawsay: poema con fondo musical e imagen, para la campaña de la constitución ecuatoriana, en youtube. Existe una película con el título Sumak Kawsay, en versiones larga y corta, también en youtube.

Sumak kawsay, una propuesta alternativa de desarrollo, documental peruano (Karol Altamirano) recomendable para tener una visión elemental clara.

Como elemento pedagógico para grupos juveniles y comunidades se ofrece *Para que otro mundo sea posible*, un libro con vídeos y canciones que se centra en el sentido comunitario de la vida, fundamento de un mundo realmente nuevo. Publicado por CAUCE.

Un vídeo para la difusión del pensamiento sobre el desarrollo sostenible: SEMAHNAT, en youtube.

El indio de Bolivia no es boliviano, documental de los intentos de emancipación indígenas.

SURREALIDAD audiovisuales, para el desarrollo sostenible, abordando la Realidad del SUR. «Realidad» siempre subjetiva que expresamos en imágenes, palabras y sonidos documentales, con la participación de Alejandro Cock. Allí pueden encontrar varios vídeos sobre el esfuerzo por una civilización enraizada en la naturaleza, como «El monte vivo», o «Donde la sierra se une con el mar».

«Cabeza de Vaca»: narración en largometraje del explorador español que buscó en solitario la integración en el «Nuevo mundo».

Hay una experiencia «audiovisual» que algunos han hecho o podrán hacer quienes visiten el museo de antropología de México. Uno recorre asombrado los distintos pabellones que presentan la belleza y poder de las culturas nahualt, maya... A la segunda o tercera vez que lo visita se da cuenta de que en ese museo hay un segundo nivel. Sube y se encuentra con los mismos pueblos de los que se muestran las grandiosas obras de arte pero allí reflejando su situación actual. Lo que queda después del despojo.

Habría que reflejar en un tercer nivel -que no existe allí- los esfuerzos y desarrollos para que estos pueblos volvieran a estar presentes en el mundo caminando hacia «otro desarrollo». Comentando el poema Los nadies, de Eduardo Galeano: antes hacían arte, ahora sólo les quedan «artesanías».

Por cierto, la película argentina *La dignidad de los nadies*, de Fernando Pino Solanas, es un grito por un desarrollo sostenible popular: historias y testimonios conmovedores de la resistencia social en Argentina, en barrios populares, frente al desempleo y el hambre producidos por el modelo de la globalización.

El esfuerzo de los movimientos ciudadanos se refleja en el documental *Desarrollo sostenible*.

Un apoyo para esta búsqueda de caminos al *buen* vivir está en la conocida Carta de la Tierra, presentada en imágenes. Hay una interesante versión para niños.

Las Madres de Plaza de mayo, que empezaron con la búsqueda de sus hijos, desembocan ahora en un intento por construir un mundo donde aquello no vuelva a suceder: *Las Utopías son posibles*: un documental sobre la Universidad Popular Madres de Plaza de Mayo.

Otra utopía de un mundo hacia el buen, el justo vivir es el movimiento zapatista. Hay una buena cantidad de escritos y vídeos gracias sobre todo al arte de comunicador del Subcomandante Marcos, por ejemplo en la Historia de las palabras (youtube).

Existe un movimiento importante en la búsqueda del buen vivir que es el «decrecimiento», actitud muy crítica y bien fundamentada contra el camino «suicida» de la actual civilización técnica consumista. Un documental sobre ello lo encontramos en la web de Antonio Aramayona, que nos pone en contacto con las utopías en materiales audiovisuales y literarios.

Importante para conocer y sentir la filosofía del *Buen vivir*: vídeo guatemalteco de la asociación Tzuk-kim-pop, *Buen vivir*: *Tejiendo una nueva Guatemala*.

Que estas sugerencias ayuden pedagógicamente a un buen concienciarse para un buen vivir.

WHOEVER PASSES THROUGH THE FIRE

TESTIMONY

ALEJANDRO DAUSA

Argentina - Bolivia

On September 17, 2004, I went to the San Vicente cemetery, in the city of Córdoba. Joan and Daniel accompanied me. With a choked up voice, he read the passage from the prophet Ezequiel who relates the singular vision of dry bones. We were on the site where the first common grave had been identified in the mid-80's. Then we crossed over to another two, open for some days. Over one of them, so that it would not be discovered, military authorities had constructed this cemetery's crematorium in 1978. Specialists from the Argentine Forensic Anthropology team calculate that there are remains of more than two hundred people. Many skeletons are complete, several with remnants of clothing. All were thrown there in different months in 1976. Few have been identified. I had an indescribable sensation of loving closeness with these nameless people. I imagined their faces, their dreams, their loves, their struggles, their torments, their pain and shock before death. As Father Quito Mariani expresses in his autobiographical book, "I asked them forgiveness for not having died with them."

In August of 1976, I was kidnapped along with other theology students; Daniel was among those encountered. The order was to assassinate us. Joan saved us, alerting friends and escaping from the pincer that closed over her in Argentina. From outside, countless things had to be done to guarantee our lives. Although the case appears in several books, no one has ever been formally denounced. The three of us met to do it, together with other witnesses. We returned to see each other after more than twenty-eight years during an intense week of memories, embraces from friends, judicial testimony, all pieces of a complex jigsaw puzzle that still today we must continue putting together. We closed a chapter in that lonely cemetery, and, in a way, a pact with those that didn't survive.

In 2009 I returned to Córdoba with my daughter. I went with her to two of the clandestine detention centers that today are memorial spaces. For a good part of the time during my kidnapping I was blindfolded there. I tried to reconstruct the fragments of images that I kept. In the old D-2 I observed in detail the small corridor called the street car, where I shared sev-

eral days with other kidnapping victims. In the concentration camp, the Pearl, I returned to experience e particular silence and the echoes of the entrance tio (the places are filled with the total of extreme man experiences - I had a horrifying sensation durga visit that I made to the Büchenwald camp in 94, the same sinister calm of the landscape, the ne ominous stillness). In the Pearl, I had been errogated by a team of military men specializing in a Catholic church. They did it from an ultramontane cology that suspected everything and everybody, ogating to themselves the possession of truth and a rine power over the living and the dead.

The greater part of my time in detention passed in egime of solitary, incomunicado confinement in a the particular silence and the echoes of the entrance patio (the places are filled with the total of extreme human experiences - I had a horrifying sensation during a visit that I made to the Büchenwald camp in 1994, the same sinister calm of the landscape, the same ominous stillness). In the Pearl, I had been interrogated by a team of military men specializing in the Catholic church. They did it from an ultramontane theology that suspected everything and everybody, arrogating to themselves the possession of truth and a divine power over the living and the dead.

a regime of solitary, incomunicado confinement in a pavilion of political prisoners from another jail. Absolutely deprived of all contact and the possibility of having any object, my treasures were reduced to four: a small plastic glass that they allowed me to fill twice a day with drinking water, an oxidized tin that I used for a toilet, a nail that hid conveniently in the wall, and a rustic rosary that had been made from a small piece of wood. Praying and walking from one corner of the cell to another for interminable hours was useful to me in order to exhaust myself and to be able to relieve the cold and to get to sleep, avoiding the anxiety of the nights in which most of the interrogations and transfers took place.

I was not a party militant. My crime consisted in socio-pastoral engagement with residents of marginalized districts, in support of the propositions of the Gospel and the directions of the Vatican II and Medellín. One of my interrogators was explicit: I should not have identified with impoverished sectors, since that type of support empowered them and, as a consequence, they became dangerous.

Argentina was the only country subject to the National Security doctrine that counted on the energetic endorsement of a powerful sector of the clergy and the Catholic hierarchy, which occupied itself in providing philosophical-theological arguments to justify the project of repression, genocide, robbery of children, and torture. That work in reality began in the postwar

period, with the technical assistance of the French military mission with experience in the subjugation of Algerian and Indochinese peoples and the ideological endorsement of organizations such as Cité Catholique. Numerous authors have dealt with unraveling this sinister subject, standing out among them is the wide and well documented investigation of Horacio Verbitsky and the works of the Jesuit sociologist Gustavo Morello.

These deal with the horrifying chapters of national history that different earlier democratic governments tried to look the other way at through incompetence or their open complicity with the dictatorial stage inaugurated in 1976. Only in the last few years have they reopened cases and judicial processes. For this reason, many executioners have already died in absolute impunity and freedom. Only one military chaplain has been condemned to prison.

Then from jail I suffered exile. After a few years, I made the decision to return as an ethical duty to the immense portion of the massacred Argentine people that could not count on the supportive backing of a religious congregation. I wrote up and I signed a letter with copies for friends; a sort of testament/farewell which indicated that any mishap that may happen to me would be the direct responsibility of the military junta and its apparatus of repression, which they would have to make public.

I planned a return with stopovers in Mexico, Panama and Brazil. On the one hand, it seemed imperative for me to reencounter Latin America in depth; its people, smells, colors, and cultures. On the other, a simple calculation of probabilities indicated that it could be my last trip. I completed the three years of theological studies that I needed before ordination as a priest. In spite of the hospitality of congregational brothers, I harbored for a long time the sensation of being part of two experiences that nobody wished to speak of: the one life and pastoral work options, and the other of kidnapping and jail. I perceived an awkwardness that made itself apparent when I tried to explain or to describe something of all of that, alongside the more or less cordial invitation to change the subject. As a consequence, I self-censured myself for years. To this was added the feeling of quilt for being alive when thousands had not managed to escape.

The case known as the "Case of the la Salette Community" in religious circles (the "Weeks Case" and

"Friar Case" by the repressive forces) constitutes, in my opinion, a factual rebuttal of two arguments that still continue being employed by some sectors after thirty-five years.

First of all, it disproves absolutely that the coup d'état of March of 1976 had been carried out with the aim of fighting armed organizations of the left. On the contrary, it reveals that systematic and vast repression was planned and directed at breaking possible critical circles, even in ideologically distant social sectors, with the objective of imposing a project that required demobilization and generalized terrorizing as a condition in order to guarantee the sacking of the national economy. Our group was condemned to death before any investigation; it was simply about being the chosen object lesson against a sector of the religious from the Córdoba region, and only the sum of fortuitous circumstances changed our destiny.

In the second place, it contradicts at the same time and unmasks the deceptive strategy spread, encouraged, and sustained by an important sector of the Catholic hierarchy that insisted on the importance of not broadcasting or protesting publicly the cases of kidnapping, tortures, or disappearances. When the denunciations were made outside of the country, they were further accused of being anti-patriotic. At the serious core of the matter is that in the years of darkness the Episcopal Conference of Argentina was with high probability the only factor that could have put a brake on the repression. Not only did it not do it, but it discouraged in many ways those that tried to. As I have shown, some of their more powerful and influential figures in military circles even endorsed the genocide with philosophical and theological justifications.

For at least fifteen years, a day did not pass without me remembering in different ways the events of the kidnapping and detention. I suffered veiled threats and obstacles in legal proceedings related to my identity documents. Apart from that, some habits and personal manias related to certain situations, sounds, and places remain set in place.

To have "passed through the fire," in agreement with the evocative Pauline literary metaphor, opened for me the opportunity to know certain gloomy dimensions of our Latin American reality, but also to root my desire to continue "throwing my lot in with the poor of the earth."

THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA

MY TESTIMONY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA

GREGORIO IRIARTE

Cochabamba, Bolivia

The Permanent Assembly for Human Rights of Bolivia (APDHB) began in the most absolute clandestine way in the times of the dictatorship of Gen. Banzer in November 1976. In the utmost secrecy in a parish in La Paz, this institution which was destined to have great importance in the future socio-political life of the country.

I had to accept the job of putting together the draft document to be approved at the next meeting. I had to define what type of organization was needed, as well as some aspects related to the security of all its members without curtailing our activity on behalf of the persecuted, arrested, and exiled. These people were, above all, leaders of unions and other popular organizations, and active members of political parties that supported the democratic system.

The characteristics of the new organization for the defense of human rights were the following:

It was an Assembly. First, the new organization described itself as an "Assembly" since decisions should be taken with the participation and the consensus of the majority of the group, far from a directive or elitist directorship.

The members with the greatest representation were leaders of unions and popular organizations, including of miners, factory workers, farmers, teachers, neighborhood councils. The participation of the political parties was minimal but very important in everything related to information about the persecuted or detained.

The Assembly was to be organized in each important city and town in the country since we sought not only help the persecuted and imprisoned, but also to create a national movement, faced with the elimination of political parties by the regime, that would fight for real change. that due to the elimination of political parties the dictatorial regime. In overthrowing the dictatorship, it was necessary to start laying the groundwork for giving life to a genuine democratic system.

From the beginning the whole movement of the defense of human rights in Bolivia was organized as a totally volunteer labor, without compensation. In the frequent clandestine meetings, a bag was passed for each participant to freely make voluntary contributions.

From the outset, senior members of the Methodist Church and the Lutheran-Bolivian Church participated alongside Catholic Church groups.

The Advisory Council

To give some security to the Assembly, through greater visibility, from the beginning it was decided to have an Advisory Council parallel to the Assembly. This was the visible part which had the responsibility of signing documents that denouced acts of the dictatorial regime. It is important to highlight the selfless and courageous work that the Council accomplished through the assistance of the Ex-President of the Republic Dr. Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas and Bolivian priest Father Javier Tumiri July.

International Contacts

There were numerous and important contacts with human rights institutions at the international level which provided financial and moral support. The various "de facto" governments in Bolivia were willing to give freedom to many prisoners, since the prisons and other dark places that served as makeshift prisons were overcrowded, but they demanded that the travel expenses to go into exile be paid by their respective families. The vast majority of these families were poor, without any ability to bear these high costs. The Assembly, through its "Secretary of the Treasury" took charge of these expenses.

For many long years Amparo Carvajal effectively accomplished this delicate labor. She also had the responsibility working with the embassies of different countries so that individuals would be accepted as political exiles.

The countries that were more supportive and friendly were Sweden, Holland, France, Mexico and Norway. The international institutions that collaborated most effectively were the International Red Cross, the World Council of Churches based in Geneva, the Swedish Lutheran Church, Bread for the World, Misereor in Germany, and others.

The Assembly worked very efficiently for the success of the Hunger Strike, initiated by five women of the Mining District Catavi-20th Century, which achieved the overthrow of the Banzer regime.

The Holocaust of the Best

Bolivia lost, over 20 years of dictatorship, their best political cadres: Marcelo Quiroga, the Harrington Street martyrs, Teoponte, Epinal... and so many others.

Personally, I lamented with deep pain the loss of my best friends for the sake of justice and freedom: Mauricio Lefebvre, Federico Escobar, Luis Espinal, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz...

Marcelo was, without a doubt, the man most feared by the dictatorships of the time: he was a model politician, analyst, orator, journalist, writer ... but above all, a man of deep honesty, in both his personal and political comportment.

We maintained a close and profound friendship. The Government of General Luis García Mesa and his collaborator Coronel Arce Gómez feared and hated Marcelo. They were waiting for the right occasion to eliminate him.

Upon reading in the press clear threats against Marcelo, I decided to go to his house to express my solidarity. He lived in the Apolo building in one of the upper floors. I frankly told his wife that in that place there would be no way to escape the persecution that the regime was about to unleash against him.

- Yes, he answered me, but for now, I have no other option. I will not flee.
 - Here you have no escape. I offer my house.
- Marcelo, his wife said, you must accept the offer that Father Gregorio is making you. I will support you from here.
 - Well. I will accept, he said.

In my house there were already some elementary

safety standards. The first was to achieve a perfect camouflage of the identity of the guest, so that house staff and visitors would have no suspicion. It was like a new baptism. I had to give him a new name and a new profession and new nationality. I also had to "invent" a reason for him to live in rectory.

With Marcelo, everything was very simple and even a little comic. Marcelo became, from that moment, an Argentine priest friend of mine named Father Juan, who had come to Bolivia to take some pastoral courses (!). Marcelo accepted with much humor his new identity as well as some security measures: he should not leave his room when strangers came; if he needed to speak for phone, he should not do it personally, and so on. All went very well over the two months he lived in my house. The camouflage was perfect and there was no problem.

The Fateful Meeting at the COB

But a military coup was brewing. Disturbing information came from Trinidad. The Commission for the Defense of Democracy called an urgent meeting in the building of the COB. Marcelo said he must go to that meeting. I did everything I could to dissuade him. Marcelo insisted that he felt a moral obligation to participate in the meeting.

The tragic outcome of this meeting is well-known. The paramilitaries of Colonel Arce Gómez, hidden in several ambulances, arrived at the COB building and attacked it, taking the senior leaders as prisoners. One of the paramilitary men shot Marcelo—who was the principal target—at close range. Although the government has never given accurate information about this horrible event, we know that, seriously wounded, Marcelo arrived alive at the Headquarters Army, where he was savagely tortured to death.

As much as both his family and the public have repeatedly demanded that his remains be returned, serious and comprehensive information has never been obtained.

Marcelo, however, has gone down in the history of Bolivia as a model of a political leader, not only for his intellectual and statesmanlike qualities, but because his entire human and political trajectory was guided by a way of conducting himself in accordance with the highest et

GIVING ONE'S LIFE FOR THE GOOD LIFE OF IMMIGRANTS

TESTIMONY OF A SINGER OF THE PEOPLE

ROSA MARTHA ZÁRATE

San Bernardino, California, USA

The process of development of social awareness and recovery of historical memory that now animates my faith and social practice finds its origins in the example of my father, a social activist, my mother, a server of her community, and my grandmother who, in the time of of the Cristero Revolution in Mexico, risked her life to defend her religious beliefs. I am originally from Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. As a child and teenager, I grew up in a small-town atmosphere, amongst the valleys of sugarcane fields in Ameca, Jalisco. My education in teaching and music was limited to mere professional training to function in the capitalist system and in society.

In 1961, I entered religious life as an option for service. Analyzing my vocation and the path I've traveled to define and explicitly choose to take my place in the journey of the migrant people I am part of, I need to make an objective account of the set of experiences, testimonies of communities, and activists who have strengthened my hope and have illuminated my path in order to pass through times of trial and give life a sense of transcendence and a reason to struggle.

Newly professed, five of us took the initiative to attend some courses about The Pedagogy of the Oppressed that Paulo Freire was giving in Guadalajara, without the permission of our superior. These courses were banned by some religious congregations, perhaps for fear of raising critical consciousness and breaking the social naivete that characterized many religious. It was there that I first started hearing things that bothered me and made me feel complicit in the dominant system. I was able to understand how the educational system— public and private, since it is also shaped by the government—is a subtle and effective instrument for exploitation, loss historical memory, and the infiltration of domination. Paulo gave us the key of questioning what it is in the order of things that keeps us from being free, as persons and as peoples. To date, that key continues to open

doors that seem to close before me, and, conversely, it pushes me to face challenges I never thought I could overcome.

It has been over 43 years since my religious community sent me as an elementary school teacher in San Ysidro, California. Upon crossing the border separating Mexicali from Calexico, my world changed radically: I experienced racism, exploitation and discrimination, even in the Church Catholic in this Northern country. By chance, César Chávez, the leader of the farmworker movement, arrived at the monastery to invite the sisters to join the strike to demand justice for the murder of a farmworker. I brought my quitar in hand and there, without a second thought, I was invited me to animate the striking farmworkers. In the same way, even with the opposition of my sisters, I came to the assembly. There, between flags of red and black, with slogans of "Yes we can!," my activism as a singer-songwriter for the migrant cause began.

From the day I decided to take my place in the exodus of the people, tension within my religious community grew stronger. Not much time passed before Chicano priests and nuns invited me to participate in the national movement for the vindication of the rights of baptized Spanish speakers in U.S. Catholic Church. PADRES (Associated Priests for the Religious, Educational, and Social Rights) and HERMANAS, along with lay leaders, took on leadership in organizing the people to achieve their demands, including: appointing Chicano bishops and ordaining Chicano priests, offering religious services, education, and sacraments in Spanish, and respecting our culture and tradition. Liberation Theology found no obstacles in encouraging our movement. We joined in solidarity with the movements and struggles of Latin America.

The years between 1970 and 1985 saw great mobilizing and organizing at the diocesan, regional and national levels. As a result of marches, sit-ins, and popular mobilizations, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops recognized the "Pueblo Hispano"

as a "challenge and commitment." Hispanic ministry, after a great revival, eventually faded away because it began to be considered a threat to the status quo of the church and the country. The closing of diocesan offices for Hispanic ministry led many of us to choose other spaces in which to live out the following of Jesus. In my case, my religious congregation relieved me of my vows for having brought a bishop and 10 priests to civil court for violating my labor contract, defamation, and gender discrimination.

After spending the dark night of mourning this break with my congregation and the Hispanic pastorate, we pastoral workers in the diocese of San Bernardino organized as a civil organization and continue from there the task of "protecting, assisting, and defending ourselves. " From 1985 to the present time, we work with projects of education, organizations of neighborhoods (Calpullis), and migrant rights....We have supported projects of solidarity with rural and indigenous Latin American struggles. We currently participate in the struggle of more than 2.5 million former laborers, elderly men and women who are demanding from the U.S. and Mexico their savings owed to them from 1942 to 1964, and also the movement for immigration reform and defense of the rights of migrants.

The calvary of the thousands of migrants who cross the border every day to reach the North looking to escape the widespread poverty across the continent becomes ever more evident: the crimes committed by the authorities and drug and organ traffickers, sex trafficking, sexual assaults against women and men, extortion, kidnapping...are examples of a war against life, dignity and the right of human mobility.

It is obvious that governments have not done their part to prevent the exodus of their citizens. It is clear that the churches have not exercised their power to influence a fair solution to this serious situation. At the same time it is important to emphasize the work of work of priests, nuns, lay people, and social organizations who have shown important signs, have opened a network of shelters for migrants, and have, to the extent possible, sought to remedy so much human suffering. This is the trench in which we are giving our lives, fought for opening the borders to the universal citizenship of the Good Life that our Indig-

enous American brothers and sisters propose, in which no one is designated a foreigner, much less a criminal.

As things do not happen by accident, the roads of life led me to root myself in occupied Mexican land in the heart of the empire. Amid hopelessness, I have learned to sing "of the things that happen to us, that do so much evil" and of the possibilities we have to create a more humane world and participate in the design of a new model of nation (Mexican), and to be in solidarity with the countries that also seek their own emancipation from the American empire.

The communities with whom I have walked have given me the "Lady of Song" as my title of service, which I have accepted. My office as singer of the people is tasked with encouraging and being the echo of the part of history we are writing from captivity. I express and confirm this in this song: "I know that my song will animate our path. Finally we said: Enough! We began the journey, I know, because faith is a fire that burns in flames, is centuries of hope, and a fire that will not be extinguished. For the love of our Mother Earth, outraged, we will regain our being, our history. Let's go. Victory is achieved when there is a people that wants to walk. I know, my whole being proclaimed, the morning of our freedom will come."

The migrant people, on the other side of the Northern border also are in the common struggle. We have to keep breaking chains, toppling borders. We have the key of the conscience of solidarity with which to open the door of universal citizenship, where peace lives with justice and dignity. There is no turning back.

"... Where I go, there is no path of return, I shake the dust, I shall not return it, fear and terrors are long dead, the martyrs redeem my path with their blood...Where I go can be reached by a new path, passing through deserts, borders, and sleepless nights, stepping on firm ground, the exodus of people. I'm going, I decided, I return for nothing! Let's walk a thousand nights! Let's plant a new dawn, cross roads, write our history, in order to recover our stolen America. Come on, our journey has no turning back. The moment has come, time has opened the doors, freedom calls us, the spring reveals itself. Let's go, it is cowardly to walk without hope! Yes we can!"

EL DESIERTO



WINNER OF THE «LATIN AMERICAN SHORT STORY»

YOLANDA CHÁVEZ Los Ángeles, California, EEUU

Debía faltar poco para amanecer, hacía mucho frío en aquel desierto que por vergüenza, no aparecía con su nombre en ningún mapa. Elena, tirada boca arriba en la arena helada, miraba hacia el infinito, tratando (casi sin lograrlo) de mover sus dedos entumidos para apartar el cabello que cubría sus ojos... quería poder ver las estrellas que se desvanecían, el cielo completo, quería ver a Dios completo.

- ¿Dónde estás?

Pensaha...

No podía hablar, tenía la garganta hinchada por haber llorado sin gritos.

- ¿Me vas a dejar morir aquí?... Quiero ver a mis hijos otra vez...

¿Esto es un castigo?...

El grupo de personas con el que salió de la frontera, se había desbaratado con la persecución de la patrulla. Vio correr a hombres uniformados de rostros similares a los perseguidos, golpeando e insultando a los que lograban alcanzar, ella y otro, habían caído en un agujero tratando de ponerse a salvo.

Ahí estaba, inmóvil, casi sin respirar para no ser vista. Ya habían pasado muchas horas y no escuchaba ni un solo ruido, trató de incorporarse, y al apoyar su mano sobre la arena tocó otra mano fría, inmóvil, tiesa... era la del muchacho de catorce años que había viajado desde el Ecuador para ver a su mamá, él quería llegar hasta Canadá.

Lo reconoció cuando los primeros rayos del sol comenzaron a iluminar aquel desierto que siempre estaba triste...

Elena se arrodilló, y comenzó a hacer una oración por la mamá del muchacho, le arrancó el rosario del cuello, se lo metió en la boca muerta y le cerró los ojos.

- En los primeros catorce años de vida, la palabra que más se pronuncia es: «Mamá» debe ser horrible no estar ahí para escucharla. Era parte de aquella oración a Dios que se fue tornando en quejas al cielo abierto....

- ¿Cómo se sobrevive con el alma dividida por fronteras?

Susurraba Elena entre sollozos enojados, cortitos, que le cortaban el pecho como pequeños cuchillos.

- ¿Cómo se sobrevive sin poder mirar todos los días a tus hijos?... ¿Por qué no se puede vivir cuando tus hijos lloran de hambre? ¿Cómo se vive en un país donde nunca se puede encontrar empleo? ¿Cómo demonios se sobrevive en países donde el secuestro, la corrupción, los asesinatos, las violaciones a los derechos humanos son el pan nuestro de cada día? ¡Contéstame!...

El desierto conmovido, levantó un poco de polvo para acariciar la cara de Elena, quería consolarla. Cuántas veces había escuchado esas oraciones- reclamos. Cuántos cuerpos de madres, hijos, padres, hermanos... cuántos cristos guardaba en su vientre de arena, ahí se habían deshecho, ahí conoció los anhelos de pretender comer todos los días, ahí enterradas estaban las almas con conciencia que querían no sólo sobrevivir, ¡ellas querían vivir!, ahí estaban sepultados muchos últimos pensamientos, de vez en cuando, el desierto los dejaba asomarse convertidos en diminutas florecillas blancas debajo de los arbustos enanos.

- Por lo menos dame un poco de agua

Gritaba Elena a Dios mientras escarbaba en la arena con sus manos para hacerle sepultura a los anhelos sin cuerpo. El desierto se apresuró a dejar que brotara un charquito de agua helada, fue lo bastante para beber y lavarse la cara, para retirar la arena de la nariz y de entre sus dientes, suficiente para ponerse de pie y buscar un punto que le indicara una dirección a sequir.

nish

Un destello llamó su atención a una distancia que calculó, podía llegar antes de que el sol quemara más, dio una última mirada al dolor de una mamá con hijo muerto, y comenzó a caminar... acompañada sin notarlo, por el desierto.

- ¿Y aquellos cuentos de que abriste el Mar Rojo, de que libraste de la esclavitud a un pueblo, de que los alimentaste en el desierto?

Elena pensaba que Dios era más bueno antes que ahora,

- A Abraham le diste descendencia tanta como las estrellas del cielo, a mí por lo menos déjame ver a mis hijos otra vez... va sé que dicen que no soy una santa, pero sigo creyendo en ti; lo sabes, ;verdad?

De pronto, el desierto la sacó de su particular oración hundiendo uno de sus pies. Al tratar de no perder el equilibrio, miró hacia el norte: un trailer de compañía cervecera se acercaba a gran velocidad. Elena, impulsivamente, sacó la fuerza que da el coraje y la impotencia, apretó el estómago, y comenzó una loca carrera agitando las manos levantadas al cielo para que el chófer pudiera mirarla, el hombre del trailer la divisó al pie de la autopista y comenzó a disminuir la velocidad, hasta parar frente a ella.

Una nube de polvo envolvió a la maltrecha Elena, el desierto guiso despedirse, la abrazó en medio de un viento arenoso donde flotaban las almas y los anhelos que se habían quedado a vivir con él.

- ¡Gracias, es usted un ángel!" Pudo decir Elena.
- Y usted es un milagro, pocos sobreviven en este desierto.

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POR EL DOBLE CAMINO DE EMAÚS

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DIEGO FACUNDO SÁNCHEZ CAMPOO

Mendoza, Argentina

Aguel día de enero, caminaba con mi compañera por las calles de Cochabamba. Estábamos de vacaciones y nuestra intención era llegar hasta La Higuera. Era la tercera vez que pisaba suelo boliviano y sin embargo... por diversos motivos, nunca había podido llegar hasta el sagrado calvario latinoamericano. Hablábamos de todo lo que había ocurrido en nuestro Continente en aquellos difíciles años, cuando la querra de guerrillas parecía el único camino para derrotar tiranías más que «evidentes y prolongadas», y para sacar de la miseria y la explotación a los pueblos y a su gente. Recordábamos también a aquel hombre, que habiendo conocido la gloria, dejó tierra y familia, casa y arado... para emprender una vez más el dificultoso camino de la revolución. Finalmente, y con dolor, pensábamos cómo habría sido el momento de tan vil asesinato... momento en el que semejante hombre hacía de su propia vida la ofrenda final.

Queríamos estar allí, respirando el aire de esa escuelita que había sido testigo de ese viernes santo de pasión y de muerte. Teníamos poco tiempo y triste fue la noticia de enterarnos de que las intensas lluvias de verano habían bloqueado el camino. Nos miramos y caímos en la cuenta de que no habría próxima estación. Quedamos entristecidos. Resignados, decidimos salir a conocer la ciudad antes de emprender el regreso.

Así estábamos, cuando, de repente, en la plaza central, un hombre pequeño, pero mayor, se nos acercó tímidamente.

- Ustedes deben ser argentinos, ;no?
- Sí, sí...
- Me di cuenta por el mate, nos dijo sonriendo.
- Ah, claro; eso nos identifica siempre... dijo mi compañera con cierto desgano.
- ¿Y de qué estaban hablando? ¿Por qué andan así, medio entristecidos? (El hombre se había dado cuenta de lo evidente).
- Nada... de que quizás nunca más podremos volver a La Higuera... ¿Usted sabe?, no se vuelve a Bolivia todos los días, ;comprende?, le dije.
 - No...; me explican?

- ¡Hablábamos de nuestro paisano, hombre!, del Che Guevara, y del lugar donde lo mataron. Queríamos ir allí pero no hay camino.
- ¿El lugar donde lo mataron? ¿Qué no hay camino? ¿Cómo que no hay camino a La Higuera?, dijo sonriendo. Vieron, yo sabía. Por eso me acerqué a ustedes.

Nos mirábamos desconcertados pensando quién sería aquel hombre. De repente, sacó de su morral un pequeñísimo libro.

- Tomen esto, les va a interesar, sugirió.

Nos llamó la atención el nombre: «Estuve junto al Che. No sabía quién era el Che». Agradecidos por el gesto, le preguntamos qué significaba el título.

Con la serenidad que caracteriza a los hombres del altiplano, se sentó a nuestro lado y comenzó:

- Yo fui guerrillero del Che. Fue mi comandante, pero yo no sabía quién era él. Para mí siempre fue «el comandante Ramón».
- ¿Cómo fue eso? ¡Cuéntenos un poco más por favor!, le pedimos.
- Claro que sí, lo haré gustoso, dijo el hombre, y
- Mi nombre es Eusebio y soy campesino de origen aymara. Con 17 años y sin hablar bien el castellano me involucré en la militancia comunista (PCB). Al poco tiempo fui escogido para cumplir una tarea revolucionaria con la que yo mismo había soñado: luchar y combatir para terminar con la dominación de mi pueblo. Y es que eran tiempos de extrema pobreza, y mi Bolivia estaba sometida a la miseria, al analfabetismo y a la ignorancia...

Así, y con la generosidad y ternura que «a veces» dan los años, Eusebio nos compartió gran parte de su vida. De cómo él también estaba cansado de tanta injusticia y muerte, y de cómo nunca se sintió vencido, aun en los tiempos más difíciles en los que perdieron compañeros, pasaron hambre extrema e incluso fueron detenidos y apresados por largos años. Nos recordó cómo ese Comandante desconocido, con el que compartió largas tardes, le enseñó, no siempre con la mejor de las pedagogías, a endurecerse sin perder la ternura y a sentir en lo más hondo del alma cualquier

nish

injusticia cometida en cualquier parte del mundo.

- Era un hombre diferente el Che, ¡era el héroe de la revolución cubana! Y sin embargo se comportó siempre como si fuera uno más de nosotros, relató emocionado Eusebio, quien agregó que para cuando al Che lo mataron, él ya se encontraba prisionero desde hacía un tiempo. Recién con el paso del tiempo pude saber quién fue realmente mi comandante. Llevo más de 40 años aprendiendo sobre él, sobre su pensamiento y su acción, y eso es lo que siempre he tratado de transmitir... Por eso he luchado, agregó.

Nos mirábamos con mi compañera, como sorprendidos por lo que estaba ocurriendo. La tarde transcurría entre el mejor de los aromas, el de la palabra generosa y compartida. En ese clima de respetuoso encuentro nosotros también le contamos sobre nuestra Argentina. Juntos y como si nos conociéramos desde siempre, hicimos MEMORIA de la «historia sagrada» de nuestro Continente. De los dolores de parto y de las esperanzas en flor. Recordamos a «otros Ernestos», los suvos y los nuestros... los de toda la Patria Grande. Los recordamos a Tupac Katari y a Juan Chalimín, a Bartolina Sisa y a Juana Azurduy, a José de San Martín y a Simón Bolívar, al Padre Luis Espinal y a Carlos Mugica. Recordamos a los Camilos, los Romeros, los Sandinos y los Zapatas, a las Madres de la Plaza y a las Ramonas; a los Evos, a las Dilmas y a tantos otros... tantas otras. Como decía el gran Rodolfo Walsh, unimos los sueños y las luchas y las hicimos UNA SOLA. Para no tener que volver a empezar siempre, como si cada batalla por la liberación comenzara de cero.

Así, la tarde cayó.

Eusebio hizo ademán de seguir viaje, él tampoco era de allí.

- Quédese a cenar con nosotros, le dijimos, ;tene-

mos tanto que hablar todavía!...

Aceptó. Caminamos hasta La Cancha y cenamos con él. En eso estábamos, compartiendo el pan y el vino -un rico vino de Tarija- cuando Eusebio, con voz entrecortada nos hizo una confesión:

- Creo, sin embargo, que fue la muerte del Che la que recién abrió mis ojos. Ahí supe por fin quién era. Esa mirada final y esos brazos como en cruz me recordaron a otro anterior, y allí pude reconocerlo vivo para siempre. Y es que quien vive de esa forma ya no muere más...; no?

Nos miramos con mi compañera y asentimos. Habíamos percibido con claridad cuál era la razón de su esperanza. Y sentimos que de esa mañana de tristeza ya nada quedaba. Por el contrario, ardía de amor nuestro corazón.

Para cuando quisimos darnos cuenta la comida estaba concluyendo. Brindamos, nos levantamos y nos abrazamos. Eusebio partió. Y en eso estábamos, contemplando la partida del pequeño-gran-hombre, cuando éste giró su cabeza y prequntó:

- ¡¿Siguen creyendo que no hay caminos a La Hiquera?!

-;Claro que sí! Gritamos sonriendo. CLARO QUE LOS HAY.

Quedamos en silencio y una vez más nos miramos, esta vez con alegría. Por lo visto y lo oído.

Eso es lo que a nuestra tierra volvimos a contar. Que los caminos de la resurrección están abiertos. Y que siempre hay testigos de ello.

Que hay otro mundo posible que ya-está-siendoentre-nosotros.

Y que sólo se trata de reconocerNOS en él. Porque se trata... tan sólo... de reconocerLO entre nosotros.

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- La **página de información y materiales complementarios** de la Agenda: *latinoamericana.org/2012/info* Todo lo que no cabe en este libro de papel pero que la Agenda también le ofrece para su trabajo de educación popular.
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REVOLUCIONAR LA ESPIRITUALIDAD, CAMINO CIERTO HACIA EL CAMBIO SOCIAL

WINNER OF THE "GENDER PERSPECTIVES" CONTEST

MARILÍN PEÑA PÉREZ

Santiago de Cuba

«Nacemos macho y hembra y nos tornamos hombres y mujeres» Simone de Beauvoir*

La actual coyuntura internacional con los problemas globales que padecemos para enfrentar el desarrollo, la crisis económica, financiera, social y medioambiental que padece el mundo y por extensión nuestra Abya Ayala, demanda una nueva mirada a la cuestión de la espiritualidad, que nos impone retos teóricos y de la práctica contemporánea.

Una mirada a las revoluciones liberales del siglo XVIII y XIX deja ver que entre sus conquistas no se plantearon la explotación económica (doble por ser mujer) en la que se encontraban las féminas¹. El carácter patriarcal, monogámico e individualista de la familia capitalista genera papeles y roles sociales determinados. Antes pudo encontrarse en la familia al amo y a la esclava, después encontramos al burgués y a la proletaria², como reflejo de las relaciones sociales de dominador/dominado generada en los distintos modos de producción a lo largo de la historia.

Entender desde la perspectiva de género³ la espiritualidad y viceversa, nos pone ante un cambio revolucionario, el que permitirá transitar hacia la construcción de un camino hacia la equidad/inequidad. Desde la antigüedad, Platón consideraba «que los hombres están regidos por la razón y las mujeres por la emoción». ¿Biológicamente somos diferentes? ¿Qué somos frente a las diferencias? Somos, más que diferentes o iguales, seres humanos y es éste el punto de donde deberíamos partir en el camino hacia la transformación social.

Avanzar hacia la construcción de una sociedad con equidad pasa por sentir respeto por los seres humanos lo que sólo es posible si se construyen relaciones humanas basadas en el amor, lo cual significa ser portadores de una alta dosis de espiritualidad, algo que significa cambiar las relaciones de poder que entienden al hombre como lo público, la fuerza, proveedor de los recursos de la familia, el dominador, el que no llora, no tiene miedo, se viste de azul como el cielo que es inmenso y da cabida al mundo, que juega en la calle y tiene la última palabra. La mujer signi-

fica la esfera de lo privado, que es la casa, lo frágil, lo débil, lo delicado, la que tiene que ser dominada y obedecer, pero que le está permitido llorar, sentir miedo, que tiene la responsabilidad con la crianza y la educación de los hijos/as y se viste de rosa y se pone aretes desde muy pequeñas para marcarles su rol en la sociedad.

El mundo en que vivimos necesita de seres humanos que derrumben los muros de la individualidad y el egoísmo y que siembren jardines y esparzan semillas de solidaridad y amor en un desplazamiento de la cuestión individual hacia lo social. El asunto de la espiritualidad es un asunto hondamente humano, que hace a los seres humanos sensibles a las emociones de su época, y por tanto nadie puede estar ajeno a lo que acontece en su alrededor.

¿Acaso no emociona ver a cualquier animal acariciando a otro, ver crecer una planta desde una semilla que se riega, admirar dos ancianos que se enamoran, salir a luchar y defender los derechos de las masas populares, concebir un hijo/a y formar una familia, disfrutar de un amanecer y sentirnos parte del universo para enfrentar la soledad? Nuestras vidas están movidas por la espiritualidad, que debemos convertir, en actos conscientes y cotidianos, para no negarnos la oportunidad unos a otros de emocionarnos, de tener miedos y luchar por vencerlos, de errar, de ser tiernos, solidarios seamos hombres o mujeres, adolescentes o ancianos, creyentes en Dios o no.

Luchar por la equidad es librar una batalla desde la espiritualidad, comprendiendo que la contradicción antagónica no es entre los hombres y las mujeres, sino que está en las relaciones sociales que construimos y donde reproducimos estereotipos que definen relaciones de poder para reproducir el poder hegemónico del capitalismo.

Algo que incita a reflexionar en los límites del racionalismo y del espiritualismo en esta hora, es la cosmovisión indígena que puede contribuir a la conformación de la visión de sociedad a la que debemos

aspirar, basada en el respeto hacia la naturaleza, el fortalecimiento de la familia más allá de los lazos sanguíneos, entendida como todos los hombres y mujeres que habitamos el mundo y conformamos una familia ampliada, al *Buen Vivir*⁴ que significa vivir en armonía con la Pachamama «porque no estamos encima de ella como quien domina, sino en medio de ella como quien convive»⁵, en contraposición al vivir mejor que es sinónimo de consumismo, de tener más que los otros, incluso lo que no necesitamos pero que está de moda.

Entender al universo, a la sociedad, al comportamiento de hombres y mujeres en la hora actual desde la perspectiva de género no cambiará el mundo, pero nos abre un nuevo momento en la lucha de clases; por eso es necesario y urgente generar un modelo de educación que sea liberador, emancipador, inclusivo, equitativo y que tenga en cuenta la formación de sujetos portadores de espiritualidad, como vacuna que se enfrente ante la insensibilidad, la cosificación y los valores que promueve el tener por encima del ser. Cualquier proyecto emancipatorio tendrá que contener como primordial el que se prefiguren y generalicen nuevas formas de relación inter-subjetivas en un camino hacia una sociedad basada en la equidad.

En esta hora me acuerdo de mi abuela cuando rezaba una palabra de Jesús que se ha hecho refrán y forma parte del saber popular cubano: «no sólo de pan vive el hombre»; ciertamente hoy la espiritualidad es un camino hacia el cambio social, donde nuestros cuerpos estén guiados por la razón pero con emoción.

Más que discursos necesitamos generar en la práctica procesos de desarrollo humano que se planteen perspectivas desde el corazón, desde la razón sensible, desde la afectividad, la fe en Dios o en un mito, desde, con y para el amor; así nos preservaremos como especie, todos del reino animal e hijos de la Naturaleza.

NOTAS:

- * Luchadora francesa (1908 -1980). Su obra puede ser punto de partida para el análisis de la cuestión de género.
- ¹ En su artículo *La Mujer y la política* (Variedades, 1924), José Carlos Mariátegui plantea el problema de la democracia burguesa exclusivamente masculina. Las libertades, los derechos y la igualdad jurídica que se alcanzó durante el proceso de la Revolución Burguesa seguía excluyendo a las mujeres. Un ejemplo es que la declaración de los derechos del hombre y el ciudadano son leyes dictadas desde la perspectiva masculina.
- ² Silvio Costas en su libro *La comuna de París y las mujeres revolucionarias* aborda que la familia individual moderna se funda en la esclavitud doméstica franca o más o menos disimulada de la mujer, y la sociedad moderna es una masa cuyas moléculas son las familias individuales. Hoy, en la mayoría de los casos, el hombre tiene que ganar los medios de vida, alimentar a la familia, por lo menos en las clases poseedoras; y esto le da una posición preponderante que no necesita ser privilegiada de un modo especial por la ley. El hombre es en la familia el burgués; la mujer representa en ella al proletariado (publicado en *kaosenlared.net*, 2008).
- ³ Que es entender la construcción cultural que domina las relaciones sociales entre sexos, razas, credos, orientación sexual y que otorga poder a unos sobre otros (nota de la autora).
- ⁴ Buen Vivir, en la cosmovisión indígena, es respetar a la Pachamama, que es la Madre Tierra poseedora de dar vida y cuidar a todos sus frutos. Por estas razones, dentro de las comunidades, la mujer es valorada y está presente en todas las actividades orientadas a la vida, la crianza, la educación y la revitalización de la cultura. Los pobladores de las comunidades indígenas valoran a la mujer como base de la organización social, porque transmite a sus hijos los saberes de su cultura.
- ⁵ Boff, Leonardo: *Para una nueva visión ecológico*–espiritual, en *Agenda Latinoamericana 2010*, p. 116.

The Second Communal Work Project [Minga] of the Latin American Journals of Theology!

In 2011, for the second consecutive year, the Latin American Theological Commission of ASETT, the Association of Third World Theologians, has organized a "Communal Work Project" [Minga] or "Collective Issue" among the theological journals of the Continent. In 2010 the project focused on "The Planetary Ecological Crisis." In 2011 a collection was prepared on "The 50 Years since Vatican II," that will be observed in 2012. The following journals are participating: CHRISTUS, México; SENDEROS, San Jose; ALTERNATIVAS, Managua; LA ANTIGUA, Panama; FRANCISCANUM, Bogota; VÍNCULUM, Bogota; SPÍRITUS, Quito; PAGINAS, Lima; VOZES, Petropolis; VIDA PASTORAL, Buenos Aires; ACCIÓN, Asuncion; ENSAYOS TEOLÓGICOS, Asuncion; Cuadernos OBSUR, Montevideo; SOLERIANA, Montevideo; HORIZONTE, Belo Horizonte.

Both the collective-minga issue of 2010 on the "ecological crisis" as also the 2011 issue on "Vatican II Today" can be downloaded free of charge at http://Comision.Teologica.Latinoamericana.org

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PUNTO DE ENCUENTRO

COMUNICACIONES DE LOS LECTORES

Queridos hermanos de Koinonía, querido José María: Sepan que no soy creyente, pero, eso sí, que vuestros valores, vuestros principios, los de Jesús, el Reino, siempre me han conformado. Jamás se imaginarán el dolor que me apabulla por la partida de Comblin. Uno de los libros más recurridos por mí en épocas de la dictadura, 1982, fue *El Poder Militar en América Latina*. Lo leí y releí una y mil veces; está totalmente subrayado... En él empecé a conocer al querido José. Con él comencé a tener más fe en el Ser Humano...

Tengo mucha pena. Los abraza,

Juan Gatica Amengual, Santiago de Chile gatica_amengual@hotmail.com

La Agenda Latinoamericana, recurso importante en la retroalimentación de nuestro compromiso de fe.

Somos migrantes miembros de Librería del Pueblo - Proyecto Calpulli, en el condado de San Bernardino, California. Nuestro compromiso de trabajo se enfoca en el apoyo, la educación y la organización de la comunidad migrante. Iniciamos nuestro proyecto de solidaridad y trabajo como una comunidad eclesial de base desde los años 1974. Eventualmente por cuestiones de rechazo y problemas con la jerarquía, decidimos incorporarnos como asociación civil y continuar desde esa base comunitaria, nuestro compromiso con la justicia y el derecho.

Desde hace más de 13 años hemos estado utilizando la AGENDA LATINOAMERICANA como un instrumento de educación continua. En la realidad que vivimos como migrantes carecemos de espacios de reflexión que realmente alimenten nuestra fe y nuestra práctica social.

En el programa de educación y capacitación de los/ as miembros de nuestro equipo de trabajo, hemos estado utilizando esta agenda para la reflexión y análisis social. Mensualmente nos reunimos para hacer la lectura correspondiente usando el método de: ver, juzgar, actuar y celebrar.

La AGENDA LATINOAMERICANA ha sido una ventana abierta al resto del continente y nos une a mantener la visión de la problemática que enfrentamos como pueblo de Dios, nos enlaza con las luchas y retos que enfrentamos al igual que en las posibilidades de aportar nuestro grano de arena en aquellos cambios que debemos de

hacer desde esta trinchera donde nos toca luchar para que la justicia, la dignidad y la paz florezcan en nuestro continente.

Rosa Martha Zárate, San Bernardino, California, EEUU rosamarthazm@hotmail.com

Hasta hace un año produje un Programa de Radio (que se retransmitía en más de 120 Radios Comunitarias latinoamericanas), que tenía por nombre: «Evangelio y Realidad» (posiblemente este año, a partir de Mayo 2011 vuelva al aire). Para su armado, utilizaba mucho material del "Vigil" de la Agenda latinoamericana, L. Boff, Obispo Hesayne, etc. También de José Ignacio López Vigil (Radialistas), Koinonía y de los compas de «Fe y Alegría Paraquay», de ALER y de la OCCLAC...

Mariano Ledesma, San Pedro, Santiago del Estero parroquiasanpedrosgo@yahoo.com.ar

Koinonía ha cambiado mi vida, le cuento. Gracias a un sacerdote amigo llegamos a la página, en ese momento nosotros comenzábamos a acompañar a los catequistas de charlas prebautismales en la parroquia para luego ayudarlos con las mismas.

A través de las lecturas, tanto de los comentarios a las lecturas de cada día y especialmente de los domingos, y del material que ofrecen en biblioteca, fuimos profundizando en nuestra fe y abriéndonos a otro cristianismo posible. Hoy por hoy gran parte de nuestras lecturas son teológicas y nos sentimos mucho más seguros en nuestra fe y en nuestro rol como catequistas. Yo personalmente me veo muy diferente como persona, mi forma de ver el mundo y de verme en el mundo ha cambiado mucho.

Así que gracias de corazón. Y ahora somos nosotros quienes ponemos al alcance de las personas que se nos acercan con la intención de profundizar en su fe la página de Koinonía.

Un abrazo fraterno

Alice Mendez, Uruquay, alice.embrujo@gmail.com

Soy un viejo lector de la Agenda, creo que fue en los 90 en Nicaragua cuando descubrí esta maravillosa forma de sentirse acompañado todos los días! He visto muchos ejemplares -manoseados, plastificados...- sobrenish

vivir bajo lluvias de montaña... Así que será un privilegio enviarles este texto con una propuesta para 2012. Fraternalmente.

Thierry Deronne, Venezuela, teletambores@yahoo.fr

Vivo en la ciudad de Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais, Brasil. Cada año recibimos 50 ejemplares de la Agenda Latinoamericana que adquirimos porque tenemos un grupo de reflexión en el que estudiamos cada texto de la Agenda. Este año, por una serie de problemas y olvidos, no nos llegaron, y va no hemos conseguido comprarlas, porque la edición se ha agotado en Brasil. Hemos intentado tomarla de internet, para poder debatir y estudiar sus textos, pero sólo la hemos conseguido localizar en inglés. ¿No sería posible ponerla a disposición pública en internet en portugués? Sería lamentable no poder trabajar los textos de tanta calidad y que tanto contribuyen para nuestro crecimento y el de las personas con las que trabajamos. En 2010 hemos estudiado cada texto, y seguimos con esa Agenda de 2010 todavía hoy porque coincide con el tema de la Campaña de la Fraternidad brasileña de 2011. Por favor, permítannos acceder a los textos de la Agenda en portugués. Obrigados...

Ma Lourdes Evangelista Braga, Juiz de Fora, Brasil malueb@yahoo.com.br

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WHO'S WHO

AMONG THE AUTHORS OF THIS AGENDA

Only some; others need no introduction for our readers...

Leonardo BOFF is one of the founders of liberation theology. A Catholic theologian, he now focuses his work especially on the theme of ecology. Many of his books are available in English, including Ecology & Liberation, a New Paradigm and Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor. His weekly column is available in Spanish at *servicioskoinia.org/boff*

Marcelo BARROS, born Camaragibe, Recife, Brasil, 1944, of a poor Catholic family of the working poor. Biblicist and member of EATWOT, he has writen 35 books on the popular reading of the Bible, ecumenical spirituality, theology of the Earth, Macro-ecumenical theology, as well as on cultural and religious pluralism. He is an advisor to the Ministry of the Earth and of the Landless Peoples' Movement (MST). He is very close to the Afro-Brazilian religions. Currently, he lives in a lay community in Recife (PE), Brazil, while undergoing health-related treatement. He collaborates with various theological journals in different countries.

Margot BREMER, originally from Germany, is a Religious of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (RSCJ). She studied pedagogy In Hamburg and Bonn as well as theology in Bonn and Granada. She lives in Paraguay since 1987 and is professor of theology In various centres of study, member of the theological advisory committee to the President of the CLAR and member of AELAPI and Amerincia.

Josep Manel BUSQUETA (Catalonia), economist and breadmaker, specialized in matters relating to economic debelopment. He participates In "Taifa," a seminar on critical economy in Barcelona. He is also an active participant in various social movements that are active in the grassroots. He has participated in the production of several books: *Critique of Orthodox Economics*, published by the Autonomous University of Barcelona; *Everything About Basic Income*, in two volumes, published by Virus; and various articles linked to the analysis of the Bolivarian revolution in its economic dimension.

Pedro CASALDÁLIGA is the Bishop Emeritus of the Diocese of São Félix do Araguia. He has been a tireless advocate for the poor of Brazil since arriving 1968. While there are many theologians of liberation, Casaldáliga is also a poet of liberation. His poems can be found on http://servicioskoinonia.org/Casaldaliga. His English-language books include Political Holiness and In Pursuit of the Kingdom, both published by Orbis Books, New York.

David CHOQUEHUANCA CÉSPEDES, 1961, born in Cota Cota Baja on the shores of Lake Titicaca, Department of La Paz. He is Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. During the 1980's, he began his participation in political and social processes. He abandoned his study of philosophy to support campesino organizations. He participated in the congresses of the Indigenous Campesino Movement and in the campaign known as "500 years of Resistance," that influenced the recovery of his self-esteem as Indigenous.

Alejandro DAUSÁ, 1953, Buenos Aires, Argentina. He studied philosophy and theology, then worked with popular organizations in Bolivia. He is the author of *Encounters with the Master* and co-author of *The Original Pathways--Diversity in New Testament Communities*. Since 2008, he works in Bolivia with popular movements in Bolivia and in the program of theological formation at ISEAT, La Paz.

Pablo DÁVALOS, economist and university professor in Ecuador. Many of his articles are available at http://alainet.org. Many of his numerous conferences and interviews can be seen on Youtube.

Boaventura DE SOUZA SANTOS is a Portuguese sociologist, who holds a chair at the University of Coimbra (Portugal) and at the University of Wisconsin at Madison (USA). See:

http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boaventura_de_Sousa_Santos **Eduardo GALEANO:** Montevideo, Uruguay, 1940. Well known Latin American writer.

http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo Galeano

Álvaro GARCÍA LINERA, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 1962, is currently the Vice-President of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and member of the Movement Toward Socialism Party. He is regarded as the major artisan of the gathering together of various political groupings that made possible the election of Morales. He is the senior member of the current government (in conformity with his ideological current of the socalled dialectic essentialism) and, as the main governmental theoretician, has outlined the major pieces of the political strategy of Evo Morales. See also

http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alvaro_Garcia_Linera Alfredo J. GONÇALVES, was born on the Isla de Madeira in Portugal in 1953. He is member of the Scalabrinian order. Their charism is working with migrants and refugees throughout the world. He has lived in Brazil since 1969. He has always worked in social ministry: in the periphery and favelas of São Paulo, with the homeless, with sugarcane workers. He was an advisor on social ministry for the CNBB.

Gregorio IRIARTE. Navarra 1927. He lives in Bolivia for the last 50 years. His famous book, Critical *Analysis of the Reality of Latin America* (Spanish), has nearly 20 editions and has become the reference manual for study of Continental reality.

Edgardo LANDER, Caracas, Professor at the Central University of Venezuela, he is an investigative lecturer in the Department of Latin-American Studies at the School of Sociology. He coordinated the book entitled, "The Colonization of learning: Eurocentrism and the Social Sciences: Latin-American Perspectives," 2000. He is a member of CLACSO.

João Batista LIBÂNIO. Belo Horizonte, MG, Brasil 1932. www.jblibanio.com.br

http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/João_Batista_Libanio Bartomeu MELIÀ. Mallorca, España, 1932. In Paraguay since 1954.

http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartomeu_Meliá

Jorge Enrique MENDOZA POSADA, from Panama, lives in Brazil and is an economist and university professor as well as Master in Economic Theory from the Federal University of Minas (1991). Poet, writer, activist in the Black Movement and other social and cultural organizations, he fights for respect for multiculturalism and fraternity and against all forms of exploitation and discrimination.

Marc PLANA, (Mataró, Barcelona, 1974) is a

researcher in the Philosophy Department of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, who also works in an interdisciplinary study of political philosophy and cinema. As an audiovisual script writer, he has produced a variety of works and taught script writing at ERAM in Girona. He also belongs to the Latin American Agenda Comission of Girona, Commission who supports many projects of solidaruty, "of go and return"...

Luis RAZETO MIGLIARO, is a Chilean economist who has devoted his life to providing a theoretical foundation for his economy as the only one worthy of human beings. He has attempted to make it a "comprehensive economy," making it known alwayss in a pluri-disciplinary way. An economist but also a social anthropologist, philosopher, ethical and spiritual thinker, he is the author of The Jesus Project (Spanish). He practices what he teaches and writes, is direct of the Solidarity Foundation and of the "Foundation Habitat for Humanity (Chile)" His web site is www.economiasolidaria.net

Pedro A. RIBEIRO D OLIVEIRA, a sociologist, lives in Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais, Brazil. He is currently a professor in the Sciences of Religion Masters Program at PUC-Minas, is a consultant of ISER-Assessoria, and is a member of the leadership of the Movimiento Nacional Fé e Política.

Rodrigo SALLES DE CARVALHO (1970) (1970) is a biologist living in Juiz de Fora-MG, Brazil. He is currently completing a doctorate in Biology at the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Married with two children (girls), he is very interested in ecological ethics.

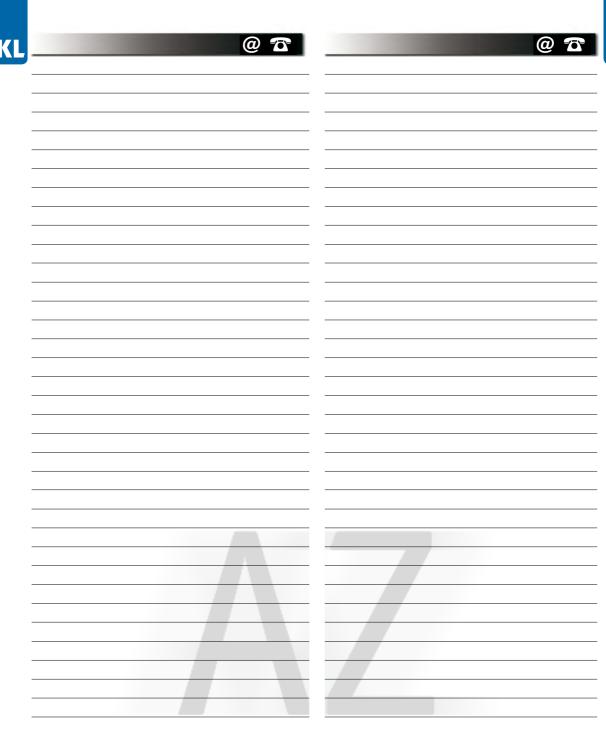
Pablo SUESS, Köln, Germany, 1938, in Brazil since 1966. See: de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulo_Suess

Also: http://paulosuess.blogspot.com

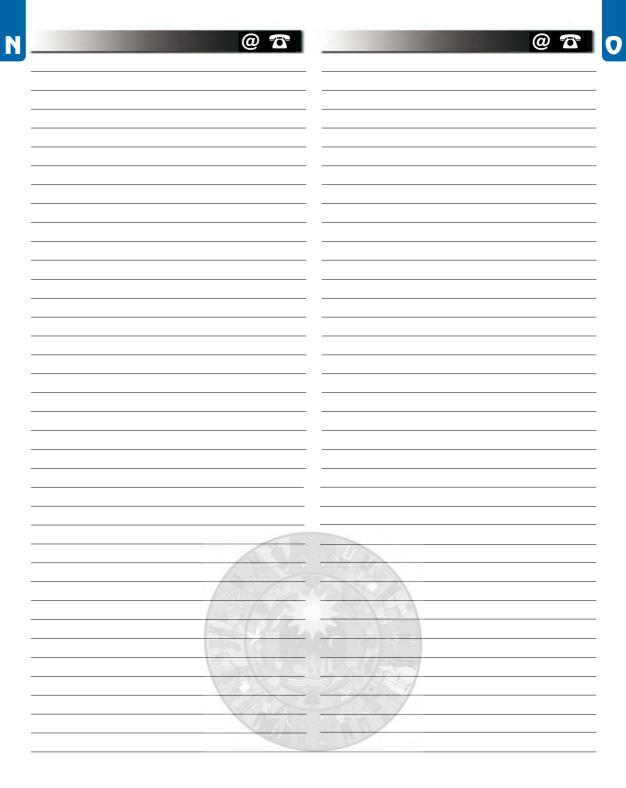
Elsa TAMEZ. 1951, Monterrey, México, studied in the Latin American Biblical Seminary and at the National University of San Jose, Costa Rica. Masters in literature and linguistics. Doctorate in theology from Lausanne, Switzerland. Her last project is an interlineal New Testament in Greek and Spanish.

http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elsa_Támez

Martín VALMASEDA is the Director of the Center of Audiovisual Communication and Education (CAUCE) in Guatemala. He has dedicated his life to liberating communication.







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