Chapter 2 *Populorum Progressio*: Development and Law?



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Abstract In his Populorum Progressio Encyclical of 26 March 1967, Pope Paul VI raised the link between development and law as one of the most pressing matters for his and for future generations. This encyclical letter was preceded by the era of social teachings of the Church that had begun at the end of the 19th century with the Rerum novarum Encyclical. Pope John Paul II explained in Annus centisimus that Pope Leo XIII had already offered an initial conception of development to be applied to the juridical relations between masters and workmen. That doctrinal work was further extended by Pope John XXIII, in his 1961 Mater et magistra Encyclical, from social rights to the support of less developed areas, which was to be determined on the basis of justice and equity, and not by a mechanical application of the laws of the marketplace. Less than two years after the close of the Second Vatican Council, the advent of the Populorum Progressio Encyclical occurred within a global context marked by burgeoning prosperity in the West and by the often violent decolonisation process. Nations that had just gained independence were hopeful as to the prospects of improving their legal systems, of contributing to their own development, and of assuming their rightful place in the international community. Despite aid programmes, the disparities between developed and developing nations had increased dramatically. The study of the Encyclical Populorum Progressio may enable a better definition of the notion of development which, according to Pope Paul VI ought not be restricted to purely economic growth, but as 'man's complete development which should be understood and pursued in conformity with the dictates of moral law. The Encyclical may provide answers to questions as to the purpose of development, founded on social and legal equality, with the formula, 'development: the new name for peace'.

Keywords Catholic Church \cdot Global poverty \cdot Global development \cdot Social justice \cdot Law and morality

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2.1 Introduction

Just over 50 years ago, on 26 March 1967, during the celebration of the Resurrection, Pope Paul VI published the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio, on the Development of Peoples*, first written in French and translated—after the *sta tutto bene* (i.e., the endorsement) of the Pope¹—into Latin and other languages.² The announcement of this encyclical letter, which had aroused considerable interest, took place within the context of increasing disparity between the world's nations with the gap widening between, on the one hand, the affluent and developed countries, and, the poor and less developed countries on the other, albeit in a world that had increasingly become closely interdependent. The opening words of the Encyclical are: '[t]oday it is most important for people to understand and appreciate that the social question ties all men together, in every part of the world'.³ Prior to the *Populorum Progressio* encyclical, Pope Paul VI had developed strong ideas concerning the globalisation of the social question that he had expressed through speeches he had made during his apostolic journey to India and his visit to the United Nations headquarters,⁴ the letter to the

¹Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1018; Cardinal Paul Poupard, «Capire la Populorum Progressio», *Quaderni di fede e mondo in Sviluppo*, Assise, edizioni Pro Civitate Christiana, 1968; «L'idea dello sviluppo integrale: la ricerca dei veri valori nelle encicliche», *Nuntium*, n° 31–32, Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2007; *Le développement des peoples, entre souvenir et espérance*, Paris, éditions Parole et Silence, 2008. François Perroux, *Dialogue des monopoles et des nations*, Grenoble, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1982; *L'économie du XX^e siècle*, Paris, PUF, 1961; Pour une philosophie du nouveau développement, Paris, Fleurus, 1967. Paolo-G. Carozza, «The structures of developpement attualità del magistero di Paolo VI, Rome, Vita et Pensiero, 2017; Marc Feix, «Développement des peuples et développement durable, de *Populorum Progressio* au Forum social mondial», *Revue des sciences religieuses*, n° 82/1, 2010; Michel Schooyans, «*Populorum Progressio*, vingt ans après», Vatican, 1987; Ignace Berten, «*Populorum Progressio*, quelle actualité?», *Développement et civilisations Lebret-Irdef*, février 2008; Vincent Cosmao, «*Populorum Progressio*, trente ans après», *Bulletin du Centre Lebret «Foi et Développement*», n° 250/251, février et mars 1997.

²The French and the English versions present certain differences—for instance, the term 'humanisme intégral', is rendered in the English version as 'true humanism', and the term 'devoir communautaire' is rendered as 'ties with all men'.

³Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, n° 3 'Today it is most important for people to understand and appreciate that the social question ties all men together, in every part of the world. John XXIII stated this clearly, and Vatican II confirmed it in its Pastoral Constitution on The Church in the World of Today. The seriousness and urgency of these teachings must be recognized without delay. The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly'.

⁴ 'We come to you as a messenger of Jesus and his teaching. Many of you know His life and doctrine and, like Mahatma Gandhi, express reverence for Jesus and admiration for His teaching. 'I am the light of the world', Jesus said; and today the world stands in great need of this Light, to overcome the strife and division, and the menace of unprecedented violence, which threaten to engulf mankind. The people of India and of Asia can draw light and strength from the teaching and spirit of Jesus, from His love and compassion, in their efforts to help the less fortunate, to practise brotherly love, to attain peace among themselves and with their neighbours'. *Journey to India, homily of Paul VI, Bombay*, 4 December 1964.

Director of UNESCO in August 1965,⁵ messages for the *Social Weeks of France* and for the celebration of Christmas 1966,⁶ and, lastly, through the *Motu Proprio: Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam* with which he created the Pontifical Council *Justitia et Pace*.⁷ Among the issues raised by the Encyclical of March 1967 is the question of the relationship between law and development in which the political and the spiritual are so obviously linked, with the express acknowledgement that both spheres are distinct, just as both powers—namely, the Church and the State—are sovereign, each with its own sphere of competence.⁸

In his speech of 20 April 1967, the Pope pointed out the links between the natural and the supernatural, the secular and the religious; he quoted the philosopher Nicolas Berdiaeff's paradoxical formula: '[b]read for myself is a material issue, bread for my

(1) colligere ac summatim perscribere praestantiores scientiae investigationes ac doctrinae adiumenta, quae pertineant sive ad cuiusvis generis incrementa, in campo scilicet educationis et mentis culturae, rei oeconomicae et socialis, et in ceteris eiusdem generis; sive ad ipsam pacem, in iis omnibus rebus, quae progressus causam superent;

(2) operam conferre, ut altius pervestigentur, quod attinet ad doctrinam, ad pastorale munus et ad apostolatus actionem, generales quaestiones, quae progressus et pacis causa proponantur;

(3) curare, ut haec doctrina atque huiusmodi nuntiorum collectio in notitiam omnium Institutorum Ecclesiae, quorum intersit, perferantur;

(4) vincula nectere inter omnia Instituta, hoc quidem Consilio, ut apta virium coniunctio foveatur, validiores nisus fulciantur, itemque caveatur, ne ad idem propositum, cum virium impendio, varia incepta et opera contendant.'

⁸This definition will be given in the Encyclical *Deus Caritas est*: 'The just ordering of society and the State is a central responsibility of politics. As Augustine once said, a State which is not governed according to justice would be just a bunch of thieves: '*Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?*'. Fundamental to Christianity is the distinction between what belongs to Caesar and what belongs to God (cf. *Mt* 22:21), in other words, the distinction between Church and State, or, as the Second Vatican Council puts it, the autonomy of the temporal sphere. The State may not impose religion, yet it must guarantee religious freedom and harmony between the followers of different religions. For her part, the Church, as the social expression of Christian faith, has a

⁵ 'It is a question of the full development of man and humanity which opens to all the way of truth; the truth of science—a major factor of cultural, technical and economic progress—as well as moral and spiritual truth, which alone is capable of fulfilling man's highest aspirations'. *Message of His Holiness Paul VI to Mr. Rene Maheu, Director General of UNESCO for the World Congress of Ministers of Education*, 26 August 1965.

⁶Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Monseigneur Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1017.

⁷*Motu Proprio: Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, 6 January 1967: '*Deinde de Pontificia Commissione studiosorum, a Iustitia et Pace appellata.*

Haec Commissio sibi proponit populum Dei universum excitare ad plenam adipiscendam conscientiam muneris sibi hisse temporibus demandati; ita quidem, ut hinc pauperiorum populorum progressus promoveatur ac socialis iustitia inter nationes foveatur, illinc vero subsidia nationibus minus progressis praebeantur, quorum ope eaedem incrementis suis per se ipsae consulere possint. Quam ad rem huius Pontificiae Commissionis erit:

neighbour is a spiritual issue'.⁹ He was thus emphasising a proximity that 'leaves intact-Paul VI notes in his speech to the Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Programme-the clear distinction between a spiritual society, like the Church, and a temporal society constituted by the countries'.¹⁰ This issue, which maintains the distinction but at the same time establishes reciprocity between the two powers, has been studied through various sources rooted in the Lex Divina, that is to say, in the will to build the 'Kingdom of Heaven' on earth. As an introduction to the publication of the text, in April 1967, the French bishop, Monsignor Paul Poupard, from the Secretariat of State, presented the sources he had used, including Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition, along with other sources indicating the novelty of the doctrine. References to Holy Scripture can be found in *Populorum Progressio*, in particular verse 16:26. Matthew, applied to those who promote the supremacy of wealth: '[w]hat does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul?',¹¹ then the verse 8:2. Mark: 'I have compassion on the crowd',¹² or the letter of James: '[i]f a brother or a sister be naked and in want of daily food, and one of you say to them, "Go in peace, be warm and filled" yet you do not give them what is necessary for the body, what does it profit?'.¹³

Pope Paul VI went on to maintain the social teachings of the preceding Popes including those contained in the *Rerum Novarum* and *Immortale Dei* by Pope Leon XIII, *Quadragesimo anno* by Pope Pius XI, *Fideidonum*, and several broadcasts, by Pope Pius XII, and in Pope John XXIII's apostolical letters *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*.¹⁴ Lastly, the Second Vatican Council is cited multiple times—seventeen, according to Monsignor Paul Poupard—with *Lumen Gentium*, the Decree *Apostolicam actuositatem*, and especially the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, 'because its teaching is serious and its application urgent'.¹⁵ The Encyclical goes on to

proper independence and is structured on the basis of her faith as a community which the State must recognize. The two spheres are distinct, yet always interrelated.'

⁹Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Monsignor Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1017.

¹⁰ 'The action of Church is not entirely on the same level as your own, and the convergence of efforts and points of view leaves intact the distinction that exists between a spiritual society like the Church and the temporal society constituted by the countries you represent.' (Cf. *Populorum Progressio*, No. 13), *Address of His Holiness Paul VI to the Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Programme*, 20 April 1967.

¹¹Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 40.

¹²Ibid., No. 74.

¹³Ibid., No., 45.

¹⁴Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Monsignor Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1017.

¹⁵Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 3: 'Today it is most important for people to understand and appreciate that the social question ties all men together, in every part of the world. John XXIII stated this clearly, (6) and Vatican II confirmed it in its Pastoral Constitution on The Church in the World of Today. (7) The seriousness and urgency of these teachings must be recognized without delay.

The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly'.

deal with the doctrinal novelty; references are made to modern authors, theologians, philosophers, and economists. In the text, the writings of Jacques Maritain are cited (*L'Humanisme intégral*¹⁶ and *Les conditions spirituelles du progrès et de la paix*),¹⁷ as well as the writings of British economist, Colin Clark (*The Conditions of Economic Progress*).¹⁸ There are further references to the writings of the Jesuit, Henri de Lubac, (*Le drame de l'humanisme athée*), of the Dominican M-D Chenu, close to the worker-priests, with his publication, *Pour une théologie du travail*.¹⁹ We also find expressions of Oswald von Breuning's *Economics and Society Today*,²⁰ of *The Pastoral Letter on Development and Peace* by Monsignor Larrain Errazuriz, the President of the Latin American Episcopal Council²¹ who, it must be remembered, had in 1962 distributed 180 acres of land to 18 peasant families.²² Among the experts consulted, it would be a grave omission not to mention the Dominican Louis-Joseph Lebret, founder of the 'Catholic Association Economy and Humanism'²³ about whom Pope Paul VI had written that: '[h]is memory must be kept, his work must be continued, his dream of Christian civilisation must be fulfilled'.²⁴

Thus, the sources, cumulatively, make clear the intentions that underpin the Encyclical: they are reminders of 'the duty for the Church—which was founded to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth and not to conquer an earthly power—to be in the service of man'.²⁵ The message of the Encyclical thus ranges from the denunciation of injustice to the aim of achieving justice and peace via the means of development; from 'a cry in agony to an appeal for hope'.²⁶

¹⁶Maritain [1, 2].

¹⁷Maritain [3].

¹⁸Clark [4].

¹⁹Chenu [5, 6].

²⁰von Nell-Breuning [7].

²¹Emmanuel Larrain Errázuriz, Bishop of Talca, Chile, President of CELAM, *Lettre pastorale sur le développement et la paix*, Paris: Pax Christi (1965).

²²Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1018.

²³Lebret [8].

²⁴Presentation of the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, by Paul Poupard, *La documentation catholique*, 1967, col. 1018.

²⁵Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 3: «Founded to build the kingdom of heaven on earth rather than to acquire temporal power, the Church openly avows that the two powers—Church and State—are distinct from one another; that each is supreme in its own sphere of competency».

²⁶Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 13: «The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly».

2.2 The Denunciation of Injustices

The text of the Encyclical highlights the deep crises that, despite the general prosperity of *Les Trente Glorieuses* (i.e., 'The Glorious Thirty' [years of relative prosperity between 1945 and 1975]), have actually been greatly increasing and have become chronic and global. During his journeys to Latin America (1960), Africa (1962), the Holy Land, and to India, Pope Paul VI noted the blatant disparities at play: '[t]here We saw the perplexing problems that vex and besiege these continents, which are otherwise full of life and promise. We gained first-hand knowledge of the difficulties that these age-old civilizations must face in their struggle for further development'.²⁷ Those pathologies that mainly plague poor countries are analysed—in Aristotle's and Saint Thomas Aquinas's views—as consequences of a perversion of purpose that benefits only a few and serves particular or unfair interests, in total disregard of the collective good; they are the effects of degenerate political and economic laws, termed 'inhuman principles'²⁸ in the French translation of the Encyclical.

First, the authors point at the failure of political systems, and blame oppressive structures for their pursuit of power. The Encyclical refers to how 'a privileged minority enjoys the refinements of life, while the rest of the inhabitants, impoverished and disunited, are deprived of almost all possibility of acting on their own initiative and responsibility, and often subsist in living and working conditions unworthy of the human person'.²⁹ The Encyclical opposes all attempts to exercise hegemonic domination. The imperial dream throughout history of ruling over the world is being criticised. To illustrate its rejection of the *dominium mundi*, the authors of the Encyclical refer to the recent colonial past, along with the condemnation of its excesses by stating: '[i]t is true that colonising nations were sometimes concerned with nothing save their own interests, their own power and their own prestige'.³⁰ However, those abuses of power are far from over, and the Encyclical warns against the re-emergence of 'a new form of colonialism that would threaten civil liberty, exert economic pressure or create a new power group with controlling influence'.³¹

²⁷Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 4.

²⁸Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 70. Cf., 'Why is it, then, that they give in to baser motives of self-interest when they set out to do business in the developing countries?'. NB., French version of the Encyclical, is more forceful—cf., 'pourquoi reviendraient-ils aux principes inhumains de l'individualisme quand ils opèrent en pays moins développés?'.

²⁹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 9: 'Then there are the flagrant inequalities not merely in the enjoyment of possessions, but even more in the exercise of power'.

³⁰Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 7: 'Though insufficient for the immensity and urgency of the task, the means inherited from the past are not totally useless. It is true that colonizing nations were sometimes concerned with nothing save their own interests, their own power and their own prestige; their departure left the economy of these countries in precarious imbalance—the one-crop economy, for example, which is at the mercy of sudden, wide-ranging fluctuations in market prices. Certain types of colonialism surely caused harm and paved the way for further troubles'.

³¹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 52: 'It is certainly all right to maintain bilateral and multilateral agreements. Through such agreements, ties of dependence and feelings of jealousy—holdovers from the era of colonialism —give way to friendly relationships of true solidarity that are based

'Just as much as totalitarian ideologies are criticised by *Populorum Progressio*, so are political systems which aim to isolate. The text denounces such systems to which it refers as 'civilisations jealous of their own advantage alone'.³² and it also highlights the dangers of nationalism and racism. The Encyclical thus defines nationalism as an institutional system that 'disunites nations and poses obstacles to their true welfare',³³ and racism as 'a cause of division and hatred within countries whenever individuals and families see the inviolable rights of the human person held in scorn, as they themselves are unjustly subjected to a regime of discrimination because of their race or their colour'.³⁴ Then comes the criticism of the economic norms considered unfair. Undoubtedly, due to the Cold War, *Populorum Progressio* barely mentions communism. That said, however, the Pope went so far as to state that 'total collectivization and the dangers of a planned economy which might threaten human liberty and obstruct the exercise of man's basic human rights'.³⁵ But the danger that the authors caution against at greater length is that of capitalism; *Populorum Progressio* condemns 'unbridled liberalism' which presents 'free competition as the

on juridical and political equality. But such agreements would be free of all suspicion if they were integrated into an overall policy of worldwide collaboration. The member nations, who benefit from these agreements, would have less reason for fear or mistrust. They would not have to worry that financial or technical assistance was being used as a cover for some new form of colonialism that would threaten their civil liberty, exert economic pressure on them, or create a new power group with controlling influence'.

³²Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 49: 'If prosperous nations continue to be jealous of their own advantage alone, they will jeopardize their highest values, sacrificing the pursuit of excellence to the acquisition of possessions. We might well apply to them the parable of the rich man. His fields yielded an abundant harvest and he did not know where to store it: But God said to him, Fool, this very night your soul will be demanded from you'.

³³Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 62: 'There are other obstacles to creation of a more just social order and to the development of world solidarity: nationalism and racism. It is quite natural that nations recently arrived at political independence should be quite jealous of their new-found but fragile unity and make every effort to preserve it. It is also quite natural for nations with a long-standing cultural tradition to be proud of their traditional heritage. But this commendable attitude should be further ennobled by love, a love for the whole family of man. Haughty pride in one's own nation disunites nations and poses obstacles to their true welfare. It is especially harmful where the weak state of the economy calls for a pooling of information, efforts and financial resources to implement programs of development and to increase commercial and cultural interchange'.

³⁴Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 63: 'Racism is not the exclusive attribute of young nations, where sometimes it hides beneath the rivalries of clans and political parties, with heavy losses for justice and at the risk of civil war. During the colonial period it often flared up between the colonists and the indigenous population, and stood in the way of mutually profitable understanding, often giving rise to bitterness in the wake of genuine injustices. It is still an obstacle to collaboration among disadvantaged nations and a cause of division and hatred within countries whenever individuals and families see the inviolable rights of the human person held in scorn, as they themselves are unjustly subjected to a regime of discrimination because of their race or their color'.

³⁵Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 33: 'It is for the public authorities to establish and lay down the desired goals, the plans to be followed, and the methods to be used in fulfilling them; and it is also their task to stimulate the efforts of those involved in this common activity. But they must also see to it that private initiative and intermediary organizations are involved in this work. In

guiding norm of economics' and 'paves the way for a particular type of tyranny'.³⁶ According to Pope Paul VI, the law/rule of free trade alone must be rejected because it alone can no longer rule international relations. Moreover, concerned with the needs of the social collective, the *Populorum Progressio* encyclical refuses to endorse the right of property—enshrined by the French Declaration of 1789 and by the Civil Code—as absolute and unconditional.³⁷ A quote from Ambroise de Milan expresses this such communitarian sentiments in stating that: '[t]he earth belongs to everyone, not to the rich',³⁸ which means, the encyclical goes on, to state that 'the right of private property is not absolute and unconditional'.³⁹ In sum, 'as the Fathers of the Church and other eminent theologians tell us, the right of private property may never be exercised to the detriment of the common good',⁴⁰ and, thus, the *Populorum Progressio* places the fundamental needs of the collective above private rights per se.

But governments may also commit injustices. To prevent the political and economic abuses denounced in *Populorum Progressio*, the Holy See warns against violent popular reactions and 'revolutionary uprisings that engender new injustices, introduce new inequities and bring new disasters'.⁴¹ *Populorum Progressio* adds that: '[e]vil may not be dealt with in such a way that an even worse situation results'.⁴² Nevertheless uprisings may be legitimate 'where there is manifest, longstanding tyranny which would do great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country'.⁴³ Intellectuals may see this as encouragement of Liberation theology, support for Jacques Maritain's *Neo-Thomism* and Yves Congar,

this way they will avoid total collectivization and the dangers of a planned economy which might threaten human liberty and obstruct the exercise of man's basic human rights'.

³⁶Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 26.

³⁷Declaration of human and civic rights, of 26 August 1789, article 17, 'Since the right to Property is inviolable and sacred, no one may be deprived thereof, unless public necessity, legally ascertained, obviously requires it, and just and prior indemnity has been paid'; Civil Code of France, article 544: 'Ownership is the right to enjoy and dispose of things in the most absolute manner, provided they are not used in a way prohibited by statutes or regulations'.

³⁸Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 23. *De Nabute*, c. 12, n. 53: PL 14. 747; cf. Palanque [9]. ³⁹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 23: *The Use of Private Property*, 'He who has the goods of this world and sees his brother in need and closes his heart to him, how does the love of God abide in him? Everyone knows that the Fathers of the Church laid down the duty of the rich toward the poor in no uncertain terms. The earth belongs to everyone, not to the rich. These words indicate that the right to private property is not absolute and unconditional'.

⁴⁰Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 23: 'No one may appropriate surplus goods solely for his own private use when others lack the bare necessities of life. In short, as the Fathers of the Church and other eminent theologians tell us, the right of private property may never be exercised to the detriment of the common good. When private gain and basic community needs conflict with one another, it is for the public authorities to seek a solution to these questions, with the active involvement of individual citizens and social groups'.

⁴¹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 31: "Everyone knows that revolutionary uprisings engender new injustices, introduce new inequities and bring new disasters".

⁴²Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 31.

⁴³Ibid.

Marie-Dominique Chenu, and Louis-Joseph Lebret's justifications. Furthermore, the encyclical put forward the notion of social sin—i.e., the sin of omission in the face of such disparities that may be rectified only by the practice of justice and peace.

2.3 A Development for Justice and Peace

Pope Paul VI, in emphasising the urgency to act, had stated: '[w]e must make haste. Too many people are suffering'.⁴⁴ To relieve the suffering of the people, the solutions proposed by atheistic and materialistic philosophy and above all, by liberal overconsumption, appear to be inappropriate. Populorum Progressio proposes a third way leading first to man's integral development, and subsequently to mankind's common development. Such intervention on the part of spiritual authority may be justified by the long presence of the Church in human affairs, 'she [i.e., the Church] seeks but one solitary goal: to carry forward the work of Christ himself under the lead of the befriending Spirit. For Christ entered this world to bear witness to the truth, to save and not to sit in judgment, to serve and not to be served'.⁴⁵ First Pope Paul VI advocates the personal development of man Here the advice brings together tradition and modernity. The text is reminiscent of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas's thinking with the principle of distributive justice expressed by Roman jurists, in the suum cuique tribuere maxim, so as to guarantee their citizens their full human development, and to give them their rightful place in the community of nations.⁴⁶ But, above all, the authors apply the integral humanism of Jacques Maritain who proposes to the citizens to ensure their human fulfilment. It is a call for growth in humanity: each person can grow in humanity, enhance his/her personal worth, and perfect him-/herself. Self-development, however, is not left up to man's option; the Encyclical refers to the duty of growth as: '[t]hus human self-fulfilment may be said to sum up our obligations'.⁴⁷ Man's self-development, carried through by personal efforts and responsible activity, is destined for a higher state of perfection. And the authors list the areas of personal growth: education, freedom from poverty, health, adequate means of subsistence, job security, involvement in responsibilities, freedom from all forms of oppression-that is to say: to do more, to know more, to have more, so as

⁴⁴Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 29, 'We must make haste. Too many people are suffering. While some make progress, others stand still or move backwards; and the gap between them is widening. However, the work must proceed in measured steps if the proper equilibrium is to be maintained. Makeshift agrarian reforms may fall short of their goal. Hasty industrialization can undermine vital institutions and produce social evils, causing a setback to true human values'.

⁴⁵Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 12.

⁴⁶Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 6, 'Moreover, those nations which have recently gained independence find that political freedom is not enough. They must also acquire the social and economic structures and processes that accord with man's nature and activity, if their citizens are to achieve personal growth and if their country is to take its rightful place in the international community'.

⁴⁷Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 16.

to be more. On the other hand, in this vision of growth, the criticism of materialism is more nuanced. The authors make a distinction between the liberal law of profit, considered as harmful, and industrialisation whose contribution to humanity overall has been considerable.⁴⁸

Concerning colonisation, there is similar nuance at play. The Encyclical honours 'those colonizers whose skills and technical know-how brought benefits to many untamed hands, and whose work survives to this day'.⁴⁹ Here we get a glimpse of the work conducted by missionaries, such as the work of Charles de Foucault who compiled a dictionary of the Tuareg language.⁵⁰ This contribution of missionaries demonstrates how the final goal of *integral humanism* may be directed only towards God. The encyclical reads: 'it is a transcendent humanism which is the highest goal of human self-fulfilment'.⁵¹ The term *integral humanism* contrasts with that of a *closed* or horizontal humanism-i.e., that which is deprived of a vertical dimension-that is better suited to communist and capitalist materialisms. Pope Paul VI does not seek for opposites to converge; he blames materialism for remaining an incomplete, ambiguous, purely formal and even distorted form of humanism. In Populorum Progressio, one can read: 'man can set about organizing terrestrial realities without God. But closed off from God, they will end up being directed against man. A humanism closed off from other realities becomes inhuman'.⁵² Conversely, growth, regarded as a vocation for each, enters the theology of History proposed by the Social Doctrine of the Church: 'All men are called to this full development. Civilizations spring up,

⁴⁸Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 26, 'But if it is true that a type of capitalism, as it is commonly called, has given rise to hardships, unjust practices, and fratricidal conflicts that persist to this day, it would be a mistake to attribute these evils to the rise of industrialization itself, for they really derive from the pernicious economic concepts that grew up along with it'.

⁴⁹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 26, 'The structural machinery [those colonizers] introduced was not fully developed or perfected, but it did help to reduce ignorance and disease, to promote communication, and to improve living conditions'.

⁵⁰Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 12, 'We need only mention the efforts of Pere Charles de Foucauld: he compiled a valuable dictionary of the Tuareg language, and his charity won him the title, "everyone's brother". So We deem it fitting to praise those off forgotten pioneers who were motivated by love for Christ, just as We honor their imitators and successors who today continue to put themselves at the generous and unselfish service of those to whom they preach the Gospel'.

⁵¹Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 12, *Man's Supernatural Destiny*, 'Self-development, however, is not left up to man's option. Just as the whole of creation is ordered toward its Creator, so too the rational creature should of his own accord direct his life to God, the first truth and the highest good. Thus human self-fulfilment may be said to sum up our obligations. Moreover, this harmonious integration of our human nature, carried through by personal effort and responsible activity, is destined for a higher state of perfection. United with the life-giving Christ, man's life is newly enhanced; it acquires a transcendent humanism which surpasses its nature and bestows new fullness of life. This is the highest goal of human self-fulfilment'.

⁵²Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 42, 'The ultimate goal is a full-bodied humanism. And does this not mean the fulfillment of the whole man and of every man? A narrow humanism, closed in on itself and not open to the values of the spirit and to God who is their source, could achieve apparent success'.

flourish and die. As the waves of the sea gradually creep farther and farther, so the human race inches its way forward through History'.⁵³

This vocation for growth leads to another aspect; that of the common development based on assistance to the needy. This *duty of solidarity* is accomplished through legal and technical measures that will prove difficult to apply. Faithful to Council Vatican II, *Populorum Progressio* resumes the tradition of the principle of the universal destination of goods as a limit to the right of property: '[a]ll other rights, whatever they may be, including the rights of property and free trade, are to be subordinated to that principle'. Pope Paul VI went on to list possible acts of solidarity, including the payment of higher taxes for development, paying more for imported goods, emigrating from one's homeland to help emerging nations, protecting the natural family such as it is in God's plan, and furthering 'the nobility of work', by personal and common efforts of every worker. For, 'when work is done in common, it unites the wills, minds and hearts of men'.⁵⁴

The Encyclical also deals with the issue of the surplus of affluent nations that ought to be made available to poorer nations, and encourages the creation of a world fund requested by Pope Paul VI during his journey to Bombay. Then there is the part that collaborative programmes can play as they are necessary for 'directing, stimulating, coordinating, supplying and integrating'⁵⁵ the work of individuals and intermediary organisations. For this collaboration, Pope Paul VI insists, in accordance with the Encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam*, on the necessity for dialogue between affluent and poor countries in favour of cooperation and against debt servitudes. By these practices of solidarity, the Holy See promotes not only the integral development of man but that of the whole of humanity, towards the fraternal goal of the common good. According to *Populorum Progressio*, such development is the new name for Peace.⁵⁶ On Christmas Day 1975, in his homily for the closing of the Holy Year, Paul VI announces the forthcoming civilisation of love as 'the wisdom of fraternal love, which has characterized the historical journey of the Church'.⁵⁷ It is not hatred,

⁵³Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 22, Issues and Principles.

⁵⁴Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, No. 27, *Nobility of Work*, 'Further, when work is done in common—when hope, hardship, ambition and joy are share—it brings together and firmly unites the wills, minds and hearts of men. In its accomplishment, men find themselves to be brothers'.

⁵⁵Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 33, Programs and Planning.

⁵⁶Encyclical Populorum Progressio, No. 76, Development, the New Name for Peace.

⁵⁷Homily of Paul VI, Christmas—Closing of the Holy Year, 25 December 1964: 'La sapienza dell'amore fraterno, la quale ha caratterizzato in virtù ed in opere, che cristiane sono giustamente qualificate, il cammino storico della santa Chiesa, esploderà con novella fecondità, con vittoriosa felicità, con rigenerante socialità.

Non l'odio, non la contesa, non l'avarizia sarà la sua dialettica, ma l'amore, l'amore generatore d'amore, l'amore dell'uomo per l'uomo, non per alcun provvisorio ed equivoco interesse, o per alcuna amara e mal tollerata condiscendenza, ma per l'amore a Te; a Te, o Cristo scoperto nella sofferenza e nel bisogno di ogni nostro simile. La civiltà dell'amore prevarrà nell'affanno delle implacabili lotte sociali, e darà al mondo la sognata trasfigurazione dell'umanità finalmente cristiana. Così, così si conclude, o Signore, questo Anno Santo; così o uomini fratelli riprenda coraggioso e gioioso il nostro cammino nel tempo verso l'incontro finale, che fin d'ora mette sulle nostre labbra l'estrema invocazione: Vieni, o Signore Gesù (Apoc. 22, 20)'.

struggle, or greed that will be its dialectic, but love, the love-generating love, and the love of man for fellow man.⁵⁸ And he declares that the civilisation of love may be 'defenceless but it is invincible'.⁵⁹

2.4 Conclusions

Fifty years ago, the Encyclical Populorum Progressio on the development of peoples was issued to denounce the injustices of an increasingly interconnected world that was appearing increasingly more inhuman. The encyclical contains general instructions above all as to the proper path to development-i.e., that which aligns with the purposes of justice and peace—to fuller growth. This message was novel, mostly due to the fact that Pope Paul VI was addressing not only the Church, but also all of humanity. In June 2007, Cardinal Paul Poupard explained the consequence of this novelty, by recalling the visit of Pope Paul VI to the assembly of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on 10 June 1969. The main aim is to prepare a common legislation 'to express in rules of law that solidarity which is becoming ever more definite in the consciences of men'. In his speech at Geneva, the Pope had called for the development of an international law aimed at realising the quest to build a civilisation of love—in his address to the ILO assembly, the Pope had stated that 'your legislative work must continue boldly and strike out resolutely along new paths, to guarantee the common right of peoples to their integral development and enable in each instance all peoples to become the artisans of their destiny'.

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⁵⁸Idem.

⁵⁹*Idem*; Patrick de Laubier, *La civilisation de l'amour selon Paul VI*, Paris, Frédéric Aimard, éditeur, 2013.