

## Distinct But Not Separate: Rethinking Maritain's Distinction of Planes to Recover His Democratic Potential

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**Abstract:** Few Catholic theologians wielded as much influence over the Twentieth-Century Catholic Church as Jacques Maritain. Furthermore, few have stirred as much global controversy in the realm of theological politics (especially in the area of global affairs). Considered treasonous by Latin American conservatives and impractical by those arguing for a politically active church, Maritain's work touts a contemplative moderation that frustrates all political sides. Maritain's canon daunts even the best readers and often breeds practical misinterpretation of his own philosophy. Using primary sources from Argentina and Brazil, this article reexamines Maritain's distinction of the spiritual and worldly planes and its application to Maritain's political thought during both the Spanish Civil War period and Brazil's twenty-one-year dictatorship (1964–1985). It thereby pushes back on longstanding theological critiques of this distinction. Far from advocating a church aloof from the political sphere, Maritain advocated for vigorous engagement with it while maintaining the church's spiritual integrity.

### INTRODUCTION: MISREADING MARITAIN

“From Jacques Maritain, bishops had learned to distinguish the spiritual and the temporal planes and expected that the Church as a body would *only act to form individuals* on the spiritual plane.”<sup>1</sup> With those words, theologian William T. Cavanaugh summed up why Jacques Maritain, a proponent of center-left politics and community organizing, and vehement critic of both Catholic and secular fascism, has been dismissed as an unwitting aid and comfort to authoritarians. While Maritain never fully separated spiritual from earthly affairs, distinguishing the two gave earthly matters precedence and allegedly prevented concrete responses to oppressive governments. Cavanaugh advanced this reading as a central theme of

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<sup>1</sup> William T. Cavanaugh, “The Church in the Streets: Eucharist and Politics,” *Modern Theology* 30, no. 2 (2014): 389, [dx.doi.org/10.1111/moth.12103](https://doi.org/10.1111/moth.12103), emphasis added.

his dissertation and subsequent book based upon it, *Torture and Eucharist*, to explain the reticence of the Chilean Church to speak out against the horrific abuses of the Pinochet regime.

In this telling, social Catholics like Maritain, from the time of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler through Augusto Pinochet, had sought to separate the mystical body of Christ from politics in favor of civil society participation through groups such as Catholic Action. They had failed. Figures such as Pius XI had been outsmarted by states constantly breaking their agreements and demanding more and more loyalty to the state.<sup>2</sup>

Cavanaugh's dissertation and the book do an exemplary job of detailing how Christian Democrats in Brazil and Chile picked up Maritain's work, which began as a reaction to Falangists' sacralization of Francisco Franco's efforts in the Spanish Civil War. He details the tensions Maritain caused in Argentina, and Maritain's skepticism over some reforms at the Second Vatican Council. Cavanaugh glosses several iterations of the spiritual/temporal (worldly) distinction and cites many of the Argentine and Brazilian intellectual debates I deal with here.<sup>3</sup> Cavanaugh uses a quote from Maritain's *Integral Humanism* (1936) on the participation of Christians in war to drive Maritain's complacency home: "To stain our fingers is not to stain our hearts."<sup>4</sup>

Cavanaugh takes special umbrage at Maritain's view of rights and the role of the state. Maritain's political vision, in Cavanaugh's reading, did not allow Christians to involve themselves *as Christians* in social actions, including human rights. Human rights themselves were too vague to provide sustenance to concrete communities outside of the state, and human rights were inseparable from the anti-clerical historical context that gave rise to them. This ahistorical reading of rights led naïve political philosophers such as Hernan Montealegre Klenner to aggrandize the state and paved the way for Pinochet's ideologues such as Jaime Guzman to enshrine Maritain's view of man and the state into the junta's founding documents and the Chilean Constitution. In an ironic twist, and again due to the supposed influence of Maritain, Christian Democratic parties would continue Pinochet's neoliberal policies, earning praise from Pinochet's former officials.<sup>5</sup>

Cavanaugh does not see Maritain's use in Chile as an aberration. While there may have been "difficulty with translating Maritain's ideas" from Europe, Cavanaugh does not claim Pinochet's right-hand

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<sup>2</sup> William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998), 124, 132–135, 140–141.

<sup>3</sup> Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 155–160.

<sup>4</sup> Cavanaugh citing Maritain, *Integral Humanism*, 249, in *Torture and Eucharist*, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 187–189, 191–192, 198, 200–202.

officials and reticent church officials misread Maritain. In fact, the “failure of [Maritain’s] project in [Chile’s] context . . . may be instructive for Christian political practice in other contexts.”<sup>6</sup> Whether looking to Europe or elsewhere, Cavanaugh’s argument on Maritain’s applicability needs revisiting in light of larger historical trends beyond Chile. As such, I turn toward the original text in question as well as Maritain’s own activities in the region at a time of great political controversy.

To take up Cavanaugh’s implicit challenge to evaluate the Chilean example, this article draws on evidence from Maritain’s writings distinguishing the spiritual from the temporal. Maritain’s distinction did not preclude the church from acting in the political sphere. Rather, reminding the church of its spiritual mandate even in political affairs buttressed it against political misuse. Second, it tests Cavanaugh’s reading of Argentine and Brazilian debates occurring after Maritain visited during the 1930s upon publishing *Integral Humanism* (1935). Maritain traveled to Argentina (with a brief stop in Brazil), laying out his political vision for all to hear. This was before his thought gained serious traction in Chile and the series of lectures at The University of Chicago in which he clarified his distinction between the temporal and spiritual planes.<sup>7</sup> While Chile had a long electoral tradition which separated the church from the state, Argentina and Brazil had histories of subordinating church governance to political considerations and advocating Catholic public morality (i.e., *patronato*).<sup>8</sup>

Looking closely at debates around Maritain in these countries provides an alternative vision to Cavanaugh’s. Because of the *patronato* tradition, intellectuals in these two countries did not see Maritain as advocating an apolitical stance. In their eyes, desacralizing politics itself was a political act. Argentine Catholic democrats and nationalists alike recognized in Maritain’s writings a direct repudiation of Franco’s vision for Spain. Meanwhile, Maritain’s influence catalyzed a decisive political shift in Brazilian integralist Alceu Amoroso Lima, “one of the founders of Christian Democracy in Latin America.” Cavanaugh rightly mentions Lima to highlight Maritain’s reach in the region.<sup>9</sup> Lima wielded rare and outsized influence in Brazil’s church hierarchy and among its electorally involved laity. His embrace of Maritain led moderate church officials

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<sup>6</sup> Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 177.

<sup>7</sup> March Bloch, “Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes,” in *Mélanges Historiques* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1963), 17–19. Gabriella Pellegrino Soares, “A semear horizontes: leituras literárias na formação da infância, Argentina e Brasil (1915–1954),” PhD diss. (São Paulo: University of São Paulo, 2002), 19–20.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor C. Boas, *Evangelicals and Electoral Politics in Latin America: A Kingdom of This World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 114–115, 151–152.

<sup>9</sup> Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 152n.

and laity to eventually oppose Brazil's twenty-one-year dictatorship's repression in order to protect the church's right to social action.

This article answers a limited question with nevertheless broad implications. Some might argue that intellectual ideas are received in specific historic contexts and so coming to a definitive conclusion about Maritain's political efficacy is impossible. This article cannot offer *the* definitive reading of Maritain. It can reasonably answer whether it is more likely Maritain's thought naturally led to being silent on authoritarian atrocities or that authoritarians and their accomplices willfully misread Maritain and human rights activists adopted that reading to try to make sense of the Chilean Church's reticence.

This is a question worth answering. First, Cavanaugh's reading of Maritain is widely accepted, even in qualified form, among the latter's theological and political admirers, such as Luke Bretherton, who focuses on Maritain's relationship with community organizer Saul Alinsky.<sup>10</sup> This portrait coincides with the image of Maritain as a washed-up reactionary, the province of Catholic conservative elites (especially in the United States) looking to depoliticize the faith, sideline the laity, or turn it to conservative causes such as Cold War anti-Communism.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, historian Olivier Compagnon has noted Maritain's fall into political irrelevance as being tied to this latter rift with a younger generation of liberation theologians who saw him as outdated at best.<sup>12</sup>

Gustavo Gutierrez, one of Latin America's founding liberationists, derided Maritain's philosophy as "ecclesial narcissism" affirming that the church is "at the center of salvation work . . . a timid, and deeply ambiguous articulation" leading to "a nostalgia of the past."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Luke Bretherton, *Resurrecting Democracy: Faith, Citizenship, and the Politics of a Common Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 36–37, 39–40; Luke Bretherton, *Christianity and Contemporary Politics* (London: Wiley-Blackwell), 94–95. See also Sarah Shortall, *Soldiers of God in a Secular World: Catholic Theology and Twentieth-Century French Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2021), 82; Leonard Taylor, "Catholic Cosmopolitanism and the Future of Human Rights," *Religions* 11, no. 566 (October 2020): 12, [www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/11/11/566/html](http://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/11/11/566/html).

<sup>11</sup> Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion, and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 77–79; Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 210–211, 218–225.

<sup>12</sup> Olivier Compagnon, "Un philosophe hors de son temps?," in *Jacques Maritain et l'Amérique du Sud: Le modèle malgré lui* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2003). Even Maritain's supporters admit his influence waned after 1968. See Mario Ramos-Reyes, "Latin American Democracies at the Crossroads," in *The Common Things: Essays on Thomism and Education*, ed. Daniel McInerney (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 248.

<sup>13</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *Teología de la Liberación* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1973), 64, 75–76, 87–88. "Lima las aristas, suaviza los ángulos, evita los aspectos más conflictuales,

Gutierrez saw Maritain's distinction of the temporal and spiritual planes as sidelining the church when right wing authoritarian states could not co-opt it with corporativist reasoning. Cavanaugh endorses this reading, although he does think the church's spiritual salvation work should play a more central role in liberatory projects.<sup>14</sup> This view still holds currency in theological circles. Raúl Zegarra considers Maritain's theology "a powerful . . . but problematic articulation of faith and politics," limiting the "church proper" to "its hierarchy, ordained ministers, and members of religious orders," which would merely "inspire the temporal order, not intervene directly in political action."<sup>15</sup>

Second, far from a simple intergenerational dispute, disagreements over Maritain touch on core questions of movement development and the relationship of Catholicism to human rights and social justice. Did Maritain or his adherents really disavow a specifically Christian politics? Did Maritain's philosophy, which Cavanaugh acknowledges was at the vanguard of Catholic activism in the 1950s and 1960s, succumb to an inherent theological flaw, thereby absolving the church of responsibility to act? Does this give credence to those, like Samuel Moyn, who have categorized Maritain's vision as merely a layman's recapitulation of Pius XII, which sought to save Catholic teaching by inventing a new basis for the rights of the person?<sup>16</sup>

These questions have significant implications for assessing Maritain's global impact. To see Maritain's philosophy as apolitical or undergirding Chilean neoliberal right-wing governance flies in the face of a Chilean Church which prided itself on social action even during the conservative governments of the early twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> It also belies the fact, recognized by Cavanaugh himself, that controversies over Maritain in 1940s Chile centered on his followers' *political* break from the Conservative Party and opposition to outlawing the Communist Party.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the description runs against

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rehúye las formas más agudas de los enfrentamientos entre clases sociales y entre países" (64).

<sup>14</sup> Gutierrez, *Teología de la Liberación*, 96; Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 179.

<sup>15</sup> Raúl E. Zegarra, *A Revolutionary Faith: Liberation Theology between Public Religion and Public Reason* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023), 7–8, 21–22.

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Moyn, *Christian Human Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 16.

<sup>17</sup> Susana Monreal, "Catolicismo social en el Cono Sur: Genealogía de un ideario," in *Catolicismo social chileno: Desarrollo, crisis y actualidad*, ed. Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat, and Diego García (Santiago de Chile: Centro Teológico Manuel Larraín, 2009), 29–31; Ana María Stüven, "'Cuestión social' y Catolicismo social: De la nación oligárquica a la nación democrática," in *Catolicismo social chileno*, 62–63.

<sup>18</sup> Stephan Ruderer, "The Controversies over Maritain in Chile and Argentina: Precursors of Different Progressive and Conservative Catholicisms," *International*

much recent scholarship tying Maritain's personalism to Polish freedom fighters, France's anti-torture movement, the Italian Christian Democrats favored by future Pope Paul VI (who would go on to appoint Latin American authoritarians' most vociferous critics), Léopold Sédar Senghor's Senegal, and Julius Nyerere's Tanzania.<sup>19</sup>

In a time of persistent authoritarian ideologies, engaging in this questioning can help us evaluate if one of the twentieth century's most important thinkers helps or hurts the cause of democracy and human rights today.<sup>20</sup> Maritain's vision of a church standing firmly independent of state political projects spawned movements opposing authoritarian regimes on spiritual and political grounds. While liberationists may have legitimate critiques about the usefulness of Maritain's political vision today, the contention that a serious reading of his works would encourage silence in the face of authoritarian atrocities, or even buttress them, is at best a selective reading.

### MARITAIN: FROM REACTIONARY TO PLURAL DEMOCRAT

Jacques Maritain was born in 1882 to Paul Maritain and Geneviève Favre. He was an unlikely figure to become the Catholic standard-bearer for contemporary Thomistic thought. He was born into a Protestant household, attended the elite high school Lycée Henri-IV, which while having a Catholic heritage was immersed in the secular milieu of its time, and later attended the Sorbonne (to which the high school was related as a preparatory school). As Bernard Doering points out, his mother was a very good friend of the liberal Catholic essayist Charles Péguy and his grandfather was Jules Favre, a founder of the Third French Republic, fruit of a revolutionary secular political system that hardly exuded Catholic values. He also married Raïssa,

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*Journal of Latin American Religions* 6 (2022): 12, doi.org/10.1007/s41603-022-00162-w; Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 155.

<sup>19</sup> See Rachel M. Johnston-White, "The Christian Anti-Torture Movement and the Politics of Conscience in France," *Past & Present* 257, no. 1 (Dec. 2021): 14, doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtab025; Piotr H. Kosicki, *Catholics on the Barricades: Poland, France, and "Revolution," 1891–1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 53; Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 208; Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 210. Nyerere took an egalitarian view of social rights, claiming each person must "realiz[e] that his rights in society . . . must come second to the overriding need of *human dignity* [italics mine] for all" (*Nyerere on Socialism* [Dar es Salaam, 1969], 19; in Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018], 103).

<sup>20</sup> Leonard Francis Taylor, *Catholic Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 4.

from a Jewish family, and befriended a defender of the Jewish role in the plan of salvation, Léon Bloy.<sup>21</sup>

Maritain's background gives his critics ample evidence to accuse him of being a closeted reactionary. First and foremost, he began as one, falling under the influence of Father Humbert Clérissac, a reactionary who later became his confessor. In the early years after his conversion in 1906, Maritain uncritically took the advice of these confessors, and even in later years, stretched to defend their thinking. Doering highlights a particular letter in which Maritain wrestled with his mentor's attempts to justify an authoritarian political solution, efforts that would bring the Vatican to censure the French Catholic fringe:

But what could Father Clérissac have been thinking . . . ? Here is how I explain it to myself: the restoration of the monarchy seemed to Father Clérissac indispensable to the restoration of the Church in our society; in his eyes, the monarchy alone was able to reestablish the Church in the fullness of its rights. He noted with horror all that the Church had been forced to abandon in fact or to leave . . . since the Revolution . . . He recognized the source of the blows struck against the notions of hierarchy, and order, which are essential to the life of the Church, and he placed the Church above all else; hence he detested democracy as an evil . . . he knew the dangers which at that particular time "Modernism" posed to the dogmatic teaching of the Faith.<sup>22</sup>

Second, Maritain had an anti-Semitism problem. Despite marrying a Jewish convert, Maritain wrote in 1921 that a Jewish race that rejected Christ as their savior necessarily played "a fatal role of subversion" because their spiritual inclinations towards justice turned toward a warped "messianic" political vision.<sup>23</sup> His critics are also right that he continued his scathing anti-Modernism and Catholic triumphalism well after his rejection of reactionary politics and anti-Semitism. In his 1938 lecture, "Integral Humanism and the Crisis of Modern Times," delivered at The University of Chicago, Maritain elaborated on Enlightenment philosophies which separated the material and supernatural worlds. He decried an attempt at "development from pure reason apart from the Gospel," because it sidelined "prayer, divine love, supra-rational truths, the idea of sin and

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<sup>21</sup> Bernard E. Doering, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 7.

<sup>22</sup> Doering quoting Maritain on Father Clérissac, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals*, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Bernard Doering, "The Origin and Development of Maritain's Idea of the Chosen People," in *Jacques Maritain and the Jews*, ed. Robert Royal (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1994), 27, quoting Jacques Maritain, "À propos de la question juive," in *Le Mystère d'Israël* (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1965), 305f.

grace, the evangelical beatitudes, the necessity of asceticism, of contemplation, of the way of the cross.”<sup>24</sup>

He was also dismissive of the day’s Protestant theologies. He scorned Kierkegaard and an “archaic and reactive” Barth. He saw two of the leading neo-orthodox theologians of the early twentieth century as studying the themes of the “intelligence which comes from the serpent,” as well as trying to resurrect a “primitive reformation” to achieve “purification by a reversion to the past.”<sup>25</sup> In a passage which may have pleased both fascists and communists alike, he dismissed these “noble” forms of thought which belied the emptiness of liberal promise, “of lying optimism and illusory moralities,” in response to which the working class demands radical solutions to rid society of “the liberty which starves workmen and burns the stacks of grain.”<sup>26</sup> Over against this liberally-imbued Protestant philosophy, Maritain proposed his vision of a plural society based on anti-liberal, but pluralistic, Christian values that held on to universal truths while progressing into an uncharted future. If Maritain’s anti-modernism backed the church as a “perfect society, the protection of whose institution and organization was the principal duty of the hierarchy,” such a view would present moral problems, especially since it would imply separation from politics at best and an emphasis on culture wars and clericalism at worst.<sup>27</sup>

But it was Maritain’s very orthodoxy, not a radical shift toward theological progressivism, which compelled him to oppose the political solutions Charles Maurras’s *Action Française* offered. As articles published in the 1920s for *La revue universelle* show, Maritain saw that Maurras and extreme liberalism drew from the same well: positivism.<sup>28</sup> In Maritain’s view, politicized Catholics and anti-clerical zealots relied on the same sort of individualistic Darwinism and positivism that rejected the very dignity of the human person in exchange for setting up idols to concrete political philosophies. The same philosophy which drove him to disdain distant liberal Protestants and neo-orthodox thinkers instilled in him a begrudging admiration for communists. Yes, Maritain’s ideal Christian humanism rejected both extremes. It emphasized a spiritual “person” instead of a utilitarian “individual” as the proper base for reason, as the way to “re-make anthropology” and rediscover the “dignification” of the individual through openness to the world of the divine and superrational.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Jacques Maritain, “Integral Humanism and the Crisis of Modern Times,” *Review of Politics* 1, no.1 (1939): 2–3, doi:10.1017/S0034670500000188.

<sup>25</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 4.

<sup>26</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 4–6.

<sup>27</sup> Bernard Doering, “Ambiguity (Letter to the Editor),” *America*, September 15, 2003.

<sup>28</sup> Doering, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals*, 21.

<sup>29</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 9.

Crucially, Maritain did not take the easy route of simply blaming both sides. In the same breath that he credited wayward communists, he fully denounced racist right-wing ideologies. At least communism wished to replace the Christian message with another universalizing message, no matter how unsustainable. Maritain saved his harshest criticism for a generalized racist ideology “which sets itself against Christianity by rejecting all universalism, and by breaking even the natural unity of the human family, so as to impose the hegemony of a so-called higher racial essence.”<sup>30</sup> Maritain affirmed that while communism triumphed via the legitimate demands of an ill-informed working class, racism, which also “detested” capitalism, conquered through pure war helped along by the “strong privileged interests blindly anxious to safeguard their own position.”<sup>31</sup> In contrast to both of these systems, Maritain proposed an “integral” system that would attend to workers’ rights and dignity, as well as “substitute for bourgeois civilization, and for an economic system based on the fecundity of money.”<sup>32</sup> His new temporal order entailed “not a collectivistic economy, but a ‘personalistic’ civilization and a ‘personalistic’ economy, through which would stream a temporal refraction of the truths of the Gospel.” In a more secular sense, Maritain hoped for a spiritual transformation, a “profound renewal of the interior energies of conscience.”<sup>33</sup> In contrast to the popes with whom he is often yoked, his vision pushed him to support an alliance with the Soviets and France’s Popular Front.<sup>34</sup>

Much of Maritain’s democratic political philosophy emerged in opposition to the Spanish Civil War, in which Francisco Franco claimed to defend monarchy and traditional Catholicism against a degenerate Spanish republic. Maritain began to wonder whether the heavily Catholic Basque region’s support for the Spanish Republicans might not prove an important point about mainstream Catholics’ distance from on-the-ground realities of the peasants and workers.<sup>35</sup> As the leader of the French dissent to the *franquistas*, he wrote a series of essays in which he put economic justice first and foremost among Catholic priorities. He argued that if the church did not deal with the

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<sup>30</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 15.

<sup>31</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 15.

<sup>32</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 15.

<sup>33</sup> Maritain, “Integral Humanism,” 16.

<sup>34</sup> James Chappel, *Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 111–113.

<sup>35</sup> Bernard Doering, “Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War,” *Review of Politics* 44, no. 4 (Oct. 1982): 490, doi.org/10.1017/S0034670500041462.

full range of human problems and remained distant, workers would quickly confuse Catholicism with a reactionary philosophy.<sup>36</sup>

Expanding on Pius XI's concern with the working class, Maritain was extremely attentive to the need to join Catholic faith and political practice.<sup>37</sup> He even invoked the broken body of Christ to drive home the cost of war. In a March 1937 article in the French journal *Esprit*, which he helped found but would later part ways with, Maritain directed the blame for the rise of socialism at those who had abandoned the working class, calling on Catholics to "live with the people" in order to emulate what had made socialism so effective while correcting its errors.<sup>38</sup> In an April 1937 article in the Spanish journal *Sur* he highlighted working class problems in Spain as some of the most severe in Europe.<sup>39</sup>

Even if Franco claimed to defend the church, that claim alone did not sanctify conflict, and stopping one evil could simply bring about another. In a passage which directly challenges Cavanaugh's claim that Maritain did not connect political atrocities to a theology of the Body of Christ, Maritain wrote, "A man who does not believe in God might think: after all . . . this is the price of a return to order and *one crime deserves another*. A man who believes in God knows that there is *no worse disorder*. It is as if the bones of Christ, which the executioners could not touch, were *broken on the Cross* by Christians."<sup>40</sup> Maritain made clear that a web of political and economic interests drove the conflict, with religion merely the pretext.

Maritain's political philosophy must be understood in light of the Spanish Civil War, the cloud of the impending Nazi military buildup, and the exile which led to his embrace of US democracy.<sup>41</sup> But a close reading of the passages Cavanaugh cites makes clear that there are certainly times when the church itself can and should intervene in politics. While Maritain distinguished between religious and temporal (political action), he also permitted a third plane in which the two met. To clarify further, Maritain asserts that "these two orders [the temporal

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<sup>36</sup> Doering, "Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War," 493. See also J. Lassaigne, "L'Espagne sera-t-elle fasciste!," September 21, 1934, in Doering, "Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War," 493–494.

<sup>37</sup> Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), nos. 3, 44, 57, 59, 64, 101, [www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_p-xi\\_enc\\_19310515\\_quadragesimo-anno.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html).

<sup>38</sup> Jacques Maritain in *Esprit* 5, no. 1 (March 1937), cited in Doering, "Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War," 50.

<sup>39</sup> Jacques Maritain, "De la guerre sainte," *La nouvelle revue française* 49 (1 July 1937): 34, n. 2, cited in Doering, "Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War," 502.

<sup>40</sup> Jacques Maritain, "De la guerre sainte," 22, 30, 32, cited in Doering, "Jacques Maritain and the Spanish Civil War," 508–509, emphasis added.

<sup>41</sup> Juan Manuel Burgos, "French Personalism," in *An Introduction to Personalism*, trans. R. T. Allen (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2018), 52.

and spiritual] are distinct, but they are not separate.”<sup>42</sup> The Chilean hierarchy’s later response to Pinochet’s persecution of Christians would also be permitted in Maritain’s formula, which allows for a specific “apostolate” to “intervene in politics *in the very name of Christianity* when politics touches the altar.”<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, Maritain cautioned that “it is not by trying to find *in one* particular camp an instrument for religion . . . but rather by laying *every political camp whatsoever* under the necessity of respecting these rights and values.”<sup>44</sup> Maritain called on the church to “distinguish” the political and religious spheres, not to give them an excuse for inaction, but to “unite” diverse Catholics into the Body of Christ.<sup>45</sup>

While Cavanaugh suggests even Maritain’s language about “touching the altar” leaves *Christian* politics fully by the wayside, Maritain later called for the moral formation of Christian conscience on matters related to “civil peace and international peace, the sanctity of treaties, social justice, the rights of the human person, [and] the rejection of means of violence.”<sup>46</sup> He admitted the importance of all spheres and called for the “cooperation of Catholics and non-Catholics.” In a direct rebuke of the paranoia of Catholic nationalists, he decried “those looks of scorn and detestation which people have for traitors, for hopeless madmen and outcast dogs.”<sup>47</sup> In short, it is a stretch to imagine that a good-faith reading of his distinction of the temporal and spiritual planes could support inaction against Catholic nationalist ideologies such as those of the Argentine and Chilean dictatorships. To be sure, Maritain rejected the domination of the spiritual over the temporal order, which had been a mainstay of medieval thought lionized by these philosophies.<sup>48</sup> But by the same token, he rejected the religious utilitarians of his day: Maurras (an avowed atheist), Franco, and their Latin American allies foremost.

While this first section has acknowledged viable reasons for Maritain’s reputation as a conservative at best and reactionary at worst, it has also suggested alternative readings and usages of the distinction of planes that so troubles Maritain’s radical critics. Since Latin American theologians and their allies debate Maritain’s overall regional influence, I will next move to revisit in detail his interactions

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<sup>42</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 212, emphasis added.

<sup>43</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 195–196.

<sup>44</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 212, emphasis added.

<sup>45</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 212.

<sup>46</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 214n.

<sup>47</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 215–216, 218.

<sup>48</sup> Patrick McKinley Brennan, “Jacques Maritain: Philosopher of Law, Politics, and All That Is,” in John Witte, Jr., and Frank S. Alexander, eds., *The Teachings of Modern Christianity on Law, Politics, and Human Nature*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 125.

with and influence over Argentine and Brazilian intellectuals. This comparative frame will hopefully make clear how Maritain's vision played out in pre-Allende contexts, where resisting authoritarianism and embracing plural politics put him on one side of active fault lines of theological debate. We shall see that Latin American democrats did not just praise Maritain but took his thought as a mandate to resist rising authoritarianism in their own countries. Sympathizers to dictatorship saw him as a theological and political threat.

### **MARITAIN DIVIDES ARGENTINA'S CATHOLICS: THE CÓRDOBA VISIT AND THE TRAJECTORY OF JULIO MEINVIELLE AND LEONARDO CASTELLANI**

One of Maritain's most prominent visits to South America brought him to potentially hostile territory. The Argentina of the 1930s boasted a significant Catholic Nationalist wing stemming from a tradition of fierce anti-Liberalism which in the Catholic stance meant joining church and state and rejecting any role of inculcating civic virtue.<sup>49</sup> Mainly a group of middle-class students, the Catholic Nationalists rejected Radical Party populist rhetoric and sought to distance themselves from the working-class issues to which the early twentieth century Catholic Church had been confined.<sup>50</sup>

While they contemplated the possibility of a democracy which worked toward the common good, they assumed that most democracies would fall into moral relativism; the Catholic faith seemed to them more secure under a unified government supporting the customs and traditions of the people and rejecting abstract, foreign, universal ideas.<sup>51</sup> For them, those traditions derived from classical "Latin"-based Western civilization. Since the 1920s, they had seen themselves defending the latter from intellectuals fascinated with

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<sup>49</sup> Federico Finchelstein, *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War: Fascism, Populism, and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 19–21, 24; Alberto Spektorowski, *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2003), 138; Roberto Di Stefano and Loris Zanatta, *Historia de la iglesia argentina: Desde la conquista hasta fines del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Grijalbo S. A., 2000), 247–248.

<sup>50</sup> Fernando J. Devoto, "Los proyectos de un grupo de intelectuales católicos argentinos entre las dos guerras," in Carlos Altamirano, ed., *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina: Los avatares de la "ciudad letrada" en el siglo XX*, vol. II (Buenos Aires: Katz, 2010), 351, 357; John J. Kennedy, *Catholicism, Nationalism, and Democracy in Argentina* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), 12, 19.

<sup>51</sup> Juan Fernando Segovia, "La legitimidad entre la teología y la política. Reflexiones sobre el orden político católico en Meinvielle y Castellani (1930–1950)," *Anales de la Fundación Francisco Elías de Tejada* 10 (2004): 85–88, 90–92.

foreign civilizations like a nebulous East, or from those like Maritain, who would relativize its virtues.<sup>52</sup>

The French philosopher's visit to Córdoba, Argentina, was a highlight of his thought's reception in Latin America. His visit was controversial precisely because he took a political stand against Franco.<sup>53</sup> Before he had even stepped off the boat in Buenos Aires, he had already made a name for himself in the liberal journal *Sur* which had translated his arguments for embracing social Catholicism while rejecting fascism, communism, and the baptizing of political projects.<sup>54</sup> That said, Argentines now saw more clearly how Maritain, basing himself in Thomas Aquinas, rejected modernism as a whole, but argued that Aquinas was "the saint of the *intelligentsia*" still relevant to modern society. They listened to his warnings that Catholic militants could not revive the Middle Ages *per se* and should instead consider how to preach classical Catholic values in a modernist setting.<sup>55</sup>

Liberal Catholics responded positively. Agosto J. Durelli cited Maritain in his article for *Sur*, praising his supposed lack of partisanship in spiritual affairs. Quoting Maritain directly, Durelli highlighted his shift from the merely political to the spiritual, arguing that the Gospel does not compel one to follow a party but "to learn with intimacy the word of God." This intimacy, argued Maritain and Durelli, would stop "the good from calling down the fire of God upon the bad." They hoped, foreshadowing Christian pacifists, that such intimacy should cause devout Catholics to think of Christ's death for his enemies instead of a God that would command them to kill for him.<sup>56</sup>

As the introduction of Maritain at the University of Córdoba on October 6, 1936, by philosopher Alfredo Fraguero (following a visit to the September P.E.N. Conference in Buenos Aires) showed, many Argentine scholars warmly welcomed Maritain. They lauded his philosophical rigor and also his social conviction. They found his

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<sup>52</sup> Martín Bergel, "'Los bárbaros están otra vez sobre Roma': Acerca de la reacción antiorientista del pensamiento nacionalista católico argentino de los años 1920," *Iberoamericana* 10, no. 40 (2010): 7–26.

<sup>53</sup> José Zanca, "La teología política de la secularización: Pedro de Basaldúa y el exilio vasco en Argentina," *Historia Contemporánea* 63 (2020): 555–556.

<sup>54</sup> "Conferencia de Jacques Maritain a propósito de la 'Carta Sobre la Independencia,'" *Sur* 6, no. 7 (1936): 7. [www.borges.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/files/Sur/Sur%20no.27%20%281936%29.pdf](http://www.borges.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/files/Sur/Sur%20no.27%20%281936%29.pdf).

<sup>55</sup> José Zanca, *Cristianos antifascistas: Conflictos en la cultura católica argentina* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2013), 38–48, 50–51.

<sup>56</sup> Citing Maritain's *Questions de Conscience* (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1939), in Agosto J. Durelli, "El Cristianismo y El Reposo," *Sur* 11 (Septiembre de 1939): 74–76. Durelli also chronicles a debate between Maritain and Claudel involving Maritain's emphasis on social justice and possible social revolution. Claudel believed such issues could be handled within the confines of the state (76–80).

encompassing views refreshing, especially his rejection of the use of the scientific method as an *ethical* tool, and his updating of a living versus an “archeological” Thomism.<sup>57</sup> Not all intellectuals agreed, however. Leopoldo Lugones called democracy a “cadaver” and wrote against the failure of the “bourgeois democracy.”<sup>58</sup> According to Córdoba philosopher Fernando Martínez Paz, Charles Maurras’s dialectic “seduced” many of Argentina’s Catholic intellectuals into taking authoritarian positions due to their healthy skepticism of participatory processes. The problem, according to Martínez’s reading of Maritain, lays in the fact that governments involved in pure action are not worried about human dignity. Despite these challenges, Paz believed Maritain opened up a way to a “Catholic political integralism,” a “second liberation” that constituted a “true metaphysics.”<sup>59</sup>

Even in Argentina, Maritain broke with nationalists to condemn Franco’s authoritarianism by *distinguishing* the sacred from the temporal. He did not rule on the Spanish Civil War as just or unjust defense on the part of the Franco regime (he eschewed such categories as unfair mixing of the temporal and spiritual). Instead, Maritain criticized the Spanish Civil War for creating a savior-like mentality that denied the balance between “force, justice, and civil friendship.”<sup>60</sup> For Maritain there was a contradiction in attempting to construct the kingdom of God on “political realism and hate” and thus allowing liberty to “open the way to dictatorships.”<sup>61</sup> He also took issue with the classification of the Spanish Civil War as a “holy war,” saying that the term was anachronistic in a time where the “sacred” was clearly separated from the “profane.”<sup>62</sup> His vision, later interpreted by his Argentine supporters in *Revista Sur*, rejected “a Church with excessive submission to the temporal powers.”<sup>63</sup> Such a vision clearly condemned “all *dictatorships* . . . all forms of *oppression* . . . all forms

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<sup>57</sup> “Buenos Aires host to P.E.N. Congress,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1936, 7, [timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1936/09/06/issue.html](http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1936/09/06/issue.html); Alfredo Fraguero, *Jacques Maritain en la Universidad de Córdoba: Octubre 1º. De 1936* (Córdoba: Imprensa de la Universidad, 1937), 7–8, 14.

<sup>58</sup> Fernando Martínez Paz, *Maritain, Política, e Ideología: Revolución cristiana en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nahuel, 1966), 75.

<sup>59</sup> Martínez Paz, *Maritain, Política, e Ideología*, 74–77. See also Carlos Alberto Torres, *The Church, Society, and Hegemony: A Critical Sociology of Religion in Latin America*, trans. Richard A. Young (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 133, 183–184.

<sup>60</sup> Martínez Paz, *Maritain, Política e Ideología*, 118–119.

<sup>61</sup> Martínez Paz, *Maritain, Política e Ideología*, 118–119.

<sup>62</sup> Martínez Paz, *Maritain, Política e Ideología*, 118–119.

<sup>63</sup> “Posición de Sur,” *Sur*, no. 35 (1937): 7–8. Quoted in Nora Pasternac, “Corrientes Cristianas durante los años 30 en la Revista *Sur*,” in *Varia lingüística y literaria: 50 años del CELL: III. Literatura: siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Yvette Jiménez de Báez, Martha Linia Tenorio (D.F.: Colégio de México, 1997), 283.

of ignorance exercised over the gray mass of people which has been called the holy *plebs* of God.”<sup>64</sup>

Such statements must have perturbed nationalists such as Father Julio Meinvielle who mixed religion and anti-Semitism in support of authoritarianism. Meinvielle wrote in 1937 regarding the Spanish Civil War that Franco, “a most illustrious *caudillo*,” had put an end to the Popular Front, led by the “masonic” government of Portela Valladares, and stopped the Jewish-led “third blow” against an already defunct Christendom—communism—from spreading.<sup>65</sup> Argentina’s Catholic *Criterio* magazine echoed Meinvielle’s sentiments, putting the Spanish Civil War in the context of a spiritual struggle against modernity itself: “Our state is no longer a skeptical state, nor is it a people that rests,” it asserted. “Our state rejects Rousseauian skepticism. It knows that truth and justice are permanent categories of reason, and not arbitrary decisions of the will. Our state knows, as does the people, the truth of God and the Truth of Spain.”<sup>66</sup> This same magazine published the words of the Toledo Archbishop, Cardinal Dr. D. Isidro Gomá y Tomás: “Man through the demand of his very nature, is tied threefold: to God, to his parents, and to the Fatherland.”<sup>67</sup>

Maritain received initial support from one Catholic nationalist during the visit, Leonardo Castellani. Born in Santa Fe, Argentina, Castellani received a degree in psychology from the Sorbonne, where Maritain taught in 1935.<sup>68</sup> Along with Meinvielle, he is considered “one of the best Argentine writers, essayists, novelists, journalists, literary critics, poets, philosophers, and theologians.”<sup>69</sup> Castellani wrote approvingly of the philosopher in the liberal Argentine journal

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<sup>64</sup> “Posición de *Sur*,” “Corrientes Cristianas durante los años 30 en la Revista *Sur*,” 283, emphasis added.

<sup>65</sup> Julio Meinvielle, *¿Qué saldrá de la España que sangra?* (Buenos Aires: Asociación de los jóvenes de la Acción Católica, 1937), 6–8.

<sup>66</sup> “El ser o no ser de España,” *Criterio* 11, no. 532 (May 12, 1938): 39. “Nuestro Estado no es ya un Estado escéptico, como no lo es tampoco el pueblo que descansa. Nuestro Estado rechaza el sofisma roussonian y sabe que la verdad y la justicia son categorías permanentes de la razón y no son decisiones arbitrarias de la voluntad. Nuestro Estado conoce, como conoce el pueblo, la verdad de Dios y la verdad de España.”

<sup>67</sup> Isidro Gomá y Tomás, “Catolicismo y Patria (Carta del Cardenal Arzobispo de Toledo, Msgr. Dr. D. Isidro Gomá y Tomás),” *Criterio* 12, no. 581 (April 20, 1939): 376. “Y la Patria es España . . . Y somos hijos de la Patria, que no es más que una prolongación y una ampliación del hogar paterno donde recibimos la plenitud de nuestra vida natural . . . Así el hombre por exigencia de su misma naturaleza está atado con triple vínculo: a Dios, a sus padres y a la Patria.”

<sup>68</sup> Alfredo Sáenz, *El apocalipsis según Leonardo Castellani* (Pamplona: Fundación Gratis Date, 2005), 2.

<sup>69</sup> Juan Fernando Segovia, “La legitimidad entre la teología y la política. Reflexiones sobre el orden político católico en Meinvielle y Castellani (1930–1950),” *Anales de la Fundación Francisco Elías de Tejada*, Madrid, 2005, 98–99.

Sur. Castellani called Maritain's melding of current history with his theory of a "New Christianity" to replace the old, "full of clarity" and saying "the latest works of Maritain are a must read."<sup>70</sup>

Gustavo Franceschi, another conservative editor, was also influenced by Maritain; near the end of World War II, he endorsed the practical alliance between the Allies and the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany using the same rationale Maritain had laid out in his University of Chicago lectures. Nazism was a graver threat than Communism, he argued, even though Catholics should reject the latter, too. He also enthusiastically supported Maritain's nomination as French ambassador to the Vatican.<sup>71</sup>

Julio Meinvielle, however, was not impressed by Maritain's post-war political philosophy. He rejected what he saw as the dialectical and revolutionary view of history in Maritain's *The Rights of Man and the Natural Law* (1945), where Maritain endorsed Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, just wages, and even the right to strike.<sup>72</sup> By 1951, Castellani had also turned against Maritain, hurling an anti-Semitic slur after Maritain invoked Bartolome de Las Casas's report on indigenous mistreatment to condemn the racism frequent among theologians. In 1951, in his work *So is Christ Returning or Not?* [*Cristo vuelve o no vuelve*], Castellani condemned the vague attacks of the French Catholic philosopher directed at "certain Spanish theologians [*ciertos teólogos españoles*]."<sup>73</sup> Castellani responded by questioning the integrity of Maritain's anonymous attack, saying it "should make one cry." Castellani mocked Maritain's international reputation saying "What disgusts us quite a bit is the Jew in service to propaganda, even if he is Christian and a philosopher. . . . The French philosopher has left aside philosophy and is left only with the French, and not even that. . . . What a disaster!"<sup>74</sup>

This break widened at the Second Vatican Council, as Argentina polarized even further over issues such as church-state relations and the liturgy. With the onset of a series of dictatorships, those who supported Maritain's vision had been isolated, and those with Catholic

<sup>70</sup> Leonardo Castellani, "Jacques Maritain," *Sur* 6 (August 1936): 65–67.

<sup>71</sup> Gustavo Franceschi, "Jacques Maritain, embajador ante la Santa Sede," *Criterio* 17, no. 885 (March 1, 1945): 161–169; Gustavo Franceschi, "Democracia y Comunismo," *Criterio* 18, no. 892 (April 19, 1945): 329–332.

<sup>72</sup> Jacques Maritain, *The Rights of Man and Natural Law*, trans. Doris C. Anson (London: Centenary, 1945), 42, 54; Julio Meinvielle, *De Lamennais a Maritain*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Buenos Aires: Theoría, 1967), 15–18.

<sup>73</sup> "El racismo," in Leonardo Castellani, *¿Cristo vuelve o no vuelve?*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Dictio, 1976), 196–197.

<sup>74</sup> "El racismo," 196–197. "El que nos disgusta bastante es el judío puesto al servicio de la propaganda, aunque sea cristiano y filósofo. La *Información Católica Internacional* anda repartiendo un folleto de Jacques Maritain, titulado *Por qué no somos racistas ni antisemitas*. Es cosa de ponerse a llorar cuando uno lo lee...! que desastre!"

nationalist leanings had entered the hierarchy. Argentina's 1976 dictatorship was one result of this split and the democrats' unsuccessful struggle.<sup>75</sup>

### MARITAIN CHANGES BRAZILIAN CATHOLICS' TRAJECTORY: THE CASE OF ALCEU AMOROSO LIMA

Comparative historians such as Ana Maria Koch, William de Souza Martins, and José Luis Bendicho Beired agree that both structural and theological issues, such as a less developed grassroots Brazilian Church and a more accommodationist approach to liberalism, made Brazil's episcopate more open to criticizing the military dictatorship than their Argentine counterparts. Despite that, the bishops had also passed through a similar process of emergence from political marginalization in the 1930s. Getúlio Vargas, a politician-turned-military dictator who ruled between 1930 and 1945 (from 1937 as a dictator), made a political alliance with revived Catholic movements. The latter tied culture to economic development to support his authoritarian *Estado Novo*. But as Brazil fought with the Allies in World War II, dictatorship at home became untenable, even for the pro-Vargas Catholic intelligentsia.<sup>76</sup>

Their gradual turn toward resisting the 1964 military dictatorship, especially in the Northeast, made Brazil's Catholic Church "one of the few institutions capable of confronting the state [and] . . . appear[ing] like the defender of human rights *par excellence*."<sup>77</sup> This "defender

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<sup>75</sup> Fernando Carlos Urquiza, "Las transformaciones a la iglesia argentina: Del concilio Vaticano II a la recuperación democrática" (Universidad Nacional del Centro, 2006), 3–4, [dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5028502](http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5028502).

<sup>76</sup> Cândido Moreira Rodrigues, *A Ordem: uma revista de intelectuais católicos (1934–1945)* (Belo Horizonte: Autentica; Fapesp, 2005), 220; Dain Borges, "Catholic Vanguard in Brazil," in *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism in Latin America from Rerum Novarum to Vatican II*, ed. Stephen J. C. Andes and Julia G. Young (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015), 21–50; Ana Maria Koch, "Cruzada pela democracia: militantes católicos no Brasil republicano," *Revista Brasileira de História* 33, no. 66 (2013): 288; William de Souza Martins, "Igreja e Estado no Brasil oitocentista: um diálogo com La Iglesia católica y la formación del Estado-nación en América Latina en el siglo XIX. El caso colombiano, de Luis Javier Ortiz Mesa," *Almanack. Guarulhos*, no. 6 (2<sup>nd</sup> semester, 2013): 27, 29; Getúlio Lira Neto, *Do governo provisório á ditadura do Estado Novo (1930–1945)*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (São Paulo: Companhia de Letras, 2013), 143–144; Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira, "Getúlio Vargas: O estadista, a nação e a democracia," in *A Era Vargas: Desenvolvimentismo, economia, e sociedade*, ed. Pedro Paulo Zabluth Bastos and Pedro Cezar Dutra Fonseca (São Paulo: Unesp, 2012), 101–105; José Luis Bendicho Beired, *Sob o signo da nova ordem: Intelectuais autoritários no Brasil e na Argentina* (São Paulo: Loyola, 1999), 67–68; Roberto Romano, *Brasil: Igreja Contra Estado: Crítica ao populismo católico* (São Paulo: Kairos, 1979), 11–15.

<sup>77</sup> Romano, *Igreja Contra Estado*, 28, 45–46.

par excellence” largely owed such a stance to the influence of Jacques Maritain. Christian Democratic resistance to Brazil’s twenty-one-year dictatorship suggests that Maritain’s philosophy does not necessarily create a false dilemma between spiritual faith and praxis.

Alceu Lima, potentially “modern Brazil’s greatest Catholic intellectual,” embodied the political transformation that could occur when previously integralist theologians embraced Maritain.<sup>78</sup> He was the principal Catholic intellectual guiding the hierarchy after the death of Jackson de Figueiredo and during the height of Getúlio Vargas’s first government (1930–1945), which embraced ideals of social harmony with a mandate for redistribution at the service of material sufficiency for all.<sup>79</sup> Lima’s dominance in Brazilian Catholic circles shows through his command of electoral machines which delivered votes. His relationship with the church hierarchy shows through in the praise he received from intellectuals as divergent as Gustavo Corção and Leonardo Boff. A “disciple” of Maritain, he is also considered one of the founders of Christian Democracy in Latin America, the principal conduit for French Catholicism in Brazil, and a “prophetic” voice against the military regime.<sup>80</sup> Given his position in that social hierarchy, Lima, covered extensively in Brazil’s Catholic press, remains a singular figure to analyze Maritain’s reception in the region.

Lima traces a trajectory similar to Maritain’s. Born in 1893, Lima became an esteemed literary critic in the 1920s, finally converting to Catholicism in 1928 under the influence of Figueiredo, then editor of Brazil’s largest Catholic journal *A Ordem*. Figueiredo was known for radical religious zeal. He would take up the call to bring about a “restoration” of order in Brazil. His attitudes reflected broader European disillusionment with the failures of liberalism and the rise of communism in the interwar period. Figueiredo saw liberalism as antithetical to the common good, and willing to aid the middle class, but unwilling to regulate it when necessary. From his religious point

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<sup>78</sup> Kenneth Serbin, *Secret Dialogues: Church-State Relations and Social Justice in Authoritarian Brazil* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 45.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Levine, *Father of the Poor?: Vargas and His Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 37. John D. French, *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64–67, 179, n. 11, n. 12.

<sup>80</sup> Michaël Löwy and Jésus Garcia-Ruiz, “Les Sources françaises du christianisme de la libération au Brésil,” *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 97 (1997): 11, 14; Josué Montello, *Diário da noite iluminada, 1977–1985* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1994), 71; Leonardo Boff, “A Presença de Alceu Amoroso Lima,” *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 43, no. 171 (1983): 440; Sister M. Ancilla O’Neill, *Tristão de Athayde and the Catholic Social Movement in Brazil* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1939), v.

of view, the Middle Ages served as a Golden Age to be recovered, much like thinkers of the Renaissance valued Antiquity.<sup>81</sup>

Unlike his mentor, and much like Maritain, Lima had an eclectic group of acquaintances, including Alfonso Reyes, Mexico's ambassador to Brazil during the Cristero Rebellion. This openness led him to assess the truth of an argument fairly, irrespective of whether the latter came from friendly Catholics or Mexican and Soviet adversaries.<sup>82</sup> He believed in the importance of interpersonal communication, not of mere political action. He emphasized a "dialogue culture" between educated adversaries who, while on opposite sides of a fundamental divide, shared the virtues of charity and love for the common good.<sup>83</sup>

Still, the Alceu Lima of the 1930s did share many common traits with Figueiredo. Like Maritain, he garnered a reputation as anti-Modernist. Looking back, he admitted his embrace of integralism's role in reviving Brazilian Catholicism: "a crusade never done before in Brazil! A Crusade of servants for the Return of Christ that was like that . . . of the 13th Century" guided not by swords but adolescents' "clarity of conscience."<sup>84</sup> As director of the Catholic Electoral League during the 1930s, Lima had also pushed for politicians at the local, state, and national level that would emphasize religious education and resist the legalization of divorce.<sup>85</sup> Though reserved toward Franco, under his leadership the journal *A Ordem* supported Portugal's dictatorship because it sought to "organize the nation on the foundations of Corporatism" while also "reserv[ing] for individual liberty and initiative a sliver of autonomy in the constructing of its economy," such as press debates on "a work contract between factory workers and industry leaders."<sup>86</sup>

At heart, however, Lima was not a reactionary. In his 1932 work *Política* he had already discussed the idea of "necessity" and "liberty"

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<sup>81</sup> Francisco Iglesias, *Historia e Ideologia* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1969), 109–114, 115.

<sup>82</sup> Marcelo Timotheo da Costa, "La espada y el arado: El conflicto religioso en México y la intelectualidad católica brasileña, los casos de Jackson de Figueiredo y Alceu Amoroso Lima," cited in Jean Meyer, *Las Naciones Frente Al Conflicto Religioso en México* (D.F: CIDE, 2010), 84, 88; Robert Patrick Newcomb, *Nossa and Nuestra América: Inter-American Dialogues*, vol. 52 (Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2012), 165; João Etienne Filho, *Alceu Amoroso Lima, Jackson de Figueiredo: Correspondência, harmonia dos contrastes (1919–1929)* (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1992), 89.

<sup>83</sup> Renato Augusto Carneiro Junior, "Amor em tempos de ressentimento: Alceu Amoroso Lima, política e resistência à ditadura militar de 1964," PhD Dissertation (Curitiba: UFPR, 2011), 5, 12.

<sup>84</sup> Tristão de Athyde, *Adeus Á Disponibilidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1969), 22.

<sup>85</sup> Lira Neto, *Getúlio*, 143.

<sup>86</sup> "Os acontecimentos na Espanha," *A Ordem*, October 1937, 88.

as two essential features in individual searches for the common good. He shared with Maritain a healthy critique of a mechanistic modernity pitted against the soul of the human person. In his view, socialism presented a synthetic, not organic, unity, based on a dualistic vision of class struggle. The common good, on the other hand, welded various societies together into a corporate structure, a cohesive social unit.<sup>87</sup> Lima followed the Argentine debates over Maritain's visits through contacts in Buenos Aires, and personally took Maritain to visit Lima's Centro Dom Vital during a short 1936 stop in Brazil on the way back to France.<sup>88</sup> By 1945, he had fully embraced Maritain and democracy, writing the preface to *Christianity and Democracy's* Portuguese edition. For Lima, democracy in the twentieth century would "represent for Christianity a *political instrument* in defense of Liberty against the advance of Totalitarianism."<sup>89</sup>

Maritain's influence spread rapidly in Brazil, in part through Lima's efforts and undergirded the church's engagement with the world. Lending a copy of *Integral Humanism* (1936) to Dom Hélder Câmara, who would later go on to be a towering figure of liberation theology, proved crucial to Câmara's embrace of pluralism as a political ideal. Like Maritain, he saw a disordered list of priorities on the part of traditional clergy. For Câmara, this position constituted a political transformation that began upon reading Lima's recommended book. Echoing Maritain's skepticism of the middle class, he questioned "the Pharisaic [attitude] of determining that we the bourgeois represent social order and virtue and that Communists embody disorder, disequilibrium and disenchantment, and the forces of evil. . . . We have our own faults and sins . . . because we cover up social injustices with generous and spectacular offerings."<sup>90</sup> Though some factions, especially Jesuits in Rio Grande do Sul, emphasized his previous anti-modernism and downplayed his democratic shift, Maritain influenced a generation of Catholic activists in the 1950s. While many of these groups moved beyond Maritain, his influence continued to be felt in the work of priests such as Louis-Joseph Lebret.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Tristão de Athayde, *Política* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Catholica, 1932), 18, citing Jacques Maritain, *Trois Réformateurs* (Paris: Plon, 1925), 22, 28–29.

<sup>88</sup> "Manhã com Maritain," *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 29, no. 4 (1973): 432–433.

<sup>89</sup> Alceu Amoroso Lima, "Introduction," in Jacques Maritain, *Cristianismo e Democracia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1945), 10–11, emphasis added.

<sup>90</sup> Quoting Helder Câmara in Nelson Piletti and Walter Praxedes, *Dom Hélder Câmara: Entre o Poder e a Profecia* (São Paulo: Ática, 1997), 158, in Martinho Condini, "Dom Hélder Câmara: Modelo de esperança na caminhada para a paz e justiça social" (Diss. de Mestrado, PUC-SP, 2004), 81, 80–82.

<sup>91</sup> Lorena Madruga Monteiro and André Drumond, "A democracia na obra de Jacques Maritain e sua recepção pelos círculos católicos brasileiros," *Revista do Núcleo de Pós-Graduação Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais* 18 (2011): 67–68; Marcelo Ridenti,

Lima would build on the importance of spiritual-temporal distinction to Christian Democracy in 1948, following an important meeting in Montevideo the previous year. Maritain had “distinguish[ed] [the spiritual and worldly] to unite.”<sup>92</sup> Per Lima, when Maritain’s thought had merely influenced “in the spiritual and metaphysical” plane, everyone had accepted him “without reservation.” When his thought had touched on politics, “especially the happenings in Spain, everything changed all of a sudden.” While the post-World War II period may have brought a risk of reducing everything to politics and economics, “in those moments . . . one needed to push back *against the separation* of the temporal and spiritual, between the political or economic, and the ethical.”<sup>93</sup>

Lima himself soon pushed back in Brazil against separating social and political concerns from spiritual ones. He “opposed the coup and fearlessly criticized the censorship and torture perpetrated by the military regime.”<sup>94</sup> Writing in one of Brazil’s leading Catholic dailies during the first months of the regime, he put the blame for the coup indirectly at the feet of racist Brazilian elites who refused even moderate reforms. In this critique he echoed Maritain’s dismissal of middle-class German ideology as self-interested and thus worse than communism. Reflecting upon the death of US President John F. Kennedy half a year before, he criticized middle-class regime opponents of land reform as “small samples of social inertia” who called themselves “disinterested” while they merely looked after their own interests. He believed this type of cynical citizen, be it the racist in Texas or the small landowner that went against their own interests in opposing land reform, constituted the true murderers of the idealist president.<sup>95</sup>

Lima passionately argued there could be no order without liberty. Order meant both “unity and variety,” not “social immobility . . . hierarchical rigidity or . . . the exclusion of contradictory elements.”<sup>96</sup> He was blunt on the state of Brazil’s military regime: “To confuse order with an authoritarian regime, with the maintaining of the social status quo, with political traditionalism or with a government of brute force is to misrepresent [Order’s] very nature.”<sup>97</sup> His position gained

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“Ação Popular: cristianismo e marxismo,” in *História do marxismo no Brasil*, ed. Marcelo Ridenti and Daniel Aarão Reis (Campinas: UNICAMP, 2002), 216, 219–222.

<sup>92</sup> Alceu Lima, “Maritain y la América Latina,” in *Jacques Maritain: Su obra filosófica* (Buenos Aires: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 35.

<sup>93</sup> Lima, “Maritain y la América Latina,” 35, emphasis added.

<sup>94</sup> Kenneth Serbin, *Secret dialogues*, 73.

<sup>95</sup> Tristão de Athayde, “Os anti-Kennedy,” *O Diário*, May 1, 1964.

<sup>96</sup> Tristão de Athayde, “Ordem e Progresso,” *Diário de Belo Horizonte*, June 21, 1964.

<sup>97</sup> Athayde, “Ordem e Progresso.”

wider acceptance among the bishops and even some center-right papers as the military regime cracked down on what the bishops perceived as legitimate Catholic social militancy.<sup>98</sup> He instead promoted a culture of dialogue, as an anti-conservative concept that allows variety in society and opposes “isolationism and the justification of wars and Revolutions [the self-given name of the regime].”<sup>99</sup> Two years later, he reminded readers that the coup, led by “false saviors,” had been “completely useless and counterproductive, capable of creating evils even worse than those against which we all complained.”<sup>100</sup>

Like Maritain, Lima condemned general violence on both sides, but that did not stop him from continuing to speak out on human rights abuses and advocate for social transformation. In a challenging speech before the State Assembly of Minas Gerais, Lima condemned an “armed” mentality that amounted to “collective robbery from a hungry world.”<sup>101</sup> Calling for a redistribution of wealth and the beginning of a “social revolution,” he called on the church to leave its “attack or defense” mentality to live “in the midst, at the service, and at the side of all men of goodwill against alienation. [Especially] the alienation of underdevelopment.” His most controversial line reflected Maritain, when Lima warned against creeds and instead promised to work with “all men of good will, be they Protestants, Spiritists, Communists, or Atheists.”<sup>102</sup>

Another speech likely made him unpopular with some religious figures who advocated armed revolution. Warning of a “Third World War,” Lima criticized the violence advocated by Communist manifestos. Armed force to end colonialism in the Western Hemisphere would only reinforce the most reactionary governments of the region through “maximum consolidation of the military mentality and . . . fanaticism of the ‘rights,’ like we have seen here since 1964.”<sup>103</sup>

This is not to say that some Catholics did not attempt to co-opt Maritain’s earlier writings for authoritarian ends, such as the

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<sup>98</sup> “Dom Helder Camara defende as reformas como anseio da justiça social,” *O Diário de Belo Horizonte*, April 14, 1964; “Arcebispo de Brasília louva Dom João: Manifesto de Ação Católica,” *O Diário*, March 6, 1965; “Bispo desfaz calúnias contra Ação Católica,” *O Diário*, April 18, 1964; Paulo Fernandes, “Dom Helder,” *O Diário*, May 23, 1965.

<sup>99</sup> Tristão de Athayde, “Filosofia da dialogação,” *O Diário*, May 9, 1965.

<sup>100</sup> Tristão de Athayde, “Falsos Salvadores,” *O Diário*, April 20, 1966.

<sup>101</sup> Antônio Otaviano and Antônio Nilso, “Alceu Amoroso Lima na assembléia Legislativa de Minas,” *O Lutador*, September 17, 1967.

<sup>102</sup> Otaviano Nilso, “Alceu Amoroso Lima na assembléia Legislativa de Minas.”

<sup>103</sup> Tristão de Ataíde, “As guerrilhas representariam em nossos países sul-americanos o melhor pretexto para consolidar o militarismo,” *O Lutador*, February 18, 1968.

forementioned Jesuits in Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>104</sup> However, unlike their Christian Democratic counterparts in Argentina, Lima and his ecclesial associates exercised a singular influence to shape the debate. A key lay figure on Brazil's Catholic scene, he had always embraced dialogue in the abstract. But in his advocacy for Maritain's work with friends in the hierarchy, Lima managed to channel the legitimate critiques of middle-class Catholicism and liberalism away from integralist rhetoric in a more democratic direction from bishops down to the laity.

Brazilian newspapers even shed light on perceptions of Maritain's favorite Latin American political figure, Chile's Eduardo Frei. In 1967, when Maritain decried alleged excesses of post-Second Vatican Council modernist theology and overly broad ecumenical efforts, he still extolled the "authentic 'Christian Revolution'" of Eduardo Frei's Chile (as well as the efforts of Chicago's "staunch organizer . . . and . . . anti-racist leader" Saul Alinsky).<sup>105</sup> At this time, the international arena considered Frei a reformer, not a centrist reactionary.<sup>106</sup> In fact, possible military intervention was not lost on Frei's Christian Democratic supporters in Brazil who, themselves under a military regime, still reported on Frei's denunciation of a June 1966 coup in Argentina.<sup>107</sup> If one reads the 1960s Frei as a zealous reformer, it should come as no surprise that some Brazilian liberation theologians

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<sup>104</sup> Monteiro and Drumond, "A democracia na obra de Jacques Maritain e sua recepção pelos círculos católicos brasileiros," 67–68.

<sup>105</sup> Jacques Maritain, *The Peasant of the Garonne: An Old Layman Questions Himself about the Present Time*, Michael Cuddihy and Elizabeth Hughes (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), 23, 23n. Alinsky is most visibly identified with the left.

<sup>106</sup> Many look back on Frei as a reformist with ambiguous-to-supportive positions toward the Pinochet regime, though he did oppose the 1954 US overthrow of Guatemala's Jacobo Arbenz. Mark T. Hove, "The Arbenz Factor: Salvador Allende, US-Chilean Relations, and the 1954 US Intervention in Guatemala," *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 4 (September 2007): 631, 635, 644. doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7709.2007.00656; Joaquín Fernando, "Multiple Christian Democratic Exiles: Debating the Road Back to Democracy," in *Political Exile in the Global Twentieth Century: Catholic Christian Democrats in Europe and the Americas*, ed. Wolfram Kaiser and Piotr H. Kosicki (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2022), 260–261; Élodie Giraudier, "Chilean Christian Democrats in Exile in the Americas and in Europe: Impact on Networks and Ideas," in *Political Exile in the Global Twentieth Century*, 275, 278. Andrew J. Kirkendall points out that "in almost any other South American country during the Cold War era," Frei's proposed and implemented reforms "would have resulted in a military coup." They did not in Frei's case presumably because Lyndon Johnson still held out the possibility of combating communism through development. See Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 88.

<sup>107</sup> Carlos Newton, "Denúncia do Golpe no Chile," *Diário de Belo Horizonte*, July 30, 1966.

such as Frei Betto recognized a theological debt to Maritain for the emergence of liberation theologies themselves.<sup>108</sup>

In summary, tracing Lima's life as well as the newspaper coverage of him and the early dictatorship more generally, we see that church participants did not absolve the church from engaging in political denunciations of authoritarianism. In Brazil, church publications and organizations criticized dictatorship, embraced dialogue, and called for political diversity.

## CONCLUSION

This article has traced reactions to Maritain's work in two countries with similar ecclesial trajectories, but radically different trajectories in responding to dictatorship to offer a comparison to the appropriation of Maritain in the Chilean context. In both Argentina and Brazil, we find examples of Maritain's influence on opponents of authoritarianism. Maritain divided Argentina's Catholics in 1936 specifically because he opposed the Spanish Civil War. Intellectuals and the press across the region acknowledged Maritain's political engagement. With the Conciliar reforms, even some right-wing supporters quickly turned against Maritain for his anti-nationalist views. I have also shown how Alceu Lima, a highly influential Brazilian layperson, continued to advocate for Maritain's vision of forging a path away from ideological extremes while embracing social transformation.

Though they differ on how to frame the role of the church in society, both Gutierrez and Cavanaugh see Maritain's centering of spirituality as the relic of a bygone era, superseded by more robust personalist and liberationist philosophies. Even Lima himself covered Maritain's trajectory from obvious champion of a church engaged more with the people than the bourgeois elite and state to alleged reactionary.<sup>109</sup> But simple binaries lack nuance. A spiritual vision could be said to have propelled the vision that won out at Vatican II and during the following years. Even those French theologians who broke with Maritain's formulations framed the church as a primarily spiritual institution which could and should leaven society (ironically through Catholic Action). The distinction between the church's spiritual and earthly role did not prevent Marie-Dominique Chenu, with whom Gutierrez studied, from embracing Maritain's "profane

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<sup>108</sup> María Soledad Del Villar Tagle, "The European Roots of *A Theology of Liberation*: Gustavo Gutiérrez and the *Nouvelle Théologie*," *International Journal of Latin American Religions* 6 (2022): 32, dx.doi.org/10.1007/s41603-022-00163-9.

<sup>109</sup> Alceu Amoroso Lima, "The Influence of Maritain in Latin America," *New Scholasticism* 46 (1972): 70–85.

Christendom.” He used it to develop his theology on labor, later echoed in Karl Rahner and liberation theologians themselves.<sup>110</sup>

While critics of Maritain deplore the use of his thought by Latin American authoritarians, its more coherent usage by one outspoken archbishop, Óscar Romero, suggests it did not inevitably serve as an opiate for inaction. Facing censorship, bombing threats, and the burial of his Jesuit friend and colleague Rutilio Grande, Romero stressed the importance of using radio communications to go beyond the walls of the Cathedral. He stressed the same spiritual dimension which undergirded Maritain’s New Christendom: “The *mystical body* of Christ is one in which every last Christian, every persecuted, silenced, *tortured* Christian participates.”<sup>111</sup> Attributing a quote to Pius XI that could have easily come from Maritain, Romero exclaimed, “The church does not do politics, but when politics touches its altar, the church defends her altar.”<sup>112</sup> Like Maritain, Romero elaborated, “The rights of man concern the church, life in danger concerns the mother church. The mothers who suffer are very much in the heart of the church at this moment. Those who cannot speak, those who suffer, those who are tortured, silenced, matter to the church.”<sup>113</sup>

That is not to say Maritain would have agreed with some liberation theologies’ focus on political praxis over Catholic spirituality. Maritain reasonably concluded that the church’s service of a political theology (in his day Christ the Restorer but today perhaps even a secularized Christ the Liberator) ultimately hurts its prophetic witness, a witness nurtured by the “growth and maturing within the conscience which is produced with the spontaneity of life.”<sup>114</sup> As he continues, fleeting “chimeras” limit charity, preclude tolerance, and “wound the Christ within [politically co-opted Christians].”

This conflict over how far specific political projects should intrude on spiritual considerations drives readings of Maritain’s legacy as conservative. This defense put him at odds with a new generation which sought to put “faith-praxis” above rational theology based on natural law. “Faith-praxis” advocates such as Leonardo Boff argued that traditional spiritual and rational approaches were merely “adhesions to truth” which “supposes an economically carefree theologian, who has

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<sup>110</sup> Shortall, *Soldiers of God in a Secular World*, 52, 59, 173; Tagle, “The European Roots of A Theology of Liberation,” 34.

<sup>111</sup> Oscar Romero, “La misión de la Iglesia,” in *Homilías monseñor Óscar Romero* (Managua: UCA, 2005), 58–59, emphasis added.

<sup>112</sup> Romero, “La misión de la Iglesia,” 58–59.

<sup>113</sup> Romero, “La misión de la Iglesia,” 58–59.

<sup>114</sup> Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, 218–219, 222.

a lot of time, a lot of books, a lot of money to buy them, and a lot of peace.”<sup>115</sup>

This division between faith and praxis did not play out as clearly as Maritain’s critics suggest. Yes, distinguishing the spiritual from the worldly put Maritain on the side of certain “reformer” German theologians, such as Karl Rahner and Joseph Ratzinger, who expressed skepticism toward full engagement with the world over against French prelates who argued for a fuller embrace. These theologians argued for a distinction between world and church.<sup>116</sup> Additionally, a rejection of Maritain’s distinction between the spiritual and temporal provided aid to theologians like Boff, radical pastoral agents in struggle. But this approach often baptized the extremes, as exemplified in Emmanuel Mounier’s alleged support, through his emphasis on the immanent over the spiritual, for the Vichy French and Soviet states respectively.<sup>117</sup> In short, even if one gauges Maritain’s theology by its relation to later politically engaged currents, the record does not favor a primarily apolitical reading of Maritain but a desacralizing one.

Scholars and activists should view Maritain’s ideas and the political reactions within the context of their initial articulation. Doing so, they might see why Maritain’s democratic pluralist ideas appear to the present day in expected places, such as inspirations for the United States’ second Catholic president.<sup>118</sup> They also appear in unexpected places in Latin America such as in union halls, among left-wing politicians, and in preparations for an international conference on racism.<sup>119</sup> Ecclesial feuds aside, activism from some of Latin America’s leading Christian Democrats also suggests that his philosophy did not lose its power to inspire. While the Chilean Church may have been slow to act against the Pinochet regime, we can safely rule out Maritain’s advocacy of a spiritually-based plural democracy as a culprit. Legitimate debate over Maritain’s usefulness does not need to imply that his philosophy aided authoritarians. Perhaps now,

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<sup>115</sup> Leonardo Boff, *Teologia do Cativo e da Libertação* (São Paulo: Vozes, 2014), 29, 46–47.

<sup>116</sup> John O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 256–257.

<sup>117</sup> Piotr H. Kosicki, *Catholics on the Barricades: Poland, France, and “Revolution,” 1891–1956* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 54–55, 57–58, 67.

<sup>118</sup> David Brooks, “Has Biden Changed? He Tells Us,” *New York Times*, May 20, 2021, [www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/opinion/joe-biden-david-brooks-interview.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/opinion/joe-biden-david-brooks-interview.html).

<sup>119</sup> Jonathan Power, “Rethinking Militancy in Brazil,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 1, 1985, 4; Hamar de Oliveira, “Patrus Ananias: Testemunho Cristão na Política,” *O Lutador*, February 9–15, 1997, 3; Carlos Alves Moura, “O papel do governo na promoção da igualdade,” in Ministério de Justiça, *Seminários Regionais Preparatórios para Conferência Mundial Contra o Racismo, Descriminação Racial, Xenofobia, e Intolerância Correlata* (Brasília: SEDH, 2001), 325, citing Maritain’s *Man and the State*, 34.

politically center-left Catholics can once again see promise in Maritain's emphasis on plurality in pursuit of the common good. **M**

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