

APPENDIX 2: Annotated Bibliography of Cone and Novak

There are excellent annotated Bibliographies of material relating to Black Theology in Black Theology : A Documentary History : Volumes 1 and 2.¹ The material here may be seen as supplementary to them, as far as Cone is concerned, and as providing the beginnings of a guide to Novak's writing.

Cone

Black Theology and Black Power²

His first book, published in 1969 was a response to the Black Power movement (led by Willie Ricks and Stokely Carmichael) and an attempt to reclaim Christianity in the face of criticisms from that movement that it is inherently racist.

A Black Theology of Liberation³

Next came A Black Theology of Liberation, which is an exposition of Black Theology as a theology of the liberation of Black People from oppression and racism, and a resistance to the perversion of Christianity by white racist Christians.

The Spirituals and the Blues⁴

One of the criticisms (from such writers as Gayraud Wilmore) of Cone's first two works was that in them Black Theology was derivative of, dependent on and defined by white theology - by which was meant European, academic theology. Cone acknowledged the truth of this point and so wrote The Spirituals and the Blues which looked at one of the sources of Black Theology - the musical traditions of black people in spirituals and blues.

God Of The Oppressed⁵

In this book Cone produced his most systematic exposition of Black Theology, drawing on black church history and culture (for example black spirituals, black prayers, examples of black rebellion and resistance) as its sources. The central theme for black theology, as for all theologies of liberation, is that the Christian "Gospel is the liberation of the oppressed from socio-political humiliation for new freedom in Christ"⁶; this principle, Cone claims, is derived from Scripture, and should be used to interpret it, and to interpret Christian history and the world generally.

1 eds Wilmore and Cone: Black Theology : A Documentary History, 1966 – 1979 (Orbis 1979) pp 624-637

eds Cone and Wilmore : Black Theology : A Documentary History : Volume two : 1980-1992 (Orbis 1993) pp 427-440

2 James H Cone: Black Theology and Black Power (The Seabury Press, New York 1969)

3 James H Cone: A Black Theology of Liberation (1st edition Orbis, Maryknoll 1970; 2nd edition Orbis, Maryknoll 1986; 20th Anniversary edition Orbis, Maryknoll 1990)

4 James H Cone: The Spirituals and the Blues (Orbis, Maryknoll 1972)

5 James H Cone: God Of The Oppressed (Seabury Press, New York 1975)

6 James H Cone: God Of The Oppressed (Seabury Press, New York 1975) p 51

My Soul Looks Back⁷

Cone's next book is autobiographical (he actually says it has the nature of a black testimony) and can be seen as a further look at sources - as a reflection on Cone's own life as a member of the Black Church and as a Black Theologian in a racist society.

For My People⁸

In this book Cone addresses the Black Churches. Whilst he is clear that the white churches are so deeply tainted by racism and collusion with it that they are heretical, and therefore do not embody Christianity, Cone is equally critical of the majority of black churches, which have accommodated to racism, either by a quiescent attitude, or even by taking on the values of the oppressors to the extent of oppressing their own communities. He is passionate in his attempts to persuade the black churches to become what they ought to be: agents in the struggle against oppression - not only white against black, but black against black, and black man against black woman.

Speaking The Truth⁹

This is a collection of essays and addresses to workshops and conferences, whose dates range from 1975 - 1985. Whilst they do not say anything new, they present Cone's thinking over that period, in summary and in a variety of different voices. Taken together, they perhaps give a sense of the balance of various strands of his thinking.

Martin & Malcolm & America¹⁰

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X embody and dominate, almost as icons and symbols for modern black Americans (including Cone), the two possible reactions to the experience of racism in America¹¹. Martin stands largely for non-violent direct action, for integration (that is for the hope that one day blacks will be given their just position in American society), and for the American dream. Malcolm stands for the language of violence, for black nationalism (that is the idea that blacks will never be treated properly by whites, and so ought to aspire to membership of a separate nation), for the American nightmare. Cone shows that these images are oversimplified stereotypes, so that by the end of their lives, Martin and Malcolm each had been influenced by the thinking of the other, and both by the failure of their strategies to gain truly equal opportunities for blacks. The book is also useful in giving background information about the Civil Rights Movement and the Nation of Islam - as the forerunners of Black Power and Black Theology.

7 James H Cone: My Soul Looks Back (Abingdon 1982; Orbis 1986)

8 James H Cone: For My People (Orbis, Maryknoll 1984)

9 James H Cone: Speaking The Truth (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1986)

10 James H Cone: Martin & Malcolm & America (Fount 1993)

11 'Martin & Malcolm represented the two sides in W.E. B. Du Bois's concept of double identity - they represented, respectively, the American and African, the two warring ideas struggling to make sense out of the involuntary presence of Africans in North America'¹ op. cit. p 270

Novak

A New Generation: American and Catholic¹²

A first collection of essays, in which Novak early articulates the two great themes of his life – being American and being Catholic. In some ways the whole of his writing can be understood as arising out of the interaction of these two facts.

The Open Church: Vatican II, Act II¹³

Novak, a reporter at the second session of the Second Vatican Council, writes about its struggles. At this point a left-winger, Novak was excited at the changes beginning in the Roman Catholic Church as it debated the weaknesses of “a-historical (or non-historical) orthodoxy” and tried to become more open to its living situation in “concrete history”¹⁴. The dedication of this book is important, referring to Novak’s younger brother, Dick, a priest of the Holy Cross, killed aged 28 on the day the book was completed (16th January 1964) in rioting between Muslims and Hindus in East Pakistan, where he was working.

Belief and Unbelief: A Philosophy of Self-Knowledge¹⁵

In this book Novak wrestles with his own doubts, and articulates the idea of “intelligent subjectivity” – which for him was a way forwards, containing both reflective (i.e. thoughtful, rational) and experiential (i.e. felt, emotional) elements. The book also links philosophy and religious faith – not surprising, coming from one whose early academic training was in a Roman Catholic seminary, but significant in his later writings, where he sees no separation between theology and philosophy. This book is dedicated to his and Karen’s (his wife) parents.

The Experience of Nothingness¹⁶

Still in Novak’s left-wing, doubting, even dark, phase, this book values the experience of nothingness as a place in which to find one’s true self and true values. Indeed he hopes that the affluence of most Americans will not get in the way of them having that experience, to set a course for the coming years.¹⁷ Interestingly, in this book he attacks the competitiveness of Americans (in contrast to the non-competitive cultures of native Americans)¹⁸ and the superficial manipulation of images to sell products – both of which are in some ways integral to the market place he later defends.

The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: Politics and Culture in the Seventies¹⁹

12 Michael Novak: A New Generation: American and Catholic (Herder and Herder, New York: 1964).

13 Michael Novak: The Open Church: Vatican II, Act II (Macmillan, New York: 1964).

14 op. cit. p xii

15 Michael Novak: Belief and Unbelief: A Philosophy of Self-Knowledge (Macmillan, New York: 1965).

16 Michael Novak: The Experience of Nothingness (Harper and Row, New York: 1970).

17 op. cit. see p 106

18 op. cit. p 20

19 Michael Novak: The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: Politics and Culture in the Seventies (Macmillan, New York: 1972).

In this book Novak distinguishes between Americans of Northern and Western European origin (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant or WASP) and those of Southern and Eastern European origin; he is not a WASP nor a Black American, but of Polish (i.e. East European), Catholic, descent. He seems in this book to air a sense of disillusionment with the intellectual left which, although interested in Black poverty (and presumably in its WASPish self), has ignored and so failed the blue-collar class – which is Novak’s own background. He writes of his suspicion of both liberal and radical politics²⁰ – but his solution to the problem still looks to a degree of Government intervention with which he would later be deeply unhappy. In this book, I discern the passion with which he sees himself as Catholic and American – his particular, marginalised, ethnic, background – and he explores what he understands as distinctive to it including, for example, a stress on the importance of feeling – a stress he has indicated in several previous books.²¹

Choosing Our King: Symbols of Political Leadership²²

At the time of writing this book, Novak was working for the Democrats – writing speeches for candidates in 37 states.²³ The book seems to mark a growing interest in politics, and a growing interest in analysing society and culture with the tools of religious philosophy. So Novak looks at the symbols associated with presidency, concluding that although Americans wish both to look up to, and identify themselves with, their president, in fact there are enormous difficulties with moral language in politics.²⁴ I have noted above this “dark side to faith”²⁵ which Novak observes, but here, even though he is critical of the American dream and the *status quo*,²⁶ Novak still writes with optimism for America speaking of “reconstruct[ing] the national project”²⁷ and “revis[ing] the dream of American goodness.”²⁸ He articulates again his passion for America, and for being American.²⁹ In charting his move from left to right, I point out that in this book again he writes

20 op. cit. p 51 and p 126

21 eg Belief and Unbelief, The Experience of Nothingness, and Michael Novak: The Ascent of the Mountain, the Flight of the Dove: An Invitation to Religious Studies (Harper and Row, New York 1971)

22 Michael Novak: Choosing Our King: Symbols of Political Leadership (Macmillan, New York: 1974).

23 Watergate, the exposure of President Nixon’s “dirty” campaign against his opponents and subsequent lies and evasions, was rumbling on during the writing of this book, finally breaking in August 1974. See p 289

24 op. cit. Ch 10 pp 61 ff (Morality can be divisive – difficult for people standing for election) and pp 270 ff (The Necessity of Dirty Hands) See also p xiv where he says the problem with American politics is not a cult of personality, but a cult of moralism i.e. based on humans as they would be ‘if only’.... which he distinguishes from morality.

25 op. cit. see Chap 34 “The Dark Night of Faith” and also eg pp 293, 301 etc where Novak writes of the pain and suffering which many experience, and which is to be embraced, rather than avoided at all costs.

26 op. cit. pp 290 ff

27 op. cit. p 110

28 op. cit. p 296

29 op. cit. p 46 “A nation from its inception undergoing traumatic experiences of loneliness, revolution, slavery, depression, global adventure, assassination, guilt, space exploration, defeat – such a nation is a crucible of vivid experience which none escape. We are, each in our different ways, American because we have been through these things together.”

of dissatisfaction with the left, which has failed his (lower middle?) class.³⁰ The family theme continues in this book, Novak noting that his daughter was born while he was working on the Primaries, and commenting that compared to her, the world of politics seemed unreal.³¹

The Guns of Lattimer³²

This is the story of an 1887 strike by miners – Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians – which ended in tragedy when the mine operators set up a posse which fired on them killing 19 and seriously injuring 39. The posse was subsequently found not guilty by a jury. Again Novak is looking at his ethnic roots, and the experiences of his forebears.

The Joy of Sports: End Zones, Bases, Baskets, Balls, and the Consecration of the American Spirit³³

Having earlier analysed American politics as a “civil religion”, Novak turns his attention to sport, choosing three typically American sports: baseball, basketball, and (American) football. His disillusionment with politics continues³⁴ although some of the things he recommends at the end of the book are heavy with Government intervention. Again, there is a stress on the ‘American experience’.

The American Vision: An essay on the future of Democratic Capitalism³⁵

This brief essay appears to mark the first use of the phrase “democratic capitalism” and articulates his later classic description of its three phases: cultural, economic, and political. Novak continues to argue against intellectuals, whom he groups with the media, calling them the “adversarial class”, and supporting those they attack.³⁶ He is now searching for a “*theory* which expresses our [the American] vision.”³⁷

Capitalism and Socialism: A Theological Inquiry³⁸

30 op. cit. pp 210 ff see also pp 245 ff

31 op. cit. p xv

32 Michael Novak: The Guns of Lattimer (Basic, New York: 1978).

33 Michael Novak: The Joy of Sports: End Zones, Bases, Baskets, Balls, and the Consecration of the American Spirit (Basic, New York: 1976).

34 op. cit. p 296 “I do feel constrained to say that I am neither a capitalist nor a socialist. The near bankruptcy of liberal New York and the virtually socialist England, and the actual quality of life in social democracies (including Sweden) dishearten me...” – see also p 41

35 Michael Novak: The American Vision: An essay on the future of Democratic Capitalism (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI), Washington 1978)

36 op. cit. p 31

37 op. cit. p 1 my italics.

38 Michael Novak (editor and one essay): Capitalism and Socialism: A Theological Inquiry (AEI, Washington 1979)

By now, and in his essay in this book, Novak is arguing that Christianity points away from socialism, and towards capitalism; nevertheless, he still retains some admiration for the socialist dream.³⁹

Democracy and Mediating Structures: A Theological Inquiry⁴⁰

Novak continues to criticise the “intellectual class” and the media in this book, and here introduces his view that capitalism and socialism are to be judged empirically. The word ‘theological’ in the title is to be taken (as discussed above) as including – or even perhaps, being mainly – philosophical. Novak explores the importance of mediating structures which stand between the state and the individual or family – such things as churches, corporations, community groups. He also argues that there needs to be a theology of economics and, foreshadowing a later book, of the corporation.

Concepts of Ethnicity⁴¹

Novak’s chapter in this book is written in praise of plurality: “the true liberal spirit is *cosmopolitan* rather than *universalist*.”⁴² By now he is rather more positive about WASP culture: “one of the world’s most liberating traditions.”⁴³

Towards a Theology of Corporation⁴⁴

“The corporation is an expression of the social nature of humans.”⁴⁵ Novak explores the history of the concept that a group or corporation is able to own things: he interested in the idea of people working co-operatively. A corporation can sin, he asserts⁴⁶ but can also produce possible benefits; it is a new feature of economic life, integral to modern capitalism. Part of this book is devoted to exploring further the concept of democratic capitalism, its dynamic, experimental, and realistic character. Novak continues to suggest that a theology of economics – especially wealth creation – is highly necessary. A new and significant feature of his thinking is criticism of “statism” – that is, an unduly large and interfering state.⁴⁷ This book can be seen as a turning point, in that most of the lines of thinking he classically expresses in The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism⁴⁸ are clearly now in place in his mind.

39 op. cit. p 122

40 Michael Novak (editor and one essay): Democracy and Mediating Structures: A Theological Inquiry (AEI, Washington 1980)

41 Michael Novak (one chapter): Concepts of Ethnicity Belknap Press / Harvard University Press 1980/1982)

42 op. cit. p 38

43 op. cit. p 42 see also eg p 49: “Assimilation is often spoken of too lightly.”

44 Michael Novak: Towards a Theology of Corporation (AEI, Washington 1981)

45 op. cit. p 1

46 op. cit. pp 44 ff

47 op. cit. p 28

48 Michael Novak: The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982)

Liberation South, Liberation North⁴⁹

Novak uses this book to compare the fates of North and South America, reflecting that they were discovered at roughly the same time, have similar populations, and wealth of natural resources – yet the difference between the two is great. Here Novak is articulating an ongoing theme in his later writing, that of empirical comparison of different political systems. It troubles him that one basic, longstanding difference is that South America is Catholic in culture, North America Protestant, but it is North America which is economically successful, South America which needs aid.

The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism⁵⁰

This book is in some ways a summation of Novak’s thinking so far, rather than a completely new departure. He begins with a personal statement about his shift from socialism to capitalism,⁵¹ and makes a point about the Roman Catholic Church, which has misunderstood liberal democratic capitalism – it is no more keen on socialism, but has rather been more rooted in pre-capitalist thinking.⁵² Novak believes that the success of capitalism can lead to its failure⁵³ in that the affluence it creates can lead away from the virtues on which it is really founded – and so he sees a need to describe a theory of democratic capitalism which articulates its moral basis. (It has, over the two centuries of its existence, never been self-consciously interested in theorising, so has not up to this point produced such a theory.) Democratic capitalism has three facets or modes as he has described earlier (see above), economic, political, and moral-cultural, and it is this last with which he concerns himself. He expands his thinking on the impossibility of planning complex economies (NB the empirical failure of command economies) with all the difficulties of unintended consequences, picking up the thinking of Adam Smith on the counter-intuitive way in which free markets solve this problem.⁵⁴ There needs to be a readiness to accept pain⁵⁵, for if economic failure does not hurt (because, for example, there is a Government safety net) then there is no incentive to learn; in fact, in this case the market is not truly free.

Freedom with Justice: Catholic Social Thought and Liberal Institutions⁵⁶

This book has two audiences: the Catholic Church, and Liberal Society. To Novak’s chagrin, given that he is both American and Catholic, the Catholic Church over the last two centuries has been highly suspicious of liberal philosophy – indeed the word liberal has had pejorative connotations; in return liberal institutions have been anti-Catholic. Novak has a “dream of

49 Michael Novak (editor): Liberation South, Liberation North (AEI, Washington, 1981)

50 Michael Novak: The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982); 2nd edition, with new Introduction (Madison Books, Lanham: 1991)

51 op. cit. p 25 see also p 200

52 see op. cit. pp 243-248 see also p 278

53 op. cit. p 32

54 The “invisible hand” as Smith is often misquoted.

55 op. cit. p 122

56 Michael Novak: Freedom with Justice: (1984) revised and republished as: Catholic Social Thought and Liberal Institutions (Harper & Row, San Francisco: 1989).

undergirding the humaneness of liberal institutions with (as I see it) the more adequate Catholic philosophy of the human person, its deep sense of community, and its long experienced respect for ‘intermediate associations’ or ‘mediating structures’.”⁵⁷ He therefore writes for both audiences, hoping to convince them that their philosophies are complimentary. He declares that he is not going to derive an economic system from Holy Scripture⁵⁸ – but instead takes the system within which he has grown up (and which he feels empirically works) and finds a theological justification for it. A new feature of his (or Pope John Paul II’s) thought in this book is the idea of “creation theology” – with roots in earlier ideas of wealth creation – which values creativity, and accords human beings rights to private property and the fruits of their labour. This Creation Theology is contrasted with Liberation Theology.⁵⁹

Will It Liberate? Questions About Liberation Theology⁶⁰

In this book Novak offers a critique of Liberation theology – both of its analysis of Latin American society and economy, and of its empirical success: “It is not those who say “The poor! The poor! who will enter the kingdom of heaven, but those who actually put in place an economic system that helps the poor no longer to be poor.”⁶¹ In previous books Novak has written of (traditional) Catholic opposition to the separation of Church and State; he himself, however, approves such separation. But here⁶² and elsewhere⁶³ he gets near to hinting at the construction of a vast over-arching system of Catholic political thought.

This Hemisphere of Liberty: A Philosophy of the Americas⁶⁴

In this book Novak uses the term “Catholic Whig” – first applied by Lord Acton (1834 –1902), the Catholic historian, to St Thomas Aquinas, and here applied by Novak to Pope John Paul II, because “he has called religious liberty the first and most fundamental human right.”⁶⁵ Catholic Whigs see liberty as ordered – the right to do what one ought, rather than what one likes. They

57 op. cit. p x

58 op. cit. p 71 and p xv

59 op. cit. pp 183 ff for a critique of Liberation Theology.

60 Michael Novak: Will It Liberate? Questions About Liberation Theology (Paulist, New York 1986).

61 op. cit. p 125 see also p 215 – “what works best with fewest evil consequences.”

62 op. cit. pp 223 ff “absorbing the great achievements of Adam Smith into the common treasury of Catholic wisdom” see also p 227 “the church makes room for both [democratic capitalism and democratic socialism].”

63 Novak: Catholic Social Thought and Liberal Institutions (Harper & Row, San Francisco: 1989) pp 37 ff; p 168 “... Catholic social thought is, and must be, universal and transcendent...”; p222 “John Paul II has defined the institutional structures that best secure a Jewish Christian vision ...”)

64 Michael Novak: This Hemisphere of Liberty: A Philosophy of the Americas (AEI Press, Washington, D.C.: 1990).

65 op. cit. p 8 - see also below

are in some respects progressive (believing in institutional reform and gradual progress) and in some, conservative (valuing tradition, for example).

Morality, Capitalism and Democracy⁶⁶

In this pamphlet, Novak attempts to show that the American system is the natural, necessary, logical and obvious outcome of certain (Christian) premises.⁶⁷ So he contrasts American democratic capitalism with British capitalism.

God and the Marketplace⁶⁸

Novak's chapter in this pamphlet surveys eight classic arguments about the morality of the market-place. He notes with some approval writers like Bishop Richard Harries, who are prepared to accept much of the justification for a free market economy.

Christian Capitalism or Christian Socialism⁶⁹

Novak's half of this book includes his own account of his change from left to right. (A chapter in a later book⁷⁰ also includes an account of this change.) He also uses this opportunity to describe some of the nuances of neo-conservative / New Right views.

Business as a Calling: Work and the Examined Life⁷¹

Novak's starting point in this book is the people who are involved in business. He believes that most of them are men and women of good will, who understand that there is more to life than possessions, but actually find little support from the Church in their vocation. He reflects on interviews and published accounts of personal stories to draw out the cardinal virtues, and corporate and moral responsibilities of business life.

The Future of the Corporation⁷²

This and the next two short books are actually three lectures given at the American Enterprise Institute in a series for the Pfizer corporation. In this first lecture, Novak attacks Hutton's idea of a stakeholder society.⁷³ Novak begins by surveying the history of corporations as innovative legal and economic entities.

The Fire of Invention: Civil Society and the Future of the Corporation⁷⁴

66 Michael Novak: Morality, Capitalism and Democracy (Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), London 1990)

67 see op. cit. pp 71 ff

68 Michael Novak (one essay): God and the Marketplace (IEA, London 1993)

69 Michael Novak and Ronald Preston: Christian Capitalism or Christian Socialism (IEA, London 1994)

70 Michael Novak: On Cultivating Liberty AEI 1999 see below.

71 Michael Novak: Business as a Calling: Work and the Examined Life (Free Press, New York: 1996)

72 Michael Novak: The Future of the Corporation (AEI, Washington 1996)

73 see Will Hutton: The State We're In (Jonathan Cape 1995; Revised edition Vintage, London 1996)

74 Michael Novak: The Fire of Invention: Civil Society and the Future of the Corporation (Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham: 1997)

This second lecture looks at the importance of patents and copyright, as promoting invention by giving incentives to investors and researchers – including companies – particularly important in fields where research is extremely expensive. Novak argues that patents promote healthy competition, and allow an openness otherwise impossible. Even in the field of bio patents Novak seems content to allow patents, though he is careful to point out that there are different types of biological and genetic research, requiring different ethical treatments.

On Corporate Governance: The corporation as it ought to be⁷⁵

This third lecture is a response to attacks on corporations, particularly large ones. Novak argues that corporations should not appease their critics, but fight back, being the true guardians of liberty, and producers of economic growth. (Interestingly he is prepared to admit that some thought needs to be given to levels of remuneration – for example at the top and the bottom of corporations.)

On Cultivating Liberty: Reflections on moral ecology⁷⁶

This, one of Novak's latest books, is a collection of essays spanning his thought over the past two decades. His arguments are that the free society will survive only if it grounds itself in an order of moral truth which transcends it; that human nature is sinful but also basically good and creative; that liberty need not descend to relativism, but can be ordered; that at a time when the state has grown enormously, the civil society with its mediating institutions needs to be re-affirmed.

75 Michael Novak: On Corporate Governance: The corporation as it ought to be (AEI, Washington 1997)

76 Michael Novak (edited by Brian Anderson): On Cultivating Liberty (AEI, Washington 1999)