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INTRODUCTION



Investigating L.-J. Lebreton as a pioneer of human development thinking and global development ethics

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Why Lebreton's work deserves attention

Louis-Joseph Lebreton (1897–1966) was a progenitor and co-founder of ‘development ethics’ as a self-declared field of research, public conversation and activism. He comprehensively articulated the fundamental notion that development should be conceived in terms of human values and that it differs from economic growth. Although the notion that development is not merely economic growth had been sketched earlier by, for example, Marx or J.S. Mill (see, e.g. Lebreton 1961, 447), Lebreton went considerably further. He was explicit, for example, that American levels of income were neither feasible nor desirable globally and that ‘One can live humanly with much less’ (1957, 91). He warned that the term ‘development’ was being used in a grossly confused fashion: it was equated to economic growth, which was being treated as magical and that supposedly should never end. To counteract this, decades before the Human Development Reports, Lebreton reviewed living conditions globally, for example, grouping the world into ten zones and describing them using radar diagrams to show a wide range of value-guided ‘output’ indicators such as undernourishment, sickness, illiteracy and (in his list) per capita income; plus what he considered negative indicators, like suicide and atheism. He reviewed also ‘input’ indicators like agricultural and financial organization, physical infrastructure, levels of industrialization, levels of training, etc. (Lebreton 1958, 1961). He was guided by a theory of being human that provided criteria for ‘development’ and that allowed him to speak of ‘développement authentique’ (1961, 75), improved human well-being (‘mieux-être humain’) and being more (‘plus-être humain’), as well as of being less.

Lebreton was the first Christian theorist to give priority to problems of economic development, argued his biographer Lydie Garreau (1997, 423). He was motivated by the neglect of the life realities and suffering of the majority of humanity in the hegemonic economics and politics of his time. This led him beyond concerns for charity and ‘social’ palliatives added on to an unchanged economic system, as were common in Catholic social practice, to a stress on radically new national and global social compacts for human solidarity (e.g. Lebreton 1959). His work evolved from study and activism in the fisheries sector, first in Brittany and then more widely around France and Europe in the 1930s; to regional, urban and community development planning in France and then in several Latin American countries, in the 1940s and 50s; to worldwide challenges of socio-economic development, from the

early 1950s onwards; and, increasingly, to a world-scale perspective on human development and ethics, including strong advocacy of global solidarity.

This special journal issue presents and examines some of Lebret's *oeuvre* and impacts. His work and influence were prominent during several decades in France, Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, and eventually tacitly across much of the world through the Catholic Church's new orientation from the mid-1960s to international development. Today, Lebret's influence is recognizable in many aspects of Catholic social teaching, including for example the integral human development policies of organizations like Catholic Relief Services (CRS) (Keleher 2018). Several books and other studies about him and his work have been published, some soon after his death, then around the centenary of his birth in 1997, and again in the past decade (e.g. Lebret 2014; Loty, Perrault, and Tortajada 2014; Pontual 2016; Ramos de Angelo 2013). Lebret remains thus somewhat known in France, where he had many scientific associates and pupils, and in Brazil. The Dominican-centred association *Économie et Humanisme* continued until 2007 and the Institut Lebret and the development institute IRFED (which had merged in 2004) until more recently. Their work is now carried on in for example the Réseau International d'Économie Humaine (RIEH; Arokiasamy et al. 2017).

Lebret has remained relatively little known though in the Anglophone world, perhaps even in Catholic circles. Denis Goulet wrote that

Even the welcome accorded to Lebret elsewhere – especially in Latin America – is generally attributed by American development experts to his personal charisma and to spiritual allegiance among his followers rather than to any intrinsic rigor or scientific worth in [his] doctrine and planning methods. (1967, 1)

Yet those views seem to have been based on little familiarity with the work. Awareness declined further over time. Heidt (2017), writing on Lebret's role as the main author of the first several drafts of the papal encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967), the Catholic Church's first and still foremost doctrinal statement on development worldwide, considered that Lebret's work had remained *de facto* largely inaccessible to Anglophone scholars. In the 1950s and 60s, a few of his books were translated into English but not the major research publications (which appeared in French, Catalan, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese) and even those English versions are out of print and not always easily available. Similarly, none of the major studies on Lebret published in French, Spanish or Portuguese have been translated into English, including (to mention only books, not the numerous other commentaries) Malley (1968), Suavet (1968), Pelletier (1996), Garreau (1997, 2011), Houée (1997), Becker, Missehougbe, and Verdin (2007), Anahoebi (2010, 2011), Ramos de Angelo (2013), Loty, Perrault, and Tortajada (2014), Pontual (2016).

We suggest that there is much of continuing relevance and importance in Lebret's work, and not only for Catholics or other Christians. While motivated by his Christian values, Lebret was emphatically an empirical social researcher and practical planner and was determined to communicate and cooperate with people of all backgrounds.

An outline of Lebret's career and achievements

A French Dominican priest, economist, sociologist, development planner and philosopher, Lebret had an unusual career. We present here a sketch, before outlining the

coverage in this set of papers, and as background for reading them. For other concise overviews in English of the stages in his work, including the gradual extension of his attention outside Europe and then also beyond Christian-dominated Latin America to Africa and Asia, growing into an explicit global ecumenism not limited to within Christianity, we suggest a piece by one of Lebre's close associates (Colin 2010) and Anaehobi's paper in this special issue (Anahoebi 2021).¹

Lebre spent 1915–23 as a naval cadet and fast-rising officer but then left to enter religious life. As soon as he was ordained in 1928 he left the seminary, without completing his theological studies. As a man of practice and action, he had become impatient with pure doctrine and abstract theorizing. The years 1929–40 were spent as a priest amongst French fishing communities and as a researcher-campaigner, eventually studying the fishing industry worldwide during 1937–39. His pastoral work exposed him to the pressures, disruptions and suffering in fishing towns and villages, caused by mechanization within the fishing industry and global competition in uncontrolled markets, exacerbated by economic crisis. As discussed in this special issue, especially in the article by Villas Boas and Folloni, he became inspired by the philosophy of his fellow Dominican, Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), on 'the common good'. Lebre saw a need to reconceive and apply Thomistic notions in terms of modern socio-economic realities, through a detailed study of people's working and living circumstances and the enviroing systems of markets, capitalist relations of production, and other institutions.

Throughout the 1940s, Lebre, in partnership with many others, extended his research and work for a peaceful social revolution. After proposing a reform of French fisheries during 1940–1941, he withdrew when the Vichy government opted for state-led corporatism rather than his communitarian ideal of workers-owners partnership (Pelletier 1996; Sapiro 1996; Bosi 2012). He shifted to devote himself to *Économie et Humanisme*, the Dominican-supported movement of research and practice that he founded in 1941 and that became headquartered close to Lyon. It aspired to promote 'une économie humaine' – a human-centred economics and a more humane economy – and continued until around 2007. Lebre had developed an autonomous way of working during the 1930s and was able to use the war situation, which brought greater relative isolation from Paris and Rome, to build a semi-independent network. It proceeded into community-based development work and action research (Lavigne 2007), guided by a Catholic communitarian vision that he updated and extended to respond to modern realities. Work was now undertaken also in urban communities, in agricultural regions, and in contact with the industrial worker-priest movement (priests who held jobs in factories, docks, etc.).

Économie et Humanisme aimed to understand the transformations and de-Christianization evident in industrializing, globalizing capitalist milieux, and to learn from and respond to the challenges presented by socialism and Marxism. Its serious dialogue with Marxists faced constant suspicion from Catholic conservatives and was brought to a halt by Vatican authorities in 1950 at the height of the Cold War. The worker-priest movement was likewise suppressed a few years later. Further, the earlier major involvement by some *Économie et Humanisme* members such as François Perroux with the Vichy government, due to its initial promises of Christian-inspired reforms, initially placed them under suspicion after Liberation in 1944. Fortunately for the movement, its work then attracted support from two major new sources.

First, within France, Lebreton became from 1945 a senior economist supported by the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), called upon by ministries responsible for the reconstruction. From 1949 he received steady CNRS support despite explicitly rejecting mainstream economics. He was able to continue and broaden his range of investigations. The movement's research grew to cover housing, cities, docklands and overall regional planning (*l'aménagement du territoire*). Funding was provided for a series of 'laboratories', research projects with strong links to planning and action. Besides producing many books, he participated in and led fora for both theoretical and practical dialogue. In 1952–54 for example, his group undertook comprehensive studies of both the Lyon region in France and the state of São Paulo in Brazil.

Second, a five-month visit in 1947 to Brazil and some neighbouring countries proved life-changing. Through the 1950s he extended and progressively reoriented his attention from France to Latin America, Africa and Asia.² From the early 1950s, he was repeatedly invited by Latin American progressive Christians, including some who had entered government in Brazil and in the 'Southern cone' countries. In 1955–56 he led a study of development potentials of the regions of Colombia, and in 1955–58 led very large studies of the regions of Southern Brazil and of the dominant emergent Brazilian 'growth pole', São Paulo. The article in this set by Villas Boas and Folloni discusses his impacts on thinking and planning in Brazil (see also, e.g. Bosi 2012; Pontual 2016; Ramos de Angelo 2013). His group worked subsequently in various other countries, such as Venezuela. From 1957 he himself worked extensively in Senegal (Becker, Missehougbe, and Verdin 2007) and Vietnam, and from 1958 in Lebanon (Lebreton 2014), together with local researchers and many colleagues and assistants in the organizations that he founded or helped. Central was IRFED (Institut Internationale de Recherche et Formation en vue du Développement harmonisé), a training and research centre on development worldwide, founded in Paris in 1958, which continued active for five decades.

A prodigy of productivity, of books, reports and institutions – 'a powerhouse', in the words of Celso Furtado, the famous Brazilian economist (Bosi 2012, 150) – Lebreton gained an international reputation in the 1950s and 60s. His books are wide-ranging, crisply stated, and deeply felt and considered. Writing with authority about many topics, from values theory to how to keep fieldwork diaries, from manuals on planning to manuals on prayer, Lebreton at the same time carried through to fruition major long-term projects of institution-building.³

In the second half of his career Lebreton's work became less doctrinally Catholic, far less centred on applying a Catholic social model of person-family-profession-locality, and instead more focused on practicalities of local and international development, aiming for 'harmonised' and 'integral' development (Sapiro 1996). 'Harmonised' development meant respecting many objectives, not merely economic growth; 'integral' meant 'development for all persons and of all the person' (e.g. *Populorum Progressio* para. 42, and numerous earlier works by Lebreton). IRFED was not limited to only Catholics or only Christians. Late in his career, for example, Lebreton connected his ideas to themes from various sources, such as Indian thinkers like Gandhi and Tagore, and to existentialist philosophy and its particular articulation of aspirations for being more, living more fully (Lebreton 1962, 128).

His central inspiration remained Catholic. As a now widely recognised figure in international development debates he was called on to contribute when the Catholic

Church under Popes John XXIII (1958–63) and especially Paul VI (1963–78) began to consider seriously the challenges of a post-colonial world of nations and peoples, a world no longer dominated by Europe. The Church moved, for example, to relate seriously to the United Nations, a key embodiment of the more plural world. In 1962 Lebreton was appointed as leading Vatican representative in UN development discussions.⁴ He made important contributions too to the progressive social doctrines that were advanced by the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), including in *Lumen Gentium*, which was the reformist 1964 constitution on the nature of the Church, *Gaudium et Spes*, the 1965 constitution for the work of the Church in the modern world (Vatican Council II 1965; see, e.g. Bordeyne 2005), and especially the 1967 papal encyclical *Populorum Progressio* on ‘the development of peoples’ which affirmed in Catholic Social Teaching the notions of common good, global solidarity and integral development, understood as the development of each person and of the whole person.⁵

Lebreton used the term ‘ethics of development’ from at least 1957 (Garreau 1997, 292). It partly represented a continuation of his concern already over two decades with ‘économie humaine’ (human economy / humane economics) but also a growing stress on international and global dimensions. He had long been explicit that ‘économie humaine’ was oriented to the ‘development in solidarity of all populations’ (Lebreton 1955, section 1: Doctrine de l’économie humaine) and that it meant the universal application of ethical principles of active respect for persons and promotion of the common good (e.g. 1959, 89).⁶ During the 1950s the global perspective became increasingly central for him. The stated objectives of IRFED included, besides ‘raising the level of life of populations’, the promotion of global solidarity (IRFED statutes, article 2; Garreau 1997, 293).

His *Le Drame du Siècle* (Lebreton 1960) was a popular abridgement of a much longer book, *Suicide Ou Survie de L’Occident? Dossier pour comprendre notre temps* (1958). In the Preface and Introduction of *Le Drame*, we see Lebreton’s explicit aim to make a self-absorbed France, and a self-absorbed Western bloc, become aware of the much greater miseries and dangers arising in the wider world and to appreciate a bigger story than ‘Two World Wars plus the Cold War’. He outspokenly criticized the arrogance and rigidity in the worldviews of both blocs, Western and Eastern, and called for them to focus on the lives of the majority of humanity, now documented through international systems of social statistics. He was particularly scathing about prevalent greed, consumerism and self-importance in the West, especially the USA.

Lebreton hoped in the 1960s to write a development ethics book but was embroiled with major advisory work in Lebanon and Senegal. To these projects were added representing the Vatican in United Nations development fora, advising the Catholic Church on its roles in the world especially regarding national and international development, and finally his terminal illness. From the development ethics papers that Lebreton did write (e.g. 1952, 1957, 1962, 1963), the treatments in his books (e.g. 1958, 1959, 1961) and the remarks in his other papers, and the contributions he made in UN and Vatican Council arenas, we should recognize him as a co-founder and important contributor to development ethics.

The rationale and coverage of this set of papers

Lebreton remains little known in English-language development ethics. This special journal issue seeks to address the gap. Denis Goulet (1931–2006), the American development

philosopher and planner, was Lebret's protégé during 1959–66 and brought a largely similar perspective into English language literature with his launch of an explicitly named 'development ethics'. His main exposition of Lebret's work was, however, only one short essay (1974; reprinted in Goulet 2006).⁷ We aim to more fully map and interpret Lebret's body of work for Anglophone audiences, and to identify lines of continuing influence and interest. To do this, one needs to give attention to the non-Anglophone streams of activity which Lebret participated in, led or stimulated, including to some strands in Catholic social thought (cf. e.g. Deneulin 2021; Gigacz 2021).

The papers are grouped into four sets. First, overviews by Anaehobi and Gasper present Lebret's role in extending Catholic social thought, including in relation to the complexities and challenges of modern economies and the needs of people in the entire world.⁸ Second, papers by Martins and Teixeira and by Villas Boas and Folloni examine the central ethical components in his work: respect for the human person and for the common good. Third, papers by Chaves et al. and Ballet et al. explore the *Économie et Humanisme* movement's resulting conception of 'human economy', as an enriched and integrative person-centred social science. Finally, two papers look at Lebret's influence within development ethics, including in secular development ethics (Culebro and Gasper) and in Catholic social teaching (Regan). It is in the latter that one can observe his most enduring legacy, the Catholic Church's official commitment to 'Integral Human Development' (Bertina 2013). Most of the papers contain some sketch of Lebret's career, but each in a different way; and some consider the influence of Lebret's school in particular countries. Together they build a triangulated, deeper picture.

Two overviews

Vitalis Anaehobi's paper 'Lebret and the birth of development ethics within Catholic Social Teaching' introduces Lebret's contributions to the emergence of development ethics, especially his eventual influence within the global Catholic Church. It summarizes his ethics-informed conception of development as the human ascent of all, and his corresponding picture of an appropriate development planning process, as discussed in detail in one of his two major late-career books, *Dynamique Concrète de Développement*. Second, it outlines how the partner book, *Suicide Ou Survie de L'Occident?*, a survey of the world situation, argued for the urgent priority of such a conception and approach, including for the preservation of peace. *Suicide* presented the development of the majority world as a global problem requiring international solidarity and a 'dialogue of civilizations'. Thirdly, Anaehobi discusses the continuing relevance and application of Lebret's ideas in Africa, including in work through the Catholic Church.

Des Gasper's 'L.-J. Lebret: a human development ethics grounded in empirical social research and a global perspective' deepens themes introduced by Anaehobi, in regard to social situation analysis and to perception of development as a global issue. It examines Lebret's stress on basing social ethics in a comprehensive social investigation, not in *a priori* theology or abstracted disciplinary social science; his insistence on studying the specifics of human needs and their (non-)fulfilment within particular social-institutional-environmental situations, including with attention to relations of production; and his emergent internationalism. Against the unstated background of France's vicious colonial wars in Vietnam and especially Algeria, amongst other dramas on the world stage, he

moved from a conventional French patriotism to a strong affirmation of cosmopolitan solidarity. Gasper draws on an extensive range of works by Lebreton and his commentators, not only those available and better known in English. Lebreton's body of writings from the 1950s shows his emergence in that decade as a conscious global development ethicist.

The human person and the common good

Basic components of Lebreton's ethics are the concepts of respect for the human person and the common good. In both cases they are formulated in ways drawn from Catholic theorizing but compatible with many other ethical traditions, religious and non-religious. Both Martins and Teixeira's paper, and also the paper by Ballet et al. discussed in the section that follows, consider Lebreton's associated use of personalism, specifically the version represented by Christian authors such as Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) and Emmanuel Mounier (1905-50), who stressed a richer picture of human personality than either the reasoning desiring individual in liberal theory or the social class-member in much Marxist theory.⁹

Nuno Martins and Vitor Teixeira's paper 'Lebreton's Christian-inspired societal project and integral human development' conveys the strength of Lebreton's spiritual inspiration and the language he used as a priest talking to other Christians. These elements, including the stresses on human dignity and the common good, provided the base for his original vision of communitarian socio-economic reform. The paper elucidates the relational ontology underlying this conception of persons and societies. Entities are constituted through their mutual relations, and do not exist prior to and outside of their relationships. Social relations are bases for personhood and not merely constraints on it. The paper compares Lebreton's integral human development with successor approaches to human development, in the Catholic Church and in the United Nations. While the former institution was the main channel through which Lebreton promoted his ideas, he was also actively oriented to humanizing the conception of development in United Nations work. He could see the UN system as an associational, non-market and non-commandist path to support 'human ascent'.

Alex Villas Boas and André Folloni examine 'The "common good" spirituality of Louis-Joseph Lebreton and his influence in the Constitution and development thinking in Brazil'. Lebreton's conception of 'the common good', growing from Thomistic (and Aristotelian) philosophy, influenced Brazilian Catholic intellectuals, professionals and social movements. The combination of a spiritual 'mystique' and an armoury of tools for applying its values within research and planning stimulated the formation of an active Brazilian wing of 'Economy and Humanism'. A considerable literature on its work has emerged in recent years (e.g. Bosi 2012; Pontual 2016; Ramos de Angelo 2013; and various dissertations). Villas Boas and Folloni argue that the stress on the economy as an instrument for human development later entered the 1988 (and still current) Brazilian Constitution, via amongst other channels the Christian Democrat party led by José Maria Eymael, which was explicitly motivated by ideas of Lebreton and Maritain.

Human economy

Jorge Arturo Chaves-Ortiz et al. discuss 'Lebreton's method and epistemological perspective for "human economy" and harmonized human development', notably his insistence on

detailed knowledge of the real conditions of life of the population in a territory. The approach was far removed from economic studies based on abstract models of calculating agents, studies that prefer deductive analytic ways of attempting to understand socio-economic problems rather than real-life observation. Chaves-Ortiz et al. argue the approach's continuing relevance in this respect. Lebret emphatically rejected the mainstream *chrematistics* tradition in modern economics, which has focused on monetized and money-equivalent variables (such as subjective utility); they returned to the *oikonomia* tradition which examines people's full lives. The paper offers a systematic sketch of his 'human economy' perspective and of its application in planning for 'harmonized human development'.

Jérôme Ballet, Jean-Luc Dubois and Alice Kouadio present 'The Abidjan School and Louis-Joseph Lebret: Marrying empirical research and development ethics'. The Abidjan School, a group of socio-economists and statisticians, emerged in the 1980s in the Côte d'Ivoire. It was partly inspired by the work of Lebret and Amartya Sen, and has continued active subsequently in Côte d'Ivoire, France and elsewhere. The School provides an example of *Économie et Humanisme's* relevance and impact beyond Catholic institutions and worldviews. It uses Lebret's combination of a strongly empirical approach and a broader range of values than monetary gain, in order to better understand and assess people's living conditions and patterns, their vulnerabilities and fears, commitments and constraints within communities, and to then influence public policies by use of that fuller understanding and fuller value-sensitivity. The School has extended Lebret's work and mid-twentieth century personalism by deeper anthropological analysis. Adding anthropological study to comprehensive socio-economic study of how people live enriches the conception of 'the person'.

Impacts and parallels in development ethics

The last pair of papers looks at Lebret's actual and potential influence in, first, Catholic social thought and practice (discussed also by Anaehobi and by Martins and Teixeira) and, second, Anglophone development ethics, in particular in the work of Denis Goulet and those influenced by him.

Catholic social thought has shown successive waves of invigoration and associated reaction, especially in and after the 1962–65 Vatican Council, then in and against liberation theology in the late 1960s and 1970s, and again since 2013 under Pope Francis. Matthew Regan's paper 'Treading between joy and grief: *Gaudium et Spes*, Louis-Joseph Lebret, and the moral challenge of modernity' looks at the attempt to diagnose and respond to modernity in the Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution for the Church, in which Lebret had an important role. Regan presents the Council as, in contrast to the preceding centuries of extensive reaction against societal changes, an immense attempt to update the Church and its actions in response to the transformed world of the 1960s, while also highlighting, rearticulating and reaffirming the values it wished to protect and promote. He outlines the Constitution (*Gaudium et Spes*)'s modern 'Christian moral anthropology'. Here Lebret contributed substantially, drawing on ideas in, for example, his book *Montée Humaine (Human Ascent)* (Lebret 1951). Regan describes these as an 'anthropology of lack in the midst of [modern] abundance', that argued that modernity does not and cannot meet all human aspirations and needs. At the

same time, he underlines *Gaudium* as a reaching out to modernity, not a traditionalist rejectionism. An evolving Church had to learn, not only preach. He uses thus the theme of hybridity, a combining of perspectives, e.g. Catholic and non-Catholic, that can sometimes bring important complementarities and gains. Such combining is what Lebret attempted throughout his career – drawing from Catholic and non-Catholic, economic and anthropological, socialist and Christian.

Lebret addressed people excluded or marginalized from the fruits of modernity, and also people not fully satisfied by them. Especially the former theme has been highlighted in secular development ethics of equity and human rights. Denis Goulet, his pupil and Anglophone successor, was relatively distinctive in development ethics through his stress on both of the themes, not only on exclusion and marginalization. Culebro and Gasper's paper 'Comparing two pioneers of development ethics: Louis-Joseph Lebret and Denis Goulet' analyses their respective contributions. From the 1950s Lebret explicitly called for and outlined a field of development ethics, that would link philosophy, education, social research and policy practice. From the 1960s Goulet sketched a philosophical subdiscipline while himself mainly pursuing a Lebretian inter- and trans-disciplinary path with a strong emphasis on what we might, in Regan's terms, call a hybrid moral anthropology, reaching out beyond Catholicism. Further work will be worthwhile to explore how Goulet and authors strongly influenced by him translated, continued, diverged from, went beyond and/or passed over parts of the work of Lebret and his school and to discuss which of the omitted insights deserve revival.

Lebret was known for his extensive and innovative use of many forms of diagrams and charts (expounded in several treatises and manuals in French, and more briefly in English in Lebret 1954). This feature reflected his combination of a value-driven empirical concern about how people live, a practical innovative spirit, and a determination to communicate effectively with broad audiences. In turn, his field-based explorations in numerous localities, sectors and countries enriched his thinking on values and ethics in many ways. We hope that this set of papers will provide for English-speaking readers a helpful introduction and commentary to the work of an impressive thinker and actor.

Notes

1. A 1996 film by Andre Triverio on Lebret's life ('L.-J. Lebret: un vieux loup de mer', 27 minutes) can be viewed via <https://rennes.catholique.fr/actualite/articles/298162-pere-lebret-dominicain-service-de-leconomie-humaine/>
2. Even so, Lebret led much work in the 1950s as a sociologist of religious behaviour in France, a student of deChristianisation not only an activist against it (Pelletier 2017).
3. There are several accessible bibliographies of his work; see e.g. <https://www.lebret-irfed.org/spip.php?article146>.
4. His inaugural speech, on harmonized development, appeared as Lebret (1963).
5. See 'Louis-Joseph Lebret: Architect of Populorum Progressio', <https://cardijnresearch.blogspot.com/2017/04/louis-joseph-lebret-architect-of.html>. See also Feix (2007): in a press conference the day after publication of *Populorum Progressio*, Paul VI's secretary Mgr. Paul Poupard picked out Lebret as deserving 'une mention toute spéciale'.
6. Lebret officially defined 'l'économie humaine' as a field of thought and doctrine, but the term also sometimes referred to a humane economic system and practice.
7. One book in English was Kabyanga (2004), but it was written only for Catholic audiences and at an elementary level.

8. Even in 1950, Europe, North America and Oceania comprised less than 30% of the world population. However, Europe's population was 2.5× that of Africa and 3.2× that of Central and South America. By 2020, Europe's population was 0.55× that of Africa and 1.1× that of Central and South America (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/997040/world-population-by-continent-1950-2020/>, consulted 3 May 2021).
9. Personalism has many other variants; see <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/personalism/>.

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