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DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A STUDY OF A CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT ACTION AGENCY

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ABSTRACT

Over the past twenty-five years the social teaching of both the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches has produced critiques of the dominant capitalist and socialist theories of development. The teaching focuses on issues of justice and liberation, and on the poor and oppressed peoples of the world who must become the primary beneficiaries of development programmes.

In New Zealand the churches, which have a history of ecumenical cooperation, jointly established an agency to pursue development education and action in a manner consistent with this social teaching. The agency was established in the course of a conference which helped participants reflect on an exposure to situations of poverty in Auckland, and it has consistently followed this action-reflection methodology. Its founders committed it to a structural change approach to development rather than to concepts of incremental planned change.

The agency (The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development, ESOD) has employed the community organization techniques of Saul Alinsky, complemented by the conscientization methodology developed by Paulo Freire, as tools for the establishment of a socialist society.

These techniques, promoted amongst groups working for justice and liberation in New Zealand, provoked a demand for more disciplined analysis, as pieces of local action recognized the need to relate to a global perspective. In response, the agency developed a programme of structural analysis, "Education for Social Change", which is based on learnings from both historicist and structuralist marxist schools. Analysis in turn has revealed the limitations of the community organization approach unless it is linked to fundamental political processes.

Commitment to the need for structural change in society, and to the poor and oppressed as agents of change, inevitably brought the agency into conflict not just with the political establishment, but with elements within the churches.

PREFACE

This thesis was written to evaluate social action based on a particular philosophical approach, a Christian socialist understanding of development. It is as a consequence, an action thesis which describes an action project. It limits itself to discussing the background to the ideological and methodological development of the action agency in the process of testing its action, and to the issues which present themselves as problems to the Christian mind. It does not seriously examine other bases for development action, other than to suggest that the churches may in future discover the anarchist approach to development to be more in harmony with their social teaching.

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development was from its inception committed to the action-reflection-action methodology, and it has insisted that its own development and effectiveness as an agency be monitored through this process. For this purpose it allowed its Executive Officer time for research and evaluation on a regular basis, and in the year it commenced work, a relationship was established with Massey University through which the agency contributed to the social work teaching programme and received assistance in evaluating its own work.

The thesis as an exercise has therefore emerged in the course of the agency's development. After three years' work, it was felt important to introduce empirical evidence of the level of acceptance of the agency's understanding of development and action in support of popular movements for change, amongst the clergy of the twelve supporting churches. It seemed more consistent with the agency's methodology however, to utilize a social survey not simply to elicit information from the clergy, but as itself a means of creating awareness about development issues. Thus, while the social survey incorporated in this thesis did not furnish sufficient returns for accurate information, it served the purpose of posing the question of appropriate development action to every priest and minister in the country.

The thesis falls into four major sections. The first of these, Chapters One and Two, outlines the major theories of development, and

the critiques of these which the churches at a global level have produced. The second section, Chapters Three and Four, discusses the personalities and processes in New Zealand which led to the establishment of the agency, the manner in which it clarified its understanding of the issues, and the importance of Alinsky's community organization techniques for its methodology. The third section, Chapter Five, shows how the social survey was used both to raise awareness of the agency's work and to elicit a response to it, and discusses the results of this approach. The final section, Chapters Six and Seven, discusses the use of structural analysis and Freire's conscientization methodology as educational and action tools, together with reflections on the Secretariat's learnings thus far.

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development is a significant agency both as an ecumenical pioneer and in its espousal of radical action for change. Over recent years it has made an important contribution to international thinking, particularly by sharing its experiences and learnings through the commissions and consultations of the World Council of Churches. At its meeting in March 1982, the Secretariat affirmed once more that its energies should be directed only towards assisting in practical ways the struggles of the poor and oppressed in New Zealand. So despite criticism and quite formidable opposition, there is no turning back from the commitment to radical social change.

I would like to express appreciation to Mervyn Hancock for his guidance in supervising my work at Massey University, and to colleagues in the Secretariat's community development action-reflection group for their challenges to my perceptions. Thanks are due to Philip Richardson and Mark Gibson for their assistance with the national survey of clergy; to Michael Collins for his advice on computers; and to Auckland University's Computer Centre for assistance and access to a computer. I am also grateful to the Secretariat for allowing me the opportunity to present the thesis in this form, and for access to Minutes and Working Papers; to Elsie Blythe for undertaking the typing; and to Mark Mitchinson and Chris Anderton for their photocopying skills.

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CHAPTER ONE

THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is regarded as an inter-disciplinary activity, the concern of sociologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, social psychologists, planners, geographers, demographers, agriculturalists, technologists, statisticians and the like. This makes it difficult to speak of abstract theories of development. The bulk of development literature, however, locates development issues in terms of the politico-economic debate over the advantages or disadvantages of the capitalist and socialist approaches to development, and it is difficult to avoid these basic economic categories as a starting point. Many development specialists, including those motivated by religious belief, would prefer to discuss development in terms of moral categories.

The majority of works or statements on development have an implied ethic of progress, social justice, equality or human solidarity. In Gunnar Myrdal's classic studies of the "vicious circle" of underdevelopment (Myrdal: 1969); in the works of Robert Heilbroner (1974), Barbara Ward (1979); John Kenneth Galbraith (1979), Andre Gunder Frank (1971) and others, an explicit moral vision is brought to bear on problems of development, industrialization and poverty. But their basic theoretical concepts and methodological tools are borrowed from disciplines other than ethics or moral philosophy. The theological reflections on underdevelopment and liberation in the works of Charles Elliott (1971, 1975a, 1975b), Gustavo Gutierrez (1974), Dom Helder Camara (1971), J.M. Bonino (1976), and Ivan Illich (1970, 1973, 1976, 1980) draw heavily from ethical sources, but are not in the technical sense works of development ethics.

Development ethics is, in fact, still in its infancy. Denis Goulet (1974) is practically the only survey in this field. In his view the separation of economic science from moral philosophy has rendered both economics and ethics incapable of responding to development's normative questions. The links between the two need

to be restored so that ethics can "systematically define the symbolic and institutional requirements of the good life, of the just society excluding domination and exploitation in a world of convulsive technological changes" (Goulet, 1974:3). He then examines the work of Louis-Joseph Lebret (1961), the pioneer of development ethics, and Orlando Fals-Borda (1969), a Colombian sociologist who maintains that social scientists are required to become actors in the processes they study in accordance with the political options they have chosen, and who speaks of subversion as a moral category; to identify a theoretical framework for development ethics.

Goulet posits four tasks for the development moralists: to elaborate a consciously critical position on the goals of development; to analyze development processes from the inside and isolate the values and countervalues latent in those processes; to prepare guidelines for different behavioural sectors which are of crucial importance to development processes; and to build a coherent theoretical framework in which partial and fragmentary ethical constructs can be unified around a few central, interrelated analytical concepts.

From a Christian perspective, the submission that development is in the last analysis an ethical issue, is an attractive proposition. And it is to be hoped that Christian apologists will begin to undertake serious work in this area. But as Goulet has established, Christian literature on development including the major documents of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches draws primarily on other methodological tools, and in particular, those of economic science. As both secular development theory and Christian approaches to development appear economically based, the economic categories must be dealt with in the first instance.

This chapter therefore briefly outlines capitalist and socialist stances on development. I also propose to note a greatly neglected area of development theory, which many would regard as an element of the socialist tradition, but which I believe needs to be treated separately: the anarchist view. I believe that anarchism warrants this treatment for a number of reasons. One is that in terms of Goulet's analysis, classical anarchism begins with ethical

issues, the nature of humankind, justice and freedom, and proposes to construct a society on an ethical basis. An anarchist view of development can avoid the tendency of the capitalist and socialist approaches of regarding persons in primarily economic categories. Secondly, largely through taking part in international forums on development, I have become aware that some of the basic terms being employed, although not recognized as such, are anarchist in derivation. For example, the concept of *participation* is most often promoted not in the capitalist sense of participation in economic growth, nor in the socialist sense of the implementation of a given vision of society, but in the anarchist sense of the devolution of the power of decision-making to basic communities. And thirdly, anarchism's values can appear far more consonant with those of the Gospel, than the values of either capitalism or marxism.

Capitalist Approaches to Development

The capitalist approaches are primarily economic and propose generating development through the market forces of supply and demand. There are divergent views within capitalism and many of these focus on the degree to which government intervention into and control over the economic system is necessary and desirable. Conservatives like Milton Friedman (1962, 1980) argue that as it is in the interests of the greatest number of people to buy from the cheapest source and to sell to the dearest, the "tyranny of controls" in the form of tariffs and other restrictions on international trade need to be abandoned. He compares the experience of Japan after the Meiji restoration of 1867 and India following independence in 1947 to show that free trade at home and abroad best promotes the development of poor countries. On the other hand, Liberals like John Kenneth Galbraith (1963, 1979) follow the Keynesian idea that business cycles should be controlled with the skilful use of monetary and fiscal policies, a position which necessitates a greater role for government in the economy.

These approaches concentrate on stimulating industrialization within the developing countries, in the belief that industrialization creates employment opportunities and encourages training in managerial and technical skills. While many developing countries possess natural resources in the form, for example, of land or

minerals, such development cannot take place without transfers of both capital and technology. Increasingly the transnational corporation is regarded as the appropriate vehicle for these transfers.

According to economists like Galbraith, the high technology of processes and products and the associated requirements of capital and time, require the planning and management of markets by those who supply them. Only large corporations have the ability to achieve this. If societies are to continue to advance, large corporations are necessary to achieve operational efficiency, innovation and economic stability. Galbraith regards it as inevitable that both the consumer and the state are subject to the goals of the mature corporation and its ruling technostucture. Only in this manner can the orderly transfer of capital and technology to the underdeveloped world take place.

It is one of the assumptions of these approaches that industrialization promotes economic growth and that such growth permeates the entire economy. Strong centres of economic activity will attract weaker sectors into their orbit, and the prosperity of even the poorest groups in the community will increase with the growth of the gross national product. As Galbraith states it: "Economic development consists in enlarging the opportunity for those so motivated to escape the equilibrium and culture of poverty" (1979:108). He goes on to elucidate the "intensive intervention and support by the state" which is necessary for such industrialization (1979:115). There needs to be adequate security for people against physical threat to their property, against expropriation; there needs to be a reliable infrastructure of roads, ports, energy, communications; there needs to be an outside supply of capital for investment by private and public borrowers; and there *probably* need to be some publicly sponsored industries which create secondary industries. Galbraith suggests steel if the country is large enough, or the manufacture of chemicals or petrochemicals.

A wide range of institutions has been developed to promote and support these understandings of the development process. The overseas aid programmes of advanced capitalist countries in both their bilateral (country to country relationship) and multilateral (via, for example, United Nations' agencies) aspects are directed

towards these ends. Both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been established to facilitate loans for this style of development. And a plethora of United Nations' agencies including the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), have been established both to assist governments design and implement policies to overcome inadequate infrastructures or deficient productivity, and to work at the international level by reducing the inequalities within the world's financial and trading relationships. The aim here is to overcome the obstacles to trade, financing and industrialization.

The importance of Conservative political philosophy within contemporary capitalism should not be underestimated. The British politicians Gilmour (1977) and Hailsham (1979) defend this philosophy in their respective works *Inside Right* and *The Dilemma of Democracy*. Gilmour adopts the traditional pluralist position: that liberty is both fashioned and safeguarded by a multitude of associations, interests, laws and institutions, and contends that the family and private property are the best defences for the individual against Socialism and excessive State power. Any attempt to improve the physical conditions of life needs to be tempered by the principle "that human nature is not perfectible and that government has no business to seek to alter it" (Gilmour, 1977:158). It is taken for granted that in a free society not everyone will be able to succeed. The Conservative approach to social issues needs as a consequence to be pragmatic "always remembering that society is not a laboratory for social experiments" (1977:159). The question at issue is how to improve what already exists. Gilmour rejects the analytical question "why?" as the question for socialists "and all ideologues" which serves only "to stir up resentment against fellow men, nature and possibly God" (1977:159). Gilmour maintains that his view is the same as that of Karl Popper (1963:345): "Work for the elimination of concrete evils rather than for the realization of abstract goods . . . Do not aim at establishing happiness by political means. Rather aim at the elimination of concrete miseries".

While he does not address himself specifically to questions of global development, Gilmour asserts that "patriotism and national

interest are the best guides in international behaviour" (1977:162), making it clear that foreign policy (and presumably development policy) must always be subservient to national self-interest.

Hailsham (who was Gilmour's political mentor) gives equally scant treatment to the subject of development. In fact, the word is not mentioned at all in *The Dilemma of Democracy* and there is only one reference to "the so-called Third World" (1979:231) which laments the effects of Third World nationalism on the first world. Hailsham's analysis is that Britain's failure to deal with its own problems has resulted in "the growth of selfishness, violence and permissiveness, separatist movements . . . pressure groups, discontented minorities and . . . the desire to impose unacceptable ideologies on the inarticulate mass of the people" (1979:232). There is in his view no point in addressing the question of poverty at home, let alone world poverty and starvation, until the nation has achieved economic stability and economic growth.

It is acknowledged however, that Britain has a responsibility to the world. In passages which may strike the unsympathetic ear as arrogant but which need to be treated as integral to this philosophy, Hailsham insists that Athens, Rome, Jerusalem and Britain are some of the comparatively few centres from which all human progress has emerged. If Britain fails in its duty to deal with the present problems of a free society "we may well carry Western civilization down with us in our ruin" (1979:233). He concludes this particular book by summing up Britain's duty in the contemporary world in words of Milton's, "Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live".

This kind of thinking has had profound effects on development policy and programmes over the past few years, especially since the governments of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States came to power. The same kind of understanding of internal development is applied to the global scene with the emphasis on setting one's house in order before anything can be done to tackle concrete miseries. It has led to policies of reducing aid and of being more selective in terms of recipients of aid, and it has dictated the ethos in which the bulk of global negotiations are pursued, or, as in the case of the Cancun summit in October 1981, subverted.

The capitalist model has been criticised from a number of perspectives. In the first place, it is argued that industrialization does not necessarily lead to greater employment. In some cases it leads to a redistribution of employment from the rural and agricultural sector to the urban industrial sector. As Michael Lipton (1977:13) pointed out, "the rural sector contains most of the poverty, and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization and power". The result is an unbalanced development as scarce land which could produce basic foods produces meat and milk which only the urban elites can afford, investment which could provide rural irrigation provides urban motorways, and human skills design and administer "not clean village wells . . . but world boxing championships in showpiece stadia". The urban bias of capitalist development, extracting agricultural surplus to finance industrialization, and producing an elite with urban sympathies and priorities, creates a permanent development crisis which, in Lipton's view, can only be overcome when a developed mass agriculture is seen as the first priority, upon which successful development in other sectors is ultimately dependent.

A second criticism is concerned with the appropriateness of technology. It is clear that the introduction of high technology need not create employment. The use of computerised machines to manufacture shoes in India may increase production and the gross national product, but may put hundreds of handcraftsmen out of work. Even a simple technology may not be an appropriate technology. A United Nations official speaking at the ACFOD development forum in Christchurch in 1978 illustrated this point by referring to a simple water-driven turbine pump developed in New Zealand, which can be mass-produced at low cost. In theory its uses for irrigation in, for example, India, offer enormous potential. But in fact its cost is prohibitive to the peasant farmer, though not to the large-scale farmer who can use it to increase production and profits at the expense of the peasant farmer. Only if the peasants were organized into co-operatives would the pump be economic and useful. The introduction of even this simple technology therefore demands changes in economic and social structures to render it viable.

Another set of criticisms is based upon the possibility of

continuing economic growth when the material basis of that growth is limited as in the case of agricultural land, for example, in Tonga, or in the case of non-renewable resources being rapidly depleted as was the case in some of the Pacific's phosphate islands. Those who are critical on these grounds raise the question of sustainability. In a world of finite resources it is not possible to raise the standard of living in the poor countries to that of New Zealand, let alone the United States. This would be a possibility only if there were assurances from the scientific community that alternative sources of, for example, energy can be developed in time to take over from the non-renewable sources, fossil fuels and hydro-electricity.

The questions of sustainability were raised in the first two Reports to the Club of Rome (a symposium of experts who commissioned studies on development issues), *The Limits to Growth* (1974) and *Mankind at the Turning Point* (1975). The first work, based on an understanding of growth as undifferentiated, viewed the world as a single system and argued that, if present growth trends continue, this system will collapse some time in the middle of the twenty-first century. In order to prevent this collapse, the research recommended an immediate slowdown of economic growth to provide equilibrium in a relatively short period of time. The second work took a different view of growth regarding it as primarily organic, and treating the world not as an homogeneous system but as a system of inter-acting regions. Rather than a complete collapse of the system, it predicted catastrophes on a regional level, which would nevertheless profoundly affect the whole system. These catastrophes cannot, however, be solved at a regional level; solutions are to be found only in a global context and achieved through global action. Unless this is done, regions will collapse one by one. Sustainability-based criticism of capitalist development reached its zenith in the mid-1970's. Although still influential, they have been somewhat moderated by renewed optimism within scientific circles of the probability of developing viable alternatives to world sustainability.

One of the most frequent criticisms of capitalist development is that the primary benefits of development accrue not to the people of the developing country but to the capitalist or to the advanced

capitalist state. (Andre Guder Frank, 1971; Michael Barratt Brown, 1974). I have sought to demonstrate this in relation to New Zealand's bilateral aid programme [New Zealand being counted along with the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and South Africa as an advanced capitalist economy] (Grossman, 1974:58 footnote) in the South Pacific under the Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme (Elliott, M.C., 1978c).

The Scheme (usually referred to as PIIDS) was established to provide financial assistance and incentives for New Zealand companies developing approved manufacturing operations in the Pacific Islands with the aim of fostering economic development and employment opportunities. (Department of Trade and Industry, 1979). Under this scheme, the New Zealand firm of Wisemans received New Zealand Government assistance to establish a vinyl bag manufacturing plant in Western Samoa. The firm imports raw vinyl into Samoa, processes it in a small factory, and produces items like golf-bags. As there is a very limited local market for the product, this is clearly an export-orientated industry. The Secretariat raised some major questions about this project: the social usefulness of the product, the importation of the basic resource, the diminishing resource base of plastics, the employment of eleven workers, and the value of transferring a technology which cannot be easily adapted to other processes. All these factors seemed to militate against genuine development. But the real reasons for locating the enterprise in Samoa are of a different order. In addition to receiving a proportion of the establishment costs by way of an interest-free loan, and eventually as a direct grant, and through access to cheaper labour, the firm gained significant economic advantages over its New Zealand competitors. Furthermore, under the terms of the Lome Convention, to which the European Economic Community and forty-six African, Caribbean and Pacific countries are signatories, the EEC member-states grant in most cases, duty-free access to their markets. As only fifty per cent of the value of the finished product must originate in the third world country, Wisemans easily qualify for duty-free access to EEC markets, which are denied to their competitors. It is fairly evident that the primary benefits of this style of development are in the increased profits of the Wiseman empire. This is a simple example, but one

typical of capitalist enterprises in the developing world.

Another area of strong criticism revolves around the role of transnational corporations as the international arm of capitalism. (Louis Turner, 1973; R. Barnett and R. Muller, 1976). Because of their control of technology considered essential for industrialization, the governments of developing countries tend to offer transnational corporations special advantages to facilitate their entry. That this is also true of advanced capitalist economies can be seen in the inducements offered to transnationals to participate in New Zealand's "growth strategy" industries. Indigenous industry, if not offered similar preferential treatment, can be quickly overtaken. It needs to be recalled that of the one hundred largest economic units in the world, forty-nine are states and fifty-one are transnational corporations. This means that some TNCs are certainly more economically powerful and perhaps more politically powerful than the nations in which they operate. It is this danger that the countries of the South Pacific pointed to, for example, in a 1977 conference on Ecumenical Planning for Development. (*Pacificque* 1977:46). Delegates were critical of the activities of some TNCs which were expatriating profits rather than investing in local development, and which possessed the ability to over-ride locally determined development options, thus subjecting the nation to decisions, particularly economic decisions, being taken elsewhere.

The anti-developmental activities of some transnational corporations has led to proposals for codes of conduct to be supervised internationally. The best-known of these proposals formed part of *Reshaping the International Order*, the third Report to the Club of Rome (1977). The Report, in addition to calling for a legally enforceable code of behaviour and an international authority to supervise and tax the profits of transnational enterprises, sought to limit corporate size, place the corporation under "host" control in which the interests of the poor are strongly represented, and to increase the negotiating power of Third World countries. Predictably, little progress has been made towards establishing negotiations aimed at so drastically limiting the powers of the corporations.

But of equal concern is the climate of stability required to encourage transnational corporation participation and investment.

It is at this point that the ideological aspects of capitalism become explicit. Galbraith (1979:115) hints at these in his words about the security of property against expropriation, but they are spelt out in detail in the Trilateral Commission's report, *The Crisis of Democracy* (1975). The Trilateral Commission was called together by David Rockefeller to consider the "excess of democracy" afflicting the advanced capitalist nations. It drew together representatives of corporations in the United States, Europe and Japan including Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, Wells Fargo, Barclays, Bank of Tokyo, Fuji Bank, Bank de Paris, Bendix, Coca-Cola, Exxon, Kaiser, Fiat, Toyota, Royal Dutch Shell, Mitsubishi, Hitachi and Sony. It also included communications giants Time Inc., Columbia Broadcasting, the *Financial Times* and *Die Zeit*. The Commission's report maintains that during the nineteen-sixties there was a reassertion of democratic egalitarianism which produced substantial increases in governmental activity but substantial decreases in governmental authority. As "an excess of democracy means a deficit of governability" the whole capitalist system becomes endangered because the imposition of hard constraints is difficult, people no longer feel "the same compulsion to obey those whom they had previously considered superior to themselves in age, rank, status, expertise, character or talents", and the political system is "overloaded with participants and demands". (Quoted by Samuel Bowles, 1977).

To redress this imbalance the Report recommends the reassertion of strong political leadership in the advanced capitalist countries, economic planning, control of the media which is regarded as a force of opposition, government control over information at source, the curtailment of higher education, the relating of educational institutions to economic and political goals by gearing to future jobs and lower job expectations, and on employers' re-designing jobs rather than permitting worker participation in decision-making. The Report is a splendid example of the kind of politico-ideological climate required for ideal capitalist development.

There has also been wide-ranging criticism of the United Nations sponsored attempts to bring about reform of international trade and financing. A detailed examination of the negotiations

within the UNCTAD meetings reveals that the advanced capitalist countries have systematically resisted meeting the demands of the Third World countries collectively known as "the Group of 77". For example, at the third UNCTAD meeting in Santiago in 1972, the Group of 77 came up with comprehensive proposals to replace the present economic and trading order which they regard as unjust, with a more equitable one which eventually earned the title of "a new international economic order" or NIEO. The industrialized nations opposed all the specific proposals of the Group of 77 including a larger share of Special Drawing Rights from the International Monetary Fund, a programme on primary commodities and trade preferences for Third World manufactured goods. On the other hand, they strongly favoured the expansion of international trade and investment stressing the necessity of free markets and unrestricted movement of capital.

The situation had somewhat changed prior to the fourth meeting of UNCTAD in Nairobi in 1976. The move of OPEC countries to control the world price of their commodity, and the nationalization by Third World countries of transnational corporations operating within their jurisdiction (for example, Chile and Libya) brought about a redistribution of political power which was reflected within United Nations voting patterns. The advanced capitalist countries were for the first time under pressure to adopt a more conciliatory approach. The dollar and oil crises of 1973, the world food crisis and the failure of the Green Revolution (the transnational corporations' solution to the crisis) to combat it, gave a new urgency to the proposals of the Group of 77. But again, while there were resolutions on the reduction of barriers to Third World imports, the stabilization of income from primary commodities, debt relief and the control by the recipients over the transfer of technology, the advanced capitalist countries following the United States led tactic of continuing dialogue without making major concessions, ensured that no agreement could be reached on how to implement the resolutions.

The one hopeful feature for the Third World was the defeat of the United States proposal for an International Resources Bank in favour of the Group of 77 proposal for the establishment of a US\$6 billion Common Fund to stabilize prices and incomes of the

producers of seventeen major commodities. While the final resolution of the meeting established a timetable for negotiations on individual commodities and a programme which could lead to the establishment of the Common Fund, the core proposal of the Common Fund itself was not even in principle accepted.

Third World unity which had been weakened during the Nairobi Meeting, was re-established prior to the fifth meeting in Manila in 1979, around the Arusha Declaration issued by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Tanzania in 1979. The Declaration warned that unless industrialized countries demonstrated greater urgency in negotiations, international cooperation would be jeopardized. The industrialized countries reacted at Manila against the "extravagant language" and its political implications, and by working to ensure that energy became the major item of the agenda, ensured that very little progress was made. One significant development however, was the emergence of Cuba as the spokesperson for the Group of 77, and with Cuba's insistence that the Third World develop its collective strength before confronting the industrialized world again, a new approach was initiated.

The United Nations negotiations have failed because the fundamental conflict of interests is too great to permit any significant change in the world economic and trading systems. The Third World is demanding radical reform; the advanced capitalist countries will consider major reforms, but wish to preserve the system intact so that it guarantees long-term advantages to those countries, such as secured sources of raw materials, and protection of transnational corporations from nationalization or confiscation. These countries have reflected the thinking of the Trilateral Commission: spearheading global reform of the world economy without altering the existing balance of power by proposing monopolistic policies to be established separately in relation to each Third World country (or group of countries), thus dividing opposition to the capitalist model. This divide-and-rule approach has been vigorously pursued by the advanced capitalist countries throughout the UNCTAD negotiations, by stressing the differences between poorer countries to put their unity under strain, and by neutralizing the inherent North/South conflict by exhaustive concentration on peripheral issues.

Another attempt at dialogue between the North and South was initiated by the World Bank, a stalwart advocate of capitalist development, which distributes some \$7,500 million of aid each year mostly to commercially profitable projects. Alarmed by United Nations statistics about the increasing number of poor despite two international development decades, and the effect that such a mass of poor may have on the global economic system, the President of the World Bank has since 1971 focussed attention on the stagnant and worsening lives of the bottom 40 percent of people in the poor countries - "the poorest of the poor". In 1977 the President, Robert McNamara, advocated that an "Independent Commission on International Development Issues be created under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of West Germany. The Commission was established in September 1977, and its Report, *North-South: A Programme for Survival*, more generally referred to as The Brandt Report, was published in 1980.

The Brandt Report, which may represent the last major attempt to bring about reform of the capitalist model of development, ranges over all contemporary problems: poverty, food, population, disarmament, commodity trade, technology, energy, industrialization, transnational corporations, the world monetary order, development finance, and international organizations; and it proposes programmes of immediate and long-term reform. To begin with, it suggests an emergency programme for 1980-1985 which would bring about a large-scale transfer of resources to developing countries, an international energy strategy, a global food programme, and a beginning to major reforms of the international economic system. Leaders of some of the advanced capitalist countries met at Cancun, Mexico, in October 1981 to hammer out some of the details of the Brandt Report and to implement its principal recommendations. The meeting was abortive with no positive results.

Critics of the capitalist model argue that reforms will be prompted now only through pressure from the developing countries themselves. In his book, *The World Challenge*, (1981) Jean-Jacque Servan-Schreiber intimates that the still unreleased Taif Report produced by the OPEC countries proposes that the developing countries themselves shape a new world order by transferring creative capacities from the industrialized world and initiating a

total transformation of the economic and monetary system.

Finally we should note that the capitalist model of development is criticised on the grounds that capitalism itself is the fundamental cause of underdevelopment and that it is therefore not possible for there to be true development under capitalism. This is the argument developed for example, by Andre Gunder Frank, who in his work *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1971) examines the question through a series of case-studies. Gunder Frank describes the basic feature of the capitalist system as its metropolis-satellite structure, which is world embracing, and argues that within this structure the metropolises tend to develop while the satellites tend to under-develop. Rather than creating a uniform style of development which makes it possible for all to share in economic prosperity, this structure always channels resources including capital into the metropolises at the expense of the satellites. He sees capitalist development as a whole chain of constellations of metropolises and satellites radiating out from the strongest economic centres to the weakest, and concludes, "When we examine this metropolis-satellite structure, we find that each of the satellites . . . serves as an instrument to suck capital or economic surplus out of its own satellites and to channel part of this surplus to the world metropolis of which all are satellites". (Frank, 1969).

Despite its disadvantages, the capitalist option remains the dominant model under which most development is promoted. As we might expect defence of the model comes from the advanced capitalist countries which benefit from it, while criticism comes predominantly from the developing countries which feel that they are exploited and victimized by it. This Third World feeling is summed up in the Arusha Declaration: "The present system of the world has been developed by industrial states to serve their purposes . . . We in the Third World are now demanding that the systems which make the rich richer and the poor poorer must be changed to keep pace with other changes in the world - the ending of colonialism, the advance of technology, and mankind's new consciousness of human equality and human dignity". The only other working models we have are the socialist and marxist options.

Socialist Approaches to Development

The socialist approaches call for radical change in political and economic structures. Socialist theorists like Louis Althusser (1977), Michael Harrington (1965), E.P. Thompson (1978), Paul Baran (1973), Herbert Marcuse (1972), Andre Gunder Frank (1971) and Paulo Freire (1972a) hold that the structures of capitalist society are inherently unjust and therefore incapable of genuine development which must have social justice at its core. Effective political and economic reform can only be facilitated by a new social and political structure, and strong government is necessary to promote planned and stable change in which economic policies are closely supervised by political processes. There needs to be a redistribution of wealth and resources in the community, which will only come about through the breakdown of the class structure which in a capitalist society enables the dominant class to own or control the means of production, distribution and exchange, and therefore to exercise power over the working or oppressed class whose only resource is the labour they can sell in the process of production.

Socialism's response to this situation is the abolition of private ownership of capital and other resources and the substitution of public, state or worker ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. This generally occurs through state intervention to expropriate resources and nationalize industry. State ownership and control is seen as a necessary step to divest the dominant class of its power: the second step is to devolve ownership and control to those who work in various enterprises. From a classical marxist perspective, socialism which is characterized by state ownership and control is seen as the first stage of a process towards communism which is described (by Marx and Engels) as a free association of co-operators, exempt from the control of any central government or bureaucracy.

Engels described the process in this way: "The first act in which the State really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole - the seizure of the means of production in the name of society - is at the same time its last independent act as a State. The interference of a State power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then becomes dormant of itself. Government over persons is replaced by the administration of

things and the direction of the processes of production. The State is not 'abolished', it withers away". (Engels, 1954: 315). Lenin endorsed this view in his treatise, *The State and Revolution* (1954) where he claimed "While the State exists there is no freedom. When there is freedom there will be no State". It is because no state has so far moved very far beyond the direction of state ownership and control that countries which follow this development path - including the Soviet Union - carefully avoid referring to themselves as "communist". Communism is a goal yet to be attained.

It is important to note also that the nationalization of industry and large-scale government intervention and control over the economy does not necessarily lead to socialism, but may, as in the cases of Great Britain and New Zealand, be more appropriately viewed as elements of state capitalism within the advanced capitalist state. And we might note also at this point that it is the failure of socialist alternatives to move quickly beyond state control and state bureaucracy which has prompted a resurgence of interest in anarchism as a development alternative.

The importance of economic growth, industrialization - in some cases, rapid industrialization - and technology are affirmed in the socialist models. In most cases - and Russia is certainly an obvious exception - these elements are held to be subservient to the establishment of social justice. Indeed, many socialist theorists assert that economic growth is accelerated by greater stress on social justice and popular participation in planning and decision-making. The approach very often accepts the necessity of a temporary lag in economic growth while wealth and resources are redistributed in society, and while those who have been alienated by the capitalist processes are encouraged to fully participate in the new economy.

As within capitalism, there are quite divergent views within socialism on how to best achieve the desired form of state. The tradition of democratic socialism, for example, has a long history. It emphasizes that capitalist society has become a socio-economic anarchy in which the competitive self-seeking of individuals has eroded fundamental social purposes. The economy needs to be redirected towards meeting human needs, and this can only be achieved when economic objectives are defined and achieved through

rational planning, not by self-appointed vanguards or elites but through responsible democratic processes in which criticism and opposition play an important role, and policy-makers hold their offices by popular vote. In this view, socialism comes to power as it has for example in France and Greece, through the democratic process of free elections. What is not by any means agreed in democratic socialist thought is the degree to which the market mechanism needs to be retained.

Amongst developing countries which have opted for this form of socialism are Zambia and Tanzania. Tanzania is a useful example, for, rather than following a rigidly socialist ideology, it claims authentically African roots in the form of tribal socialism which existed before contact with western capitalism. President Nyerere called this form of socialism "ujamaa" or "familyhood" and says that "it is opposed to Capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the Exploitation of Man by Man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire Socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy on Inevitable Conflict between Man and Man". (Nyerere, 1962:8). Nyerere's government has tried to implement its vision of socialism by developing communal village agriculture and basic manufactures, and discouraging the mass migration of people from the countryside to the city. But this is a process of gradual rather than rapid change for, as Nyerere says (CIDSE:1978), "It is the rapid change which upsets people. For we are a poor country, and when a poor country starts making rapid changes it cannot easily find the means to cushion the hardships which such changes cause for many people". It should be noted in regard to this experiment in socialism that the economic base is slender, economic growth consequently very slow, and that an organized opposition, one of the elements of democratic socialism, has not been permitted to develop.

There are other socialists who believe that as a necessary first step towards socialism, a country must de-link itself from the economic and political structures of capitalism. Mao and Castro are examples. Only by so doing can a nation create an economy which is no longer a dependent economy. But the power of western capitalism with its entrenched economic and political interests buttressed by national and international systems is such that this de-linking cannot take place without conflict. The establishment of genuine

socialism will generally come about only through revolutionary confrontation. Advocates of the revolutionary strategy do not regard it as intrinsically violent, but as the counter-violence and self-defence of the poor against the institutionalized or systemic violence of the capitalist system. Franz Fanon (1967) went further and contended that the experience of corporate violence against the violence of the oppressor is necessary to liberate the alienated so that they can achieve through the senses of power and identity thus gained, new images both of self and of society.

There are divergent views also on how these revolutionary objectives are to be directed. Marx believed that the dynamic of the capitalist system was such that it would face increasing contradictions, and cause increasing misery to the vast majority forced to live under it. As capital became more concentrated, so society would become more polarized, until during one of its crises, the working class would successfully overthrow capitalism and establish the socialist alternative. Lenin, on the other hand, did not accept that it was necessary to wait for capitalism to mature before carrying out a successful socialist revolution. He developed the concept of a professional, conspiratorial, internally authoritarian and highly disciplined party as the vanguard of the revolution. His formula for the seizure of power: conscious leadership by a small revolutionary elite, economic backwardness, a poor and disaffected peasantry, and a war against a colonial power, worked successfully in Russia, Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and in a modified way in Cuba.

The Leninist approach, although clearly the most successful (other than the imposition of a socialist state by an outside power), creates problems of its own, and in particular, how without the use of repression or terror, to ensure the revolutionary participation of the masses who may not share either the elite's ideology or aspirations. It is in relation to this question that the work of Paulo Freire (1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1978) has assumed great importance in socialist theory.

Freire's methodology of *conscientization* (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six) employs literacy training as a means of "unmasking reality" so that the oppressed peasantry begins to analyse the condition of oppression and the causes of it.

It is in this sense a pre-revolutionary strategy (although it has been used as a post-revolutionary strategy in the reconstruction of Cuba and Nicaragua) which leads to the establishment of popular movements for social and political change. In Freire's view, development must be both generated and controlled by those who are traditionally the poor and oppressed in society, and who are as a consequence powerless, rather than by leadership elites. The emergence of new political frameworks and the establishment of popular participation spring from a new consciousness amongst the alienated of their own rights and capacities. These rights and capacities evolve within the dialectic relationship between corporate action and corporate reflection. Oppressed people corporately analyse their situation, decide on appropriate corporate strategies, test those strategies in common action, and reflect together on their successes and failures.

Freire's approach tries to place people at the centre of the development process, rather than structures, economic growth, industrialization or technological innovation. It assumes that the masses are imprisoned as much by internal restraints of frustration and hopelessness as by externally oppressive structures at the local, national and international levels. In this view, socialist reconstruction cannot occur only through a change of structure. A new internal consciousness must be developed, without which the masses easily fall prey to the new structures. Freire's approach is today being widely employed and refined, particularly in the Latin American continent where it was pioneered.

Conscientization is but one example of the directions contemporary socialist thought is taking in forging new and, in some cases rediscovering old, understandings. Whereas thirty years ago the debate on how to bring about a transition to socialism was defined in terms of democratic socialism with its Fabian strategy of reforming capitalism from within on the one hand, and the Leninist notion of the organized elite seizing power in a revolutionary crisis on the other, with most other socialist currents absorbed into these two, there are today much more diverse expressions of authentic socialism. Gorz (1967) contended that the conventional debate between "revolution" and "reform" should be abandoned in favour of a strategy of "revolutionary reforms": proposals which

are credible, which respond to immediate needs, and which cannot be easily absorbed or manipulated by capitalism. This thought has been further developed by theorists like Stuart Holland (1975) who applies these concepts to the "mesoeconomic" sphere of transnational corporations.

This diversity has also been encouraged by new understandings of the scope of socialist politics. In this area, socialist feminism (Rowbotham, 1973a, 1973b; Dalla Costa and James, 1975) has had a profound effect, as has the thought of Habermas (1976) on the phenomenon of cultural control under capitalism and the need for a politics of culture. Similarly the work of Mallet (1975) and others which regards the highly-trained, well-paid white-collar workers of the advanced capitalist economy as a leading force in socialist mobilization demanding a new political strategy of workers' control, has broken new ground. Much of this thought is crystallized in Marcuse (1972) who argues that the nature of modern capitalism requires a new form of opposition which has begun to emerge in redefinition of social relationships and assumptions about the nature of work and the separation of economic life from the aesthetic and erotic senses.

Some expressions of socialism, for example, conscientization and the strategies of community organization developed by Saul Alinsky (1969, 1972) emphasize grass-roots activism and popular control. Socialist analysis of urban life such as Lefebvre's (1971) analysis of the way working-class families experience new suburbs, and Castells' (1977) analyses of the manner in which the city responds to the collective needs of capital, and the politics of resistance to urban redevelopment, has produced a new urban sociology. Here again the importance of the struggles of racially oppressed groups and women's groups, and the emergence of various counter-cultural movements must be acknowledged, for these have emphasized a highly decentralized, non-hierarchical and participatory form of politics which addresses itself to the experiences, hopes and fears of the people whom the socialist model claims as its mass base.

Whatever the diversity of Socialist thought, it is to socialism that many of the developing countries are turning for their model of development. This is true for four of the five major

development regions. Africa has as we have already mentioned, its indigenous forms of socialism in Zambia and Tanzania, in addition to the more orthodox socialist states of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and (probably) Zimbabwe. In Asia we have the examples of this development option promoted by China and Vietnam, the Maoist variation attracting a great deal of attention from development theorists. In Latin America, Cuba and Nicaragua have taken the socialist path, Chile provided the only example of a democratically elected Marxist regime until "de-stabilized" by United States led initiatives, and revolutionary struggles are well advanced in El Salvador and Guatemala. In the Middle-East a number of states including Iraq, Iran, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Syria and Egypt are experimenting with various forms of Islamic socialism. In the fifth region, the Pacific, development is characterized more by attempts to discover indigenous models for development.

The principles of the socialist model are best identified by examining a particular example of a country which exhibited all the features of capitalist underdevelopment: a totally dependent economy with exploited natural resources, a relatively small elite consuming the bulk of resources and services with a vast illiterate peasant class living in poverty, and a concentration on urban development while neglecting rural and agricultural development. Cuba provides a well documented example of this underdevelopment. It is also a significant example because, while it now claims its development pattern to be that of a Marxist-Leninist state, its revolution did not take place with such an option in mind. As commentators like O'Connor (Bernstein, Ed, 1973) and Camacho (1973) have established, Cuba cannot be described as classically Marxist in either ideology or institutionalization. The Cuban revolution had no pre-formed Marxist ideology or Marxist party to guide the process. It was a revolution that was retrospectively Marxist in the sense that the ideology was formed in the course of the struggle and during the initial post-revolutionary phase when its theorists, Guevara and Castro, having seized power, were faced with the practicalities of government and a development programme.

The revolution was conducted by a small group of non-party, disillusioned liberals, who were firmly opposed to the Cuban Communist party. The revolution succeeded because it was intensely

nationalistic, drawing its inspiration from the revolutionary nationalism of Jose Marti; because there was a lack of an explicit ideology which allowed the peasantry to remain "benevolently neutral" and because the massive corruption of the Batista regime led to its dramatic internal collapse. In terms of political and economic theory, the Cuban model is often described as "Castroism", this being regarded by, for example Grossman (1974) as a Leninist model which differs from Leninism both in regard to the internal structure of the economy and a preference for moral rather than material incentives. The real significance of Castroism, idiosyncratic as it would appear to many, is that in developing a model that is in social and cultural terms uniquely Cuban, it gives weight to the contention that monolithic socialist models of development cannot be exported, but must be indigenous.

Cuba had been subjected to centuries of Hispanic economic, political and cultural domination which had created a feudal system of landholding based around a single cash crop (sugar) with a few wealthy landowners subjugating the mass of peasants. Cuba then fell under the domination of the United States, and by 1901 had become in effect a United States colony with the Platt Amendment of that year permitting direct United States intervention for the protection of Cuban independence, life, property and individual liberty. Although the Amendment was abrogated in 1934, United States total penetration of the Cuban economy and the establishment of the naval base at Guantanamo, ensured its total control over Cuban affairs. A series of dictatorships, in the main supported by the United States in return for promised support of her policies, culminated in the regime of Fulgencio Batista, who encouraged massive United States capital investment. Under Batista, the national debt quadrupled to \$300 million while reserves of foreign exchange fell from \$500 million to less than \$100 million. Official United States estimates of 1956 show that United States interests owned 90 percent of electricity and telephone services, 50 percent of transport services, and 40 percent of the sugar production. (Camacho, 1973:204).

The country became a classic example of colonial imperialism with the capitalist model of development resulting in a very high rate of illiteracy with, in the mid-1950's, a 56 percent enrolment in primary schools and a 74% drop-out rate in rural areas. (People:

1980, No. 2). Medical services were concentrated in Havana, the privilege of those who could afford to pay in a population ravaged by poliomyelitis, malaria, diphtheria and tetanus of the newborn. In 1959 infant mortality was estimated at sixty deaths per thousand live births, and life expectancy was 62 years. (*People*: 1980/2:10). Large shanty-towns sprang up on the peripheries of the major cities as the rapidly increasing number of unemployed migrated from the rural areas where land was under-used, no efforts were being made to diversify crops or improve strains of sugar-cane, and where cheaply purchased mining concessions were not being exploited. Havana was being exploited as "the nightspot of the world" with an enormous gambling and entertainment industry employing 11,500 prostitutes, and the city acting as the distribution centre of the increasingly profitable drug trade (*People*: 1980/2:8). In the face of rapidly escalating social problems and increasing criticism of United States interests, the Batista regime instituted a reign of oppression through which the media, unions and educational establishments were tightly controlled, political opposition was suppressed, and thousands of Cubans lost their lives.

The Revolution came to power on January 1, 1959. Its first objective was to restore Cuban control over economic and social development. The new government first intervened in the United States owned electricity and telephone companies to reduce rates and extend services. In January 1960 it embarked upon a series of radical land reforms which expropriated all estates larger than 67 hectares, making landless peasants into employees of state farms, and tenant-farmers owners of the land they worked. More than 70,000 acres of United States owned sugar plantations were expropriated and turned over to state co-operatives.

The administration tried to reduce Cuban reliance on Western markets and influences. It refused both United States and United Nations offers of aid programmes because of the degree of supervision of Cuban affairs which acceptance would impose. In 1960 a trade agreement was signed with the USSR whereby Russia agreed to buy one-sixth of the annual sugar production and made a loan of \$100 million, and agreements with Poland and China followed. The United States, which had previously consumed half Cuba's sugar production, responded by banning all imports of Cuban sugar. Cuba retaliated by seizing

almost all United States interests in Cuba: land, utilities, banks, mines, oil refineries, industrial plants and trading firms. President Eisenhower severed diplomatic relations in January 1961. The American blockade has become one of the most significant factors in Cuban development. It forced Cuba to rely on assistance - financial and technical - from socialist countries, and it isolated Cuba from western economic and ideological penetration and so created the milieu within which a Cuban consciousness could develop and Cuban processes be implemented.

Other changes followed rapidly. A literacy campaign headed by one of Cuba's Church leaders and using 100,000 volunteers concentrated on eradicating illiteracy in rural areas. United Nations' assessments show that adult illiteracy was wiped out within the remarkably short time of eighteen months. By 1979 every adult had been educated to an equivalent level of six years' primary school, 80 percent enrolment in secondary school and the drop-out rate is 2 percent (*People*, 1980/2:20). The literacy campaign also serves as a good illustration of Freire's concept of it as a useful tool for promoting social and political awareness and ideological development.

An impressive health service has been developed. One of the first tasks of the Revolution was to take health services to the rural areas. Infant mortality has been slashed to 22 deaths per 1,000 live births and life expectancy increased to 72 years. Polio was eradicated in 1962, malaria in 1967, diphtheria in 1970 and tetanus in 1973. There were 6,300 doctors in Cuba in 1969: today there are over 15,000, a ratio of one doctor to 674 people. The American blockade cut off the supply of more than 40,000 expensive pharmaceutical products. Cuba now requires only 700 essential items, four-fifths of which are manufactured locally. (*People*, 1980/2:10). In the early 1970's the curative approach to medicine was replaced with a new model of community medicine. This concentrates on prevention and accepts responsibility for environmental health through a national network of policlinics. Unlike some of the Third World's popular "barefoot doctor" programmes, Cuba retains strict professional control of medicine.

Housing development was also made a priority. While there is still pressure on housing with complaints of overcrowding and lack

of privacy, the shanty-towns have completely disappeared and have been replaced by modern apartment blocks or cottages. The housing programme is predominantly undertaken by volunteer tradespersons, who are seconded from their brigade at their workplace if the brigade agrees to maintain production at the level it was at prior to the release of their colleague. This form of personal and community involvement in the construction of a new society is one of the basic elements of this model of development.

Cuba manifests exceptionally high levels of voluntary effort and popular participation. Much of this is derived from street and village-level organizations established at the time of the Revolution and known as Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. These, as their name suggests, were formed to resist outside attempts to topple the new regime, to police the revolution, to organize supplies of food and prevent black marketeering, and to secure abandoned property. Much of what corresponds in capitalist society to police work, social work and community work is carried out by this voluntary organization which claims over 80 percent of the population as members. In the mid-1970's the tendency for central bureaucracy to take over the functions of voluntary associations was noted, and a new attempt made to institutionalize the Revolution through *Poder Popular*, People's Power. Much of the day-to-day administration of communities has been devolved to this new institution which is served by delegates elected to municipal or rural assemblies, who are accountable through weekly meetings and quarterly reports to their constituency, to regional organizations and to central government. These assemblies have considerable autonomy (although significantly, they are not permitted to make recommendations about defence or nuclear development) and enable the local community to feel that it has control over its own affairs while at the same time contributing to the national interest.

"Cuba's achievements in the areas of health, education and welfare are an example to the rest of the hemisphere" claims a 1979 United Nations Report (CEPAL:1979). The eradication of disease and illiteracy, and virtually all drug-addiction, prostitution, homelessness and unemployment, has on the indices of the Overseas Development Council (*People*, 1980/2:4) boosted Cuba to a physical quality of life index of 85, compared for example, to wealthier Brazil's 66, and oil-rich Venezuela's 79. The social, political and

cultural progress appears not to be matched, however, by economic growth. The World Bank Atlas records economic growth of 1.1 percent in the nineteen-sixties and 2.9 percent in the nineteen-seventies. As World Bank figures are translated at official exchange rates, they underestimate progress, and real economic growth is probably double the World Bank figures. Even so, economic growth is not impressive. There may be good reasons for this state of affairs. Redistribution of wealth and public ownership of land and industry are considered more important economic objectives than growth, and economic development is hampered by the American blockade which prevents access to the closest markets and creates dependency upon Soviet Aid. Cuba's policy of exporting the Revolution ("to repay our debt to humanity") which commits Cuban doctors, nurses, teachers and technical experts to countries like Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia and Tunisia, also slows down Cuba's own development plan.

The Cuban example raises some of the major criticisms of the socialist models of development. The first is not so much a criticism of the model itself, as of its failure to thus far discover ways of promoting structural change at the international level. While a socialist economic order can be established at the national level, developing countries are still forced to compete internationally within the capitalist system. The debate about establishing a New International Economic Order and the failure of the socialist countries to effect substantial progress towards this has been noted above, as well as the international power of capitalism. Defenders of socialist models argue that because socialist experience in these areas is so limited in comparison to capitalism's long history, socialism needs time to develop largely by trial and error, alternative structures at the international level.

Some of the important criticism of the socialist model comes from socialists themselves. Harrington (1965, 1968) typifies those who argue that as poverty cannot be socialized, socialism depends upon prior achievement of abundance. He is consequently sceptical of the socialist pretensions of most socialist countries, and pessimistic about the futures of Third World countries which move directly towards socialism. Where there is scarcity, there is conflict of interest. Harrington contends that realistic socialists

should join the struggle to create abundance of wealth which can then be socialized. At this point he is being true to Marx who believed that the socialist revolution could only take place within a mature capitalist society with a disaffected proletariat. That such a revolution could occur within a predominantly peasant economy like Russia in 1917, was not considered possible by Marx. That it did happen is explained by Leninist theory, but the Russian revolution has had to create a proletariat and exert rigorous economic and social control in order to accumulate the capital for industrial development. In most cases where socialist revolutions have been promoted in countries with underdeveloped economies, economic growth has been extremely slow and privation rather than the abundance promised by socialism the reality of life.

There is also criticism of the revolutionary pedagogy of the type developed by Freire and others. The most vociferous critic is Peter Berger (1974) who asks, "Whose consciousness is supposed to be raised, and who is supposed to do the raising?" (1974:137). He contends that when conscientization is used in political rhetoric it is assumed that the masses need to have their consciousness raised by a vanguard of intellectual ideologists who have generally gone through a long period of formal education, and who come from the upper-middle or upper classes of their society. Berger regards this as an elitist and hierarchical view of education which assumes that "someone whose consciousness is on a less than human level, is raised to the level of humanity by someone else who, by definition, is more human already" (1974:137). He feels that the approach leads to debatable moral evaluations and in particular, to a blanket attack on Western values under the idea of *ethnocentrism*. For Berger Western civilization has produced the historically unprecedented values of human rights, human dignity and human freedom which are today at the heart of all politically relevant ideologies of development and liberation. He asserts that the concept of consciousness-raising needs to be replaced with a more candid acknowledgement that we are faced with the problem of differing information and differing values. From this new beginning all parties involved can truly participate in shaping both the theory and the practice of development.

The major criticisms of the socialist option come as we might

expect from those economists (for example, Friedman 1962, 1980) and those political theorists (for example, Hailsham, 1979) who expound the virtues of capitalism and maintain that human freedom and economic freedom are interdependent. Hailsham affirms capitalism because it is "the natural consequence of intellectual and political freedom, and modern technology, which is itself the offspring of free enterprise and free scientific research" (1979:109). It is not within the scope of this thesis to pursue the philosophic debate about the nature and constituent elements of freedom whether viewed as liberty, libertarianism or liberation. But we have already noted that the values of conservative capitalism have been firmly espoused by both the Thatcher and Reagan administrations, and are profoundly affecting development politics.

Anarchist Understandings of Development

The influential development journal *New Internationalist* in its January 1980 issue made ten predictions for development in the nineteen-eighties. In relation to development theory it said: "Anarchy will be the most studied and talked about movement of the Eighties. Anarchy will come to be seen by many as a logical extension of 'Small is Beautiful' and its adherents will argue that both Communism and Capitalism are just different sides of the same devalued coin. There will be a vast increase in the number of small groups of people in all industrialised countries who find positive ways of opting out from alienating systems and re-taking control of their own lives. Proudhon, Godwin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy will all be rediscovered" (Number 83:25). We must wait to see whether these predictions are realized, but it is certainly true that serious students of development issues are giving increased consideration to anarchist thought.

Those interested in anarchist thought face two immediate difficulties. The first is the manner in which the term "anarchy" is used, generally by politicians of the Right but also quite often by those of the Left, to describe industrial, economic, social or political chaos. The identification of anarchism with Nihilism in Russia at the end of last century, or with what was known as "Propagation by the Deed" activities of some anarchists, has in some

large degree devalued the term by associating it only with terroristic revolutionary movements. For the purposes of development theory, the term anarchism is used in its classic and much broader sense. The English Nonconformist William Godwin is considered the author of the first major anarchist treatise, *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (Republished in 1926) and the development of anarchist thought can be traced through works like Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1902) and the writings of Mikail Bakunin (*Selected Writings*, 1973) to contemporary writers like Paul Goodman (*Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals*, 1962) and Robert Nozick (*Anarchy, State and Utopia*, 1974).

The history of the anarchist movement is broadly outlined in James Joll's work *The Anarchists* (Second Edition, 1979), and the development of the movement in Britain is detailed by John Quail in *The Slow Burning Fuse*, 1978. Two important views of contemporary anarchism are those of the art critic and historian, Sir Herbert Read (*Anarchy and Order*, 1974), and Giovanni Baldelli (*Social Anarchism*, 1971).

The second difficulty with anarchism is the one which its critics generally raise: that unlike capitalism and socialism, it offers no working models to be evaluated. This is not altogether true as the experiments of the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain in the nineteen thirties, and particularly the textile industry in Alcoy, the wood industry in Cuenca and the transport system in Barcelona have "demonstrated beyond any possibility of denial that whatever may be the merits or demerits of the anarcho-syndicalist system, it can and does work" (Read, 1974:48). Murray Bookchin has documented the history of anarchist Spain in *The Spanish Anarchists* (1977). Yet the critics have a point, for much contemporary anarchism appears to confine itself to the establishment of anarchist communes, and sporadic social action like that manifested in the "Squatters' Movement" in London, Amsterdam and other European cities. The setting up of communes is however, an integral part of anarchist thought which insists that the new model of society must be lived out amidst the ruins of the old. Included amongst these communes which are characterized by their commitment to non-violence, are Christian-Anarchist communities like The Catholic Worker, The

Sojourners Community and the Tennessee Farm (all in the United States) and the Community of the Ark in France.

Unlike capitalism and socialism, anarchism cannot be offered in a neat philosophical and political package. There may be as many understandings of anarchism as there are anarchists. Broadly speaking however, anarchism aims for the abolition of government and the establishment of conditions of freedom based upon voluntary cooperation. The argument for treating anarchism as a serious development option is summarized by David Wieck in his preface to Giovanni Baldelli's *Social Anarchism* (1971:10): "the extreme centralization of governmental authority may have finally become self-defeating and . . . political collectivism, whether 'communist' or 'democratic', may be incompatible not only with the values of self-realization and personal freedom, not only with economic justice and ethical society, but perhaps also with continued human existence".

Wieck also highlights the difficulty in presenting an authoritative view of anarchism. "Anarchism has always been anti-ideological; anarchists have always insisted on the priority of life and action to theory and system" (Baldelli, 1971:10). The anarchist feels that subjection to a theory in practice involves a person becoming subject to an authority, very often a political party, which guards and interprets the theory in an authoritative way. This is inconsistent with the anarchist search for a society which has no central authority, political or otherwise. He therefore insists that "no anarchist writings are authoritative or definitive in the sense that Marx's writings have been regarded by his followers" (1971:10).

Nevertheless, one can identify the major anarchist principles which, taken together, do offer an alternative development option. The most basic of these is that anarchist society is an *ethical* society based on an understanding of *justice*. The preoccupation with justice has been a feature of anarchism from the writings of William Godwin onwards. Baldelli describes the ethical principles of anarchism as "the human person is primary", "human life is sacred", "coercion must be rejected", "the end does not justify the means" and "double standards are unacceptable". In its vision of the just society, anarchism is unashamedly utopian.

Unlike some utopians however, anarchists believe that their vision can be realized.

It is the anarchist contention that the human personality can only develop as an ethical entity by making free choices and acts of faith without recourse to Law. To permit this development, society must be non-authoritarian and non-coercive, for the use of force and authority in molding or directing behaviour is essentially dehumanizing. Human progress only occurs in a milieu of freedom. Anarchism thus has an optimistic view of humankind and anarchists (for example, Herbert Read and Paul Goodman) have as a consequence emphasized the importance of education which appeals to reason as a basic tool in the development of anarchism.

Similarly, anarchism is based on the concept of cooperation, or "mutual aid" as Kropotkin called it, rather than upon competition. In political terms cooperation involves the devolution of decision-making power to the local unit, with the community accepting decision-making responsibility for almost all aspects of its life. The community rather than central government becomes the basic unit of society, linked cooperatively to other units. Some anarchists believe that the State will entirely wither away; others admit to a theory of 'the minimal State' in which some functions, for example, currency, communications and defence, need to be delegated by the community to a central body. In a similar manner, in terms of economic life, anarchism insists that enterprises be operated and managed cooperatively with as broad as possible basis of participation.

As an example of economic cooperation, we might take the proposals of the anarcho-syndicalists for the organization of production and distribution in Spain. Herbert Read describes them succinctly in this way: "Each industry forms itself into a federation of self-governing collectives; the control of each industry is wholly in the hands of the workers in that industry, and these collectives administer the whole of the economic life of the country. That there will be something in the nature of a parliament of industry to adjust mutual relationships between the various collectives and to decide on general questions of policy goes without saying, but this parliament will be in no sense an administrative or executive body . . . By such means the antagonism of producer and consumer, so character-

istic of capitalist economy, will disappear, and the cadres of a competitive economy will be rendered obsolete by an interflow of mutual aid" (Read, 1974:49).

But again, this is not a definitive anarchist economic model, for as Baldelli argues (1971:21): "Anarchism cannot be linked to a particular economic system. Justice is social rather than economic, and injustice and oppression are compatible with any economic system so far devised". Thus workers control may be the choice of some anarchists, whereas others may reject it in search of a more ethical and efficient structure. But anarchists are agreed that, whatever the economic system, it must be free from coercion and subordinated to ethics rather than controlled by power.

There is also disagreement amongst anarchists over how these objectives are to be realized. Some anarchists have, along with marxists, advocated violent revolution as the only way of removing corrupt power and dismantling corrupt structures as a prelude to the establishment of the non-authoritarian, non-coercive society. But the majority of anarchists believe that their strategies and tactics must be consistent with their vision of society and as a consequence, non-violent. "The renunciation of violence and deception . . . is the first and fundamental condition to the achievement of freedom and peaceful social existence as well as to their preservation once achieved" (Baldelli, 1971:165).

In discussing methods and means, Baldelli speaks of "the four ways": the way of the meek, the way of the builder, the way of the guardian and the way of the brave. The way of the meek is the renunciation of violence and deception, a disposition to harmlessness and a rejection of violent competition and self-affirmation. The way of the builder is to construct an ethical life, replacing "naked power by authority" and superseding "frightened and subjugated wills by wills mutually respectful and trustful" (Baldelli, 1971:167). The way of the guardian exemplifies "the vigilance, the alertness, the incorruptibility and steadfastness required by those invested with authority" (1971:168). And the way of the brave is the disciplined courage required of those who exercise anti-power. We may note yet again that it is the ethical basis of anarchism which is its dominant feature, and which must dictate the transition from capitalism to anarchism.

One anarchist tactic we have already referred to is the establishment of communes which are models of the new society. Another is that of permeating the existing State structures to reclaim them from "power" for "freedom". Some anarchists, for example the Australians Richard and Val Routley, refer to this as a biological model of change: transition to an anarchist social order by replacing existing State organizations which are useful with those of an anarchist cast, while removing or phasing out those which are either unnecessary or unsatisfactory. (*Social Alternatives*, Vol. 2, No. 3: 23-28).

In the last analysis however, most anarchists including Baldelli grant that the tactic of permeation will not work in some situations of entrenched and oppressive power. Baldelli speaks of "anti-power" arguing that "when power is too heavily applied or meets with a too sensitive material, it engenders anti-power. . . Anti-power is the motive force of genuine revolutions. Being a fruit of desperation, it dissipates as soon as hope returns and, being unethical, it becomes power as soon as it is triumphant" (Baldelli, 1971:170). Anti-power manifests itself either as a death-like resistance or as a striking back to recall society to authority and peace. He ultimately therefore allows the possibility of "a struggle that eschewed the exploitive and oppressive methods of power and was deadly and inhuman solely against what has been proven deadly and inhuman" (1971:170).

There are of course, major difficulties with anarchist theory, not least how principles applied at local, regional or even national level can be implemented at the international level. But some of the major concepts promoted in the current development debate are anarchist in derivation including the emphasis on self-help and mutual aid, the encouragement of the widest possible degree of participation in decision-making, the devolution of power to the local community, the concentration on nonviolent methods of change, and the insistence that development is an ethical rather than an economic issue.

The anarchist option is generally discussed within the framework of socialist alternatives. It shares with socialism an analysis of the present capitalist disorder, and with communism a commitment to common ownership and control, particularly of the means of

production, distribution and exchange, and to the withering away of the State. However, in its commitment to non-violent social change social anarchism parts company with Marxist-Leninist notions of the overthrowal of the State; and through its understanding of the nature of freedom and authority, is critical of those socialist revolutions in which the State has seized ownership on behalf of the people, but has failed to devolve ownership and power to them. Moreover, anarchism asserts that revolutionary change is not dependent upon conjunction of historical events: the new society can be lived out now in the midst of the ruins of the old.

CHAPTER TWO

CHRISTIAN CRITIQUES OF DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS

Critiques of both the capitalist and socialist models of development have emerged in the social teaching of the churches. In very general terms, the post-Reformation churches have developed a systematic critique of capitalism, while in the documents of the Roman Catholic Church, more attention is given to a critique of socialism. The reasons for this difference of emphasis are largely historical and political rather than theological. In post-1848 Europe, the Roman Catholic Church was itself a political power of some importance, and socialist principles (such as the abolition of private property) were perceived by the hierarchy as a growing threat to the Church's power base. Socialist ideology and the power it envisaged for the secular state needed to be contested if the Church were to survive as a political power.

The Protestant and Anglican Churches were not under quite the same threat. Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines of "the two Kingdoms" allowed a clear distinction between spirituality and temporality, and in England, the Anglican Church had become a State institution and was, its security guaranteed, more open to the claims of socialism. England is in a sense a special case. For here, leading churchmen like J.M.F. Ludlow, Charles Kingsley and F.D. Maurice insisted that the new socialism must be "christianized", and founded a movement which came to be known as Christian Socialism, in the belief that socialism is the truest expression of democracy but that its political and industrial emancipation needs to be accompanied by moral, spiritual and intellectual education. The movement, never a broad popular one, engaged in practical relief programmes, opened co-operative workshops and established a Working Man's College. It encountered indifference rather than hostility from the Anglican hierarchy, but it marked the beginning of the modern social movement in that Church, influenced the formation of Trade Unions, co-operative legislation and working class education, and prevented the confrontation with socialism which characterized other, and in particular Roman Catholic, countries.

The American theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, comments on this almost unique situation by pointing out that in England, moral protests against the injustices of society were derived from and did not necessarily express themselves against Christianity. He comments, "It may be that the unbroken character of the Christian social ethos in Britain is also the cause of the unbroken socio-political history since 1688". (R. Niebuhr, in *Christianity and Society* Vol.8, No.3, 1943).

Whatever the explanation, this English tradition has produced a remarkably detailed critique of the capitalist system. The best known work is undoubtedly R.H. Tawney's study of *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926). Tawney, introduced to Christian Socialism by Bishop Charles Gore, played a prominent role in the development of Christian social thought, particularly through a series of conferences; the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (Birmingham, 1924), the conference of the International Missionary Council (Jerusalem, 1928) and the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State in 1937. In *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* he traces the development of secularization: the breakdown of supernatural sanctions, society viewed individualistically and mechanically rather than as an ordered hierarchy, and moral expediency rather than natural law being regarded as the ultimate authority; and concludes that this process made "the attainment of material riches . . . the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of human success". This critique was carried further by V.A. Demant's work, *Religion and the Decline of Capitalism* (1952), and more recently by Ronald Preston in *Religion and the Persistence of Capitalism* (1979).

Tawney's thought was, of course, influenced by Weber's classic analysis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* first published in 1905, which sought to explain the protestant phenomenon of obsession with the accumulation of wealth while at the same time eschewing the worldly pleasures which wealth could purchase. Weber found his explanation in the protestant notion of "the calling": the idea that the highest form of moral obligation for the individual is to fulfil his duty in worldly affairs. As Anthony Giddens points out in the Introduction to the 1976 edition of Weber's work: "This projects religious behaviour into the day-to-day world, and stands in contrast to the Catholic ideal of the

monastic life, whose object is to transcend the demands of mundane existence". (Weber 1905:4). Weber argues that while this idea was present in Luther's teaching, it was greatly developed and reached its fruition in the Puritan sects: Calvinism, Methodism, Pietism and Baptism. While Tawney accepts the link between later Calvinism and capitalist virtues, he has some notable reservations, and in particular insists that there was a general shift of social thought on economic questions amongst both Roman Catholic and Protestant adherents. Catholic documents, for example, appear to offer considerable support to "the Protestant work ethic".

In examining the Christian critiques, reference is made to two major traditions, those of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, with brief mention of the Anglican position. The Roman Catholic critique emerges in a series of encyclicals: *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), *Mater et Magistra* (1961), *Populorum Progressio* (1966); and in Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Letter *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971). The first four documents are a constituent element of the Church's magisterium, the Church's corpus of faith. The documents of the World Council of Churches are both more diverse and more numerous, and having no official status within the member-churches, can only be regarded as consultative documents. They nevertheless have found broad acceptance in those churches, very few of which have produced comparable documents on social issues. Almost all contemporary North American and European reflection on development issues comes from those who have served on the staff of the World Council of Churches (Charles Elliott, David Jenkins, C.I. Itty, Julio de Santa Ana, Paulo Freire), those closely associated with it as members of Commissions or related bodies (Jurgen Lissner, Richard Dickinson), and those like Edward Norman, who oppose the World Council's view.

We should note that the documents of both the World Council and the Roman Catholic Church use Marxist tools of analysis. These are quite explicit in some of the World Council's documents which are as a consequence criticised by conservative Christians. They are less obvious in the Roman Catholic documents. Jose Miranda points this out in the introduction to his book *Marx and the Bible* alleging that from the document *Quadragesimo Anno* on, the analysis of economic society and industrialization is essentially Marxist. He cites as evidence the assumption of the documents that society is

divided into classes in which some own the means of production, and others, only able to contribute labour, submit to the decision-making power of the owners; the inevitability of conflict between the two classes ("struggle" in Marx, "confrontation" in the documents; the necessity of building a new society (for Marx "a classless society", in pontifical doctrine "a society free of classes"); recognition of the need to transform structures and institutions as well as attitudes and persons; and approaching social problems with "a historical mentality".

This use of Marx's scientific tools is not surprising, for as a British Council of Churches' Report *Understanding Inequality* (1977) points out, there are no specifically Christian tools of analysis. The Bible contains no economic, social or political blueprints, and provides little help in explaining what is, as opposed to what might be. What the Bible elucidates are the values and principles of the "Kingdom of God", which in traditional Christian thinking become the criteria against which all tools of analysis and ideologies need to be judged. As the BBC Report puts it: "The Gospel does not give us tools for analyzing society - we have to discover or create such tools for ourselves. But all our positions are provisional: they all stand under the judgement of the Gospel". (BBC, 1977:6). This stance is reflected time after time in both the Papal and World Council documents.

(a) Roman Catholic Social Teaching

The document *Rerum Novarum*, "On the Condition of the Working Classes", was issued in 1891 and marks the beginning of modern Roman Catholic social thought. By our standards a conservative document, it was considered revolutionary and subversive of the established order in its day, in that it appeared to adopt the cause of the worker against the owner, and supported voluntary associations of workers and unions. The document laments the demise of the trade guilds which had provided a degree of protection in the past, but which in the new industrial state had not been replaced by alternative mechanisms for protecting workers against "the inhumanity of employers and the unbridled greed of competitors".

The document's analysis is clear from this passage (RN 6):
 "A devouring usury, although often condemned by the Church, but practised nevertheless under another form by avaricious and grasping

men, has increased the evil; and in addition, the whole process of production as well as trade in every kind of goods has been brought almost entirely under the power of a few, so that a few rich and exceedingly rich men have laid a yoke almost of slavery on the unnumbered masses of non-owning workers". Despite this analysis, however, the document regards socialist and marxist solutions as worse evils than those they claim to cure.

In *Rerum Novarum* Leo XIII mounts a direct attack upon Socialism which in his view, exciting the envy of the poor towards the rich, wishes to do away with the private possession of goods and pass ownership over to the State. This he regards as unjust, and as a perversion of the functions of the State. More fundamentally, socialism attacks the family, the basis of social organization which the Church believes to be a God-given structure. Any move to extend the authority of the State into the privacy of the family is "a great and pernicious error". Furthermore, Socialists agitate that there should be absolute equality in society, whereas the Church believes it a condition of human existence that "in civil society the lowest cannot be made equal with the highest".

Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, "On Social Reconstruction" (1931) offers critiques of both liberal capitalism and socialism. It is critical of the argument that the ordering of economic affairs should be left to free competition, and in particular criticises the contention of the Manchester School that the State should refrain from any interference in economics because free competition and open markets establish self-direction and control better than any intellect. "Free competition is dead", says Pius. "Economic dictatorship has taken its place". Free competition has placed irresistible power in the hands of those who control money and govern credit and the Pope spells out the dehumanizing process which occurs as a result.

By 1931 many Roman Catholics were asserting that Socialism having undergone already some significant modifications, could be baptized into the Church. Their thinking at this point was parallel to that of the English Christian Socialists: that Socialism can be accepted without loss of Christian principle. Pius XI denies this vehemently. Socialism can never be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Church for it conceives human society in a way "utterly

alien to Christian truth". The Christian doctrine is that man is placed in society to develop and evolve to the full his faculties to the praise and glory of the Creator, so that, by fulfilling his earthly duties, he may attain temporal and eternal happiness. Socialism on the other hand, "ignorant of the sublime end of man" insists that living in community was instituted for the sake of the advantages it brings to mankind. The Pope goes on to make a definition which has become classic in Roman Catholic thought: "'Religious Socialism', 'Christian Socialism' are expressions implying a contradiction in terms. No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist". (QA III2). Despite this rejection of the Socialist option, the Pope regards the continuing vast differences between a few wealthy people and the majority poor as a grave evil striking at the very roots of human society. Wealth, he maintains, should be distributed amongst the various classes of society according to the principles of social justice and the common good of all.

In 1961 Pope John XXIII issued his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, "On Recent Developments of the Social Question in the Light of Christian Teaching". This document acknowledges the enormous changes in the thirty years since the previous encyclical including advances in science, technology, economics, automation, nuclear energy, synthetic products, agriculture, media, transportation and social security schemes. It clearly locates the major problems in a development context: it is concerned with the increasingly pronounced imbalances between agriculture on the one hand and industry and services on the other; between the more and less developed regions within countries; and on a global scale, between countries with differing economic resources and development. The document's real significance lies in its focus on the problems of world development, rather than on European industrial development. The encyclical opens up the possibility of accommodation to socialist and even marxist thought, although these descriptions are not used specifically. But Pope John appears to support this possibility in three ways. Firstly, a dominant theme is recognition of the need for intervention by public authority or the State to promote the common good in situations where life is dominated by economic power. Secondly, Pope John affirms the process of "socialization": the natural tendency for people to join together to attain objectives

which are beyond the capacity and means at the disposal of individuals. In this process, personal rights are able to be satisfied. And thirdly, the argument Pope John initiated in a previous document (*Pacem in Terris*) is implicit in this one. He drew a distinction between philosophical teachings, which may be false, and historical movements, which working in evolving situations have been subject to profound change. In the earlier document he says: "Who can deny that those movements, insofar as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?" (PT159).

This document established the groundwork for Paul VI's document which addresses itself primarily to the question of development: *Populorum Progressio*, "On the Progress of Peoples" (1967). This document insists that development must not be confused with economic growth. In order to be authentic, development must be complete and integral, promoting the good of every person, and of the whole person. While industrialization may be necessary to this development, some of the evils accompanying industrialization are to be deplored: "It is unfortunate that on these new conditions of society a system has been constructed which considers profit as the key motive for economic progress, competition as the supreme law of economics, and private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right that has no limits and carries no corresponding social obligation". (PP 26). Because this system has "been the source of excessive suffering, injustices and fratricidal conflicts" it runs counter to the Christian understanding of justice. This is a very clear condemnation of capitalism as a development model.

Paul VI insists that to speak of development is to show as much concern for social progress as for economic growth, and indeed, affirms that economic growth depends upon social progress. Increasing overall wealth is no guarantee that it will be distributed equitably. Nor is it sufficient simply to promote technology to render the world a more human place in which to develop. We should note that these concepts are all basic to the socialist model of development. Furthermore, the Pope even envisages the enforced redistribution of resources and wealth in response to the principles of social justice. Presumably with the large estates in Latin

America in mind, he seems willing to admit that social justice may override the right to private ownership, which Roman Catholic teaching has always held to be a fundamental attribute of the God-given human condition. He says: "If certain landed estates impede the general prosperity because they are extensive, unused or poorly used, or because they bring hardship to peoples or are detrimental to the interests of the country, the common good sometimes demands their expropriation". (PP24).

In *Populorum Progressio* authentic development is regarded as "a development which is for each and all the transition from less human conditions to those which are more human" (PP20). Amongst less human conditions are noted the lack of material necessities for the poor, and oppressive social structures "whether due to the abuses of ownership or the abuses of power, to the exploitation of workers or to unjust transactions" (PP21). Amongst conditions that are more human are noted victory over social scourges, the growth of knowledge, the acquisition of culture, increased esteem for the dignity of others, cooperation for the common good and the will and desire for peace. These more human conditions are dependent, however, on acknowledgement of supreme values and of God as their source and finality.

While this encyclical was evaluated by many Roman Catholics in Europe and North America as "the complete resume of Marxist and pro-Marxist cliches" (Miranda, 1977:xiii) this judgement came not just from resentful conservatives. Latin American theologians - particularly those associated with the emerging "liberation theology" - hailed the document as clearly based on Marxist analysis and as a consequence providing support for the theology of revolutionary struggle. They were dismayed, however, despite the implied Marxist stance to discover an implied criticism and rejection of Marxism when the Pope says: ". . . the temptation becomes stronger to resist being swept away towards types of messianism which give promises but create illusions. The resulting dangers are patent: violent popular reactions, agitation towards insurrection, and a drifting towards totalitarian ideologies". (PP11).

Pope Paul discusses questions of ideology and political options in much more detail in his Apostolic Letter to Cardinal Maurice Roy marking the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*,

Octogesima Adveniens (1971). Here the Pope acknowledges the great attraction of Socialist thought, but feels that Christians often idealize it because of its general appeal: a will for justice, solidarity and equality. But even given the most recent developments within Marxism, it remains incompatible with the Christian faith. Marxism poses proper questions for the reflection and activity of Christians, but "it would be illusory and dangerous . . . to accept the elements of Marxist analysis without recognizing their relationships with ideology and to enter into the practice of class struggle and its Marxist interpretations, while failing to note the kind of totalitarian and violent society to which this process leads". (OA 34). The Pope argues that the weakness of all ideologies is visible in the concrete systems through which they express themselves. Thus bureaucratic socialism, technocratic capitalism and authoritarian democracy cannot escape the materialism, the egoism and the constraint that accompany them.

On the other hand, particularly in view of the Church's previous resistance to utopian concepts, the Pope welcomes the rebirth of utopian visions which claim they can solve the problems of society better than the ideologies can. While the appeal of a utopia may give some people the opportunity to opt out of immediate responsibilities and problems, the criticism of existing society which utopias formulate "provokes the forward-looking imagination both to perceive in the present the disregarded possibility hidden within it, and to direct itself towards a fresh future; it thus sustains social dynamism by the confidence that it gives to the inventive powers of the human mind and heart; and, if it refuses no overture, it can also meet the Christian appeal". Such an admission heartens the anarchists, whose development and political option is nowhere discussed in the Papal documents!

But *Octogesima Adveniens* also addresses itself to some of the practicalities of development, and particularly the increasing problem of urbanization which weakens agrarian civilization by ignoring its development and concentrating upon cities. Through the mass media, unlimited competition launches new consumer products while earlier industrial plants, though still capable of production, are rendered useless. We thus find large sectors of the population unable to satisfy basic needs while superfluous needs are being created. It is also critical of new economic structures which may

become structures of oppression and domination, and singles out the transnational corporation, which by its concentration and flexibility can pursue autonomous strategies independently of national political power. It acknowledges furthermore that many people are questioning that model of development which encourages nations to opt for economic, technological or military power as primary objectives. These can often prevent the establishment of structures of justice, and in situations where the ultimate decisions on social and economic matters rest on concentrated political power, Christians and others will feel the need to move from economic to political action.

Roman Catholic social teaching presents us, then, with a confusing picture. It begins with criticism of both the liberal capitalist and socialist positions and in *Quadragesimo Anno* instead offers an intermediate co-operative system in which the State plays a role regulating for the common good, while workers participate with management in decision-making at various levels from factory to national industrial categories like steel, textiles and transport. These proposals not only tended to strengthen society's status quo in terms of State, family and private property; they became associated with Fascist experiments in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

In the later documents Socialism is treated more openly, and socialist and marxist categories abound. But the documents are equivocal. They advocate socialist models, but will not identify them as such. They employ a Marxist analysis, but insist that the use of Marxist analysis cannot be separated from Marxist prognosis, and that both are therefore unacceptable to the Church. In the final analysis, the documents are defending the Church's authority in social, industrial and economic affairs, by arguing that all these areas are at basis moral issues. Pope Paul asserts that the moral basis of the Church's critique of society (and consequently of development options) and the end for which Christians labour, is "complete humanism"; the full development of the whole person and of all people. As he argues in *Populorum Progressio*: "The Bible, from the first page on, teaches us that the whole creation is for man, that it is his responsibility to develop it by intelligent effort and by means of his labour to perfect it, so to speak, for his use. If the world is made to furnish each individual with the

means of livelihood and the instruments for his growth and progress, each man has therefore the right to find in the world what is necessary for himself ... All other rights whatsoever, including those of property and of free commerce, are to be subordinated to this principle." (PP 22).

But the documents do clearly establish a number of principles which should determine this full human development. These are first, that work is an expression of man's co-creativity with God, and therefore in addition to furnishing economic stability, should cultivate social, cultural and spiritual life. Secondly, private ownership is a vital element in the human economy, because it contributes to the expression of human personality and provides an occasion for exercising a role in society in general and in the economy in particular. However, this principle is modified by another which contends that private possessions are intended to benefit the common good. A person should regard his or her possessions not merely as one's own, but as common property in the sense that they should accrue to the benefit of others.

A third principle is that justice must be the arbiter of economic and industrial relationships. This lies at the heart of Roman Catholic social teaching. Social justice, in the words of Pope John, requires society to "provide employment to the greatest number of workers; to take care lest privileged classes arise, even amongst the workers; to maintain an equal balance between wages and prices, and make goods and services accessible to the greater number of citizens; to eliminate or keep within limits the inequalities between sectors of agriculture, of industry and of services; to bring about a balance between economic expansion and the development of essential public services; to adjust, as far as possible, the means of production to the progress of science and technology; to regulate the improvements in the tenor of life of the present generation with the objective of preparing a better future for the coming generations". (MM79).

A related principle is that the structures of economic life must promote human development. Such development is exceedingly difficult, for example, in giant complexes, and are best realized in "small or average-sized" enterprises, in which the workers must be encouraged to participate on such a scale that the enterprise

becomes a community of persons in the dealings and activities of all its members. And a final principle is that State intervention into economic affairs must be on the basis of the common good. It is the State's task to ensure that overall conditions of justice prevail, for example between employers and employees, but it should not usurp those functions which are best performed by smaller, people-centered groups.

We cannot conclude this discussion of Roman Catholic teaching without noting that, despite official warnings and prohibitions, many Roman Catholic theologians and activists have opted for the Marxist alternative. The situation is well documented by Alan Gheerbrant in his book *The Rebel Church in Latin America* (1974). The entire school of liberation theology, represented by such theologians as Fierro (1977), Gutierrez (1974), Miranda (1974, 1980) and Segundo (1976) is explicitly Marxist. The life of the priest Camilo Torres (Gerassi, 1973) is typical of the Roman Catholic clergy who have participated in Marxist revolutions and reconstructions in Cuba, Chile and Nicaragua, and who are committed to the struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala and elsewhere.

From the Marxist perspective, no one has been more influential in creating this Latin American phenomén than Fidel Castro, who on the basis of his Cuban experience insists that Christians are not merely tactical but also strategic allies of the revolution. The Cuban revolution has demonstrated that while any revolution to succeed must face the structural power of the Church, there need be no ultimate breach and the Church can play a key role in post-revolutionary reconstruction. Fidel's influence can be discerned in the declaration of priests attending the Havana Cultural Congress in 1968; "that imperialism today, especially in the Third World, is a dehumanizing factor which destroys the foundations of the individual's dignity, threatens the free expression of culture, militates against the genuine forms of human development, and creates a situation of under-development which is becoming daily more acute and more oppressive; that though Marxism and Christianity differ over the interpretation of man and the world, it is Marxism which provides the most precise scientific analysis of imperialism, as well as the most effective stimuli for mass revolutionary action . . ."

(Gheerbrant, 1974:268).

Fidel was also influential in the formulation of the Christians for Socialism movement, which established a secretariat in Chile, had its first international convention there in 1972, was subsequently suppressed by the junta, but which has reappeared in other places, including Europe. The Santiago convention, held at the same time as the UNCTAD meeting there produced a final document which (Eagleson, Ed., 1975:160) outlines the role of both Christians and Church in the liberation of Latin America.

Today, almost without exception, Roman Catholic development literature and development agencies, despite official teaching, are promoting socialist models of development. In many Third World situations, and particularly in Latin America, the words of Che Guevara are descriptive rather than prophetic: "Christians should opt definitely for the revolution - particularly on this continent where the Christian faith is so important among the masses of the people. But in the revolutionary struggle Christians cannot presume to impose their own dogmas or to proselytize for their churches. They come without any intention of evangelizing Marxists and without cowardly concealing their faith to assimilate themselves to the latter. When Christians dare to give full-fledged revolutionary witness, then the Latin American revolution will be invincible; because up to now Christians have allowed their doctrine to be used as a tool by the reactionaries", (Eagleson, 1975:174).

(b) The World Council of Churches' Critique

The World Council's critique cannot be traced as definitively as that of the Roman Catholic Church, through a consecutive series of official documents. In the World Council's case, there are some significant differences. One we have already mentioned is that the documents of the World Council are binding upon no member Church. They have nevertheless since 1948 provided a Christian voice and platform for common action for the reformed churches. This, as Gremillion (1976:xii) points out, was a role previously exercised exclusively by the Roman Catholic Church "through the Holy See, since Charlemagne in the West, and since 1453 on the global scene". Gremillion further acknowledges the influence of the World Council's social thought on Roman Catholic thought, particularly through the joint agency SODEPAX, the Committee on Society, Development and Peace.

Another distinction is that in the World Council's case, the development debate has influenced all aspects of its work, and its understanding of development is consequently reflected through the whole life of the Council: both in those units established to further development: the Committee on Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Resettlement, the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, the Program to Combat Racism and the Humanum Studies; and in those established for other primary purposes, for example, the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (and in particular, its Urban-Rural Mission desk); the Program on Women and Men in the Church; the Youth Department (particularly through the development programmes and projects it supports); the Program on Militarism; the Church and Society department, and the Education Sub-Unit. The World Council's thinking is reflected throughout the documents of these quite diverse departments. And when we recall that the major development agency, CCPD, is itself divided into a number of programmes: Development funding, Development studies, Development education, Appropriate technology, Transnational corporations and People's participation, each with its own large publishing programme, some idea of the extent and depth of development critiques can be gained.

A further distinction is that to a far greater degree than the Roman Catholic Church, the World Council's thinking has been influenced by practice. The Roman Catholic church has certainly paid attention to voices from the Third World, as the encyclicals of both John XXIII and Paul VI testify; but in the end, because of the Church's hierarchical form of government and the responsibility of the hierarchy to define and defend the Faith, the official thinking is deeply influenced by professional theologians and church bureaucrats. The World Council, on the other hand, influenced by the work of Paulo Freire in the Education sub-unit, has attempted to integrate his action-reflection methodology into all the Council's work, and in particular, has encouraged grass-roots participation in the formulation of stances and policies. Much of this is evidenced in a "programme thrust" initiated into all aspects of the Council's life and work in 1978, "Towards a Just, Sustainable and Participatory Society". Of all the praxis which has influenced the World Council, perhaps none has been more influential, certainly none more controversial, than the Program to Combat Racism. Through its active and

financial support (the latter under the banner of "humanitarian aid") of liberation movements, first in Mozambique, then in Zimbabwe and currently in Namibia, the World Council can lay claim to direct involvement in revolutionary struggle, which, the Salvation Army apart, draws greater or lesser degrees of affirmation from the member-churches. Through this programme, the Council has demonstrated the anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist convictions which underlie much of its documentation.

A final very important distinction is the emphasis in the Council's documents on biblical teaching and biblical reflection. This reflects adherence to the reformed tradition of the centrality of scripture rather than tradition in the life of the People of God. And it renders the documents distinctively different from those of the Roman Catholic Church where the emphasis is on reflection upon the processes at work in society, with very little accompanying biblical material. The Council combines reflection on the processes with biblical material in such a way that the value-base of its critique becomes much more explicit.

In what follows, selective use is made of the Council's documents, drawing on the critique developed by two of the major programmes, *The Humanum Studies 1969-1975*, and the work of the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, particularly as presented in the works of Richard Dickinson (1975), and the current Director of the Commission, Julio de Santa Ana (1977, 1978, 1979). Another important work, published for the World Council, is Charles Elliott's *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World* (1975), a study upon which much of the Commission's analysis is based.

One dominant theme to emerge from the World Council's thinking is that of the biblical concept of "the new humanity" as developed in the New Testament Epistles. Biblical scholars of the reformed tradition are portraying Jesus as the last or definitive Adam, the archetypal man, the completely integrated self. Jesus is "the prototype of the new humanity" (Robinson, 1973:241) or "the man of universal destiny" (Hick, 1977:48). Jesus thus represents the ultimate example of human nature fully developed, and the Christian understanding of integral development must be derived from this model. The Council's thinking recognizes, however, that this full humanity cannot develop in isolation from the world, but needs to be

discovered within concrete social, cultural, political and economic realities which embrace factors which militate against such development. The Council has, as a consequence, paid particular attention to those structures and processes in society which are dehumanizing, and to the search for alternatives which are humanizing. While the dehumanizing/humanizing debate is reflected in Roman Catholic documents as well, it has been pursued at greater depth by the Council which established *The Humanum Studies* in 1969 under the direction of David Jenkins, to specifically investigate the question, "How is man dehumanized and prevented from achieving his true humanity?"

The Studies concluded (WCC, 1975:75) that there are four particular elements of dehumanization: by cultural oppression with its attendant cultural deprivation and distortion; by linguistic monopoly and deprivation; by those structures of society, politics and economics through which some people exercise uncontrolled and irresponsible power over the rest of the community on the basis of class, ownership, inherited wealth or positions of power and influence shaped by previous relationships of dominance and dependence; and by a failure to face the true necessities, implications and possibilities of conflict. The Report, illustrating the biblical and theological concern of the Council's documents, goes on to suggest that there are resources within the Christian faith which can deal with these obstacles to humanity. These are: response to the constant call for repentance which frees people to discover their real identity and to join the common human struggle against dehumanizing tendencies; the inseparable unity and sequence of cross and resurrection as the pattern of human obedience which suggests that human fulfilment cannot be gained except through suffering and sacrifice accompanied by "incorruptible hope"; man created in the image of God and destined for the glory of God, which unites Christians "with all those who struggle for a justice which is appropriate to the dignity of being human"; and the eschatological hope which "relativizes all human possibilities in time and history and at the same time radicalizes human hope".

The *Humanum Studies* affirmed concepts which are basic to the Council's understanding of development. Firstly, they took the reality of conflict seriously, arguing on the theological basis that

"under the shadow of the Mystery of Evil and in the light of the Cross of Christ we must be part of the fight against particular historical evils and injustices" (WCC 1975:84) while at the same time acknowledging that involvement in concrete human struggles for freedom and justice is with the understanding that "these struggles are both limited parts and ambiguous parts of the struggle in history of the creative, judging and redeeming energies of God" (WCC 1975:84). Nevertheless, Christians must confidently expect to discover Jesus, the embodiment of anguish in the midst of these struggles. And furthermore, it is only through involvement in concrete struggles, that the Church is able to develop a genuinely human theology; an understanding which would come to be designated "theology from the underside of history".

Secondly, the Studies pointed out that the forms and structures of Church life and the manner in which the Church generally does theology are so closely identified with the obstacles to full humanity that a major task is the liberation of the Church and its theology in order to discover its authentic identity. This has engendered within World Council thinking a spirit of self-criticism which has enabled the Council to recognise that the institutional Church is very often part of the development problem rather than an aspect of the solution, in a manner the Roman Catholic Church has been reluctant to follow.

For the World Council, then, as with the Roman Catholic Church, the objective of development is "full humanity". In the Council's case, the process through which strategies emerged to reach this objective is traced by de Santa Ana (1977:110f). At a conference in Montreux in 1970, development was defined as an inter-related process of economic growth, self-reliance and social justice. A CCPD publication, *People's Participation in Development* (1973) is critical of the economic growth model of development: "People are becoming aware that development is more than the application of economic models to move a society from backwardness to modernization. Too many of the so-called developing countries are facing the results of a solely growth-oriented development which was devised by mostly western-educated planners, executed at great social costs and which, because of its reliance on external resources, has strengthened structures of domination and dependence". (CCPD, 1973:1-2).

We can identify here an implied judgement upon the capitalist model of development as one which is pursued by those "who have access to knowledge, resources and power" to the detriment of the masses of people who are passive in the development process and share few of the "benefits" of it. As a result, CCPD began to advocate another study of development "based on people's participation and organization, by which their poor become agents of their own development, identifying their needs, mobilizing their resources, shaping their future, and in which input resources from beyond is the complementary enabler". At this point CCPD was clearly drawing on the grassroots experience of rural community organizers, some of whom had been trained in Saul Alinsky's approach to organization. (This methodology is discussed more comprehensively in Chapter Four). This approach accepts that the starting point of development "is among the poor and oppressed, among peasants and industrial workers. They are the beneficiaries of their own action. The struggle is essentially theirs, and the decisions as to the nature of the struggle and its course is theirs also". (de Santa Ana, 1977:111).

CCPD-sponsored studies, including Charles Elliott's monumental work, *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World*, (1975a), encouraged the body to conclude that development problems such as the eradication of poverty can be solved only by a radical transformation of the present structures of society in which the poor subsidize the rich and in which the position of the rich is consolidated by the selfsame structures. This transformation must touch all the structures of society - economic, social, political, cultural - and must in particular address itself to the problems of technology which Elliott regards as perpetuating the old patterns of dominance and dependence even when liberation from colonialism has been achieved in other areas. In opting for a structural-change approach (as compared for example, with an incremental planned-change approach), the Council is pursuing a socialist line. It is not at this point, however, explicitly so. While criticism of the capitalist model is implied in *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World*, it is in other works that Elliott becomes much more explicit.

Richard Dickinson's book *To Set at Liberty the Oppressed* (1975) which is sub-titled "Towards an Understanding of Christian Responsibilities for Development/Liberation", true to the WCC

emphasis, sets the development issue within the biblical context of the ministry of Jesus, the purpose of which was (Luke 4, 18-19) "To preach good news to the poor; to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty those who are oppressed; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord". In an Appendix to this work, Metropolitan Paul Gregorius in an exegesis and exposition of the concept of the "acceptable (Jubilee) year" demonstrates that some of its elements are concerned with economic relationships and call for a radically new order. Dickinson identifies four development models: the capitalist approach, the United Nations' approach, the structural change approach (often coupled with a socialist ideology), and the conscientization approach. This typology is unsound in the first place because the United Nations approach is a capitalist approach differing only in that it sees National governments rather than corporate business as the agent of change; and in the second place because at least the best-known exponent of conscientization, Paulo Freire, regards it as a revolutionary structural-change approach. Dickinson avoids direct advocacy of the socialist approach. He identifies three primary areas for Church action: concentration on people's movements and conscientization at the local level; attempts to change oppressive national and inter-national structures; and development education, "the conscientization of the rich", within industrialized societies. But he insists that Church-related efforts in development must promote analysis through the action/reflection methodology, focus on values - "the human and social dynamics of the development process, not on economic growth *per se*" (1975:117) - and centering on the poor and marginalized in the community, should lead to structural and systemic changes.

Meanwhile, the thinking of CCPD had developed from the principle of focussing on the poor as the agents of their own development, to the strategy of creating international links of solidarity, both in the sense of creating an international movement of the poor as an organized resistance which would express itself in words and deeds, denouncing and combating the structures of domination and injustice and destroying the machinery of injustice throughout the world; and in the sense of forging links of solidarity between the conscientized rich in the developed countries and the struggles of the poor in the Third World. This latter

concern has dominated all the development consultations the Executive Officer has attended since 1975: (Geroldswil 1975; Bossey 1978, 1979; Matanzas [Cuba] 1979; Bossey 1980; Sigtuna [Sweden] 1981; and Amsterdam, 1981). In these meetings it has been clearly understood and in some Reports clearly stated (e.g. Matanzas, 1979) that when we speak about development education we are inevitably speaking about some form of socialist society.

The concentration on the poor and the marginalized in the World Council's understanding is again established on the basis of an interpretation of scripture. This is particularly so in Julio de Santa Ana's three works, *Good News to the Poor* (1977); *Separation Without Hope* (1978), and *Towards a Church of the Poor* (1979). In the first volume, de Santa Ana examines the theological basis in both the Old and New Testaments of the struggle of the poor; and discusses the relationship of the poor to the Church until the late mediaeval period. He underlines the importance of the messianic idea that the poor and oppressed occupy a privileged place and are often themselves the instruments of this justice. The second volume traces a similar history through the period of western colonial expansion and industrialization and shows that although the poor were still a concern of the churches, they were often relegated to oppressed positions, and the Church failed more than ever before to become their champions. The third volume reflects on the current relationship between Church and poor and on proposals to enable the Churches to play their role in the development process. This work, the result of a conference in Cyprus in 1978, reveals the socialist stance much more clearly. It traces the growth of mechanisms of injustice which create poverty, and employing a marxist analysis, describes the mechanisms as "capitalism". In the struggle against the oppression and injustice created by this system, three major organizational strategies are noted: organization for liberation and justice; organization for liberation and acceptance; and organization for liberation and participation. The first strategy aims at "the removal of laws which legitimize oppression" and includes the steps of awareness, readiness and planning, and action. The document notes that in terms of action, the passive resistance models of Gandhi and Martin Luther King are the most acceptable for the Christian community. The second strategy, in an attempt to forestall the "reverse oppression" which often occurs when radical political and

social changes have occurred, is a conscious attempt to encourage the oppressed to take advantage of opportunities provided under the new laws. And the third strategy involves the oppressed in all aspects of the new society - social, cultural, political and economic. In this latter process the document acknowledges the important role of ideologies.

Throughout this work, the choice of terminology, the categories employed and the major strategy identified for the struggle against poverty - "socialization of the means of production" establish the Council's option for a socialist model. It's reticence in openly employing the description "socialist" is in large measure due to its desire to avoid alienating the more conservative members of its constituency. It therefore speaks primarily in terms of biblical and theological constructs. De Santa Ana himself attempts to steer clear of the ideological question. He insists for example, that the focus on the poor and oppressed as agents of change "does not mean commitment to any absolutist ideology or closed theories of history" (1979:xxiii). For him the commitment must be to people in their struggle, all the while maintaining openness to new insights.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of capitalism in other World Council literature is very clear. Charles Elliott (1975b:Ch 6) insists that "the churches in western Europe and North America give to western capitalism and its attendant social structure a legitimacy and moral authority" and have become "the legitimizer of a series of relationships which lie at the heart of the structures of injustice". This perspective is endorsed from the Third World by Martinez (1978) who writes out of the experience of the Cuban revolution and who has deeply influenced the World Council's thinking: "the capitalist aberration of the Christian faith has brought us to an ideologized church and Christianity in clear contradiction to the Gospel The Church and its ideologized faith have been part of the bourgeois, imperialist, capitalist disorder, and in general continue to be so". (*The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3; 1978:270).

It is difficult to assess the degree to which member churches have been influenced by the World Council's stance. In some areas, notably those of combatting racism and the renewed understanding of the place of the poor in the Gospel and in the Church's mission, the influence is very clear. In terms of ideological development it is

less clear however, but must be acknowledged as one of the primary influences.

The following passage from the official Report of the last Lambeth Conference (1978) illustrates the influence of World Council thinking on the Anglican Communion. The Report, while urging Christians to recognize the mistakes of marxism and to equip themselves with critiques of both capitalism and marxism, argues that Christians need to recognize that marxism is concerned with human issues which cannot be ignored.

"These include, among many: (1) The gross inequality in the enjoyment of the resources and products of the world both between individuals and groups in a society, and between societies. (2) The importance of structures in forming the minds and shaping the destinies of those subjected to them. (3) The widespread sense of helplessness engendered by the failure of politics and institutions (including ecclesiastical institutions) to provide a compelling objective for mankind or a realistic programme for striving after it. Marxism is attractive to many because it has a passion for people's welfare, a sense of the sins of society and of the powerful, and an absolute conviction that history has a purpose which can be related to human fulfilment. In these ways it can be said to have the support of scripture". (*Lambeth Report*, 1978:69).

Anarchism and Christian Thought

Neither the Roman Catholic Church nor the World Council of Churches has given serious consideration to anarchism either as an ideology or as a development option. Indeed, there is little material on this relationship in existence apart from that produced by Christian-anarchist communes through the medium of journals such as *The Catholic Worker* and *Sojourners*.

Nevertheless, to those who have studied the question, the anarchist development option appears to be the one most consonant with Christian teaching. Ciaron O'Reilly (1982) in an article, *The Anarchist Implications of Christian Discipleship*, argues that "Christian-anarchism is not an attempt to synthesise two systems of thought but rather a realisation that the premise of anarchism is inherent in Christianity and the message of the Gospels". (*Social Alternatives*, Vol 2, No 3, 1982:9). Christian anarchists see Jesus as

the model of anarchist principles: "Jesus set loose in the world a new political reality by inspiring a free and freeing people, organising on the basis of voluntary community. Jesus and the disciples (the early Church) preached anarchist principles by the only viable means, that of living them out in a broken world, creating a new world within the old". (O'Reilly, 1982:10).

The Secretariat's Executive Officer has explored the biblical bases of anarchism in a paper prepared for social work students, *Christian Values in Social Action* (Elliott, M.C., 1982). He argues that the following characteristics of the Christian perception of the new society are to be discerned in the Old Testament, the ministry of Jesus, and first century Christian writings: the responsible stewardship of the earth's resources as the patrimony of all; enhancing the worth and dignity of the individual; manifesting justice which is understood in personal terms, economic terms, political terms and social terms; enabling all to participate in community by removing the obstacles to participation; functioning harmoniously on a co-operative basis (the descriptive model used is that of the human body); operating by appeal rather than coercion; discovering authority in interior human resources rather than in external Law; incorporating a hopeful view of human nature in the belief that personal conversion is at all times a possibility; and exhibiting a special concern for those who are the disadvantaged.

Elliott believes that the early Christian communities, and in particular the community of Christians in Jerusalem, attempted to establish a lifestyle which was consistent both with the teaching and the behaviour of Jesus. These communities regarded themselves as living out the principles of the Kingdom of God within a disordered and broken world. Early Christian writings reveal that these communities had two major attributes. The first was that they were small self-governing units based on consensus decision-making and the common ownership of property. "The faithful all lived together and owned everything in common; they sold their goods and possessions and shared out the proceeds amongst themselves according to what each one needed". (Acts of the Apostles 2:44-45).

The second attribute was that each community was related to others in a spirit of mutual solidarity. Thus, during a famine in A.D. 47, the community in Antioch delivered its surplus to the

community in Jerusalem. St Paul recommends this principle to the community in Corinth maintaining that "it is a question of balancing what happens to be your surplus now against their present need, and one day they may have something to spare that will supply your own need". (2 Corinthians 8:13-14).

The paper argues that Christians wishing to make a political option must base that option upon these Christian insights, and that of the present options, anarchism is the one most consistent with Christian values. For anarchism holds out the possibility of a highly participatory, non-authoritarian and non-coercive form of government based on mutually independent communities of common ownership and cooperation, to which the greatest possible degree of decision-making power has been devolved. Furthermore, the anarchist insistence that society must be basically viewed in ethical terms and based primarily on justice (justice in Christian understandings being love distributed) is totally in harmony with the Christian view. In both the anarchist and Christian views it is the just distribution of resources which enhances human dignity and provides the optimum conditions for the development of full humanity.

While, as we have said above, there is very little contemporary literature which systematically examines the Christian-anarchist option, we can expect more in the future, especially from the World Council of Churches, as agencies like ESOD press the claim for its serious consideration.

Conservative Reaction to Current Critiques

There has been considerable reaction from conservative elements within the churches to the critiques of both the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. This has been less vocal in the case of the Roman Catholic Church in view of the fact that so much of the social teaching has become enshrined in the magisterium. This means that unless one is prepared to condemn the present government of the Church as out of step with historic tradition, it is difficult to argue with the teaching. There nevertheless remain those sections of the Church which would prefer to return to a more authoritarian, more disciplined and less socially minded expression of Catholicism. As Miranda (1974) pointed out, these groups regard all the social teaching of the Church from Pope

John XXIII onwards as a concession to Marxism which is in their view the enemy of the Church. This conservatism is expressed for example, through the option many Roman Catholics are exercising to support para-Church development agencies like World Vision which adopts a conservative evangelical stance and which has been criticized by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. There are clearly a considerable number of Roman Catholic laity who believe that the compassionate response to immediate need is a more appropriate approach to development than the structural approach adopted by most of the Church's official development agencies.

The World Council's understanding of development has received more sustained criticism. Much of this has emanated from the evangelical churches which, while some are members of the World Council, tend to meet in their own congresses. These churches for example, sponsored a ten day International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974. The Congress reaffirmed the basic evangelical stances on sin, conversion and salvation, and located the quest for justice within this context of personal evangelism. The Lausanne Covenant acknowledged the need to share God's "concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men from every kind of oppression", expressed penitence for neglect in this sphere in the past in having regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive, and proclaimed that "although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1975:4-5).

The background papers for the Lausanne Congress maintain this separation of spiritual and material concern. The Kingdom of God is of a spiritual nature and as a consequence "could never be established by political action. And since sinful man is by nature opposed to the will of God, it can not even be brought about by moral education. The acknowledgement of God's rule presupposes a miraculous change of heart which can be achieved only by an intervention of God himself". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1975:286). Political programmes and development options should not be confused with the evangelical commission to redeem sinful human nature. Indeed, it is "the basic

fallacy of Marxism and any other kind of humanistic ideology of salvation . . . that it believes in the inherent goodness of human nature". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1974:287).

Nor do the evangelicals emphasize the role of the poor as agents of change in the manner the World Council does. While it is acknowledged that the poor are of special concern to God, it is the evangelical view that the Gospel is concerned equally for all classes of society, calling all equally to repentance, faith and discipleship. The city is seen as a prime target for evangelization for cities are "free from the social ties and village pressures which previously kept (people) from reading the Bible and attending Christian services. . . The growth of cities is the great fact of our era and it provides the Church an opportunity to win great numbers to Christ". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1974:918-919).

The primacy given to evangelization (which tends to be understood in an evangelical frame of reference as "personal salvation" with none of the concepts common for example, in the Roman Catholic Church, of "sinful social structures") tends towards an emphasis on the personal in development activities. Thus the Director of one of the evangelical agencies (the Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund, commonly known as TEAR Fund) reported to the Lausanne Congress that much of the poverty in the world is poverty of opportunity rather than poverty *per se* and while acknowledging the need to alleviate poverty, avoided any suggestion of structural change by emphasizing the need for "a far greater measure of sacrificial involvement in society in the name and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1974:1306). This was a commonly held perception at the Congress.

The international agency World Vision demonstrates some of the major characteristics of the evangelical position on development. It emphasizes evangelism as a primary element asserting that development "is part of the creative act of God, and is Spiritually motivated and oriented. It is carried out by Christians who live under the rule of God and exhibit that rule in their lives". (World Vision, 1979:3). Furthermore, "Christian development implies belief in the right of every person to understand and live willingly under the Lordship of Christ". (World Vision, 1979:3). As a consequence, three of World Vision's six basic objectives in development are related to

evangelism: reaching the unreached through indigenous evangelism, strengthening leadership through pastors' conferences, and challenging the Church to mission. Insofar as the other three objectives: ministering to children and families below the poverty line, providing emergency aid and developing self-reliance are achieved through local churches, they may also be held to have an evangelical content.

In contrast to the World Council's thought, there is a heavy concentration on persons to the almost total exclusion of the necessity for structural change. World Vision asserts that "as individuals we can have little measurable effect on such monolithic problems as debt burden, tariff protection, the New International Economic Order, multi-national corporations, totalitarianism, the cold war, natural disasters, inappropriate technology, the energy crisis or the arms race" (World Vision, 1979:1). The implication is that what Christians can do is to minister to the victims of these forces. Again, when speaking of the need to promote community development, the agency argues that its task is to give communities control over their own situation "irrespective of local, national or international systems of injustice or oppression". (World Vision, 1979:7).

The agency makes it abundantly clear that it will not become involved in revolutionary structural change. "When World Vision finds needs in countries where government is repressive, it will minister to the needy within the parameters legally established". (World Vision, 1979:8). Again, "where there is a necessity to challenge the local structure, it must be made by the people of the country who alone can assess its consequences". The agency recognizes that through the implantation of the Gospel, people may be led to revolt against oppression, but basically insists that creative ways be "pursued in each social and political situation that will enable World Vision to be advocates of the poor and to set them free while not endangering our continuing partnership". (World Vision, 1979:8). The organization acknowledges that it is faced with the paradox of the Apocalypse and the Millennium. "We are attempting to make the world better for mankind even as we hold the biblical truth that it will become progressively worse till the second Advent". (page 8).

The evangelical critique is based upon four possible

relationships between evangelism and social concern: social concern or evangelism, social concern *is* evangelism, social concern *for* evangelism, and social concern *and* evangelism. (Mooneyham: *Evangelism and Social Action*, page 4). It suggests that the World Council's thinking identifies social concern with evangelism and that this is a distortion of the Christian message for, "sin is viewed as a corporate moral perversion, thus eliminating the need for personal repentance and forgiveness. The inner needs of man are ignored and salvation is set exclusively in a political and economic context. Consequently, evangelism is the word used to describe those actions which result in the social order becoming more responsive to man's physical needs". (Mooneyham: page 5). For the evangelical, only the fourth option in which evangelism and social concern complement each other can be consistent with the Lausanne Covenant's definition of evangelism as "the proclamation of a historical, biblical Christ as Saviour and Lord, with a view to persuading people to come to him personally and so be reconciled to God". (Lausanne Reference Volume, 1975:4).

But criticism of the World Council's stance has also come from the broader Christian traditions. The Anglican theologian Edward Norman (1979) received enormous support for his book, *Christianity and World Order*, which specifically examines both the thinking and action of the World Council. This work criticizes the derivation of this thinking on the ground that it comes from secular sources, notably marxism, and argues that Christianity is in danger of being absorbed by a single historical interpretation. Norman urges recovery of the view that Christianity is by nature concerned with the relationship of the human soul to eternity.

One feature of both the evangelical and Norman critiques is their unwillingness to regard capitalism as the structural cause of human disorder. Indeed, Norman advocates capitalism because its values appear to him entirely consistent with Gospel teaching. He outlines his position in a 1977 paper delivered to the Standing Conference of Employers and Graduates in the United Kingdom, *Denigration of Capitalism: Current Education and the Moral Subversion of Capitalist Society*. He says of the World Council: "it is an enemy of capitalism; in the long term it may even prove to be one of the forces making for the extinction of religion as well as freedom.

For the Marxists, when they have eventually profited from the demoralization of capitalism, are likely to have an economical way with the Churches. It is a sad conclusion: the Christian Churches should have been a guardian of the values of individual freedom".

Norman carries on to attack the Bishops of the Church of England whom he sees as "responding in Pavlovian fashion to the moralistic distaste for private enterprise which now afflicts the bourgeois intelligentsia", and alleges that this moralistic distaste is promoted by the World Council. As examples of the Church's attacks on the values of capitalism he cites the Archbishop of Canterbury condemning an industrialist's golden handshake as "an obscenity"; Bishops speaking in favour of a closed shop in a General Synod debate on industrial relations; and the Bishop of Bristol's attack on the principles of advertising.

Norman's criticisms have provoked a series of responses from supporters of the World Council, but they stand as a scholarly and well argued rationale of the conservative position.

Summary of Roman Catholic and World Council Critiques

The above outlines show that the critiques of the World Council and the Roman Catholic Church share much in common: the aim of development as the creation of a new humanity, the primacy of social justice in all relationships, the need for people to participate in their own development, and total rejection of the liberal capitalist model of development.

There are nevertheless, some important differences. Where Roman Catholic documents devote a good deal of attention to the State as the agent of development (the United Nations/capitalist model in Dickinson's typology), the World Council's documents focus on the poor and oppressed as the agents of structural change (a socialist model). The Roman Catholic documents appear to specifically reject socialist and marxist ideologies. While the World Council's documents imply a socialist model, they are cautious about stating this explicitly. In both traditions there is the implication that there may be development options other than those of capitalism or socialism although, apart from the specific suggestions of earlier Catholic documents which became associated with fascism, the nature

of the alternatives is not spelled out. But both traditions do insist that it is not enough for Christians to speak of a "more human" or a "more just" or even a "more Christian" society, without attempting to spell out the political, cultural, social and economic relationships which would establish this type of society.

Both sets of documents insist that development should reflect Christian values, although the World Council's documents tend to be more ecumenical in their search for religious values through inter-faith dialogue. In Roman Catholic documents these values emerge from the tradition of the Church, with biblical insights interpreted by the Church Fathers and their successors. In the case of the World Council a greater emphasis is laid on discerning the values in Scripture with the assistance of contemporary scholarship.

Finally, through its evangelically influenced understanding of repentance, the World Council has been able to acknowledge that the institutional Church has become a major obstacle to human development in a way the Roman Catholic Church has been unable to. It is this deep sense of the sins of the past which has driven the World Council, on behalf of its member churches, to its commitment to struggles for liberation and justice.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGINS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ESOD

The World Context

The nineteen-sixties witnessed a profound change in the churches' theological understandings, and consequentially, in their orientation. While these changes affected all aspects of Church life, they were particularly evident in the churches' attitude towards the Third World. There was a fundamental change away from the missionary stance, which, nurtured by imperialism and colonialism, had regarded the establishment of essentially western patterns of development as appropriate, towards concepts of self determination and indigenous models of development.

As we have seen, within the World Council of Churches' constituency, this change was much in evidence in publications issued after 1966. Within the Roman Catholic Church it was reflected in the concerns promoted at the time of Vatican II, and in the wide range of definitive documents which were both part of, and followed that Council.

At the world level this change of approach to development inevitably saw the creation of new agencies and departments. A major ecumenical agency, SODEPAX (Committee on Society, Development and Peace) was established jointly by the Roman Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and the World Council's Justice and Service Unit in 1968. In 1970 the World Council set up a separate Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD). While the Roman Catholic Church is not officially represented on this Commission, in some aspects of its work, notably the sphere of development education, the Commission is totally ecumenical and attempts to serve the needs of all development educators who choose to associate themselves with it.

A third ecumenical reference point was established later within the Commission of World Mission and Evangelism (CWME) of the World Council. Known as Urban-Rural Mission (URM), it places heavy emphasis on concepts of industrial mission, popular mobilisation and

community organization, and has particularly strong links with European, North American and Asian activities. In the latter case there is a corresponding department within the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA).

As the Churches have responded to the new understandings of development discussed in Chapter Two and have sought, if not a theological basis, then theological illumination on the development process, so the whole concept and purpose of development education has changed. It has in fact involved a series of different emphases all occurring within the remarkably short time span of a decade.

Figure 1: Christian Responses to Poverty

ANALYSIS	TYPICAL RESPONSE	EDUCATIONAL THRUST
Charity	Gifts of food/clothing	Condition of the poor
Development	Self-help projects	Self-reliance and dignity
Justice	Projects which enhance social justice	The nature of justice
Structural Injustice	Projects which enable confrontation with system	Analysis of causes
Liberation	Assistance to popular movements	Revolutionary strategies
Personal Involvement	Alternative lifestyles	Creating alternatives

This is not to argue that there is a natural or logical progression from one analysis and response to the next, but simply to indicate the range of responses and educational thrusts which have emerged. There are, however, two general points to be made about development education within developed countries.

The first is that there has been a move away from focussing on the Third World towards an examination of the globally dominant structures and ideologies of the West. The effect of development education built around Third World poverty and Third World projects was to confirm popular belief that both the problems to world development and their solutions are to be located in the Third World. The new focus enables the educator to develop a pedagogy which reveals the fundamental causes of underdevelopment to be located in the structures, attitudes and lifestyles of the developed nations, and which fosters a change in attitude from seeking ways of

alleviating the conditions of victims to acknowledging that one is participating in structures and values which are creating those victims.

Secondly, it is acknowledged that if development education is properly to focus on the fundamental causes of problems and their appropriate solutions, education cannot be separated from action. The best known exponent of this approach is Paulo Freire (1972a, 1972b, 1978), who for a number of years was based at the World Council of Churches, and whose action/reflection methodology has been promoted widely by Church development educators. The shift in emphasis towards education/action can be traced through the CCPD's development education consultations. Through the nineteen-seventies development education workers from developed and Third World countries normally met within their own groupings. The explanation for this was that whereas in developed countries the emphasis was on education about issues, in the Third World the emphasis was on strategies for popular mobilisation for change. It was not until 1979 that a joint consultation was held. Its theme encapsulates the current mood of development education: "Development Education: Action for Justice". (WCC, 1979).

Through the nineteen-seventies development education agencies were established by national churches or groupings of churches. The pattern of development varied enormously. In the United States there have developed some thirty to forty quite separate initiatives, normally related to one specific issue, with as yet no co-ordinating body. In Canada the ecumenical programme was established as a ten-day annual event, "Ten Days for World Development" with a different theme promoted each year. The Canadian programme became the model for similar programmes elsewhere, although only in Britain ("One World Week") was a separate body created for its co-ordination. In the Caribbean ("Christian Action Week"), Australia ("One World Week") and New Zealand ("Christian Action Week"), the programme became part of a range of development education activities already being co-ordinated by an agency. In Scandinavia development education was most often reflected through programme emphases, particularly in relation to the churches' missionary societies. In some countries a new agency was specifically created to promote development education. Thus in Australia the Australian Council of Churches and the Roman

Catholic Church together created *Action for World Development*, and produced a model which was bound to influence thinking and planning in New Zealand. The Australian model offered the advantage of separating fundraising for development projects from development education, and so postpone the crisis which has affected most development agencies, Church-related and secular.

The New Zealand Situation

In 1970 the churches supported two major overseas aid and development agencies of their own, and a third (CORSO) listed a number of churches and church agencies amongst its constituent bodies. The churches' own agencies were Christian World Service (CWS), a division of the National Council of Churches which then consisted of ten major denominations; and Catholic Overseas Aid (COAC), an agency of the Roman Catholic Church which in 1979 became part of a wider Catholic Commission on Evangelization, Justice and Development (CCEJD).

Development education within these two agencies tended to centre around projects which they were supporting or funding. At the beginning of the seventies this was entirely consistent with development education practice which informed people about the nature of Third World underdevelopment and the self-reliance projects which, it was hoped, would reverse this trend. With the change in development theory and educational thrust outlined above, these agencies faced a dilemma. With a constituency educated to believe that funds raised would be spent overseas, and moreover, educated to believe that these funds would have a significant impact on underdevelopment, how could the educational component of the agencies begin to focus on New Zealand structures and attitudes as part of the cause of underdevelopment, openly fund this form of education and still maintain their incomes from the constituency?

One attractive answer was that provided by AWD in Australia: separation of fund-raising and educational components by creating a new agency. The pressures on agencies which attempt to hold the two components together was demonstrated in the political reaction to CORSO in 1979 when that agency in its educational material identified the same structures which create poverty in the Third World to be present within New Zealand communities. Conversely, the success of a

more recently established agency, World Vision, in income maximization, is in part due to its adherence to the older-style project-related education, and its refusal to focus educational programmes on issues of injustice and poverty within New Zealand.

The Directors of Christian World Service and Catholic Overseas Aid in 1972 were persons of strong convictions about the radical direction development education needed to take, and deeply influenced their own committees and hierarchies. They created a climate within their agencies receptive to the eventual proposition that a new ecumenical agency be established.

Pamela Gruber, Director of CWS, brought to her post a wealth of experience in aid and development and development education. Initially a schoolteacher, she became a regional organizer for Christian Aid (the aid and development Division of the British Council of Churches) and then joined the staff of the World Council of Churches. She was with the World Council as the development debate intensified, was a participant in its major consultations on development and edited one of the major reports, *Fetters of Injustice*. She spent a year working on development issues with the African Christian Council, and then worked a further year with the newly-formed Action for World Development in Australia before accepting her New Zealand appointment. Her deep involvement in development issues and her wide range of overseas contacts were reflected inevitably in a growing awareness of the issues within National Council of Churches' circles.

Similarly, Father John Curnow, Director of COAC, through extensive travel around projects in the Pacific and Asia, and through membership of a number of internationally recognised Catholic aid and humanitarian agencies, had developed a sensitive and informed overview of the new directions of development programmes and education. This he promulgated with vigour through his agency. The Catholic constituency, being more homogeneous than the NCC constituency, and possessing within its magisterium definitive teaching on justice, was more receptive than any of the other churches (with the possible exception of the Society of Friends which does not regard itself as a church) to the new understandings of development.

This was also a time of ecumenical fervour. Vatican II had forced the Roman Catholic church into a much more serious consider-

ation of ecumenical commitment. The Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, issued on 21 November 1964 opened with the words: "The restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council". Within the NCC constituency, the "negotiating churches" - Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Churches of Christ and Congregational - initiated discussions about organic unity. In some cases, Churches tried to prefigure this unity by establishing joint agencies. This was particularly true of service ministries like Anglican-Methodist Social Services in Auckland (which was to come under unusual pressure when anticipated unity did not materialize). But it was a time in which all Churches were seeking ways of implementing the ecumenical catch-cry of "working together except where we are forced to work separately". This became particularly applicable to new areas of work.

There was at the same time an increasing awareness of the development crisis in the nation at large. Norman Kirk's Labour Government had turned development into a major issue, had emphasized the vital role New Zealand had to play, particularly within the Pacific, and had pledged itself to the OECD Target of 1% GNP aid, 0.7% from Government and 0.3% from the voluntary sector. In 1972 the aid allocation was increased to \$27 million: figures of \$41 million and \$62 million were projected to subsequent years to bring New Zealand as quickly as possible into line with international guidelines. The Prime Minister was an ardent advocate of New Zealand's responsibilities: "We can afford to give more aid: we cannot afford not to. The Government's attitude is simple. We do not see ourselves engaging in any form of charity. We accept as a matter of principle the indivisibility of the human family and the right to equality of opportunity of individual members of that family. We know that the world has the capacity to remedy the poverty and other ills which afflict the majority of its peoples. We accept the responsibility which lies on New Zealand, as a favoured country, to share in this task". (*Church and Community*, Oct.1973:10). The vision of Norman Kirk was an important element in creating a climate sympathetic to an increased involvement by New Zealanders in these and similar issues. It is significant that it is to his vision that people in the aid and development professional fraternity still refer. It is also significant that the counter-vision which emerged, that of

maintaining a stable and affluent New Zealand, has widespread support. Initiatives which emerged in the Kirk era tend to be regarded with some suspicion in the political establishment.

The Suva Conference: August 1972

Organized around the theme, "The Catholic Church and the development of Peoples in the South Pacific", this conference was sponsored by the Episcopal Conferences for Justice and Peace in New Zealand, Australia, Papua New Guinea and CEPAC (The Episcopal Conference of the Pacific). Representatives of the National Councils of Churches in the South Pacific were also in attendance, as also were some representatives of aid agencies. The National Council of Churches in New Zealand was represented by Sir Guy Powles, and CORSO by the Reverend Haddon Dixon. The Convenor during the eighteen months' preparation for the conference and Director of the Conference itself was Mr Peter Brett of Christchurch. The Bishop of Christchurch, the Most Reverend Brian Ashby, led the New Zealand contingent and he also edited the official Conference Report. The Report states that the aims of the Conference were:

- "(1) To assist the Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Islands to come to a more informed awareness of the problems of development in the South Pacific;
- (2) To help clarify the role of the Church in development theologically and in practical terms;
- (3) To provide further clarification on how these four Church communities can work together in partnership for the development of the South Pacific." (Suva Conference Report:3).

The Conference looked at points of conflict between traditional and modern goals; the role of agriculture in human development; tourism; trade, migration and aid policies of Australia and New Zealand; the Church and development, looking particularly at the theology of development, the role of the Church in education and the missionary as an agent of social change; and also studied development projects at a local level.

Participants at the Conference recall that some of its most creative thinking was triggered by a personal and emotional intervention from a priest in the South Pacific, who very powerfully put the case for a new understanding of development and new forms of

co-operation. In any event this Conference was to provide the impetus for the establishment of an ecumenical agency in New Zealand to promote some of the particular recommendations of the Conference, and especially that on education for justice, couched in terms of the 1971 Synod of Bishops' Statement, *Justice in the World*: 'We commit ourselves to education for justice which will inspire "an entirely human way of life in justice, love and simplicity. It will likewise awaken a critical sense which will lead us to reflect on the society in which we live and on its values; it will make men ready to renounce these values when they cease to promote justice for all men . . . Accordingly this is deservedly called a continuing education . . . It is also a practical education: it comes through action, participation and vital contact with the reality of injustice"'. (Suva Conference Report:33). It is to be noted that the emphasis here is not on formal education but on active engagement with the manifestations of injustice within the community.

Each of the delegations worked on resolutions and recommendations to make to their own regional churches. The New Zealand delegation resolved: "That the Catholic Church should, at an early date, initiate a consultation with the other churches in New Zealand on development as understood in the light of proceedings and resolutions of this conference. This consultation should consider: (a) A New Zealand programme for development education, especially the use of mass media communications for the purpose of bringing about a change in national attitude towards human development within and beyond New Zealand; (b) Making representations to the New Zealand Government to: (i) restructure immigration policy in accordance with proper principles of development in New Zealand and in the countries of emigration to New Zealand, (ii) set up an External Aid Board as a co-ordinator of official and private sectors, (iii) consider modification of our trade policies as a form of development assistance." (Suva Conference Report:36). The New Zealand delegation further recommended that: "In the light of investigations already taking place, a full-time ecumenical secretariat in this area of human development should be set up". (Suva Conference Report:37).

In time, the resolutions from this Conference would produce three major initiatives within New Zealand relating directly to the concerns expressed: the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development (ESOD)

specialising in development education and action; the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (ICCI) specialising in questions of immigration and migration; and Trade-Aid, established both to import and market goods from local communities, particularly in the Pacific, and to educate New Zealanders about trading relationships promoting development or underdevelopment.

A Statement from representatives of the various National Councils of Churches is appended to the Conference Report. The Statement comments that Christians should work as one in all things except those which conscience or doctrine prevent; recommends that NCC's study the findings of the Conference; points to many opportunities for ecumenical action, at local, national and regional levels, and expresses the hope that the Roman Catholic Church will seek out such opportunities for ecumenical co-operation.

The resolutions from the Suva Conference were presented to the Eighth Joint Working Group of the NCC and the Roman Catholic Church in December 1972. This committee unanimously resolved to recommend to both parent bodies the holding of a national consultation on development at an early date. The parent bodies subsequently each appointed two members to a planning committee for the event. The Roman Catholics appointed Mr Bob Consedine of CORSO, and Father John Curnow; the NCC appointed Ms Pamela Gruber and the Reverend Angus MacLeod, General Secretary of the NCC.

Joint Consultation on Development, August 1973

For both parent bodies, this was their first experience of a development conference on this scale. The letter of invitation, inviting forty delegates to the consultation from 27 August to 4 September, established the gathering's major focus: "To study the issue of world development and to suggest ways in which the Churches may work together in this field. It is becoming increasingly clear that the greatest human and moral problem in the world today is the growing gap between the rich and the poor. The situation of world poverty, the sufferings of millions of families, challenges all Christians who seek to respond to the call of the Gospel. The violation of human dignity and the oppression of the poor, in whom we are to recognise the very person of Christ himself, is a powerful appeal to the Christian conscience to begin a new commitment to

action for their liberation. In seeking a solution to world poverty we must look at the rich world and at discovering new values and new awareness, so that the resources of the earth may be more justly shared. For us it means starting in New Zealand to live the values of love, sharing and concern. Development is a process that involves the whole human family. It must begin in our own lives, in our local communities and in our own country".

There was only one formal address at the Consultation, delivered at its opening by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Norman Kirk. His wide-ranging speech on Government development policy, despite the presence of the media, received almost no publicity; but it concluded with a challenge to the Churches:

"But on a wider scale, the churches should be concerned to stimulate as many people as possible to think about aid and development, and motivate them sufficiently to do something about it. As part of their leadership in the fight against poverty and injustice, the churches should be concerned to keep aid matters constantly in focus before the community. In this way the churches will add inestimably to the community's response to the needs of the developing countries.

In conclusion, let me say just this. Poverty is everyone's problem: development - social and economic - is everyone's responsibility. Until we realise that humanity is one and indivisible, and have enough conviction to push aside our own selfish interests, we will not bring about a world where people can live in equity and justice and with dignity". (Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:3).

The Consultation sent participants on a series of exposures which had been organized by an Auckland sub-committee. Groups went to factories, trade unions, Maori and Pacific Island groups, hotels and taverns, homes for the aged, and prisons. They rode around in police patrol cars, spoke with social workers, activists, street gangs and solo parents. They visited both decaying inner city neighbourhoods, and some of the vast new suburban housing developments. They then reflected on these experiences, probed such questions as: "What is human development?"; "What does it mean in the concrete realities of our own country?"; "How does it apply in our relations with overseas neighbours?"; and "Where does the

Church stand?" From some of the personal comments of participants it is clear that this whole process was deeply disturbing, and revealed in many cases the irrelevance of the Church, and its inability to interpret what was happening to people in these situations of injustice and dehumanisation. (Church and Community, October 1973:12)

The Consultation produced a series of statements: The Faith We Share; Development Within New Zealand; Development Overseas; Aid; Trade; and Education for Development, which it recommended to the New Zealand Churches for urgent study and action, with the following introduction: "As delegates to the Joint Consultation of the Churches in New Zealand on development, we are conscious of the vast injustices that exist in the world in which we live as a rich and privileged minority. We have been exposed to situations which revealed dehumanising forces at work in our community. In the light of the gospel of Christ we have struggled to find how the Church should respond if it is to be faithful to the call of God today.

At this critical time in human history when so many are being deprived of human dignity and are enslaved by economic systems which work against the poor, the Church is challenged to a renewal which involves fresh awareness and action on behalf of those oppressed.

New Zealand society is part of the problem. We have accepted without question a life-style which is wasteful, selfish and extravagant.

The Church is part of the problem. We have too often identified with the rich instead of the poor, with the comfortable more than with the afflicted, with the oppressors rather than the oppressed". (Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:4)

Already a particular analysis and stance is beginning to emerge, developing the thinking of the Suva consultation and consonant with the new understandings of development within the world Church. The analysis is further clarified in the section of the Report which deals with development within New Zealand. It argues that, because New Zealand society is socially, economically and morally orientated to competitive striving, a radical restructuring of society is necessary so that there can be equality of opportunity for all. There must be limitation of economic and social opportunities for some, either by voluntary choice or by legislation, to ensure a redistribution of resources. Furthermore, a general

principle is enunciated: That development of an individual or a group should not take place at the expense of others; thus illustrating the need for an embracing view of development. It is significant that the descriptions "capitalist" or "socialist" appear nowhere in the Report.

A basic difference of approach, which some had anticipated, emerged as to how the restructuring of society can be achieved: "Some held that to modify our present social structure is not enough if the basic obstacles to human development are to be overcome. More radical change is needed. Others considered that some of the programmes currently being developed offer hope of a kind of restructuring that can alter the competitive basis of our society in the direction of human development for all". (Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:6). These programmes are not specified. But this difference of approach was to emerge again at a subsequent stage of ESOD's development.

Education for Development is discussed in the light of this style of analysis. The Report is quite clear in its understanding of education in this context: "Development education is not fulfilled solely by the transmission of information. It is education growing from a practical and critical involvement in the righting of wrongs in society at home and overseas. It comes through active participation and vital contact with the reality of injustice. It will mean becoming actively involved in contesting structures which oppress people. (Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:9). Participants considered that it is through reflection on this kind of active engagement and through the impact of the engagement itself, that those who are so involved become liberated for new initiatives, have their values challenged and changed, and grow personally. They also felt that the public challenge to unjust structures would dramatise development issues, and draw large numbers of people into the development debate and perhaps into a popular movement for change.

The Report asserts that world development is a moral imperative, and that the Church therefore has a responsibility to see that Christians in particular, and the community in general, have a concern for justice: "The Christian value of solidarity with those who are socially, politically and economically oppressed

demands the education of all towards the righting of injustice".
(Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:9).

The Report identifies some of the major obstacles to development education within New Zealand. These are: self-centered attitudes; the community's obsession with consumer goods; the strong pressure for conformity within New Zealand life; and the vast scale of ignorance amongst New Zealanders about the definition and implications of development. One other tendency was also emphasized: that of domesticating or neutralizing those who refuse to dilute the teaching of the Gospel.

With these obstacles in mind, the Consultation suggested three arenas of action: actions by individuals, action within society and action within the churches.

Individuals are to be encouraged to simplify lifestyles, looking towards collaboration with environmental and consumer groups and support from the Christian community. It is suggested that families become caring and sharing communities open to the needs of all. It is important to note that at this time the alternative lifestyle movement was a popular focus for development education in the churches, and that the slogan, "Live simply that others may simply live", would later be used by both Christian World Service and Catholic Overseas Aid in their aid and development fundraising campaigns. The "live simply" ideology would in turn be later challenged by development education agencies, ESOD included, for its misunderstanding of the nature of capitalism, and its naive view of social change; and some aspects of the alternative lifestyle movement as a whole would be criticized, for example within the Workshop sponsored jointly by ESOD and CORSO (Auckland) at the Nambassa Festival in 1979. Similarly the concept of the nuclear family was to come under criticism, and development educators would argue that this understanding of family does not necessarily provide a good way in to development action and education.

Because the section of the Report relating to individual action is so brief in comparison to the sections on society and the churches, it is likely that the consultation uncritically adopted the usual Christian approach of "beginning with individuals to change the world", but was left with little to say about that area. It is certainly significant that the earlier analysis of Christians

standing in solidarity with the oppressed cannot at this stage be spelt out in terms of practical individual acts of solidarity.

Nor have the implications of the analysis, radical in terms of most of the churches represented at the Consultation, been concretized within the recommendations on action within society. The need for wider public education about development issues is emphasized, together with a focus on the education system to encourage programmes of study relating to social attitudes and their consequences; and the use of the mass media to dramatize issues of injustice at home and overseas. It is recommended that Church schools use their freedom to challenge social values and lead the way in experimental programmes in development; and the Government's commitment to 1% GNP development aid is welcomed with the comment that the churches have an obligation to explain to the community why such an approach is necessary.

In the third series of recommendations, participants recognise that their understanding of development will demand changes within the churches themselves. They are far more specific about these: Church members must become more involved in Church decision-making; churches must make a critical appraisal of their resources in terms of land, buildings, personnel and finances, so as to establish priorities and facilitate ecumenical sharing of resources; churches should assign 1% of their income to development funds, and be vigilant about aid programmes, withdrawing from them if necessary. Development studies need to become part of the curriculum of theological colleges and seminaries; and ecumenical co-operation leading to ecumenical development programmes should be promoted.

Finally, the Consultation recommended to both the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches and the Catholic Episcopal Conference that a new joint committee be established. The resolution was framed in the following terms: "(a) That a joint national committee on development be formed, comprising eight members, half appointed by each sponsoring body. (b) That sponsors provide a budget of at least \$10,000 in the first year to be reviewed at the end of the first year. (c) That the national committee be empowered to appoint staff and engage in programmes of development education, information and action. (d) That the purpose of the national committee be: (i) To further the thinking on development action begun at this Consultation. (ii) To involve members of all churches,

and of the New Zealand community in general, in thinking and action for development. (iii) To implement recommendations of this Consultation, particularly in areas of research, information, communication and education. (iv) To provide support for groups engaged in development education and action. (v) To foster study of theological issues raised by development study and action, particularly through dialogue between clergy, religious and involved laity. (vi) To stimulate development thinking in mission and overseas aid agencies". (Report of Joint Consultation on Development, 1972:11).

The Establishment of the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development (ESOD)

Within a month of the conclusion of the Auckland Consultation, both the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Executive of the National Council of Churches had given formal approval to the setting up of a joint Secretariat for Development. Although the October 1973 issue of the NCC magazine claimed that "the position will be filled in the near future" it would be two more years before the first Executive Officer was appointed. The Secretariat was not officially constituted until April 1975 in the course of a meeting at the Redemptorist Monastery in Christchurch. Prior to that meeting, the two parent bodies had each nominated four persons to the proposed body. The initial direction of the Secretariat became very much a reflection of the commitments of these nominees.

National Council of Churches:

RT REVD WALTER ROBINSON, Bishop of Dunedin, who had been previously General Secretary of the Anglican Board of Missions, had served as a missionary in the Pacific, and who came to an understanding of development through the missionary movement;

MRS JOAN ANDERSON, who had had a long association with the Student Christian Movement, and who was a New Zealand representative on the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, thus providing an important direct link with that body;

REVD JOHN GRUNDY, who was Director of the Methodist Education Division, and who had a special interest in the development of educational techniques and resources;

MR ROB STEVEN, a political scientist at Canterbury University, who as a South African student had engaged in the struggle against

apartheid, later studied theology at Oxford, and subsequently adopted a marxist stance.

Roman Catholic Church:

MOST REVD BRIAN ASHBY, Bishop of Christchurch, Chairman of the New Zealand Justice and Peace Commission, and a participant in both the Suva and Auckland consultations;

MR ALVIN ARNOLD, who had come through the Young Catholic Workers, had later worked in Development Education for the CORSO national office, but who at that time was National Co-ordinator for Community Volunteers;

MISS SHIRLEY McLEOD, a member of the New Zealand Justice and Peace Commission, and Manageress of the Catholic Bookshop in Dunedin;

DR KEVIN O'CONNOR, Professor of Range Management at Lincoln College, who had a passionate interest in ecological and environmental concerns within New Zealand, and who travelled frequently for the United Nations to advise on agricultural development in Third World countries.

Of the above members, Bishop Ashby, Bishop Robinson and Mrs Anderson had participated in the Consultation in Auckland. The members appointed Bishop Robinson as Chairman, Bishop Ashby as Vice-Chairman, having discussed the possibility of appointing co-Chairmen. Miss McLeod was appointed Treasurer.

It is clear from the proceedings of the early meetings of the Secretariat that close attention was paid to the structure and mode of operation of the body. Members were anxious to ensure that development principles were seen to be working out within the agency itself. It therefore stressed a non-hierarchical consensus model of decision-making, and emphasized the importance of worker-participation by ensuring that the Executive Officer, once appointed, would be a full member of the Secretariat with voting rights. The group also recognized the need for expert advice, and in view of their long involvement with development issues, including participation in the Auckland Consultation and service on the planning committee for that event, appointed MS PAMELA GRUBER and the REVD JOHN CURNOW, respectively Directors of Christian World Service and Catholic Overseas Aid, to be Consultants to the Secretariat but without voting

rights. The choice of a suitable name was discussed, ESOD being selected, largely because it was a suitable acronym. The July 1975 meeting at the Redemptorist Monastery agreed that the objectives of the Secretariat should be those outlined by the Auckland Consultation in 1972, set a minimum budget of \$12,000 with additional funds to be secured for travel, and further agreed to advertise for an Executive Officer, "this key position on which the work of the Secretariat would largely depend".

There were sixteen applicants for the post of Executive Officer. One applicant, the Revd Michael Elliott, who was eventually appointed to the position, was working overseas and was persuaded to apply by friends in New Zealand. Elliott's working background was a crucial element both in his appointment and in the subsequent development of the Secretariat's ideology and style of work. In many ways it was initially built around his particular enthusiasms which the Secretariat as a whole encouraged him to pursue. As can be gathered from the Report of the Auckland Consultation, the Secretariat was given a very broad mandate, vague and even contradictory in some Sections, and a considerable amount of clarification was called for.

Ordained an Anglican priest in the Diocese of Auckland in 1961, Elliott served as a Curate with special responsibility for youth work in the large and sprawling West Auckland suburb of New Lynn, which contained extensive housing developments in the Kelston and Glen Eden areas. He subsequently became priest-in-charge of one of the daughter churches of the parish, that in Titirangi, and in 1965 was appointed assistant to the parish of Thames, where his major responsibility was the chaplaincy at the base hospital there.

Towards the end of 1965 he was awarded a scholarship for post-graduate theological studies at the Episcopal Theological School and Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. While his Auckland University degree had been in history and political science, his post-graduate work was in the area of sociological studies and the role of the Church in urban society. His studies were mainly under the direction of Professor Harvey Cox, whose book *The Secular City* (1965) had been published that year.

Through the facility of cross-registration available within the nine major Cambridge campuses, Elliott was able to attend a

course of Saul Alinsky's lectures at Brandeis University. This introduction to the principles of community organization was further developed within some of Professor Cox's courses, and given practical expression in field-work within the South Boston Renewal area, being directed for the Boston Redevelopment Authority by an Alinsky-trained operator; and in further field-work within the Polaroid Corporation.

At the conclusion of these studies, Elliott was invited by the Bishop of Woolwich, the Rt Reverend John A.T. Robinson, to become Warden of a College Mission and Settlement in one of the most depressed areas of South London. The Settlement became the base for a team of workers who pioneered a community work ministry in both areas of decaying housing, and vast new Local Authority Housing estates at the Elephant and Castle. The strategies employed were based on those of Alinsky, and the work of Richard Hauser was also of some influence. The major focus was on the development of tenants' organizations fighting for tenants' rights, community action around specific issues such as lack of adequate provision for play space, the establishment of community newspapers, and the enabling of local political candidates to run for office. At a different level, the community-work team organized regular meetings of statutory and voluntary social workers in the area, in an attempt to minimize the effect of several workers advising the one family in the pre-Seebohm model of social services. Four years in this locality characterized by high unemployment, high criminal rate with up to seventy percent of teenaged males relating to the Probation Service, and with twentyfive percent of children emerging from the education system illiterate, became Elliott's baptism of fire into the working class community and stimulated the development of a class analysis.

The influence of the Settlement spread beyond its own neighbourhood. Elliott became Secretary to the Diocese of Southwark's Commission on pastoral reorganization, which produced a Report (*Tomorrow's Parish*) recommending significant changes to the geographical basis, staffing and style of ministry of inner-city parishes in particular. He also served as a supervisor of community work trainees, and as Chairman of the London Borough of Southwark's Commission into Recreation and Leisure. A book by an inner-city ministry Director from the United States, (Tibbetts, 1968), which

focussed on three British community-based ministries, the Iona Community, the Mayflower Community and Elliott's Pembroke Community, drew even wider attention to the community-work style of ministry. This resulted in the Pembroke Community being invited to establish similar ministries elsewhere. In 1971 Elliott and two other members of the team responded to an invitation from the Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem to establish a community development project for the Palestinian Arab minority in the Israeli city of Haifa.

The project was located at St Luke's Centre, a sprawling and almost derelict Anglican Church compound on the edge of Wadi Nisnas, the major Arab ghetto in Haifa. While the team immediately encouraged pieces of community action around some of the more obvious injustices - the failure of the Jewish authorities to provide basic services for Wadi Nisnas - its major task initially was the undertaking of a survey of the area. This work, under the direction of the Sociology Department of Haifa University, and using specially trained Arab interviewers, resulted in the first major study of urban Arabs in Palestine since 1919. (*The Haifa Report*, 1973). The Report identified some of the major needs of the Arab community, the extent of discrimination against the Arab minority, and revealed the fundamental aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Enormous tensions developed within the Haifa Project. Some of these related to the theological gulf between the beleaguered and conservative Anglican community in Haifa and the theology of intervention which the team had developed. Others were related to the expressed needs of the Arab poor which could only be satisfied by community and political action which would restore confidence and dignity, and the objectives of the Arab Christian leadership which were to enhance the status and power of the Christian community by constructing more institutions (a model, incidentally, inherited from the European missionary era). The leadership therefore tended to support only institutional models of social service. A third area of tension was the insistence of the Anglican hierarchy that the project be seen to remain "neutral", and the growing recognition of the team that members were unavoidably making political options every day which would inevitably lead to a thorough identification with Palestinian aspirations. This option became explicit when, in the Yom Kippur War of October 1973 the Palestinian groups with which the

Project had been working regarded the team as allies in the struggle and St Luke's Centre as Palestinian territory. The political implications so threatened both Church and State that expatriate involvement in the Haifa Project was ended.

Elliott returned to the United Kingdom where he became Development Officer in the Community and Race Relations Unit (CRRU) of the British Council of Churches (BCC). Christian Aid, the aid and development division of the BCC, was channelling a small percentage of money raised for development to projects within Britain which was described as "assisting the Third World presence in the First World". These funds, a little over a hundred thousand pounds, were not large by international standards, but were significant when one considered that in 1974 an experienced community worker would be earning around two thousand pounds a year. In three years the Unit was able to fund a wide range of projects, including sixty community work or community worker projects, many of which were subsequently taken up and funded by local authorities, central Government or other Trusts. Elliott's task was to travel throughout Great Britain evaluating projects applying for funding. This brought him into close contact with racial minorities, particularly Asian and West Indian, in the inner-city areas of cities like London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Leicester, Bradford and Bristol. He also worked with such diverse groups as the Cypriot and Romany communities.

Because CRRU's mandate was to fund community projects amongst racially oppressed people with no specifically religious or political criteria, the Unit soon found itself deeply involved with Muslim, Black Power, Rastafarian and Marxist groups, some of which were committed to the violent overthrowing of the State, and one of which actually proceeded to a shoot-out with the police in London's West End. These experiences had a deep impact upon Elliott's thinking. He became acutely aware of the nature and extent of white racism, and especially institutional racism and the whole dynamic of cultural oppression. He was able to trace for himself the links between class and race, and in the end became acutely aware of the manner in which the Unit itself, staffed almost entirely by whites, by demanding criteria such as constitutions, the establishment of Trusts with Trustees of status in the community and the opening of bank accounts

with recognised banks, was itself part of the oppressive structure and preventing some projects which could have been significant in getting off the ground. In a submission to the Board in November 1974 Elliott argued that there seemed little difference in fact between the operation of CRRU in Britain and the paternalistic operation of overseas aid and development agencies: "The relationship is defined by us. It is defined by the way in which we evaluate projects, the way in which we pay out grants, and the accountability which we demand. . . the material benefits may (thus) be outweighed by the loss of self esteem and confidence, by loss of initiative and by an increasingly dependent relationship with the donor agency". (Elliott, M.C., 1974:5).

At the same time, Elliott was becoming aware of the limitations of the "race relations" component of the Unit. Faced with an increasing number of requests from projects which, while addressing themselves to the major problems of urban decay, did not have a racial minority element and therefore could not be funded, he persuaded the BCC to establish a Working Party to examine the whole area of community work and the churches. The Report of the Working Party, (*Community Work and the Churches*, 1976), recommended the establishment of a Community Work Unit within the BCC to involve the churches in community work, to release more church plant for community purposes and to establish both training and opportunities for theological reflection for clergy wanting to develop a community work model of ministry. The new Unit was established early in 1976 with full funding from Government sources through the Voluntary Services Unit of the Home Office.

From this biographical sketch it can be seen that Elliott's training and experience had provided him with a conflict model of social change, the elements of an economic, race and class analysis, a radical theology, a strong reaction against all forms of oppression, and a commitment to justice. His involvement in community work began at a neighbourhood level but his experience in the Middle East and in race relations work in Britain extended his understanding so that he was able to gain a global perspective on the nature of oppressive structures, the strategies and tactics to be employed against them, and the essential component of international solidarity amongst groups involved in this struggle.

In August 1975 Bishop Walter Robinson, Chairman of ESOD, telephoned Elliott in the United Kingdom. He said that the selection committee had met that day and there was just one question they had instructed the Bishop to ask. It was a question which reflected the two approaches to change revealed at the Auckland Consultation. Was Elliott committed to a consensus and incremental view of social change, or to a radical restructuring of society which would possibly involve conflict? The question was answered without hesitation and the Bishop replied, "Good. That's what we wanted to hear!"

A few days later Bishop Robinson tragically died, and Bishop Ashby assumed the chairmanship of ESOD. The newly appointed Executive Officer was asked to stay on in Europe for an international development education consultation sponsored by the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development to be held at Geroldswil near Zurich towards the end of October 1975. Another member of ESOD, Mr Alvin Arnold, was also able to attend.

The Geroldswil consultation was specifically designed for development educators from Europe, the North Atlantic and Australasia so that they could reflect on pedagogical techniques within developed countries. The conference was important for the Executive Officer in that it was his first introduction to this specific field, and to the network of support which would become important to ESOD's development. The Consultation assumed that, whereas many churches and church agencies had development education programmes, the persons who plan and carry them out have conflicting understandings of both the nature of the subject and their own tasks. Therefore what the churches were saying and doing in the name of development education was not always consistent or clarifying of the issues involved.

The Consultation was organized on non-directive lines in order to be consistent with development principles: visions of society, people's participation, self-determination, personal growth and so on. While this methodology proved itself disastrous, and that was perhaps the major learning for many participants, it did enable a sharing of information, insights and materials, some clarification of understandings of development education, some evaluation of programmes, and some proposals to churches and agencies.

The Executive Officer elected to join a working group dealing with one of the background papers prepared for the meeting by CCPD

staff. This paper outlined CCPD's own understanding of development education as constructed around four pillars: "First is an understanding of education as a life-long process of learning about ourselves and the world in which everyone acts as both student and teacher. Second is a belief that there can be no global development solutions, only a variety of solutions that must be worked out by the people affected. This implies decentralization of power within societies and organisations, including churches. Third is a conception of development as a liberating process whose aims are social justice and self-reliance. Changes of structures and systems are seen as a logical result rather than a prerequisite; economic growth as one of the various means rather than an end in itself; and people's participation in decisions that affect their lives as the fundamental yardstick of a just society. Fourth is a conviction that Christian faith implies an ethical imperative, namely: Seek to understand the forces at work in society, the social and political issues that divide man from man; become actively involved with others to help empower the powerless and redistribute the world's resources more equitably. (CCPD Working Paper, *Development Education in the North Atlantic and Australasia*, 1975).

The tensions within development education were quickly surfaced in discussion of this document: the tension between local solutions and overarching global restraints, the tension between those who viewed structural change as a prerequisite to justice, those who saw it as a result of justice and a few who thought only minor adjustments to the present structures are necessary; the tension between programmes aimed at educating the Church constituency and programmes which through involvement express the Church's solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed; and the tension between a Gospel which makes an option for the poor and powerless and pronounces judgement against the rich and the oppressor and a Gospel of reconciliation which offers salvation to rich and poor, oppressed and oppressor.

In his report to ESOD on this consultation the Executive Officer commented on three conclusions he had reached: first, the lack of clarity about development education; secondly, the domination of European obsessions such as the Christian-Marxist dialogue coupled with an ignorance of other dynamics, such as the

inter-faith dialogue; and thirdly, the unique nature of ESOD which, together with Action for World Development in Australia, had been created for development education and *action*. This made the Australasian agencies significantly different from European and North Atlantic counterparts; although the full implication of the distinction which aligned these models with those of the Third World would not be fully understood or recognised until the CCPD consultation in Cuba in 1979.

Disturbed by some aspects of development education in the West, the Executive Officer attempted to clarify his stance in a letter to the Chairman of ESOD, Number 1, 1975: "I see development education focussing on the support and enabling of people's movements for change, and encouraging within them an awareness of the global and theological dimensions to their struggles. The churches must be helped to work out the implications of such movements for their own lifestyles in terms of power, structures, property, investments, employee relationships, etc. The churches enter the realm of political pressure and public statement with little integrity unless they are demonstrating Gospel principles themselves. This approach contrasts sharply with many of the programmes represented at Geroldswil, where the focus is primarily on Church structures with a view to producing material on "third world problems", often with fundraising aims. I see our task as opening the churches' eyes to the reality of the struggles against injustice and for liberation on their doorsteps as the key to understanding how we in the rich nations both exploit resources and dehumanize people in the process".

Bishop Ashby responded to the Executive Officer with the following cable, Number 10, 1975: "Your approach confirmed. Flexisility (sic) required".

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SECRETARIAT'S UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT 1976-78

Clarification of Aims and Objectives

The Secretariat consciously chose to commence its work with a minimum of publicity and to adopt a relatively low profile. This was partly due to the experimental nature of both the agency and its task and the recognition that there would be pressure from the churches to assume some of the tasks of denominational development committees. But members were also conscious of wanting to avoid any impression of imposed development education programmes or projects. They accepted the validity of that current of development theory which urged replacement of paternalistic approaches with sensitivity to needs being expressed by the victims of underdevelopment. In 1976 therefore it interpreted its role as responding to both issues and requests for assistance.

It was nevertheless felt advisable to publish a brochure outlining the main purposes of the Secretariat for distribution in the churches. This was prepared during 1976 and it intimated that the agency was concerned with all aspects of development; personal human development, community development, national development and world development; and the links between these facets of development. The Secretariat is described as a "low profile ecumenical experiment which aims to activate groups at grassroots level, assist them with their analysis of society and provide resources for action". (ESOD Introductory Brochure, 1976). This statement has remained the basic description that the agency offers of itself, with the exception that it has come to interpret its task as "identifying and co-operating with" rather than "activating" groups at grassroots level.

The statement of the Secretariat's purpose continues: "The Secretariat tries to draw the attention of the churches and the general public to the basic issues of development in all countries including New Zealand. It believes that the major problems of world development lie in the structures, values and lifestyles of countries like New Zealand: that the affluence of some and the poverty of others are directly linked". (ESOD Introductory Brochure,

1976).

The brochure went on to list some of the Secretariat's tasks: working with denominational development agencies and committees; sponsoring educational programmes, seminars and conferences; providing resources for groups wishing to explore a specific issue; publishing material on development issues; researching aspects of development in New Zealand; co-operating with secular agencies committed to development; making statements on development issues on behalf of the churches; providing consultants or resource persons for conferences; expressing solidarity with groups in New Zealand struggling for liberation and justice; and assisting Christians involved in development action to reflect on and plan strategies. The majority of items on this list are functions which the churches might well expect of a development education agency. It is in the final two items that the more radical nature of the agency is suggested, and over the course of its first three years of activity, the Secretariat came to invest the greater proportion of its energies into the areas of expressing solidarity with local liberation struggles and servicing action-reflection groups for Christian activists.

The Secretariat meets as a constituent body twice a year. The first three meetings had been of a preparatory nature. The Fourth Meeting on 27 March 1976 was the first meeting with the Executive Officer to determine lines of work. As the Officer had been working for eight weeks only, little progress was made. However, it was resolved that the Secretariat host a day conference of Church development agencies to facilitate closer co-operation and the sharing of information and programmes. This meeting was held in Wellington in July 1976 and included representatives of Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, as well as Ecumenical committees. It provided useful feedback on the state of development education in the churches, and the expectations that the churches had of the Secretariat itself.

The Report of the meeting (ESOD Report 1976a) records that while many agencies had an emphasis on development, their approach was piecemeal and unco-ordinated; that there was far more communication about development than education for development; that there were still tensions between ideas of mission and development; and

that there were many models of development action and education being promoted, some of which were counter-developmental. The meeting recommended production of a joint programme for development education which might include an introductory programme concerned with attitudinal change and related to such New Zealand issues as racism and sexism; a modest experiment in community development; a resource handbook; regional seminars for clergy and laity; and participation in the SODEPAX programme, "In Search of a New Society". The meeting formally resolved that the first of these options, a sixteen-page newspaper-style manual, should be produced as quickly as possible. The Revd John Bluck, at that time editor of the ecumenical journal *New Citizen* agreed to accept editorial responsibility.

The resulting publication, *Development Is...* (ESOD 1977) attempts to help groups explore the Secretariat's understanding of development through a series of studies. It takes three statements: "Development is a process of wide-eyed analysis"; "Development seeks power in ways and places the world thinks powerless"; and "Development demands that people share in making the decisions that affect them"; and illustrates these through a series of case-studies, some related to the Third World and some to the New Zealand situation. But while more than 12,000 copies of the 20,000 run were distributed through church and other agencies, the Secretariat in its evaluation of the project felt that preparing, producing and storing publications was not the most appropriate use of its meagre resources. It quickly reversed a decision made at its fourth meeting to embark upon a publications programme, and began to assess more effective ways of promoting development education.

The Executive Officer soon became engaged in a wide range of activities through responding to churches and community groups: mailing out information on development, speaking at conferences, working with denominational committees on programme development, identifying development action groups, participating in programmes in community colleges, theological colleges and universities, and assisting with parish-based programmes.

At the Sixth Meeting of the Secretariat in March 1977 (ESOD Minutes 1977a) the first year's work was evaluated. Two major questions were raised. The first, taking the view that the Secretariat's role is that of a prophetic body proclaiming the

struggle for justice, pointed to the danger of the Executive Officer becoming an employee trying to implement an unclear policy. The second, noting that in its first twelve months the Secretariat had cast its net very wide, suggested that it should narrow its aims and make a stand on particular issues. The meeting agreed to Professor O'Connor's proposal that the next meeting of the Secretariat should clarify the agency's goals and objectives by taking the Secretariat's Statement of Intent, looking five years ahead, clarifying ultimate goals, and identifying specific objectives to be achieved within the next five years.

Prior to the Seventh Meeting in September 1977, Professor O'Connor circulated a paper (O'Connor, K., 1977) which began by defining what is meant by policy, goals and objectives, and went on to identify goals and objectives in relation to the four principles of development education which had been outlined at the Geroldswil consultation in 1975. For example, in relation to the first principle, that education is a life-long process in which all act as both students and teachers, Dr O'Connor argued that this is a goal-statement, and a specific objective in relation to that goal would be the formation and/or promotion of groups which would live out this goal. Such an objective is quantifiable whereas the goal itself is not. The second goal in the Geroldswil document, that there are no global but only local solutions, involves decentralization of power within societies and organizations, including churches. Again, the Secretariat could promote groups committed to examining cultural solutions within this pluralist milieu, and the results would again be quantifiable. The third goal, development as a liberating process aiming at social justice and self-reliance, might result in the formulation of specific objectives which would "require the examination of structures and systems as to whether or not they were in fact liberating in the Gospel sense of the word". (O'Connor, 1977:2)

Dr O'Connor went on to discuss two further areas in relation to the third principle. Identifying people's participation in decision-making as the fundamental yardstick of a just society, he urged that quantification of this yardstick be a specific objective. Likewise, in relation to economic growth, the Secretariat might formulate as a specific objective to examine "whether or not changes in economic or socio-economic indicators of a conventionally

economic kind were reflecting or not reflecting a condition of a just society". (O'Connor, 1977:3) Drawing a distinction between distribution of income and distribution of wealth, and emphasising the links between wealth and power, he suggests the quantification of wealth and income distribution "would represent a specific objective within the total goal of liberation". (O'Connor, 1977:3)

The fourth goal of the Geroldswil statement: that the Christian faith implies an ethical imperative, namely, to seek to understand the forces at work in society, the divisive social and political issues, and to become involved with others to empower the powerless and redistribute the world's resources more equitably, calls, argues Dr O'Connor, for forms of individual and societal witness. In particular it demands that ESOD be a change-agent of the larger body from which it is derived. In this regard, specific objectives can be identified from time to time.

The paper concludes by arguing that if the Secretariat is able to establish half a dozen clear goals and to identify specific objectives to be attained within a five or ten year period, nine-tenths of its planning work will be completed.

A considerable part of the Seventh Meeting was devoted to discussion of this paper. Much of the debate centered on Dr Rob Steven's approach based on economic analysis, in contrast to Dr O'Connor's analysis based on human ecology. The proposition that the Secretariat declare its goals as "Christian socialist" was discussed at length, but because some felt that this term might be interpreted in too narrow a political sense, no consensus could be reached other than that Gospel values should provide the starting-point. It was generally agreed that while the fourth principle of the Geroldswil Statement provided an adequate outline of goals, it was necessary to spend much more time working on goal-statements which demonstrate the values of the Secretariat, and on the details of specific objectives. It was resolved that to assist to clarify these areas, each member of the Secretariat should produce a policy statement for discussion.

These policy statements were presented as a Working Paper (ESOD Working Paper, 1978a) to be discussed at the Eighth Meeting of the Secretariat in March 1978. While most of the statements tried to briefly state policy, goals and objectives, Dr Steven, a

Christian Marxist, argued that the Secretariat was in danger of neglecting its primary purpose of helping to discover solutions to the problem of growing underdevelopment, in favour of working out theological justifications for Christian involvement in this area. He challenged the Secretariat on its analysis, arguing that honesty requires the use of the best available tools to analyse the causes of underdevelopment, and that masses of data and analysis attest to the fact that capitalism is the cause of underdevelopment. He went on to point out that "the state of the world economy is rapidly reaching the point where the very credibility of the Gospel will depend on whose side the Church decides to take. It is no longer possible to pretend that by equivocating in the middle the Church does not support capitalism. Christianity has been intimately bound up with the spread of capitalism, and it will disappear with capitalism unless it makes a radical break with the vested interests in that system. Unless ESOD moves in the direction of making such a break, I can see little use for having a body which explicitly claims a concern for development. ... If we are going to fudge the issue in a mass of theological justification for not taking specific stands, we might as well become an Ecumenical Secretariat on a Theology of Action". (ESOD Working Paper, 1978a:1)

This challenge dominated discussion at the Eighth Meeting with members agreeing that the Secretariat must make a clear option, not be vague on issues for fear of giving offence, encourage the Church to break with vested interests and move from the liberal stance which protects present structures, challenge the Church when it argues the legitimacy of a ministry to the rich and powerful, and, acknowledging that the Gospel requires an ideological framework, concentrate more energies into analysis and on the promotion of analysis amongst the groups with which it works. This meeting went on to formally resolve that the Secretariat should sponsor seminars in structural analysis and from this point of the Secretariat's history on, more emphasis was given to clarifying analysis than to working out specific objectives through which development education could be quantified.

The Meeting nevertheless selected one of the individual contributions on goals and objectives, that of the Reverend Ruawai Rakena, which drew on WCC understandings, as the best basis for discussion, and suggested that members might modify or add to it in

the light of further thinking. This statement defined development as "a liberating and transforming process whereby social, economic, religious and political structures facilitate and enable persons and communities to realize their full human potential as willed by God and revealed in the man Jesus".

Mr Rakena defined the Secretariat's goals as: "To realise the kind of society in which members are able to reach their full human potential and share justly in the resources of wealth available and created; to help create awareness and understanding among the poor and oppressed of the nature and form of injustice prevailing and to support their endeavours to overcome it; to advocate and promote changes and alternative forms of social, political and economic structures within society". (ESOD Working Paper, 1978:6). He listed as objectives those of deepening the awareness amongst ourselves and member churches of the issues involved; eliciting and confirming churches' commitment to development as a fundamental expression of the Gospel; establishing appropriate networks of relationships for co-operation and support; establishing study and research groups investigating root causes and alternative structures, maximising local resources and labour potential; and influencing public opinion.

Clarification of Analysis

The Secretariat attempted to come to terms with Freire's action-reflection process, and as a result much of the analysis it developed sprang from reflection on the kind of active involvement described in the section on Methodology which follows. This process was greatly assisted at the theoretical level by Dr Rob Steven who produced a series of working papers for the Secretariat's consideration: "Development Education" (Steven, R., 1976); "Class Structure, Composition and Interests in New Zealand Capitalism", (Steven, R., 1977) which was also presented to the Second New Zealand Political Studies Association conference; "Marxist Solutions to Economic Problems" (Steven, R., 1978); "Revolutionary Strategy and the Form of the Crisis in New Zealand", (Steven, R., 1979a) and "Unemployment" (Steven, R., 1979b).

Dr Steven's analysis is outlined in the first of these papers, "Development Education", in which he attempts to illustrate that underdevelopment results from a net transfer of real and potential

surpluses from poor capitalist to rich capitalist countries. His conclusion is that the chief causes of underdevelopment are not to be found in the developing states themselves, but in the developed capitalist states, which benefit most from two forms of unequal exchange. His argument is that these capitalist states are primarily responsible for supporting and encouraging local and foreign capitalism in developing countries as well as local and foreign military power to maintain low wages and long hours. In this and other papers, Steven offers a similar analysis to that of Andre Gunder Frank (1971), although Steven draws his example from his own experience in Asia rather than from Latin America.

Steven argues that because New Zealand participates in and benefits from the exploitation and military control of the labouring masses in the Third World, the real cause of underdevelopment lies in this country and the struggle against it must be waged here. His conclusion is that "development education should focus on New Zealand capitalism, on its unequal exchanges with developing countries, its foreign investments . . . and its contribution to military oppression in the Third World. We need to emphasize that what developing countries need is not more contact with us, but severance of their ties with us so that their resources remain in their own countries. If this cannot be done as long as New Zealand remains a capitalist country, our education programme should concentrate on the need to abolish capitalism in this country". (Steven, 1976:9).

Steven is critical of Christian naivety and the propensity for adopting slogans without thoroughly analysing their meanings. In one of his less academic papers, "Marxist Solutions to Economic Problems", (a title he was asked to address himself to, but which he quickly rejects arguing that one can only discuss Marxist analyses of economic problems as too few societies have so far experimented with Marxist solutions to generate a firm scientific theory), he points out that the slogan "Live simply so that others may simply live", so popular amongst Christian development agencies, can have disastrous consequences in a capitalist economy: unsold products, bankruptcies and unemployment, none of which might be intended by those who support the slogan.

In the same paper he takes Christians to task for moralizing on economic issues; exaggerating the unrighteousness of people who

live under immoral systems and the righteousness of those who live under moral systems. Fundamental to the Marxist approach on the other hand is the view that we must understand what happens to people and how the system under which they live functions. He finds this view easier to square with the Gospel than the view that people need to be preached at in order to become more moral. "To me, Marxism is an essential complement to Christianity and a prerequisite to Christian action for justice in a world that has become impossible to understand without scientific theory. Marxism comes the closest to providing an adequate theory of how our world works". (Steven, R., 1978:2).

In one of his more substantial papers, *Revolutionary Strategy and the Form of the Crisis in New Zealand*, Steven examines the specific forms of the capitalist crisis in this country, analyses why it is assuming these forms and in a brief conclusion offers some comments on revolutionary strategy and tactics. In this paper he unequivocally adopts a Marxist-Leninist approach.

The paper views the current crisis as presenting itself in two forms. The first is that of a mounting energy crisis, with propaganda calling for constraint in energy consumption. Using government figures, Steven demonstrates that there is in fact no shortage of energy supplies in New Zealand; and further demonstrates that the 1976 decision to link indigenous forms of energy to industrial fuel oil prices resulted in massive price increases for the domestic, mainly working-class, consumer, while industry was encouraged to negotiate prices for bulk supplies or, in the case of South Island manufacturers, offered a 25 percent electricity subsidy. Steven's conclusion is that the state is encouraging capitalists to use more electricity, but workers to use less. He also views increases in domestic tariffs as a form of taxing the working class which meets with little resistance, particularly as propaganda presents both the energy crisis and measures to deal with it as unavoidable. Furthermore, charging workers high prices for cheap electricity has been a way of reducing real wages as workers have been told that the energy crisis has caused chronic shortages of supply.

The second form of the crisis is the "balance of payments crisis" which is supposed to have resulted from rising oil prices.

This crisis is portrayed as something which holds the very existence of the nation in balance. For Steven, however, balance of payments problems are simply forms of the breakdown of class relations. A balance of payments is just the record of the "money changes" that take place between two groups of capitalists. As long as there is international credit through which capitalists in different countries lend to each other there is no crisis. A crisis would occur only if foreign creditors stop lending and no longer recirculate the interest they receive back into the system. Steven goes into a detailed and concrete examination of the way the balance of payments deficit is used to persuade workers to work harder for lower wages and notes that concern over "foreign debt" is a politically organized campaign, "part of that wider ideological campaign to make problems of capitalism appear to be problems of the nation". (Steven, R., 1979a:10).

This ideological campaign is a central issue for Steven and he regards its subtlety as the ability to plausibly argue causes which are outside the workers' experience. To argue, for example, that rising wages have caused the crisis is unconvincing to workers who know that they have not had any real increase for many years. But to blame an energy shortage or an imbalance in international payments does not contradict workers' experience in the same way. The "Go Easy on Energy" and "Export Year" campaigns have been able to win working-class acceptance because of the very way that capitalism operates: the interest of the worker in maintaining a subsistence living is overwhelming, and when it is indicated that an energy shortage or balance of payments deficit is causing problems in the industry, it is easy to see why workers become concerned as well. It is this fact which makes revolutionary politics so complex in a capitalist society: without a job the worker lacks the material subsistence to be part of a revolutionary movement; as long as jobs are secure few will risk them through involvement in revolutionary politics.

In this paper Steven reproduces his attacks on liberal and radical elements which unintentionally serve the interests of capitalism. He notes that those who raised the alarm about non-renewable resources "helped enormously to convert what was really an offensive by one group of capitalists into what it appeared to be:

an international energy crisis". (Steven, R., 1979a:34). Similarly, those concerned with issues of lifestyle often portrayed the crisis as the result of nature's refusal to tolerate further human abuse and in order that people might live once more in harmony with nature and respect her limitations people should reduce their consumption and "live simply". He concludes that "in a climate in which bourgeois radicals were waging a campaign for 'muesli and candles', it was very easy for capitalists to make their profitability crisis look like anything but a breakdown of class relations". (Steven, R., 1979a:34)

In terms of revolutionary strategy, Steven solidly rejects any idea of national revolution. For him, such a concept introduces a fascist dimension "that it is one's patriotic duty to support the export drive through which alone the capitalist class can re-establish its foundering position". (Steven, R., 1979a:37). He favours instead workers' organization and struggle which can convince them that they have the power to solve their problems without at this stage being aware of why they need class consciousness, a revolutionary party, or socialism. For Steven, revolutionary strategy is "a style of work which involves analysing problems but relying on workers to test the truth of the conclusions. We do not yet have a blow by blow plan of how we will get to socialism, but we do know they by relying on workers to test and advance our science we will get clearer on the specifics". (Steven, R., 1979a:38).

Steven quickly became the Secretariat's dominant theoretician and his views were very influential. While only a minority of members would have been willing to label themselves as "Marxist", the Marxist analysis gained increasing acceptance. Steven's work at least convinced members of the Secretariat of the need for an economic analysis of society, and of the caution required in affirming liberal Christian development agencies and campaigns; indeed, of the necessity in some instances of challenging and rejecting such campaigns when they reinforce the values and structures which create underdevelopment.

Steven constantly pressed the Secretariat to locate development issues within the framework of the broader analysis rather than adopt a piecemeal approach. Thus when the North East Christchurch Electricity Boycott Group later emerged from one of the Secretariat's programmes (Christian Action Week 1979) and similar groups were

established in Porirua and South Auckland, the Secretariat understood and treated these initiatives, not as isolated examples of community action, but as a manifestation of the class struggle.

Similarly, when some members of the Secretariat proposed that a statement on unemployment be issued, Steven argued that the issue be clearly articulated within its entire economic context. The result was a statement not on unemployment, but on the need to re-examine our economic system and especially that aspect of the system we call free enterprise. (ESOD Statement on Free Enterprise, 1978).

It was the Executive Officer's task, as the Secretariat's only fulltime member, to undertake the bulk of its work, including nearly all speaking and lecturing engagements. As the Secretariat clarified its analysis, so the Executive Officer's talks and addresses became more ideologically explicit. In his first major paper, "The Church and Development" (Elliott, M.C., 1976), delivered to Anglican Church Synods in Dunedin and Nelson and to the Annual General Meeting of the National Council of Churches he sets out to explain that the Church's involvement in development is not a new involvement but a new perspective on the traditional Christian activities of mission and evangelism. He defines the basic concern of development as "creating and sustaining community" and argues that the Church's mandate for community involvement rests on the Gospel imperatives of enabling persons to develop their full human potential and ensuring that the structures of society encourage and do not inhibit this development. At this stage he sees the task of the Secretariat not as the initiator of action but as a resource to those in the Churches who become engaged in struggles for liberation and justice in their own communities on the one hand and people's movements directed towards social change on the other. The Secretariat should reflect back to the Church the critique such movements develop of society, particularly when the Church is identified as part of the structures of oppression; and should encourage in popular movements for change an awareness of both the global context of, and *theological* dimension to their struggle. While the necessity of developing an analysis is maintained, there are no indications in this paper of a particular analysis. It clearly reflects the Executive Officer's experience in community

development and interest in establishing the theological basis for development action.

Elements of an analysis begin to emerge in a paper delivered twelve months later to the Annual Meeting of Trade Aid. (Elliott, M.C. 1977). This paper challenges the traditional Christian view that if people become better systems and structures become better as a direct result. Arguing against simplistic analyses and prognoses, the paper looks at a single event - the unusually large number of deaths of elderly people in the British winter of 1974 - tracing causes back through inadequate pensions, increased electricity prices, the state of the British coal industry, the oil crisis of 1973 and the Arab-Israeli conflict, to colonial, political and cultural factors, "to the exploitation of resources and workers and to the maintenance of particular values and a particular economic system". (Elliott, M.C., 1977:3). That economic system is not, however, specified primarily because there was at this time a debate within the Secretariat over the use of terminology. Some members maintained that, rather than use the word "capitalism" which might both alienate some of the constituency and publicly identify the agency as leftist, it was advisable to employ more neutral terminology such as "the dominant economic system".

The analysis becomes more explicit in a series of papers prepared in 1978. In the first of these, "A Critique of Economic-Industrial Systems with Reference to Roman Catholic Socio-Political Thought and Documents" (Elliott, M.C., 1978a) there is an analysis of Roman Catholic social teaching since 1891, which focusses particularly on the political conflict between the Church and European Socialist movements which led to Pius XI's assertion that, because "Religious Socialism" and "Christian Socialism" are expressions implying contradictions in terms, no one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist. The paper examines in detail the Church's rejection of both liberal capitalist and socialist or marxist understandings in favour of what the Church regards as Gospel principles: work as an expression of human creativity; private ownership as a vital element in the human economy; private possessions are intended to benefit the common good; state intervention in economic affairs should be for the common good; justice as the arbiter of economic and industrial

relationships; and the need for the structures of economic life to promote human development. In its final section the paper comments on the way in which, despite the Church's official teaching, Christian-Marxist co-operation developed principally in Latin America; and on the notion that the Gospel requires an ideological framework. It contends that throughout history the Gospel has been expressed through the medium of current ideologies, so that in some situations it becomes impossible to distinguish the Gospel from its ideological medium. In other cases, when the ideology falls from favour, the Gospel appears irrelevant, and in order to recover its dynamism must discover a more appropriate ideological medium.

A second paper, "Linking New Zealand Situations with Wider Issues", (Elliott, M.C., 1978b), delivered at the National Conference of Catholic Overseas Aid, linked land struggles in New Zealand, in which the Secretariat has become involved through its support for the occupation of Bastion Point, to land struggles elsewhere and identified the major elements in those struggles. In examining the economic structure, this paper refers openly to capitalism which "places an economic value on every facet of human existence and endeavour, and understands profit as the only motivation for the development of communities and nations". (Elliott, M.C., 1978b:5). The role of the transnational corporations within international capitalism is examined at length, as is the churches' support, through their property ownership and investments, of the capitalist system. The paper concludes by examining the implications of Dr Steven's assertion that the Church will disappear with capitalism unless it makes a radical break with the vested interests in that system.

Participation or Domination?: Relationships Between Small and Large Nations in the Pacific (Elliott, M.C., 1978c) was the title of a paper given at a CORSO seminar in Palmerston North. This describes the capitalist model of development to which the New Zealand government is committed and through case-studies demonstrates why the major benefits of this approach are to the New Zealand economy rather than to the Pacific economies, and how the approach creates cultural domination and dependency. While the paper clearly implies the advantages of a socialist model, it refrains from describing such a model in detail. Rather it reflects

the contentions of Pacific leaders who argue that neither capitalist nor socialist models appear appropriate to the Pacific, but the building of a "Pacific way" upon the traditional and strong social and economic values of Pacific cultures. In so doing, the paper is emphasising the importance for the development process of locally determined rather than imposed models.

The Executive Officer's analysis, and as a consequence that of the Secretariat as a whole, became more sharply focussed as a result of his visit to a Third World Marxist-Leninist State, Cuba, in 1979. Here he was able to experience at first hand something of the dynamic of a revolutionary strategy, and equally importantly, to reflect with those elements of the Cuban churches which had come to support the revolution as an expression of Gospel values. His substantial Report (Elliott, M.C., 1980a) was considered at some length by the Twelfth Meeting of the Secretariat in March 1980. The Report describes the post-revolutionary structures which were established in Cuba and assesses favourably the rapid development of all aspects of Cuban life which they have facilitated.

The report describes in considerable detail a series of reflections with Cuban church representatives and emphasises three major issues: the contention of the leading Cuban theologian, Serge Arce Martinez, that because "the Church and its ideologized faith have been part of the bourgeois, imperialist, capitalist disorder, and in general continue to be so" (Martinez, 1978) the Gospel must be de-ideologized; the assertion that the Church cannot by its nature participate in the revolution, but that the revolution must deal with the structural power of the Church in order to bring about an essential purification of the Church; and the evolution of traditional theology from whole power structure and role of the Church into concepts such as "the servant church" which serve only the interests of the powerful. Real theology only emerges, the Cubans maintain, from the struggles of the people.

In the World Council of Churches' consultation which concluded the visit to Cuba, "Development Education - Action for Justice?" (CCPD Report, 1980) participants from twenty-three nations recognized the need for ideological clarity as a prerequisite to development education. The Executive Officer's report notes that participants agreed "that it is impossible in development education

to talk in social categories without talking of socialism; and that it is impossible to talk of analysis without talking of Marxism. When we speak about development education we are inevitably speaking about some form of socialist society". (Elliott, M.C., 1980a:13)

It was these assertions which became the basis of debate at the Twelfth Meeting. Minutes of that meeting record that members tried to draw a distinction between Marx as a philosopher, Marx as a change agent, and Marx as a scientist, acknowledging the fundamental importance of his scientific work for development education. The meeting further affirmed that there is nothing implicitly atheistic in Marxist analysis which explains how society works, but warned that no tools of analysis should be used uncritically. The consensus reached, that development education is concerned with the establishment of a socialist society, was a crucial one for the Secretariat's future style of work.

From this point on, the Executive Officer's papers become much more explicit in analysis. For example, to go beyond the period under discussion, in a paper delivered to a course of the Nelson Community Education Service, *Is New Zealand an Underdeveloped Country*, (Elliott, M.C., 1980b) Elliott draws on Andre Gunder Frank's analysis of the metropolis-satellite structure of the capitalist system and upon the Secretariat's experience in its forestry project to show how the forestry industry creates under-development in New Zealand by transferring benefits to metropolitan centres while rural areas become depopulated, economically weak, and their infra-structures are eroded. The paper concludes that New Zealand, through the imposed capitalist model of development, is necessarily under-developed and will continue to be so until the country chooses a model of development which decouples us from the capitalist system. The paper affirms the contention that the only countries which may legitimately be called developing countries are those orientated towards the construction of socialism, since only they can create the conditions necessary to overcome the structural distortion inherent in capitalism. It firmly rejects, however, any notion of imported socialism, arguing that New Zealanders must create a socialist state on the basis of their own identity, cultures and struggles.

At the same time the Secretariat became more publicly

aggressive in its stance. In response to a draft report on ten years of development education issued by the World Council of Churches for consideration and critical comment by partner agencies, ESOD commented on a section questioning the validity of a socialist option by insisting that socialism be explicitly defined. Pointing to the fact that socialism might mean something quite different outside a European context, it asserted in a passage which was included in the final publication: "Our educational efforts are directed towards the establishment of socialism in New Zealand. The form of this socialism may bear very little resemblance to European or African socialism: it will have to be worked out in terms of our history and culture. But socialism remains the basic concept around which our strategies are constructed". (Elliott, M.C.: Comments to CCPD, 11 September, 1980).

It would be false, however, to label the Secretariat as a Christian-Marxist entity. Only a minority, perhaps three members, would describe themselves as such. The Executive Officer, whose analysis had been rejected as anarchist by Cuban revolutionaries, had been drawn to a detailed study of classical anarchism, particularly in the form in which it had emerged from eighteenth century English religious nonconformity. Other members of the Secretariat would be happy with the labels "socialist" or "Christian socialist" and expressed the desire for more analysis. This would be provided through the structural analysis seminars, sponsored from 1980 onwards by the Secretariat in partnership with the Urban Training Centre for Christian Ministry (UTC)..

Clarification of Methodology

The clarification of objectives, ideology and methodology were not disparate processes. They occurred simultaneously as the Secretariat took options, issued statements, became involved in pieces of action and constantly reflected on its failures and successes. This was especially important in the case of ideology and methodology, as reflection on practical experience helped to clarify the ideology on one hand, and the Secretariat sought to implement methods consistent with the ideology on the other.

The Secretariat's methodological approach drew initially on the work of Saul Alinsky (1969, 1970, 1972). The Executive Officer

had studied under Alinsky in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and had subsequently tested and adapted Alinsky's community organization techniques in a working-class area of London with with Palestinian communities in Israel, and had promoted these techniques amongst radical black projects when he was working for the British Council of Churches. (cf Chapter 3, pages 85-86). The Executive Officer therefore came to the Secretariat convinced of the value of community organization for development action. This view was confirmed for him as he became more informed of development practice in the Third World and made contact with Urban-Rural Mission units at both the World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia, where the respective Directors, George Todd and Oh Jae Shik were both Alinsky confreres and were actively promoting his methods. Indeed, the techniques had become far more sophisticated than Alinsky's own understanding of them through their development in situations of great oppression, like those in South Korea and the Philippines. In a real sense these skills, pioneered in the developed world, had been tested, modified and improved in the Third World, and were being offered back to the First World as more effective instruments of change.

Alinsky did not ever describe his theory of change in a systematic way. The style employed in his two major works, *Reveille For Radicals* (1969) and *Rules for Radicals* (1972) is largely anecdotal as he illustrates his "rules" like "Never go outside the experience of your people", "Wherever possible go outside the experience of the enemy", and "Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules" in a humorous vein. Indeed one of his rules is that "ridicule is man's most potent weapon". Nevertheless his objective is very clear: to change those conditions of modern life which alienate people from society and make them nonparticipants in the social order. By alienation Alinsky means the sense of powerlessness experienced by the poor when they believe that they cannot influence the outcomes of their own lives; and the lack of understanding that the poor have of the events in which they are caught up.

The poor - low income communities - Alinsky believed to be the most alienated group, and his work initially concentrated on such communities, although towards the end of his life he believed

that his techniques were relevant to middle-class communities as well. His analysis was that the structures of society determine the way socially esteemed rewards like jobs and housing are distributed, and that precisely the same structures encourage the poor to behave in ways that contribute towards the stability of the very society which victimizes them. What is required therefore is a redistribution of power in society. Because of their large numbers, the poor have an option on power. But to become powerful they must organize and employ tactics and strategies relevant to the acquisition, elaboration and use of power.

Such a redistribution of power is never made voluntarily. Those who hold power will give it up only when under challenge, their self-interest is threatened. This requires conflict, or in many cases simply the threat of conflict, for another of Alinsky's rules insists that "the threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself". A key notion for him is therefore conflict management: the skills of creating conflict, using conflict creatively and resolving conflict. In practice Alinsky was opposed to creating conflict in a vacuum, although some of his followers believed that the awareness and energy produced by even an artificially created conflict could legitimately contribute to the struggle for redistribution of power. It was Alinsky's belief that conflict already exists within the community. The major strategy is to make explicit that latent conflict between the community and its oppressors. He would often employ the analogy of human disease, arguing for example that there is no point in continuing to bandage a sore which will not heal. It must be lanced! "Rubbing salt into wounds" and "knocking heads off sores" were the picturesque phrases Alinsky employed to suggest the tactics of increasing the level of conflict in order to bring about confrontation with the powerful. (M.C. Elliott's personal notes of Alinsky lectures).

Central to his methodology of organizing people for power was the concept of the People's Organization. This he regarded as one expression of the mass movement. Sometimes he organized people's organizations around a single community issue; sometimes they were coalitions of quite diverse community groups. But the goals of people's organizations are identical, although the hierarchy of goals is unclear in Alinsky's thought: to alter environmental

conditions such as economic injustice, unemployment and discrimination; to alter people's beliefs about themselves, their feelings of hopelessness, apathy and anonymity; and to train people so that they learn co-operation as the basis of managing their own affairs. Essential to this process is the Community Organizer, the person who comes into the community to act as a catalyst, to assist the people define the goals, strategies and tactics of the people's organization, and who withdraws once that task is complete.

One of the best examples of Alinsky's techniques was the community organization he built in Rochester, New York. Invited in by the local Council of Churches which had been shocked into action by rapidly deteriorating race relations in the summer of 1963, resulting in riots, looting, the burning of the city centre and the calling out of the National Guard, Alinsky followed one of his basic rules: "Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it". He identified the enemy as Eastman Kodak, the largest employer in Rochester, which had a discriminatory policy towards blacks. His operators set about building a powerful people's organization which began to confront Eastman Kodak, to win concessions from it, and eventually secured from it a more just employment policy. At the same time the organization became involved in community and political initiatives on a wider scale.

In his own experience, the Executive Officer had found Alinsky's techniques very useful, but has also discovered the necessity of linking community organization to wider, even global forms of political struggle. He had come to describe the whole process as consisting of six steps, each step demanding a higher level of awareness than the previous one. At the first level the community expresses its felt needs. At the second it asks the question, "Why does this situation exist?" and identifies the power structure. The third step involves action as the community selects a tactic in relation to one or more of the needs, and reflection on the success of the tactic. At the fourth step a more political awareness is developed as the community explores ways of exercising its new-found power. This leads on to the fifth and sixth levels, as groups begin both to form immediate alliances and to engage in the wider struggle.

This process is illustrated by one of the projects within

Israel to which the Executive Officer had been related. An urban Palestinian community identified as some of its immediate needs, the provision of electricity and water services and a regular rubbish collection. In analyzing why these needs existed when all the Jewish sectors of the city were more than adequately provided for, the Arab group concluded that they were aspects of the political and ideological oppression by the dominant race, so that Palestinians could always be represented as poor, dirty and primitive. The tactic devised was to announce that the community was going to collect all its rubbish and dump it on the steps of the Town Hall, before the cameras of the international news media. The threat of the tactic was sufficient, and regular rubbish collections were established. In searching for the most appropriate vehicle to give political expression to the power-base the community had established, many members joined one of the political parties which was sensitive to minority rights. The community organization began to seek alliances with such groups as local Churches (which, because they were largely foreign-based, added an international dimension to the organization's activities) and Jewish human rights groups. In terms of the wider struggle for a Palestinian homeland, the organization began to make cautious links with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Community Organization has, however, flourished in Asia as one of the strategies consistent with structural-conjunctural analysis. There are at the time of writing, literally scores of community organization "manuals" emerging from Asian programmes, the vast majority of them simply duplicated so that they can be easily circulated, but some like *Organizing People for Power* (Asian Committee for People's Organization, 1978) and *Guidelines for Development* (Christian Conference of Asia, 1980) are more elaborately presented. One of the duplicated unattributed manuals, *Community Organization Principles, Methods and Processes*, is a highly systematized work, born out of the experience of organizers in the Philippines. For these workers, community organization serves twin purposes; it builds the people's Counter-ideological Apparatus; and it builds their Counter-political Apparatus. In the first case, the elite has through centuries of domination "built a system of false consciousness that daily and structurally influences the people's minds and hearts". This has become so institutionalized

that it is simply referred to as "culture". Against this system of cultural oppression, community organization can create the counter-ideology, initially through small group, scattered and sporadic protest, questioning and criticism, but eventually through a movement which will mature into a systematic critique of the present disorder.

Secondly, because planning and implementing programmes for society has become a specialized enterprise and the domain of technocrats, bureaucrats and political leaders, to whose determinations the masses are expected to conform; and because present organizations in society are replicas of the elite's own organization; only genuine people's organizations can be the organs of power for the oppressed which enable them to participate in the sphere of decision-making. These organizations serve both to train the masses for their roles in the new order, and as models of local and national government when the revolution triumphs. Thus Alinsky's techniques, which he employed with varying degrees of success to win concessions from the Establishment, have come to serve revolutionary ends.

Statements and Action

During the period 1976-78 the Secretariat issued four major statements which illustrate its understanding of development. Three of the statements are on matters of principle while one, the third in historical sequence, had its origins in the occupation of Bastion Point by Maori activists. The Bastion Point statement is therefore discussed in terms of the Secretariat's adopted methodology at that stage. The four statements are included in Appendix A.

(a) Statement on Government Development Assistance

The 1972-75 Labour Government determined as one of the elements of foreign policy, to attempt to achieve within the three-year term, the internationally accepted targets of 0.7 percent of Gross National Product for Official Development Assistance (ODA) and 1 percent of Gross National Product for total resource transfers. The 0.3 percent additional to ODA was by international convention to be provided by non-governmental aid and private investment.

Norman Kirk, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs,

sets out the Government's objectives in the 1973 Foreign Affairs Report. "For some years New Zealand has paid lip service to the internationally accepted targets for aid. In absolute terms our aid expenditure has steadily increased. Proportionally to gross national product, however, it lags well behind and the rate of percentage increase has been minute. This situation the present Government is determined to correct. Recognizing all the difficulties, including pressure on resources and competing priorities, the Government has nevertheless drawn up and approved an official aid programme whose objective is the achievement of the target over a period of three years. This means that, as an immediate consequence, Government aid will rise from \$19.4 million in 1972-73 to \$27 million in 1973-74, and that it will need to rise to an estimated \$62 million by the 1975-76 financial year". (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Report, 1973:14)

The second Labour Government made good progress towards these targets and the voluntary sector also responded well. While Government did not manage to achieve 0.7 percent GNP Official Development Assistance by the end of its term of office, the level of funding had been raised to \$59,788,252 which was 0.57 percent of GNP. These figures were in fact above the official allocation for the year (\$57,100,000 or 0.55 percent GNP respectively) which had been reduced in view of the deterioration of the country's economic situation. (Advisory Committee on External Aid and Development: First Annual Report, 1976:3). These figures, however, represented vast increases over the levels of 0.22, 0.23 and 0.23 percent GNP achieved in the preceding three years by the National Government.

The National Party's 1975 election manifesto confirmed acceptance of the 1 percent target, but did not specify a target date. When the party won the General Election of 1975, however, it very quickly announced that for the 1976/77 year Official Development Assistance would be held at the previous year's allocated figure of \$57 million. In fact, this allocation was pared back to \$51 million, a reduction from 0.57 percent to 0.44 percent GNP. The press announcement claimed that the reduction was part of an effort to save overseas funds.

While the action of the National government in increasing the Bilateral Aid allocation to the Pacific from \$21 million to \$24 million was applauded, concern was echoed over the significance of

reductions in bilateral aid: South East Asia from \$17 million to \$13 million, and Africa from \$1.3 million to \$407,000 where the hardest hit country was Socialist Tanzania which had its million dollar allocation reduced to \$242,000. These reductions were widely interpreted in development circles as the National government's response to criticism and pressure from African nations over New Zealand sporting bodies' contacts with South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Secretariat's statement issued on 21 August 1976 (see Appendix A for text) took up these issues and urged the Government to reconsider its aid and development policies. It did so as one of a number of development agencies including the Overseas Development Committee, CORSO and the Government's own Advisory Committee on Aid and Development. ESOD's statement was, however, unique in that it drew particular attention to the decrease in the African allocation being "regarded as petty retribution against policies adopted on grounds of justice and humanity".

(b) Statement on the Right to Dissent

The Secretariat issued this statement as a response to a tendency observed within the National government to attack and discredit individuals rather than deal with issues raised as points of criticism. This tactic of personal abuse was being directed by the Prime Minister in particular towards both members of the parliamentary opposition and community groups like Halt All Racist Tours (HART), Citizens' Association for Racial Equality (CARE) and the Churches.

It was a particular attack, however, which triggered the statement. The Prime Minister's attacks on the activities of HART, and especially on its dissemination of information and press cuttings on sporting contacts to overseas organizations, led to a bitter personal attack upon its Chairman, Trevor Richards, whom the Prime Minister accused of being "guilty of acts which border on treason". Community groups, including some of the churches, immediately sprang to Mr Richards' defence. When questioned on the evidence of community support for HART and in particular on the degree of support from the churches, the Prime Minister commented to the media that he wasn't surprised as "the Church has always been a home for left-wing conspiracy".

The Secretariat's statement argues that while Christians have a responsibility to work wherever possible with governments, the demands of the Gospel must take priority in Christian life, and may lead not just to dissent but to Christians publicly working against the implementation of unjust and inhuman policies. It also makes the point that dissent makes a positive contribution to democracy.

The statement was issued in mid-1976. By the time it reached the majority of the clergy in the January 1979 mailing, probably only those who had closely followed the public argument at the time would be aware of the statement's context. A few respondents did, in fact, comment in the questionnaires that they might have been more definite in their reaction had they known precisely to which events the statement refers, namely, the Secretariat's support for Trevor Richards and others critical of New Zealand's stance on racism; support for church and community groups which had supported HART; and support for the Church's right to dissent from Government policy when it offends the Gospel. In fact, however, respondents had to treat the statement as it stood and in view of the results of the survey it probably drew far more support as a statement of principle than it would have as a statement relating to a specific issue.

(c) Bastion Point

During the Ngati Whatua occupation of Bastion Point for 506 days in 1977-8, members of the Hawke family approached ESOD as part of the family's strategy of forming alliances with "justice and liberation" groups throughout the country. They enquired whether the Secretariat could issue a statement in support of the protest on behalf of its twelve member-churches. This the Secretariat readily agreed to do and work on drafting such a statement commenced immediately. The organizing committee at Bastion Point requested, however, that the Statement be held until the committee decided it was appropriate to release it.

It very soon became clear that the occupation would be more drawn-out than many had anticipated, and that outside funding would be necessary to help sustain it. Again the committee approached ESOD for suggestions about eliciting funds from the churches, and ESOD was able to act as a broker, particularly with its related agencies, Christian World Service and the Catholic Commission for

Evangelization, Justice and Development. The financial support which came from these agencies, originally established to fund development projects overseas, marked a significant turning point in their development. When the fact of the grants became public knowledge, both faced a significant degree of criticism from their constituencies. In the case of the Catholic Commission the grants came to serve as an important educational tool, with staff members using the anger and opposition of parish groups to confront the issues of justice and liberation raised by both Scripture and papal documents. The Secretariat was also able to indicate possible sources of finance to the organizing committee when, following the eviction of the Ngati Whatua people, they sought funds for production and editing costs of the vast amount of film shot during the occupation.

The third area in which the Secretariat was able to support this struggle was in the forging of international links. This was done in an educational sense by compiling two major dossiers on Bastion Point and circulating these to international partners. In addition, the Secretariat facilitated the visit of the national director of its Australian partner, Action for World Development, to Bastion Point so that this agency could highlight the issue along with Aboriginal land struggles. An important link was also made with Father Walter Lini, then engaged in the Vanuaku - "Our Land" - struggle for independence in the New Hebrides. In view of the refusal of the New Zealand government to allow the Ngati Whatua people to take their grievance to any United Nations' committee, Father Lini offered to raise the issue of Bastion Point in his own submissions before the sub-committee on Decolonization.

Finally, one of the community workers, with whom the Secretariat had a close relationship, had been working with the Action Committee and was contributing particularly at the level of strategic planning. This worker was well versed in Alinsky's techniques of community organization and was employing these to useful effect. She had also spent time in non-violent action training with the Movement for a New Society in Philadelphia, and these skills also were proving their value at the Point. As the time for the eviction drew near and her value to the organization increased the Secretariat was able to negotiate her release from the agency which employed her so that she could work fulltime for the Action Committee.

As Police and Army units assembled, the Action Committee asked all supporting organizations to send telegrams of protest to the Prime Minister. This the Secretariat complied with, urging the Government to above all else respect Maori traditions. On the day following the eviction ESOD's prepared statement, quickly amended, was released.

ESOD's involvement with the Action Committee illustrates three of its major methodological principles: its determination to be a responsive rather than an initiating agency; its commitment to community organization; and the emphasis it places upon creating international links of solidarity.

The Secretariat's statement on Bastion Point concentrates on three issues. It criticises Government for its obsession with the legal and economic issues of Bastion Point rather than cultural issues and natural justice. Secondly it criticises the deployment of the Armed Forces against New Zealanders expressing legitimate grievances, noting that this is the second recent occasion of such activity (the first being the use of the Armed Forces against the Peace Squadron's blockade of the Waitemata Harbour). Thirdly, it rejects (without claiming so, on the basis of its own involvement and knowledge) the contention by Government that the protest was orchestrated by the Socialist Unity Party.

It was this latter point of the statement which dominated the media's coverage of it. The Auckland Star (June 3, 1978) gave the statement front page treatment under the banner headline: "Churchmen slate Red scare 'smokescreen'". The Sunday Times carried the statement on June 4, 1978, and the New Zealand Herald commented on it on June 5. The Prime Minister retaliated quickly. The Sunday News of June 4, 1978, under the headline "Our Rob hits back" had the Prime Minister expressing "astonishment" that "this body of churchmen doesn't support the law". He also commented at some length on the Secretariat's statement on both television and radio. This gave the Secretariat the widest national exposure it had received in the media.

The media events surrounding the release of this controversial statement suggested to the Secretariat that it was being investigated as a subversive agency. At one point the Prime Minister described in detail to the media (Radio New Zealand, "Evening Report" June 6, 1978) the process the Secretariat followed in issuing this statement.

As this process was known only to members of the Secretariat, and as the Prime Minister had correctly identified that the Statement was authorized through a series of telephone calls from Auckland, members suspected that the Security Intelligence Service was involved, and from that point on the Secretariat became more cautious about its mode of operation.

(d) Statement questioning Free Enterprise

It is clear from the outline of the Secretariat's ideological development that the agency had come to regard the capitalist system as the major cause of underdevelopment both in New Zealand and overseas. It had also become clear that dogmatic statements of this position were as likely to produce rejection from Church leadership as from the political leadership. For example, when Christchurch activist Father Jim Consedine claimed in a statement that the values of capitalism and the values of the Gospel are contradictory, the leader of the Roman Catholic community, Cardinal Reginald Delargey, issued a statement insisting that Father Consedine's view was not the official view of the Church! The Secretariat was aware that it had to move circumspectly in this area.

The immediate origin of this statement was the Secretariat's concern, along with many other Church agencies, with the mounting crisis of unemployment. The Secretariat believed that the real dimensions of this crisis were being concealed from the public by the Government's statistical approach (which does not, for example, include part-time workers who become unemployed, or school leavers unable to find employment). Dr Rob Steven was invited to draft a statement on unemployment for the Secretariat's consideration. He felt after reflection, and the Secretariat were in unanimous agreement with him, that rather than issue a statement on the symptom of a problem, the statement should address itself to the problem - the economic system itself. Dr Steven's draft was circulated to members prior to the Ninth Meeting in September 1978 and comments were returned to the Chairman. The draft was discussed fully at that meeting, and a Christchurch-based sub-committee was established to rework the statement in line with suggestions made and to issue it to the media.

The statement highlights some of the contradictions

manifested by the private enterprise system: an excess of goods but people unable to afford them; the potential contribution of the unemployed to the national product; and the simultaneous evidence of falling profits, falling real wages, and growing unemployment.

The Secretariat's statement drew a quick response from Mr Alan Simm, Executive Vice-President of the New Zealand Chambers of Commerce, in a statement issued on 3 October 1978. The long statement asked "whether these church leaders accept that in throwing away an economic system called 'free enterprise' we also throw away personal freedom? Freedom and free enterprise are intrinsically linked together. In the end, if one is destroyed, the other will inevitably cease to exist". This classic defence of capitalism went on to insist that "the decision facing the churches and other perfectly respectable elements of society as they lend their voice to the chorus of criticism of free enterprise must be whether they will wittingly play the game of the extremists of the left or whether they should look beneath the surface". It concluded by asserting that "what is under criticism and attack today from informed minds is the public sector not the free enterprise system which built this welfare state. It is the growth and influence of the public sector which must be questioned".

In view of this attack, some members of ESOD felt that the dialogue should be continued in public. This was discussed at length at the Tenth Meeting (ESOD Minutes, 1979a:6) but the consensus reached was that it was not advisable to continue public debate at a highly abstract ideological level. The Secretariat's energies would be better employed enabling groups to understand the economic system and develop alternatives to it, through structural analysis. This statement therefore did not become a public issue to the extent that the Bastion Point statement did.

CHAPTER FIVE

A SOCIAL SURVEY AS AN AWARENESS-CREATING TOOL

As the Secretariat approached the end of its first triennium, 1976-78, members evaluated the range of contacts which had been developed, in the course of the Eighth Meeting in September 1978. (ESOD Minutes, 1978b:3). It had by that stage become clear that the bulk of the agency's church-related work focussed on four major denominations, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist. There had been very little contact with the remaining eight member-churches of the National Council of Churches. At the same time, some of the most vocal criticism was coming from these churches, for example, the Baptist Church and the Salvation Army, bodies from which the Secretariat had not received a single invitation for programme involvement.

The Executive Officer in his Report for that meeting (1978b) posed the question, "Do we need to make a concerted effort to bring on board those churches which, for largely theological reasons, do not share our understanding of development?" He assumed that the Secretariat had a responsibility to do so, and proceeded to examine a number of strategies in relation to this exercise. He reports that there have been negligible results from working with Church Leaders in the expectation that their conscientization might somehow filter down to parish level, and recommends instead a more direct approach to clergy at the local level in order to make the Secretariat's resources more widely known.

The clergy, or more precisely the fulltime professional leaders of local congregations, were seen to hold the key to successful information dissemination. In the Secretariat's judgement and experience the clergy, faced with a wide range of programme options and inundated with information from aid and development appeals, missionary societies, public and social affairs committees, in practice act as a filter, highlighting those causes with which they are broadly in sympathy. Evaluations of three successive Christian Action Week programmes have subsequently indicated that when the local pastor disagrees with the thrust of

the programme, he either refuses to distribute the material or places it at the back of the Church allowing it "to stand on its own merits". (Christian Action Week Evaluation, 1981). In the Secretariat's view a direct approach to the clergy was a strategy worth testing.

From the commencement of its work in 1976 the Secretariat had established an informal relationship with the Social Work Unit at Massey University in Palmerston North. The Unit considered that the Executive Officer had skills and experience in community work which could be utilized in the training of social workers and the Secretariat, committed to researching development issues, regarded a university base as ideal for this aspect of its work. The Executive Officer's Report to the Fifth Meeting (1976b:5) proposed that this research should locate where the clergy stand in relation to development issues; the personal, social and theological factors which have determined particular stances. This might assist the Secretariat to establish those areas of attitudinal change to which energy should be devoted. It could also provide useful information on the potential of the Church as an agent of social change. The fifth meeting approved this proposal in general terms. (ESOD Minutes 1976b:3).

Eighteen months later, at the Eighth Meeting, the Executive Officer went on to propose that this concept be abandoned in favour of a new proposal which would help meet the immediate need of making contact with clergy at the local level by using a social survey as an awareness-creating tool. The new proposal was to send to all clergy an information pack consisting of a brochure describing ESOD's functions, a copy of its first publication *Development Is* which indicates the agency's general approach to development, and copies of the statements thus far issued by ESOD which reveal its stance on particular issues. The information pack would be accompanied by a questionnaire designed to reveal the degree of support for or opposition to the Secretariat, and the factors underlying this support or opposition. This approach offered the advantage of placing detailed information about the agency in the hands of every clergyperson in the country and at the same time eliciting reaction to the Secretariat's stance.

The meeting agreed in principle to the new proposal (ESOD Minutes 1978a:3) but insisted on three conditions. The first was

that a draft questionnaire should be submitted to members for comment and input; the second, that the leaders of the churches should be informed that their clergy were to be sent the information pack and questionnaire; and the third was that every questionnaire should be supported by a covering letter from the Secretariat's chairperson, the Most Revd Brian Ashby.

The questionnaire, devised in consultation with staff of the Social Work Unit, Massey University, was redrafted twice and a copy of the third draft was tabled and discussed at the Ninth Meeting of the Secretariat. (ESOD Minutes, 1978b:6). Members gave general approval to the form of the questionnaire and made several suggestions which were incorporated into the final draft. At the same meeting the Executive Officer intimated that the information pack and questionnaire would be sent out in late January or early February 1979. This timing was dictated by the need to employ student labour under the Student Community Service Programme. The students could not commence work until the beginning of December and it was felt that there would be a higher return of questionnaires if they were received at the end of, rather than just prior to, the clergy's annual holidays.

In the Secretariat's mind the exercise was designed to achieve three purposes. Firstly, it would establish how well known the Secretariat and its work had become during its first triennium. Secondly, it would elicit through responses to ESOD's four statements both the general reaction and the denominational reaction to the Secretariat's stance on development. And thirdly, it would ensure that every member of the clergy in New Zealand was given comprehensive information about the Secretariat's understanding of development and its mode of action.

It was considered that there would be a good response to the questionnaire as the clergy returned from their vacations in what is normally a quiet time of the year for them. Members felt that the Secretariat would not be widely known beyond those localities, predominantly urban, in which it had concentrated its work although most clergy should have heard the Secretariat's name, either through denominational information channels or through the extensive coverage the media gave to its support for the Bastion Point occupation. On the other hand, it was felt that the majority of

clergy were conservative on development issues and that they would react negatively to the four statements. This prediction was based solely on the Secretariat's experience of working with groups of clergy, for example, at National Council of Churches events where considerable resistance had been noted. It was further anticipated that there would be a far more positive response amongst Roman Catholics, whose social teaching had emphasized development, peace and justice over the past decade, and amongst members of the Society of Friends, noted for their liberal stance and their early commitment to programmes of peace education and development. Amongst major denominations more conservative responses were anticipated from Baptist and Presbyterian clergy and from the Salvation Army with its "politically neutral" stance.

In regard to the four statements, a reasonable level of support was expected for the statement on development assistance, which the Secretariat regarded as innocuous even though it took the Government to task but it was expected that the more explicit statements on *The Right to Dissent*, *Bastion Point* and the private enterprise system would attract widespread criticism. The four statements were to stand on their own merits without any explanation about the events which led to their release.

Methodology

The questionnaire consists of seventeen questions prefaced by a simple step-by-step explanation for respondents. (See Appendix B). The first question is in two parts and designed to elicit the extent of the respondents' knowledge of the Secretariat and the sources of that knowledge. Questions two through five invite respondents to read the four statements (each was printed on different coloured paper for ready identification) and to indicate their response on a five point scale: strongly agree/agree/not sure/disagree/strongly disagree. Questions six to eleven were designed to establish the professional background to the respondent. It was felt that there could be significant differences between the responses of clergy who had worked in secular vocations and those who had trained only for the ministry; between the responses of recently ordained and long-service clergy; and between the responses of those in parish ministry and those in specialist ministries. It was assumed that

clergy in specialist posts tended towards a more liberal stance, whereas those in pastoral positions would tend to avoid alienating members of their congregations. Questions 12 to 15 established the sex, age, marital status and race of the respondent. Question 16 asked for the denomination to be specified and the final question invited respondents to list their academic qualifications. It was felt that there could be a correlation between the educational level attained and personal stance on controversial issues.

The questionnaire was introduced by a one-page letter on the Secretariat's official letterhead. (See Appendix B). This letter was signed by Bishop Ashby, the Secretariat's Chairman, and framed in a manner which emphasized the importance of agencies like ESOD being accountable to its supporting churches. It stated that the purpose of the exercise was to establish the extent to which the work of the Secretariat is known in the churches, the extent to which the Secretariat represents the views of the churches, and the degree to which the churches are committed to development issues. The letter was quite deliberately couched in terms which it was felt would encourage clergy to assist in the assessment of an agency which was costing their denomination a considerable amount of money.

The questionnaire and information pack were assembled in the following order. Bishop Ashby's covering letter was followed by the explanation and instructions for the questionnaire, the questionnaire itself, the four statements, and a stamped/addressed return envelope. A brochure describing the Secretariat's work and a copy of its development manual *Development Is* completed the pack.

Two students, one a theological student and the other a social work student, were employed fulltime from November 1978 to February 1979 under the Student Community Service Programme. Two additional students were employed part-time over the fortnight in January during which the packs were assembled and mailed out to the clergy. In addition, ESOD's Executive Officer worked fulltime from November to February on the project and ESOD's Secretary worked on a part-time basis.

Questionnaires were sent only to the active clergy (that is, retired clergy were not canvassed) of the Roman Catholic Church and the eleven member-churches of the National Council of Churches. The Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Baptist

churches and the Salvation Army provide yearly directories of clergy and parishes and for these bodies the most recently published directory was used. For the remaining churches the Secretariat first checked with the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette* of 11 May 1978, *List of Marriage Celebrants*, and checked these lists by writing to each of the remaining denominations' headquarters. The Liberal Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Associated Churches of Christ, Society of Friends and Congregational Union all replied with definite lists of active clergy (in the case of the Society of Friends, clerks of meetings). Although the Pacific Islands Church is listed as an independent member of the National Council of Churches, it was discovered that this denomination's clergy were listed amongst the Presbyterian clergy. For the purposes of this survey they were therefore treated as part of the Presbyterian Church and so separate figures are provided in relation to them. The numbers of questionnaires mailed were as follows: Anglican Church: 593; Roman Catholic Church: 579; Presbyterian Church: 510; Methodist Church: 210; Baptist Union: 194; Salvation Army: 174; Churches of Christ: 42; Liberal Catholic Church: 20; Society of Friends: 14; Congregational Union: 5; Greek Orthodox Church: 3; making a total of 2,344. (See Table 1a Appendix C).

It should be noted that questionnaires were sent only to those clergy who could be clearly defined as working in parochial or specialist appointments. In the case of priests-religious of Roman Catholic and Anglican religious orders no questionnaires were sent out, unless the religious also held a pastoral or specialist post, such as a teacher or industrial chaplain.

The Secretariat considered it important that the anonymity of respondents be preserved, and the questionnaire consequently sought neither personal name identification nor locality identification. As questionnaires were returned, however, they were stamped with sequential identifying numbers and the town of postmark was noted below the number. It is recognised that this leaves a margin for error, particularly in a holiday period, and that returns from Coromandel and the Bay of Islands and similar resorts need to be treated with some care. But this was the only method available of roughly identifying locations and as the returns came back through February and early March the main holiday season had been avoided.

The returns were then coded and transferred to work-sheets from which computer cards were punched. The Secretariat has access to Auckland University's Burroughs B6700 computer and made use of the latest update of SPSS Version 7 (Level 72.001.045.006) for the analysis. Only a simple analysis was required, seeking a breakdown of responses to each of the questions and then running ten elements (age, race, sex, marital status, denomination, urban/rural, specialist/pastoral, secular work before ministry, academic attainment and knowledge of ESOD) against the responses to the four statements.

The majority of questionnaires returned reached the Secretariat in February. By the second week of March there were few being returned. At the tenth meeting of the Secretariat held on 17 and 18 March 1979, the Executive Officer reported that only some 800 questionnaires had been returned, well below the sixty percent return considered necessary for reliable analysis. He recommended a second mailing which, because of the anonymous nature of the enquiry, would have to go to all 2,344 clergy. After considerable debate this recommendation was turned down. While the financial implications of a second mailing were an important factor, they were not the decisive factor. Social scientists on the Secretariat felt that in the case of this survey a second mailing would not bring in the twenty-five percent additional response required and that information from a second mailing could not be treated in the same way as that from the first response. (ESOD Minutes, 1979a:1).

Analysis of Returns

Only 888 or 37.8 percent of the 2,344 questionnaires were returned. Table 1b indicates the denominational spread of returns. (See Appendix C).

The number of returns was disappointingly low. One factor which the Secretariat overlooked which may have influenced the response is that in some denominations (the Roman Catholic Church in particular) clergy shift to their new appointments in January or early February. In some dioceses this may involve from one quarter to one third of the diocesan complement. While this may account for some of the questionnaires being mislaid, it cannot account for the very low level of response from the Roman Catholic Church.

The table indicates that there were responses well below the national average from the Roman Catholic Church (24 percent), the Salvation Army (20 percent), the Liberal Catholic Church (10 percent) and the Society of Friends (21 percent).

There is a very clear reason for the low response from the Salvation Army. Without informing the Secretariat, one of the headquarters executives of the body wrote to all officers urging them not to answer or return the questionnaire. He took this step in view of the Salvation Army's long-standing tradition of being "apolitical". In the Officer's view the four statements from ESOD were of a political nature and would require respondents to make a political response which would contradict the denomination's tenets. What is surprising is the number of officers who chose to ignore the official directive to participate in the survey. The reasons for so doing are obscure, but probably have as much to do with the more ecumenically-minded officers wanting to co-operate with the National Council of Churches as with dissatisfaction over the Army's view of what constitutes or does not constitute political behaviour.

The Society of Friends found the mechanics of responding to the questionnaire very difficult. Possessing no equivalent of full-time clergy, and operating on the principle of consensus decision-making on all major issues, this body had to approach the questionnaire in a different way. The majority of questions - those relating to personal background in fulltime ministry - were irrelevant in their case. The problem of finding a common mind in response to the statements was immense. The clerks who did respond (three only) did so by either stating that they were filling in the questionnaire as individuals, or by stating that the general tenor of the Society's statements was consistent with ESOD's statements. This means that the analysis of Quaker responses cannot be treated in the same way as those of the major denominations.

The Liberal Catholic Church experienced similar difficulties. The most recent body to gain membership of the National Council of Churches, this denomination does not have a fulltime ministry in the conventional sense. Its priests work in secular occupations and serve as Church functionaries as well. There was a degree of surprise when the denomination was accepted into the National Council of Churches both in view of its esoteric doctrines and the

opposition of some of the mainline churches. New to the NCC's concerns, stance and mode of operation, the body exhibits a degree of naivete. For example, at the NCC Annual General Meeting in Dunedin in 1979, following the Secretariat's presentation on "human development", a term understood in the NCC constituency to refer to political, social, cultural and economic aspects of development in relation to individual growth and community progress, the Liberal Catholic delegation spoke about the importance of bodily exercise and the need for more gymnastics in youth clubs! The Liberal Catholic returns indicated that respondents were unfamiliar with the development language employed in the statements, were mystified about the purpose of the questionnaire, were uncertain as to whether they ought to be responding to it, and in any case felt that they could only respond as individuals being uncertain of any official views their church might hold. These factors explain why such a large proportion of their clergy felt that they could not respond adequately to the questionnaire.

The low return from Roman Catholic clergy is difficult to explain. A high return had been anticipated in view of the fact that the covering letter was signed by a member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and in a body where the lines of authority are clear it was considered likely that the clergy would feel an additional obligation to respond. Furthermore, it was assumed that Roman Catholic clergy were far more familiar with their church's social teaching than other clergy would be with the social teaching of the World Council of Churches, and would view the statements in the light of that teaching. In addition, the Secretariat is one of three official bodies in which the Roman Catholic Church participates ecumenically in an age in which the magisterium has emphasized the importance of ecumenism. Initial enquiries amongst Roman Catholic clergy subsequently revealed a number of explanations, none of which singly or in combination adequately explain the low return: the change of parishes during January; the difficulty that even Roman Catholic agencies like CCEJD experience in eliciting responses to their enquiries; and the suggestion that for the Roman Catholic clergy ecumenism is not afforded the priority that some of the official statements indicate. When it became clear that there was a comparatively low response from Roman Catholic clergy, Bishop Ashby suggested that this fact could be drawn to the clergy's attention

through the newspaper *Zealandia*. The Bishop drafted a statement designed to encourage a response and this was carried by the paper to little effect. The Bishop then suggested that the matter of the questionnaire become an agenda item for the Senate of Priests in his Christchurch Diocese. The Secretary to the Senate reported to ESOD that there had been overwhelming expressions of support for ESOD and its work but general unwillingness to complete the questionnaire. So, despite extra efforts made to secure a greater response from the Roman Catholic clergy, it remained disappointingly low.

What is clear is that the low level of returns does not permit the Secretariat to draw any scientific conclusions from the questionnaire; the 38 percent of returns is so far below the 60 percent demanded for reliable conclusions. While it is possible to draw conclusions about the responses of the Greek Orthodox Church, whose all three clergy in New Zealand returned questionnaires, and tentative conclusions from the 50 percent responses of the Methodist churches, the original purpose of the questionnaire: discovering the degree of support for and opposition to the Secretariat and the factors underlying each, was defeated. The timing of the mailing of the questionnaire, the sheer bulk of the pack which gave the appearance of the exercise being more complicated than it was in reality and the failure to send out a reminder letter all contributed to the failure. It may be that the project, canvassing all the clergy of the eleven major denominations in New Zealand, was too ambitious. Certainly, it would be regarded so in other countries. On reflection, it may have been better to have selected two groups of clergy in rural and urban areas, or to have used random samples in the manner Alan Webster did for his research on religiosity and tolerance in New Zealand clergy. (Webster:1978). But such approaches would not have provided the advantages of the ESOD census (as distinct from a structured sample) in placing information about the Secretariat in the hands of every clergyperson in the country. In the Secretariat's view, this achievement rendered the whole exercise a success and the failure of the survey did not appear to be of very great concern.

Although the level of response did not enable the Secretariat to draw any valid general conclusions, it was able to draw a number of inferences from the information provided by more than one third

of all clergy in the country. We are, of course, unable to draw any conclusions about the sixty percent who did not respond to the questionnaire, although Webster's research indicates that there is a high level of belief in social involvement amongst the clergy. His conclusions show 59.5 percent of the clergy in favour of protest marches against New Zealand Government policy; 85.6 percent in favour of civil protest against racial discrimination; 75.9 percent in favour of clergy involvement in industrial conciliation; 95.3 percent in favour of industrial chaplaining; and 62.6 percent in favour of pulpit expression of political beliefs. Such high scores indicate the probability of there being widespread sympathy for the Secretariat's statements on social, political and economic issues, even amongst those who did not respond to the questionnaire. But what is of interest to the Secretariat are the trends and differentials which emerged amongst those who did respond.

A summary of the data received appears in table form in Appendix C.

(a) Geographical distribution of Returns

Table 2a indicates the region of origin noted from the post-marks on returned envelopes. Exactly 30 percent of identified returns came from the South Island; a figure which compares well with the national distribution of clergy which sees in the Anglican Church, for example, 32 percent of the clergy resident in the South Island. In Auckland and Wellington the table distinguishes between the City proper and the region. Thus, for example, in Wellington the Hutt Valley urban area was regarded as part of the Wellington region and in Auckland a town like Papakura on the edge of Auckland's urban development was regarded as part of the region. The "regions" were taken to be predominantly urban areas. Table 2b shows that 50.3 percent of respondents came from these urban areas and 40.9 percent from rural areas. These figures were considered a very satisfactory representation.

(b) Respondents' Knowledge of the Secretariat

Table 3a shows that 48.5 percent of respondents were aware of the Secretariat's existence; 33.4 percent had knowledge of specific aspects of the agency's work, and 3.8 percent claimed involvement in that work. Overall, making allowance for a degree of overlap in

in these responses, 73.1 percent knew of the Secretariat and only 26.9 percent professed no knowledge. This was a much better response than members of the Secretariat had expected. Even if we were to assume that all the clergy who failed to respond to the questionnaire had no knowledge of ESOD's existence, 32.4 percent of the clergy have some knowledge of the agency, which would constitute an encouraging figure for members. The Secretariat was clearly much better known than members had anticipated.

In the sources of knowledge of ESOD indicated in Table 3b Church newspapers (35.7 percent) score best. The now defunct *New Citizen* ecumenical paper, and *Zealandia*, the Roman Catholic newspaper, were both strong supporters of the agency. 33.9 percent of respondents claim that they heard of the agency through the National Council of Churches and 26.5 percent through their church Court or Synod. ESOD's own publications were surprisingly (in view of the fact that there had at this stage been only two) nominated as a source of knowledge by 26.2 percent of respondents. Personal contact (19.8 percent), Christian Action Week (16.7 percent), conferences and seminars (9.2 percent), the ESOD Resource Centre (2 percent) and parish newsletters (1.4 percent) were also given as sources of knowledge.

Of some surprise is the small proportion of respondents who had heard of ESOD through the media, particularly in view of the widespread coverage given to the agency's Bastion Point statement on television, radio and in the national press. Only 4.8 percent knew of the agency through television, 3.7 percent through the medium of radio, and 12.6 percent through the daily press. This indicates that in all probability the clergy recall more detail about church agencies from church publications than secular ones.

A particularly disappointing response was that only one of the 149 respondents who had been in the ministry for less than five years, and who might have been expected to have heard of the agency through their seminary or theological college either indirectly or through the programmes ESOD had promoted in them, indicated the seminary as a source of knowledge. As a result of this members felt that far more attention needed to be given to this area of activity.

(c) Secular experience prior to Ministry

Table 4a shows that a high proportion of respondents (74.2 percent) had worked at other occupations prior to entering the ministry while only 23.4 percent had trained for the ministry as their first profession. One third of the respondents had worked in secular occupations for five years or less; 27.5 percent for from six to ten years; and 12.8 percent for more than eleven years. (Table 4c).

In Table 4b a wide range of occupations prior to ministry is revealed. The highest score of 121 or 13.6 percent goes to those who held a variety of jobs before ordination. Other scores show that 11.7 percent worked in the professions as lawyers, accountants or engineers, etc.; while 302 respondents (34.0 percent) worked in the service industries. Of these, teaching (12.6 percent) was the most favoured single occupation. Only ten respondents came from social work or voluntary agency backgrounds, a figure much lower than might have been anticipated. Twenty respondents (2.3 percent) came from the armed forces. A third grouping of agricultural workers, skilled tradesmen and unskilled workers (58, 47 and 14 respondents respectively) gave a total of 13.4 percent of clergy coming from a working-class experience. The majority of respondents who nominated a variety of jobs prior to ordination were in unskilled or semi-skilled work. This means that at least 14.4 percent and at most 27 percent of respondents were in their work experience members of the working-class.

(d) Data on ordained Ministry

Tables 5a,b,c and d provide information about the ministry of respondents. Table 5a shows a very even spread of respondents within years-of-service groupings. Table 5b indicates that 91.4 percent of respondents were in fulltime ministry, with 2.7 percent in part-time ministry and 3.8 percent in fulltime secular work. Those in fulltime ministry were invited to indicate the nature of their current appointment and in Table 5c, 71.8 percent said they were in the pastoral ministry, 19.3 percent in specialist ministries; 3.4 percent regarded themselves as both pastoralists and specialists; and 1.2 percent said they were unable to distinguish between the two categories, generally on the grounds of theological perceptions of ministry.

Respondents identified thirty-four areas of specialist ministry which are reduced to twelve general categories in Table 5d. The largest group of those in specialist ministry (22.9 percent of the specialists) are in educational work as teachers in schools, universities and theological colleges. Other groupings indicate that 16.3 percent of the specialists work in social services; 13.2 percent in hospital chaplaincies; 9.6 percent in industrial chaplaincy; 9.1 percent in Maori work; and 6.6 percent as chaplains to educational institutions and administrators respectively.

(e) Personal data

Tables 6 to 10 provide information about the personal histories of respondents. Table 6 indicates that 93.6 percent of respondents were male, 3.9 percent female. Table 7 shows the age range of respondents and Table 8 indicates that 75.3 percent were married and 20.3 percent single.

Table 9 shows that 87.7 percent of respondents described themselves as New Zealand Europeans, 1.8 percent as New Zealand Maori, and 5 percent as British. Table 10 identifies levels of educational attainment with 5.3 percent of respondents having completed only a secondary school education; 33.1 percent having completed professional diplomas (including diplomas in theology at theological colleges) and 46.7 percent possessing one or more university degrees. One feature of the responses to this question on educational attainment was that 14.6 percent of respondents left it blank or stated that they refused to answer it. A number wrote angry comments about the irrelevancy of educational attainment for Christian ministry. In terms of this questionnaire this was the highest no-response score, indicating that this area is one of enormous sensitivity to the clergy.

(f) Reaction to the Statements

The overall response to the four statements is shown in Table 11. There was a very large measure of agreement with the statements on Government Development Assistance (89.7 percent) and the Right to Dissent (87.8 percent) both of which were statements setting out principles. Only a relatively small proportion of respondents either disagreed with these statements or expressed uncertainty about their views. The Secretariat had anticipated that the

statement calling private enterprise into question, based as it was on a Marxist analysis, would draw the most criticism. Here it was proved wrong for this statement, questioning one of the fundamental structures of society, elicited a relatively high measure of support (67.2 percent) with only 14.1 percent of respondents in disagreement and 16.3 percent unsure. The most controversial statement proved to be that on Bastion Point. Significantly, this statement both assumed and called for Christian action in solidarity with the land protest. In this case only half the respondents (51.9 percent) agreed with the statement; 23.3 percent were in disagreement and a significant proportion (22.7 percent) expressed uncertainty.

Despite the fact that only 38.0 percent of the clergy responded to the questionnaire, the level of support for the statements amongst those who did respond was high. In fact, the support percentage obtained if we assume that all those who failed to respond were opposed to the statements; namely, Development Assistance 34.0 percent; Right to Dissent 33.2 percent; Bastion Point 19.6 percent; Private Enterprise 25.4 percent; are closer to the levels of support the Secretariat had anticipated. As we know from other sources, (for example, the Senate of Priests in Auckland Diocese) there was strong support for the Secretariat from sectors which did not respond to the questionnaire, and as we can reasonably assume that some of the non-respondents would express uncertainty over the statements, the actual degree of support for the statements must be higher than these percentages.

Table 12 establishes a series of cross-tabulations in relation to the four statements. Table 12a looks at the denominational response. As the last four denominations provided only a handful of returns (Society of Friends and Greek Orthodox each returned three; the Congregationalists and the Liberal Catholics each two) these returns are better disregarded, bearing in mind however that, as there are only three Greek Orthodox clergy working in New Zealand, this denomination's level of response was 100 percent. It should be noted that the Methodist Church produced the highest levels of agreement in the case of each of the statements. With the exception of the statement on Development Assistance where there was less disagreement amongst Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, Methodists also scored lowest on disagreement. A remarkably high proportion of Methodists

agreed with the Bastion Point statement (75.7 percent as compared with the overall 51.9 percent) with a correspondingly low number disagreeing (8.4 percent compared with the overall 23.3 percent).

Other denominational features which should be noted are the well below average affirmative responses, and higher negative and undertain responses, to the statements on Bastion Point and Private Enterprise from the Baptist (36.5 percent agreeing with Bastion Point and 47 percent agreeing with the Free Enterprise statement) and Salvation Army (only 22.2 percent in agreement with Bastion Point and 52.8 percent affirming the Free Enterprise statement) communities. We should also note the above average scores of agreement from the Churches of Christ which are often regarded as a conservative denomination, to all statements except that on Government aid. In this latter case, the response is confusing (as indeed it may also be in the case of other denominations) in that one respondent wrote that he disagreed with the statement because it did not go far enough in pressing the Government for a greater commitment.

Table 12b shows support for the statements according to the degree of knowledge of the Secretariat's work. As we might expect there is in all cases an increasing level of positive response, beginning with those who knew of ESOD's existence, and moving through those with knowledge of the Secretariat's work to the relatively small group (34 persons or 3.8 percent of respondents) who claimed to be involved in the agency's work. As may have been anticipated, the positive responses are all well above average in these groupings. It is amongst those who claim never to have heard of the agency that there are well below average positive responses, especially again in the cases of the Bastion Point and Free Enterprise statements where only 32.5 and 52.1 percent respectively expressed agreement.

In the comparison of responses within differing educational levels (Table 12c) it should be noted that support for the statements on Bastion Point and Free Enterprise was less than average in the case both of those educated to secondary school level and of those to the level of a professional diploma. In all cases, the measure of agreement was less amongst diploma holders than those educated only to secondary school level, but the measure of support

increased again through the University degree and advanced degree categories, both these groups scoring higher than the mean response.

Amongst the difference in response amongst racial groups noted in Table 12d it should be noted that the small sample of Maori respondents (16 persons representing 1.8 percent of the total) were in greater agreement with the Bastion Point and Free Enterprise statements, and less agreement with the Government Aid and Right to Dissent statements than the New Zealand European and British respondents. Table 12e indicates responses by age groupings, with the only notable trend being the higher measure of support for the two controversial statements coming from the 41 to 50 years of age grouping. Similarly, Table 12f shows that there was more support for these two statements from male clergy than from female.

In Table 12g we note that in all instances there was greater agreement with the statements from those clergy whose only work experience was within the Church than from those who had held secular jobs prior to ministry training. A selection of cross-breaks by secular areas of work reveals that no engineers or lawyers disagreed with the statement on Development Assistance, and no Armed Services personnel or lawyers disagreed with the Right to Dissent. In the latter case, lawyers expressed 100 percent agreement. In view of the Army's role in Bastion Point we might have expected there to be less than average support for the Bastion Point statement from this group: but in fact the support is three points above average. Similarly, there was a much higher degree of agreement by those from the banking and accounting professions with the statement on Private Enterprise than might have been anticipated. The least support for the Bastion Point and Private Enterprise statements came from public servants and agricultural workers, the most from bankers and lawyers.

Table 12h shows the breakdown of responses from clergy in parish ministry compared to those in specialist ministries. In all cases there is a markedly higher degree of agreement from the specialists (5 points higher on Government Aid, 9 points higher on the Right to Dissent, 9 points higher on Bastion Point and 11 points higher on Free Enterprise). This result is perhaps not surprising in that the specialist posts in industrial and school chaplaincies, social services and ecumenical agencies quite often attract those

with liberal views or those who have developed a critique of conventional ministry. It would appear that the higher the social commitment the more likely it is for clergy to seek specialist appointments which facilitate expression of that commitment.

In Table 12i there appears to be greater agreement with the Government Aid and Free Enterprise statements from clergy working in rural situations, and greater agreement with the Bastion Point statement from the urban clergy. There is very close agreement on the Right to Dissent.

Finally, Table 12j reveals that there is very little difference in response from single or married clergy to all the statements except Private Enterprise. In this latter case, more single clergy supported it than married clergy, although it needs to be recalled that there was a higher than average degree of support from the Roman Catholic clergy who, as celibates, were assessed as single in this survey.

It must be stressed once more that, while these differences were of interest to the Secretariat and some general conclusions are drawn in the final chapter, we are not able to establish any general conclusions about the clergy on the basis of this data.

Analysis of Written Comments

One notable feature of the returns was the high proportion of respondents (231 or 26 percent) who were unable to confine themselves to marking boxes as requested but wrote comments across the questionnaire. Fifty of these returns contained minor alterations such as adding "partially" before agree, or "very" before "strongly disagree". But there were 169 returns on which respondents had written substantial comments or explanations. Twelve respondents wrote lengthy letters outlining their personal views.

The Secretariat felt that these comments provided useful information about clergy response to issues and reactions to the Secretariat and urged that some analysis be made of comments about those statements on which there was least agreement, Bastion Point and Private Enterprise.

(a) Bastion Point

This statement attracted the highest number of individual comments (77).

Twenty-one of these respondents agreed with the statement in principle but had some reservations about it. Some felt that the wording excluded non-Christians from dissent on the one hand or failed to acknowledge that Maoris opposed to Bastion Point's occupation were also Christians on the other. Others felt that the Statement posed a "goodies versus baddies" situation with too little weight given to the Government's case and too little attention paid to the fact that there were a multitude of complex viewpoints on the issue. Some respondents questioned the whole basis of the protest ("Why have Maoris suddenly decided that land is so valuable?") and its principles ("Were the protestors really speaking on behalf of the Maori people?" and "Listening to the speeches, commitment to non-violence did not come through"). One respondent felt that the protest, genuine to begin with, was spoilt by the infiltration of "those who delight to join any group which dissents on any matter" and another questioned whether the Socialist Unity Party was genuinely motivated by goodwill. The most positive statement came from a Methodist clergyman who wrote "Amen! The churches should weep with shame. This is the best statement you have done!"

Nineteen respondents who said that they were unsure about the Statement claimed that the issues were clouded or confused, too complex to be detailed in such a brief statement, or that they were still in the process of making up their minds and required much more information about the issue. One respondent said that as he was not a Maori he could not understand the issues and another insisted that he lived too far away from Auckland to make any comment. There were several comments about the non-violent stance: a Roman Catholic priest asserted that the "non-violent disregard of requests by lawful authority becomes violence and breeds violence", while others felt that even more attention should have been paid to negotiation and "more peaceful" forms of protest.

Twenty-six respondents said that they disagreed with the Statement as a whole, while being able in some cases to affirm parts of it (the need to live justly and respect other cultures, and the inadequacy of the present judicial system). Much of the disagree-

ment quoted the fact that Maoris themselves were divided on the issue or that the protest group did not represent *tangata whenua* and were an embarrassment to influential Maori leaders. One Salvation Army Officer from the East Coast commented: "These Maoris did not have the backing of elders and wiser mature followers of other tribes. I have spent years in Maori work and I know". Some criticise the Statement as itself polarising and stereotyping: "Whose Maori values are we talking about? And whose European values?" and "Have we not confused two issues: the right to take a stand, which is a democratic right, and breaking the Law, which is not legitimate?" There were only two comments on the use of force in the eviction: one person saw it as an unfortunate counter-response to an already violent situation and another pointed out that by using overwhelming force, not one protestor or policeman was injured.

Some were more aggressive in their comments. "What Maori tradition of land?" asks an Anglican priest. A Presbyterian accused the Secretariat of being "naive and ill-informed, racist and certainly not Christian". Another respondent feels that the Secretariat would feel quite happy about the fact that "my own land has been taken from me by socialists". Another Anglican comments "Why should a minority group not follow the rules of the land? If it had been Europeans on Bastion, how long would they have stayed there?" And a Presbyterian wrote "The Secretariat does not know what it is talking about. I am the Minister at Orakei and I am well informed. ESOD is pitifully ignorant and has allowed itself to be used".

There is an indication in these comments that the respondents feel that polarisation in major issues should be avoided (no doubt reflecting the perception that the Gospel is a reconciling rather than a dividing medium), and that the Law of the land should be respected by Christians. The comments also point to a lack of appreciation of cultural diversity and in some cases to overt racism.

One surprising feature of the comments is the lack of criticism from a Biblical basis. Only two respondents offered any Biblical insights in relation to the statement. One was a positive suggestion: that the issue of Maori land (and ESOD's Statement) should be based on the Year of Jubilee in Leviticus 25, which determines that every fiftieth year land should be returned to its

legitimate owners. The second comment was from a respondent who said that two passages in scripture clarify the situation for Christians. Jeremiah 27 proclaims: "God gives the land to whomever he pleases and for the present has handed it over to Nebuchadnezzar. All nations should bow their necks to his authority. Do not believe the prophets and dreamers who tell you that you will not be subject to him. They prophesy lies which will result in your banishment from the soil". And in Romans 13 St Paul says "You must all obey the governing authorities, since all government comes from God. Anyone who resists authority is rebelling against God's decision, and such an act is bound to be punished".

This racism is even more explicit when one looks at the comments written in response to the request to indicate one's race. Here people proclaimed themselves as "Non-Maori", "Pale-skinned European" and "Unashamedly white". One clergyman wondered whether we might not treat him more seriously if he were black, brown or yellow, and another hesitated to "admitting to being 100 percent Caucasian" as this could result in bias and prejudice against him.

(b) Private Enterprise

The Statement questioning private enterprise was the second most controversial one, and 62 respondents wrote substantial comments. These fell into four main areas: political comment (17); comments from a biblical or theological basis (16); comments on economics (29) and specific comments on unemployment and the unemployed (9).

Amongst the comments which were determined to be primarily of a political nature, several respondents saw no need to question private enterprise as such. "I strongly believe in private enterprise that excludes monopoly. I don't think private enterprise is at fault, but more the selfishness of people" (Roman Catholic). "I am not sure that it is the private enterprise system that is wrong, if only the enterprise were widespreadly private enough. But I agree on the need for alternatives to state and monopoly capitalism" (Presbyterian). "If financial and economic reform could formulate effective controls, I see no reason why the private enterprise society should be abandoned" (Roman Catholic). "Our system is hardly one of private enterprise (Anglican). Some felt we had focussed on the wrong target altogether: "Fight big trusts, not

private enterprise, backbone of all progress" (Roman Catholic); "It is compulsory unionism that needs examination more than private enterprise" (Presbyterian). Another Roman Catholic, while agreeing with the statement, added "But don't twist the statement to say that private enterprise is condemned by the Church".

Two of the respondents considered that the Statement suggested that systemic change was required, but wished to question this. A Presbyterian minister wrote that it was naive to think that changing systems can solve problems, while a Baptist minister felt that "any system is only what people make it. Would our economy be so bad if *everyone* worked harder to qualify for jobs, to produce more, to refuse to strike but to seek to use other means, to refuse excess payments and excessive demands?"

A Salvation Army Officer disagreed with the Statement because "Our economy is determined by overseas markets. Leave that to the politicians and let the church get on with its work of evangelism". Another member of the Salvation Army who strongly disagreed said he might change his view "if ESOD could produce a detailed blueprint of an acceptable alternative which did not incorporate the principle of robbing the rich to pay the poor compulsorily".

A Methodist respondent felt that the Statement did not go far enough in highlighting the dangers inherent in the "each man for himself" attitude encouraged under private enterprise, which encourages "stress in relationships and the breakdown of personal and community life".

The Anglican Diocese of Nelson, noted for its conservative evangelical character, produced two of the more caustic comments. One priest wrote, "I am concerned for Right - what the Scripture calls righteousness - personal, social and political. Right gets spoiled when Satan puts his initial at the end, and people fight for their Rights". And the other scrawled, "Very sick making and complete crap. Sad, sad, sad".

The majority of theological/biblical comments were directed towards the concluding sentence of the Statement: "Since the Gospel is the only authority which the Church recognizes, all human institutions, including the Churches, governments and political parties, come under its judgement". Several respondents quoted

Romans 13 to insist that Christians are called to recognize also the authority of human institutions. Others argued that the Gospel is the ultimate authority amongst various authorities the Christian must recognize or that Jesus Christ is the ultimate authority. An Anglican commented that the use of the term "the Gospel" is unfortunate because it appears to mean quite different things to different people; and a Baptist felt that in public statements the words "Jesus Christ" should appear rather than "the Gospel" because the latter "seems to be used to *soften* the impact of what is being said".

One Anglican insisted that the claims of the Gospel cannot be recognized, let alone implemented by a non-Christian society. A Roman Catholic priest saw the task as bringing Christian principles to bear on individual lives rather than the State as the first task. Another Roman Catholic felt that Christian attitudes are required in the Unions rather than other elements of society.

Surprisingly, only one person commented that Christ's parable of the talents provides biblical justification for private enterprise. This passage (Matthew 18) is the one most frequently quoted by the advocates of capitalism within the Church. But the final word is left to an Anglican who insisted: "Man is sinful, whether a socialist or a capitalist".

The majority of critical comment was designated economic. It included twelve responses which argued that the Statement had not come to terms with the complexity of economic issues, and was as a consequence too simplistic or too vague. Again, a number of respondents insisted that New Zealand does not have a private enterprise economy. The contention of a Roman Catholic is typical: "For years now the economic system has not been free enterprise. It has been a government controlled free enterprise system. I do wish that statements would show the Churches' understanding at depth what is going on and consult a wider range of experts in the field it is criticizing".

Another grouping of comments insisted that it is not sufficient for a Church body to be critical of one system, without spelling out the precise nature of alternatives. A Methodist felt that the importance of man over against the economic system needed to be stressed in workable alternatives. A Baptist commented: "This

strikes me as a good example of why governments get annoyed at Church statements. It is politically naive. It criticises without offering a clear alternative, and presumes to speak in the name of the Church, but certainly would not be acceptable to many church people whether of conservative or socialist persuasion". This writer added a postscript to his comments: "Contrary to what you may feel, I have consistently voted against the present government. I am not a true blue, just someone who is anxious to see balance wherein justice lies". An Anglican echoed this in his conviction that we should be searching for "common ground" between the respective advantages and disadvantages of private enterprise and socialist options.

Here also respondents suggested that the Secretariat was being superficial in viewing the economic system as the cause of society's problems, insisting that the causes run far deeper than that, and hinting and sometimes specifying that what we should address ourselves to are human greed and selfishness. "Blaming the system ignores other very important factors", writes a Methodist. A Presbyterian comments on the Christian responsibility to question every system and an Anglican, acknowledging unemployment as a "real evil", said that "vague hopes of a better system involving revolution are futile and dangerous" and suggested that the Government embark on a programme of creative nation-building.

It is on the topic of unemployment that some of the more revealing comments were made. They include: "In a democracy one can choose, we are free. How many of the 100,000 you speak of are unemployable?" (Presbyterian), a comment echoed by two Anglican respondents; "I'm sad that so many of those I see and meet who come from Australia and are on the dole openly admit they have no desire to be fully employed" (Presbyterian); "Unemployed or unemployable? I am a tradesman who for seven years while training supported a wife and family on four months' earnings. Your Statement condones laziness" (Presbyterian); "Almost all the unemployed in my parish don't want to work" (Anglican). Other respondents questioned the reliability of the figure of 100,000 unemployed or dismissed unemployment as a *major* problem in the community. And, while denying that he was in any sense competent in this area, a Roman Catholic asserts that he meets "many who do not want to work, many who strike because they want the whole cake, and many who strike

because they want to destroy our society".

It is interesting to note that in these comments defence of the private enterprise system - "the backbone of all progress" - comes predominantly from the Roman Catholic clergy, while criticism of the unemployed as unemployable appears to be a Presbyterian predilection. In the Roman Catholic Church's case, Papal documents have been critical of both liberal capitalist and marxist positions, but have emphasized the fundamental right to own private property to such a degree that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it favours the capitalist option. The priest who asserted that private enterprise is not condemned by his Church is correct, both in terms of Church belief and practice. Nor is the Presbyterian response surprising in view of that Church's Calvinist tradition, with its "protestant work ethic" elevating human labour to a predominant position in the Christian hierarchy of values. With work regarded as an ultimate virtue and as the individual's response to God's saving grace, it may be too readily assumed that those who do not work are sinners who have rejected salvation. Commitment to private enterprise and the work ethic are not, of course, endemic to only the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches respectively, but permeate the thinking and values of all the mainline denominations.

Two common responses indicate the influence of the dominant ideology on the clergy's thinking. The first is the demand for a blueprint of the new society, before any steps are taken to abandon the old. The biblical and theological tradition of Christian life as a pilgrimage, being called like Abraham, Moses and the Prophets from a life of settled security into an uncertain but hopeful future, or like the People of Israel committed to wilderness wandering or exile amongst enemies is interpreted only in terms of personal religion. Notions of pilgrimage or the "risk of faith" - let alone the Kierkegaardian existential "leap into the abyss" - are not to be applied to social, economic or political change. The dominant ideology, insisting that we work only towards that which is known, understood and viable, and maintaining that there are in fact no workable alternatives is used to prevent effective change.

The process is reinforced by another element in that ideology: the myth of scientific objectivity which maintains that scientific research is neutral or value-free and that contemporary

issues are so complex that they are better left to those experts and technocrats who are able to comprehend them. The clergy often reflected this view by disclaiming any expertise on which to base economic justice, by maintaining that the economic system is too complex to be fully understood and by urging the Church to leave economic issues to the appropriate experts while it pursues its real task of evangelization.

A third kind of response, closely connected to the dominant ideology's concern for neutrality and balance, was manifested by those clergy who felt that economic issues should not be polarized by distinguishing between capitalist and socialist alternatives, or that the real solutions to economic problems are to be found in "common ground" between competing ideologies, "the balance wherein justice lies". Here also the clergy desert Gospel values in favour of capitalist values. It is nowhere suggested in scripture that justice is to be sought through balance; rather justice is established by the removal of those conditions - in the Old Testament generally by violent struggle - which exploit and oppress people and prevent them establishing and maintaining their humanity. Nor does scripture support the view that Christian reconciliation is reconciliation at any price; what it asserts is that people need to be reconciled to their true human purpose and destiny and that in this process the Gospel may be a divisive instrument, bringing conflict between families, institutions and the community. The clergy's preference for concepts of "balance", "neutrality", "common ground" and "reconciliation at any price" are symptomatic of capitalism's ideological domination of the churches.

The belief that it is a Christian duty to avoid confrontation is reflected in comments which suggest that the Secretariat is too critical of the government and, rather than criticizing mistakes, should be applauding successes. "Where are the statements praising and supporting the government for positive steps?" enquires a Baptist respondent. The majority of comments in this area suggest that it is the task of the churches to work creatively with the government (quite often regarded as a God-given authority). Very few admit confrontation or conflict strategies as legitimate and Gospel-based. Only one comment looked at this issue in a positive light: "Confrontation plus love equals growth. Confrontation on

its own generally leads to withdrawal. Love on its own doesn't always lead to commitment . . . The Church could well do some more *confronting*, always in the context of love, of course". (Presbyterian).

The non-confrontational view is carried into reflections about the process of social change. An Anglican response is typical of many: "You quote the Bible, but remember, Jesus did not attack or try to move the government of his day. He started patiently with individuals". There were many similar reactions against the view implied in the Secretariat's statements that only systemic or structural change can fundamentally solve economic and social problems. The clergy wished to emphasize that it is the Church's task to work with individuals to bring the claim of the Gospel to bear on personal life. Their assumptions are never articulated with any clarity but obviously include the assumption that if individuals become "more Christian" or "more just", the structures of society which are human creations serviced by humans will become more just or more Christian as a result. The Secretariat's experience in seven years of seminar and conference engagements confirms that the majority of clergy have little understanding of the nature and dynamics of social, political and economic structures and tend to hold naive and sometimes mystical ("God will not allow things to get out of hand") views of change.

Two other elements in these written comments are worthy of note. The first is the comparatively small amount of criticism based on biblical or theological understandings. The Secretariat had certainly expected there to be much more criticism on biblical grounds and was surprised at how little emerged. The most favoured biblical quotation was from Romans 13: "the powers that be are ordained of God", which was most often used to indicate that it is the Christian duty to conform to secular government. This is in itself an interesting example of the selective use of biblical material within the Church. No respondents quoted the historically later tradition in the Book of Revelation which depicts secular government (the Roman State) emanating from Satan, and urges Christians to confront it, resist it and overthrow it.

There was some general criticism of the Secretariat's use of biblical material and theological concepts. A Presbyterian

commented: "It sounds as if you are trying to use the Gospel to justify your point of view. If so, you are abusing the Word of God. Christians must proclaim *all* the Word of God, not use it to back up what they believe". Other brief comments like, "the Gospel doesn't necessarily support the views which ESOD has taken" and "You have no right to use Christ for left-wing politics" point to the belief that ESOD has a biased reading of Scripture.

Finally, in relation to this statement on private enterprise there were no comments suggesting that it was based on a Marxist analysis. The Secretariat felt that this was significant and that the careful choice of "private enterprise" rather than "capitalism" as the focus of the statement ensured that it was at least read and possibly avoided outright and widespread rejection. As argued elsewhere in this thesis, the degree of support for this statement rests on the comparative lack of economic analysis amongst the clergy rather than an appreciation of the Marxist critique.

(c) General Comments

A number of respondents wrote, in addition to specific comments on particular statements, comments of a more general nature. Nine respondents commented in positive terms on their support for the Secretariat and its statements; eighteen comments were negative and more detailed; and there were twelve substantial letters (ranging from 150 to 1,000 words) which contained both positive and negative comments.

The bulk of the criticism is to do with ESOD's political stance and almost all of this came from Anglican respondents. One asked "Is the Secretariat attached to the Labour Party? Or are all its members merely active Party members?" Another commented: "I strongly disagree with the wasting of \$28,000 on such thinly-disguised Communist literature. I consider that ESOD (good name for it!) is an arrogant and *evil* drain on the Church's main task which is to spread love and not be judgemental. In your own statement ESOD is a left-wing conspiracy". And a third said, "I had never heard of the Secretariat and, quite honestly, I hope it packs up and gets on with the Christian Gospel and not Socialism. It is pathetic to think that such people as are named in this matter should get involved in the fiddling patheticness of New Zealand party politics. This document was the saddest experience I've had

in many a year. I had hoped it was a nightmare". A Presbyterian, in indicating that he was aware of the Secretariat's existence, added the words "as a left-wing ecclesiastical pressure group". Another Presbyterian, in indicating that his source of knowledge of the Secretariat was through the National Council of Churches, commented that he viewed the NCC "rather than Church, a political organization".

Another Anglican commented at some length on what he saw as "typical WCC 'liberation' confusion", saying that of four elements he discerns: Gospel, Social Justice, Political Action and Physical violence, the first three are identified in the work of God in the New Testament. Of the fourth he comments: "I do not see this in Christ, only in his opponents". This writer identified himself in person and claimed evangelical convictions. A partly-completed return, also claiming evangelical convictions, asserted "If you concentrated on obeying Jesus' commands, this country would not need conglomerated varieties of Christians to do what you stand for".

In one of the letters a respondent queries: "Why didn't you ask the question, 'Is the Secretariat necessary?'" and goes on to answer that question: "No, it is too radical, too left-wing in my opinion". In the longest and most detailed letter an Anglican comments: "I know it is simplistic to say that religion and politics should be kept separate. On the other hand, neither can they be mixed up together. If they are you are liable to get ecclesiastical separation on political lines, the formation of a 'Christian Socialist Church' or 'Patriotic Front Church'". A Roman Catholic priest commented somewhat cynically, "Many years ago at Oxford I was a loud-mouthed and totally ineffectual member of the October Club which was the undergraduate Community Party organization . . . Alas most of our young revolutionaries are now on the Boards of the Banks and Supra-National trading bodies".

An Anglican correspondent, in drawing attention to the political stance, also raised the question of the Secretariat's representative function. "I can understand the opposition of politicians to apparently radical or left-wing views put forward as being the voice of the Church when many Christians, as they and we all well know, do not take the views expressed in quite the way they are put. These Christians, like myself, have not a clear enough position politically to feel we can put it forward and we leave it

to you, who have made up your minds on a more definite approach, to do all the talking and you imagine you are talking for all of us".

This view was echoed by another Anglican who wrote: "Your group is *not* the Church. It's just a few individuals who do not express the opinion of ordinary Christians". A Presbyterian minister commented that, while he liked the gist of what was being said, the views do not represent Christian opinion. Another says of the statements, "They *cannot* be said to be representative of Christian opinion in New Zealand as I am sure that most Christians don't know of ESOD's existence and secondly, I think that many would have a more conservative point of view than those expressed in the statements. ESOD seems yet another of the increasing number of extra-Christian groups saying things on behalf of the Church".

The Anglican Bishop of Wellington, in writing to say that he would not be completing and returning the questionnaire, commented "I would hesitate to say that the Secretariat represents the views of the Church in this diocese". He goes on to argue that replies to the questionnaire should be treated with caution as they will "represent an individual point of view and cannot be called the view of the Church" thus raising the interesting question of what precisely does constitute the view of the Church: the Church's formal doctrinal statements or what Christians actually believe? In his own Church's case there is a very clear position: the Church's belief is determined by *consensus fidelium*, in which process the professed views of contemporary Church members are an important element. The Bishop goes on to express disquiet over the Secretariat's statements "which I consider are controversial. Some are matters of opinion, some I think are wrong in fact" and expresses the hope that the Statement on Private Enterprise was not seen to "go out in the name of the Church".

The negative aspects of comments written on the questionnaire have been dealt with at some length, and given more attention than a scientific analysis would permit, because they provide the only indication of the nature of the criticism of ESOD's work. As mentioned above, the statements drew a far greater measure of support and positive comment than the Secretariat had anticipated. The implications of this support and the significance of the criticism are discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SECRETARIAT'S APPROACH SINCE 1978

The Influence of Structural Analysis

The importance of structural analysis was being emphasized as early as the third year of the Secretariat's activities. Already by this stage the minutes record, "We need to concentrate on analysis and promote analysis amongst those with whom we have contact", (ESOD Minutes, 1978a:6) and recommend that this be seen as a primary thrust of the agency. Two meetings later the proposal was discussed in more detail. (ESOD Minutes, 1979a:1). Professor O'Connor claimed that structural analysis in New Zealand was in its infancy and that a great deal of it was impressionistic. If we entered this field it should be on the basis of the most competent expertise available. Several names were suggested including Francois Houtard (1979) of the University of Louvain, Luis Hechanova from the Philippines, Oh Jae Shik who was working with the Christian Conference of Asia, and the ecumenical agency INODEP in Paris which had a special interest in Freire's theories and which had considerable experience of analytical work with Third World communities.

In embarking on this project, the Secretariat expressed its mind very clearly on three aspects of it. Firstly, the analysis had developed and been tested in situations of Third World oppression and was therefore to be seen as part of the Third World's contribution to the First World. Secondly, the analysis must not be permitted to become an academic exercise: it must assist participants to transform the situation being analysed. It must be of use both to groups involved directly in development struggles, and to those who are in some sense in a support or training role in relation to such groups. And thirdly, the analysis must be seen to be firmly rooted in an ideology recognizably Christian and if possible, incorporate theological reflection as a constituent element.

Aware that structural analysis had reached a high degree of sophistication within some of the Asian struggles for justice, the

Secretariat sought the advice of the Justice and Service unit of the Christian Conference of Asia. The unit recommended contact with Fr Philippe Fanchette, a Mauritian priest working with INODEP, and Sister Mary John Mananzan, a Philippino Religious who had been working closely with him. After lengthy negotiations with INODEP, the Ecumenical Institute for the Development of Peoples, the services of both facilitators were secured for September 1980 for eight weeks.

The analysis is a group activity. It begins with a group's perception of itself and its chosen strategies. It elicits from the group its social knowledge of its milieu within economic, political and socio-cultural categories, assists the group summarize and inter-relate each category, then verifies the hypotheses through detailed structural and conjunctural analysis. Participants undertake the analysis themselves with the assistance of a range of exercises and schema which have been developed and tested in Third World situations. (For a summary of the steps of the analysis and the tools used, see Figure 2, page 151).

The structural-conjunctural analysis derives from both *structuralism* (of which Althusser, 1969, may be considered a representative) and *historicism* (of which Gramsci, 1973, may be regarded as the principal exponent). It is recognized that, because concepts of structure and conjuncture penetrate each other and are not mutually exclusive, there is disagreement over the constituent elements of each. However, in general the structuralist school regards each historical situation as a case analagous to other cases, and identifies a series of structural interrelationships, emphasizing the importance of the economic basis of society. Historicism, on the other hand, insists on the peculiarity of each historical reality and emphasizes the political and ideological factors which characterize each society and its era. Both elements are essential to the analysis. Structural analysis on its own does not provide the key to change. Structures change through successive conjunctures and it is necessary to examine the conjuncture if one wishes to direct change in society.

The concepts pioneered by Gramsci (1973), and developed by subsequent Marxist thinkers, are crucial to the analysis. It was his view that "history rather than sociology was the all-embracing subject that includes all others and precludes any mechanistic view

STEPS IN STRUCTURE-CONJUNCTURE ANALYSIS

		Structure Analysis			Conjuncture Analysis	
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Assessment of standpoint of Group	Photography of society Data gathering & classifying - Economic - Political - Socio-cultural Conflicts	Summary of the situation Interrelate data in systems	Non-conscious structures Interrelated structures Hypotheses of contradiction in society	Verification of hypotheses by detailed structural analysis: -Economic -Political -Ideological on the - National - Local levels FUNDAMENTAL contradiction DOMINANT contradiction	Analysis of trends - fast-changing structures, organizations, alliances PRINCIPAL contradiction Principal aspect of contradiction	Hypothesis for strategy in line with principal contradiction Tactics in line with principal contradiction
TOOLS TO BE USED						
Strategy Liberal ideology compared with counter-ideology Roots of elements of vision of society	Social investigation Documents			Economic schema Political schema Psychological schema Religious schema	Series of questions Information Types of class analysis	

Figure 2

of the development of human society". (Joll, 1977:78). Furthermore, he espoused a voluntaristic view, convinced that historical developments are not pre-ordained but can be influenced by the will of humankind. He therefore opposes the dialectic of Marxists like Bukharin and Lenin which argued that the superstructure - ethics, law, art, philosophy - was directly conditioned by the economic system, and insists that the dialectic is more than the blind clash of physical forces. It is in the nature of a movement to which individuals contribute by deliberately choosing to become a force in the dialectical process.

It was Gramsci who drew the distinction between *organic* movements, the long-term trends within a society, and *conjunctural* movements, those which appear as immediate, occasional or almost accidental. In describing the relationship between structural and conjunctural Gramsci coined the term *historical block* by which he meant the moment in history when both subjective and objective forces combine to produce the possibility of revolutionary change: when the old order's economic structure is collapsing, but when there are people with historical insight and determination who can seize advantage in the situation.

Two further concepts of Gramsci's are basic to the analysis. One is that of *hegemony*. Again rejecting the view that purely economic explanations can account for historical phenomena, he saw that the dominance of a class over others does not simply depend upon economic or even physical power, but on the persuasion of the other classes to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and to share their cultural, moral and social values. If the ruling class is successful in creating a consensus on these values, there is no need for forceful repression; it is only when the consensus breaks down with, for example, the emergence of a counter-ideology, that the ruling class must rely on the repressive force of the political apparatus to restore the old order. This led him to posit that a successful ruling class is one which has established its ideological leadership before obtaining political power. This pointed to ways of overcoming one of the difficulties inherent for revolutionary parties operating within democratic restraints, that of expanding influence and increasing support without actual control of political power.

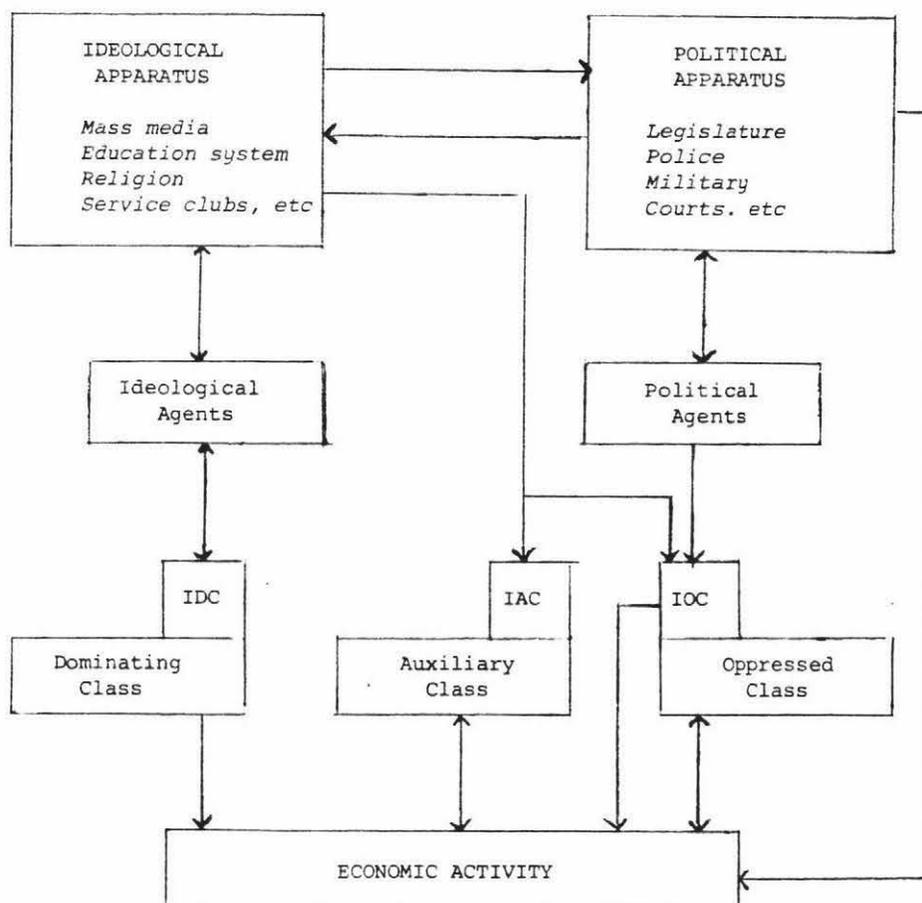
Finally, Gramsci's preoccupation with the relationship between structure and superstructure, and the historical moment of transition from one society to another, led him to reject any idealist view of change whereby one moves from a society of conflicts to a new society where no conflicts exist, through a revolutionary leap in favour of exploiting the conflicts of the historical situation to move to a new society in which new conflicts will arise, and so the process will be repeated.

In structural analysis the notion of contradiction is a basic one. Distinctions are drawn between *fundamental contradictions*, those in the basic structures of a given society; *dominant contradictions*, the economic, political or ideological contradictions felt most strongly at one period of time; and the *principal contradiction*, the manner in which the dominant contradiction is expressing itself at a specific moment. It is then necessary to identify the *principal aspect of the contradiction*; that pole of contradiction which will lead to qualitative change if it dominates the other pole. It should be noted that the economic contradiction is usually referred to as the *determinant contradiction* because it reveals the type of society one is analysing: it is not always, however, the dominant contradiction.

Contradiction-analysis assumes that changes within a society come from the internal forces opposing themselves in that society and that these changes are not merely *quantitative* but also *qualitative*. External forces are capable of achieving only quantitative changes; qualitative changes require internal forces. Contradiction analysis attempts to pinpoint the key contradiction at a given time in the belief that if this contradiction is solved, society takes a step forward. The approach is therefore opposed to the idealistic approach to change and instead tries to build a new society using existing elements in society.

At the heart of the structural-conjunctural analysis lies a particular explanation of reality which participants are invited to verify. (The basic form of this is laid out in Figure 3, page 154). The three fundamental classes of a capitalist society are defined by their economic relationships: the *dominating class* owns the means of production and distribution; the *oppressed class* consists of those who have only their labour to sell in order to subsist, and

DIAGRAM OF CLASS RELATIONSHIPS

KEY

IDC Intellectuals of the Dominating Class

IAC Intellectuals of the Auxiliary Class

IOC Intellectuals of the Oppressed Class

Arrows indicate the direction of control

Figure 3

the unemployed; and the *auxiliary class* participate in the economy both as wage or salary earners in the service industries and as consumers. They are described as "auxiliary" to indicate that they can theoretically be auxiliary to either the dominating or oppressed classes. In fact, primarily through the influence of the ideological apparatus which encourages them to espouse the values and systems of the dominating class, they are auxiliary to that class. To become auxiliary to the struggles of the oppressed class demands a conscious act of volition. Those who serve as ideological and political agents are normally drawn from the auxiliary class and are used by the dominating class to control both the oppressed and auxiliary classes.

The two aspects of the State apparatus, the ideological apparatus and the political apparatus, reinforce one another. The ideological apparatus controls through persuasion, the political apparatus through coercion. When the level of ideological consensus is high, the level of coercion is low. But when the consensus is threatened or breaks down, coercion is required in the degree to which the breakdown has occurred.

Since this system serves the interests of the dominating class and by association the auxiliary class, transformation of society can come about only through those who wish to see a different set of relationships - the oppressed class. This transformation will occur as organizations of the oppressed class begin to form a counter-ideological apparatus and a counter-political apparatus. In this process the support of organizations of conscientized members of the auxiliary class is important, particularly as they serve in the existing apparatus and are in a position to begin to work against its interests. There is an important role for both the intellectuals of the oppressed and auxiliary classes who can begin to frame an ideology counter to that promoted by the economists and technical experts who comprise the intellectuals of the dominating class.

The group undertaking the analysis then locates itself within this framework and proceeds to examine, in the case of organizations of conscientized members of the oppressed class, how to begin creating the alternative apparatus; and in the case of organizations of conscientized members of the auxiliary class, how to form strategic alliances with the oppressed class.

To summarize: This approach to analysis involves three basic steps. Firstly, a group expresses its situation; secondly, it analyzes its situation; thirdly, it transforms its situation. The overall framework is derived from Freire who designates the three steps of the process as codification, decodification and transformation. (Freire, 1972b:31). In the Secretariat's case, the process is always accompanied by theological reflection with groups exploring the Biblical roots of concepts like oppression, liberation and transformation and clarifying Christian values.

Conscientization as a Revolutionary Strategy

From its inception, the Secretariat had been attracted to Paulo Freire's methodology, *concientizacao*, generally referred to in English as "conscientization" or more popularly, "awareness raising". In this instance also the development of the Secretariat's interest and practice was enhanced by strong personal links. At the time of the Secretariat's foundation Freire was working as a special consultant to the World Council of Churches' Office of Education, and the Executive Officer was able to meet with him in the course of several visits to Geneva, to discuss the Secretariat's situation and programme and to reflect on appropriate strategies. Freire, who had paid a visit to New Zealand, was particularly concerned to see the methodology promoted amongst Maori groups. The Secretariat had hoped that Freire would be available to personally supervise such a project but he was at that stage so committed to developing the "pedagogical partnership" with educators in Guinea-Bissau (Freire, 1978) that this proved impossible.

The Executive Officer also developed close personal relationships with two people who had worked with Freire and who employ his methodology. Marcos Arruda is a Brazilian who used Freire's approach within the Brazilian workers movement until he was arrested, tortured and exiled. After years of convalescence he was appointed to co-ordinate the Transnational Corporation Programme of the World Council of Churches' Commission on the Churches Participation in Development (CCPD). At that time he also became one of the advisers in pedagogy to the revolutionary reconstruction in Nicaragua. He has since been permitted to return to Brazil where he has established a research and data-base, IBASE, to serve workers' movements.

Philippe Fanchette, a Mauritian priest, is one of the staff of INODEP (the Ecumenical Institute for the Development of Peoples), an agency which promotes Freire's approach. The agency works primarily with popular movements in developing countries, but Fanchette also serves as adviser in pedagogy to the Government of the Seychelles. Both men have visited New Zealand under the auspices of the Secretariat and Fanchette continues to work with the Secretariat in its programmes of structural-conjunctural analysis.

Freire's theoretical position has been discussed in Chapter one. But it is important to emphasize again that it is a revolutionary position. Some commentators who have read Freire's early work, but not it would appear, his later works, depict the methodology as a form of literacy training which "unmasks reality" in a wide range of political situations. But over the course of twenty years Freire's thought develops through a succession of stages from unveiling reality to revolutionary praxis. Freire makes it clear that, while conscientization need not be associated with literacy training, it must be related to the political involvement of an exploited social class struggling for liberation. (Freire, 1973:4). He is equally adamant that conscientization is a process which cannot be realized by the Right. "There can be no conscientization of the people without a radical denunciation of dehumanizing structures, accompanied by the proclamation of a new reality to be created by men. The Right cannot unmask itself, nor can it sponsor the means for the people to unmask it more than it is willing to be unmasked... Nor can there be popular conscientization for domination. The Right invents new forms of cultural action only for domination". (Freire, 1972b:76).

Although literacy training *per se* may not be essential to the process of conscientization, the use of language is the essence of it. For language reflects social organization. The Executive Officer had developed a particular interest in this field some years earlier when stationed in a South London working-class area. Interested in defining distinctions between middle-class and working-class use of language and in determining the causes of those differences, he consulted with Lawson (1968) at the London Institute of Education who was testing some of the theories of Bernstein (1961, 1965). Bernstein's basic concern is with socialization and the transmission

of culture. In this process he distinguished between elaborated and restricted codes and posited a complex model of code-determining and code-generating which moves from social structure to forms of social relation to linguistic codes. Freire's work produced similar conclusions, although he pressed the analysis a stage further, in claiming that the imposition of a language does violence to the cultural structures upon which a community's life is built.

For Freire, the "culture of silence" is the description employed to describe the dependent society created through this form of cultural violation (Freire, 1972b:57f). Traditional education, treating participants as objects, simply reinforces existing society and alienates people even further. But conscientization on the other hand regards human beings as subjects engaged in transforming their world. The methodology of conscientization follows a number of well-defined steps.

At the first stage the educators, who generally enter the situation as a survey team, listen at those points or places in the community where opinions are expressed and discover *generative words* or *generative themes*. These might be described as words and themes which arouse strong feelings in people. (In an auxiliary class situation, such themes can be quickly identified by asking people to name three things they are strongly for and three they are strongly against!) Generative themes are most likely to emerge from the areas of family life, social life, economic situation, recreation, religion (the meaning system) or decision-making. This part of the process is essentially informal as the team studies the thinking, problems and aspirations of the community.

The second phase is called *codification*. This, as its name suggests, implies discovering a code - which may be visual, or poetic, or musical or dramatic - which sums up a social, cultural, political or economic reality, and has the potential for confronting that reality. Where conscientization is based upon literacy-training, this phase involves the selection of words "most charged with existential meaning and thus, major emotional content, but also the typical expressions of the people". (Sanders, 1968:4). The word "house", for example, carries meanings which link it not only to daily family life, but to local and national housing problems. Using a set of cards or slides, two sets of material are produced:

one breaks the word down into its constituent parts for more careful analysis; the other presents a picture or representation which gives the pupil a visual image of the word and stimulates thinking about the situation which the word implies.

Where the process is not specifically linked to literacy training, a set of comparative visual images is produced. For example, continuing the theme of housing, a project sponsored by the Education Division of the Pacific Conference of Churches was based on two pictures; one depicted the basic dwelling of a Melanesian community, the other the luxurious house typical of European administrators or businessmen. This simple code was sufficient to provoke a very revealing analysis in that community. But whether the code is pictorial or in some other form, for example, in a popular folk song, the elements of a good code remain the same. It should be relevant, raise questions on one theme related to a familiar situation, and be neither too obvious nor too mysterious. It should be problem-posing codification introducing sharp contrasts, points of tension, related causes and lead to action.

The third phase is *decodification* in which the facilitator asks participants a series of questions: What do you see? (eliciting a description of the situation); Why is this happening? (eliciting an analysis of the situation); Does this happen in your situation?; What problems arise in your life?; What are the root causes of these problems?; and What can you do about it? For example, the code may be a picture of a factory (in the literacy-training the word "factory" would be analyzed) with a sign announcing "No jobs". The expressions on the faces of people in the picture probably reflect the real experience of many of the group participants. Sanders records that in a rural situation in Chile where this particular picture was used the questions for discussion were: Where are the clothes we wear, the tools with which we work, and the pencil and paper with which we write produced? Does the factory participate in the production of our food? And the construction of our houses? Why don't people produce most of the articles they need as they used to do? Why do countries need to industrialize? Can Chile industrialize to a greater degree? What industries have the best possibility in our country? Does industrial expansion influence rural areas? Do rural areas contribute to the process? Can one industrialize

agriculture and the production of animals? And he comments on "the capacity of people of limited education for thoughtful analysis and logical articulation of the issues when the issues are linked to their everyday life". (Sanders, 1968:7).

The final stage is involvement in the *transformation of society*. Freire does not specify the strategies and tactics of this involvement, as he believes these are for the conscientized masses to work out for themselves through the action-reflection-action process, continually testing and analyzing until the culturally appropriate formula is identified through the successful revolution. But he is adamant that the inevitable consequence of conscientization is political participation if only at the level of the formation of community organizations and labour unions. He is equally insistent about two other matters. The basis of true revolution is cultural transformation in which the people assume the role of subject in recreating the world. The revolutionary coup, carried out by a vanguard on behalf of the people, is not ultimately revolutionary, for its violence victimizes people and the climate of the "culture of silence" is reimposed. As his model, he seems to be drawn to the revolutionary utopianism of Che Guevara who "is an example of the unceasing witness revolutionary leadership gives to dialogue with the people" and who "did not hesitate to recognize the capacity to love as an indispensable condition for authentic revolutionaries". (Freire, 1972b:74).

Education for Social Change

From the description in Chapter Four of the Alinsky model of community organization and the above discussion of Freire's model of conscientization, it can be seen that they readily complement each other. For they are basically concerned about the same issues: forms of popular education and training which enable the alienated and oppressed to effect a redistribution of power in society. Freire has pioneered a form of popular education which creates revolutionary awareness; Alinsky developed techniques of mass organization through which the aware can organize for power. And basic to both elements is structural-conjunctural analysis. The Secretariat has combined all three elements into a coherent programme which it calls "Education for Social Change".

The transfer of analysis and skills to development activists has become the main task of the Secretariat. This is pursued at a number of levels. At the least formal level, the Secretariat services three action-reflection groups comprised of Christian activists who meet on a regular basis (a local group for example, meets once a fortnight, a national group three times a year) to reflect on their involvement, deepen their analysis and devise new strategies. This has involved the Secretariat in a long-term commitment to twenty-five people who both work in local community organization projects around such issues as unemployment, housing and urban renewal, and in projects which attempt a degree of public mobilization such as the Peace Squadron, the Coalition for Open Government and the Christian Workers' Association.

Secondly, the analysis and skills are promoted through educational institutions. The Secretariat has run programmes in theological seminaries, community colleges and the Auckland University Centre for Continuing Education. It has participated in courses at Massey University and undertaken work for some of the more experimental programmes like those of the Nelson Community Education Service and the Community Action Project in Masterton. Several hundred people have been introduced to the Secretariat's understanding through these institutions.

The most intensive education for social change takes place, however, in the structural analysis seminars. These seminars are generally of a week's duration and are organized for two different kinds of groups: groups of the poor, deprived or oppressed themselves, and groups of auxiliary class personnel who are working with the poor and oppressed and who are committed to supporting their struggle. By far the greater number of participants fall into this latter category, where the purpose of the course is to train operators who will share the skills with groups of the oppressed class. Over two hundred persons have attended these seminars and remain in touch with each other through regional groupings and a central communication point. This reflects the importance placed on the development of a team-teaching approach in which those facilitating analytical and skill development can monitor each other.

Other aspects of the Secretariat's work also contribute to this process. While members have always considered the "one-off"

paper, lecture or sermon the least effective means of communicating its understandings, they try never to refuse invitations and attempt to ensure that their presentations are consistent with the Secretariat's ideological and practical orientation. Similarly, the Resource Centre, which was one of the earliest functions established by the Secretariat, undertakes research and publications on behalf of both Church and secular groups, provides study-action packs for groups wishing to pursue a particular facet of development, and circulates general material on development issues. As the Secretariat's analysis has become more explicit, so the material thus prepared increasingly reflects its ideological and theological stances.

Fundamental to the Secretariat's mode of operation has been a concept introduced by Professor O'Connor that the Secretariat act as an umbrella to those initiatives which it can shelter. By this was implied initiatives consistent with the Secretariat's understanding of development. Three of the Secretariat's major programmes: the SODEPAX Programme which, under the theme "In Search of a New Society", has examined the sustainability and use of New Zealand's resources; the Forestry Project, which has investigated alternatives to large-scale industrial forestry; and the Christian Action Week programme, a yearly attempt to involve parish groups in development action; were not directly initiated by ESOD, but were responses to groups or individuals wishing to explore these areas.

(a) Forestry Project

Early in 1979 Janet Stephenson approached the Secretariat, amongst a number of other agencies, to enquire whether it would consider sponsoring her research into the New Zealand forestry industry, by making application for financial assistance under the Temporary Employment Programme and by providing supervision and a support group. ESOD Minutes (1979a:5) show that the Executive Officer argued that forestry could provide a useful way in to research on the whole of New Zealand's development programme because it opens up further issues such as Maori land, land use, the role of transnational corporations, foreign capital, the use of natural resources, environmental issues, employment, urbanization, etc. The Secretariat, after discussion, approved the project Janet Stephenson had outlined, but asked the Executive Officer to clarify

the future of the project after the Temporary Employment Programme support ended.

Twelve months later (ESOD Minutes 1980:5) the Executive Officer reported that, despite a number of applications, he had been unsuccessful in gaining support from the Temporary Employment Programme. He had been advised that the project was "too political" in nature and that Government was not anxious to fund projects which might draw attention to sensitive issues in Government priorities. In the meantime Janet Stephenson had been supporting herself, continuing her research under ESOD's auspices and had published a booklet: *People and Pines: Industrial Forestry in New Zealand* (Stephenson, 1979). This booklet analyzes the nature of large-scale industrial forestry. That Meeting of the Secretariat resolved "that the project should continue under ESOD, be expanded in a number of directions, and seek alternative funding". Amongst the sources of funds suggested were various Maori Trusts and the Roman Catholic Church's Pacific Partnership for Human Development. Eventually sufficient funding was secured through Christian World Service and the Catholic Commission for Evangelization, Justice and Development.

In addition to researching forestry issues, Janet Stephenson became involved in awareness-raising programmes. Her strong links to the forestry industry, and particularly to critics within that industry, enabled her to discover information about proposed large-scale forestry development by Government or private enterprise. Maori land is generally a major target for such proposals because, according to European values, it is under-utilized and under-developed and patterns of ownership are often so complex that large companies have been able to conclude advantageous deals with particular families.

Stephenson's approach was to live and work in such a target area and, having familiarized herself with the local community, employ the natural and informal communication networks to both raise questions about the proposed development and impart information which the company concerned was unlikely to divulge. She made use of the illustrations in her forestry booklet to explain the inter-relatedness of social, environmental, political and economic issues, and encouraged the community to explore all forestry options available to it, particularly emphasizing small-scale operations

which would create local rather than metropolitan employment, be economically more advantageous to the community, and protect local ownership and control of the land. These alternatives were explored at length in her second publication, *People and Pines: The Other Path* (Stephenson, 1981a).

But Stephenson was not content simply to suggest alternatives: she was determined to also to demonstrate that small-scale projects were viable. Her next move was to the Hokianga region where, with a friend she established a small, self-sufficient sawmill to process logs from felled windbreaks, which farmers in that region quite often left lying in the paddocks. This project demonstrated that timber could be put to a wide range of uses, and that small ventures were economically and ecologically viable. Eventually Stephenson announced that she wished to devote her full energies to this and other practical projects. In the meantime she had written a succession of articles for national and international journals like the *Listener* and *One World* (Stephenson, 1980, 1981b) which had elicited favourable comment locally and overseas.

With Stephenson's withdrawal from the major aspect of the project (from the Secretariat's perspective) the agency was faced with a problem. It was assured of funds to continue the project if this was considered advisable, and it had already proved itself to be an ideal way of opening up development issues for discussion in rural communities. Furthermore, a Pacific-wide meeting sponsored jointly by ESOD and CCPD's Program on Transnational Corporations had identified forestry, fishing and mining as issues of common concern in the Pacific and had suggested that forestry become the focus of a major co-operative project for the region. ESOD was therefore under some pressure to continue its project. At its September 1981 Meeting however (ESOD Minutes, 1981b:4), members recalled the "umbrella" function of the agency and the manner in which ESOD had responded to Stephenson's request. It felt that it should not attempt to continue her project arbitrarily, but remain open to the possibility of another person picking up a quite different initiative in this field and approaching the Secretariat for help.

This project clearly illustrates a number of elements in ESOD's methodology: the use of awareness-raising and community building, the facilitation of people's participation in decision-

making; the importance of locally determined patterns of development and appropriate technology; and the transferring of skills to negotiate with powerful economic interests and in some cases, to confront them. It should be noted that these are precisely the same objects ESOD promotes in relation to Third World development.

(b) National Association of Clergy

The National Association of Clergy was itself a strategy which emerged from one of the Secretariat's action-reflection groups. The group had been meeting for two years and deepening its analysis by reflecting on areas of work in which members were individually engaged. In its third year the group reached the point of recognizing that its analysis could proceed further only when the group *per se* became involved in piece of development action on its own account. One of the issues on which the group had a common mind was that of institutionalized racism in New Zealand. In addition to a concern for Maori land and related issues, the group was disturbed at a report (*New Zealand Listener*, 19 August 1978) which indicated that statistics were revealing that South Africa was providing the largest number of immigrants to New Zealand and that a considerable number of immigrants were in the teaching profession and police force. Subsequent press reports further revealed that hundreds of young New Zealanders were joining the Rhodesian army as "white mercenaries". The group felt that the mercenary issue, and immigration under Immigration Minister Frank Gill's "kith and kin" policy, were examples of racism with which the New Zealand public, and especially New Zealand Christians, needed to be confronted.

The group discussed a number of possible strategies, but finally settled on that of creating an official-sounding body, the National Association of Clergy which would issue a press statement inviting the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism to visit New Zealand. Insofar as the tactic was seen as a hit-and-run methodology, there was no intention to establish the National Association of Clergy as a permanent body. It was to be disbanded as soon as its objectives were achieved. The group considered that the primary value of such a body was to ensure that its press release would be given serious treatment in the media. The planning of the media campaign was seen to be a key element in the strategy.

The Press Release was issued on Sunday 1 October 1978. In addition to drawing attention to the immigration and mercenary issues, it commented on the nature of racism in New Zealand: "The last election saw the destructive use of forms of popular advertising calculated, for short-sighted political purposes, to appeal to racist fears amongst white people. Policies pursued with respect to Pacific Islands people have uncovered significant evidence of unconscious assumptions amongst Pakeha New Zealanders of the superiority of white values and systems". The statement went on to point out that these elements support a form of racism "not distinguishable from that which supports the illegal white Rhodesian regime and Apartheid in South Africa".

The media strategy proved a successful one. The press release was the first item on national television news on 2 October with the Association's spokesperson interviewed against the background of film clips from Soweto and Bastion Point. Radio news that day also featured the release prominently. The following days witnessed a spate of letters in the national press, in the main claiming that the Association's action was itself creating racism.

On 17 November 1978 the Association hosted a meeting between five national development agencies and three Commissioners and a Consultant of the Program to Combat Racism who were passing through Auckland. The Commissioners were critical of some aspects of the Association's strategy because the Program's experience has been that there is little demonstrable result from challenging and changing the attitudes of majority oppressors. Change occurs only through the conscientization of the oppressed. It was also made clear that the Program would not consider responding to an invitation from white New Zealand churchmen; such an invitation would have to come through groups of the oppressed. Nevertheless the meeting affirmed the importance of the white churches being challenged to face their own racism through this initiative, and recommended that the coalition of development agencies which would take up the running while the National Association of Clergy disappeared from the scene, should make a submission to a forthcoming global meeting of the Program.

In the meantime, the National Association of Clergy came under attack from one of the Secretariat's parent bodies, the

National Council of Churches. On 18 October 1978 the General Secretary of the NCC wrote on behalf of the NCC's Working Committee to the Secretary of the National Association of Clergy requesting a response to the following questions: "Who are the officers of the NAC?; Who can join and how?; What are the objects of the Association?; To whom is it accountable?; How is it funded?; Where and when was the inaugural meeting held, and how many attended?; Was the meeting by personal invitation or was it open to any member of the clergy to attend?; When and where is its next meeting?; What role if any do you wish the NCC to take in the activities of the NAC?".

The Association's initiative had clearly struck a raw nerve within the National Council of Churches: the right claimed by the Council to speak on national issues on behalf of the member-churches. The Association had decided on principle not to reveal any details about itself, particularly as it regarded itself as only a temporary phenomenon. It recognized that if it responded to the NCC letter a long correspondence would ensue. Nevertheless it felt that the right being claimed by the NCC needed to be challenged and the legitimacy of independent action for justice established. It therefore determined to follow through this correspondence, employing the tactic of a different person responding to each of the NCC's letters.

A letter of 8 November 1978, signed by Canon J.B. Greenaway, vicar of Rotorua, states the Association's position very clearly: "The mechanism which we identify in your response (to the Secretary) is that of diverting attention from the real issue and focussing on questions of status, identity, accountability, numbers, dates and the like. This mechanism is a central operating principle of white racism itself. The question, 'By whose authority do you do these things?' is a very ancient means employed by people in power to evade the power and quality of words and actions themselves. In thus refusing to be embroiled at this stage in such an in-church debate, we place present priority and urgency on public action and discussion".

Both the opposition of the National Council of Churches and the failure of the coalition of development agencies to further develop the campaign resulted in the Association remaining in

existence longer than it had intended. The National Council of Churches and one of its major commissions, the Church and Society Commission, set about attempting to discredit the National Association of Clergy with the World Council of Churches. In adopting this approach, neither body was aware of the close links that the Association had with the world body. In the end, the NAC's report, *Combating New Zealand White Racism*, stood alongside the NCC's official Report in the reports and background papers for the World Council's Consultation on Racism in June 1980. (PCR Information, 1980, Number 8). Only then was the NAC as such able to disband.

The use of this strategy by a group sheltering under the Secretariat's umbrella created the first real tension experienced in that body. The Executive Officer had kept members fully informed of developments, but the National Association of Clergy's strategy provoked major debate at the March 1979 Meeting of the Secretariat. (ESOD Minutes, 1979a:3). Two major questions were raised: the appropriateness in New Zealand of a "secret" style of operation (one member claiming that such a style is appropriate only when there are borders to escape across); and the appropriateness for an organization to shelter groups which "feel that the parent is an integral part of the problem". The majority of members, however, wished to support ESOD's role as a catalyst, even where such support created problems for the agency. It was suggested that if ESOD is genuinely committed to development principles and is encouraging groups to work out their own strategies and tactics in relation to specific issues, it must learn to tolerate their mistakes. One member spoke for others when he said that "while the traditional role of the Church is to support and bless the status quo, there is a transforming element which is often in confrontation with the established church", and went on to suggest that, if ESOD withdraws support from such elements "we may be cutting ourselves off from where God is working". The Meeting went on to affirm that ESOD should continue to offer support to these groups, and that in cases of sensitivity the Executive Officer should consult with the Chairman.

This case illustrates some of the strengths and weaknesses of the "umbrella" approach which the Secretariat adopted as a methodology consistent with its understanding of development principles and its ideological and analytical stances.

(c) Christian Action Week

The question of whether ESOD should, as part of its development education brief, organize some form of national campaign, was first raised at the Seventh Meeting of the agency (ESOD Minutes, 1977b:3). While the 1976 consultation with New Zealand development agencies had affirmed the concept of a joint programme in development education, the idea of a national campaign had not been suggested. Indeed, ESOD had, in discussing educational techniques, rejected any notion of a "trickle-down" theory of creating public awareness and response. At this meeting, however, ESOD heard reports from Catholic groups that there was a vacuum in terms of a national campaign which needed to be filled.

The Meeting agreed that the imposition of a national programme was not consonant with ESOD's aims of responding to groups and acting as a resource to them. It was certainly not the Secretariat's role to take an initiative in this matter. While a national ecumenical programme might be desirable from time to time, ESOD's role could only be that of an umbrella, stimulating action amongst groups and facilitating a joint preparation group. The Secretariat's feeling that such events in other countries - the Scandinavian churches' "Development Weeks" and the Canadian churches' programme "Ten Days for World Development" - should be evaluated, led to the Executive Officer meeting with organizers from these and other programmes.

The Catholic Commission on Evangelization, Justice and Development, and Christian World Service, both felt that a national campaign aimed, not at information-sharing, but at involving Church members in struggles for justice and liberation in New Zealand would be a useful adjunct to their work. Twelve months later at the Ninth Meeting of the Secretariat it was agreed that ESOD should co-ordinate such a programme on behalf of the two agencies. The name "Christian Action Week" was chosen to indicate that the emphasis was on Christian involvement rather than parish discussion groups.

The first Christian Action Week, held in March 1979, focussed on the theme "To be Fully Human we Must Liberate Humanity" and looked primarily at questions of power and powerlessness, and racism. While there appeared to be no way of overcoming the

tendency for Christians to prefer discussing issues rather than acting on them, one or two significant initiatives did emerge from this programme. The one which received most publicity was the North East Christchurch Electricity Boycott which was initiated by a few families following the programme in a house-group.

In 1980 the theme of Christian Action Week was "New Hope for a New Decade". This programme examined the reasons for the failure of the first two United Nations' Development Decades and looked in depth at the unemployment crisis, both in New Zealand and globally, and the effects of the "silicon chip revolution" upon that situation. Again, there were a few initiatives emerging from the programme, for example, a job exchange established in Te Awamutu under the churches' auspices.

There were two significant changes in the preparation of the 1981 programme. The Secretariat's developing analysis had thrown the question of New Zealand's development strategy into relief and the September 1980 Meeting (ESOD Minutes, 1980b:5) suggested that the theme for 1981 should relate to the questions "What is development for New Zealand?" and "What kind of New Zealand do we want?" picking up the implications of energy use, the political impact of high technology, the National Development Act and people's participation.

Secondly, with a large number of groups having participated in the previous two years, an attempt was made to establish the Week more as a people's programme by involving as many as possible in the planning, production and animation of the event. After a series of consultations with groups, a very clear consensus emerged: that the Week should focus on the Government's "Think Big" strategy, that it should be confrontational in style, and that it should suggest positive development alternatives. One group produced a simplified analysis of the present development strategy (Figure 4, page 171) which became the basis of the critique developed. Two newspaper style resources called *Issues 81* were published as inserts in the national Catholic newspaper *Zealandia*, with 20,000 extra copies of each run off for distribution to parishes and groups. The first newspaper, under the theme of the Week, "Think Big, Think Again, Think People", analyzed current development strategies, and the second featured examples of what

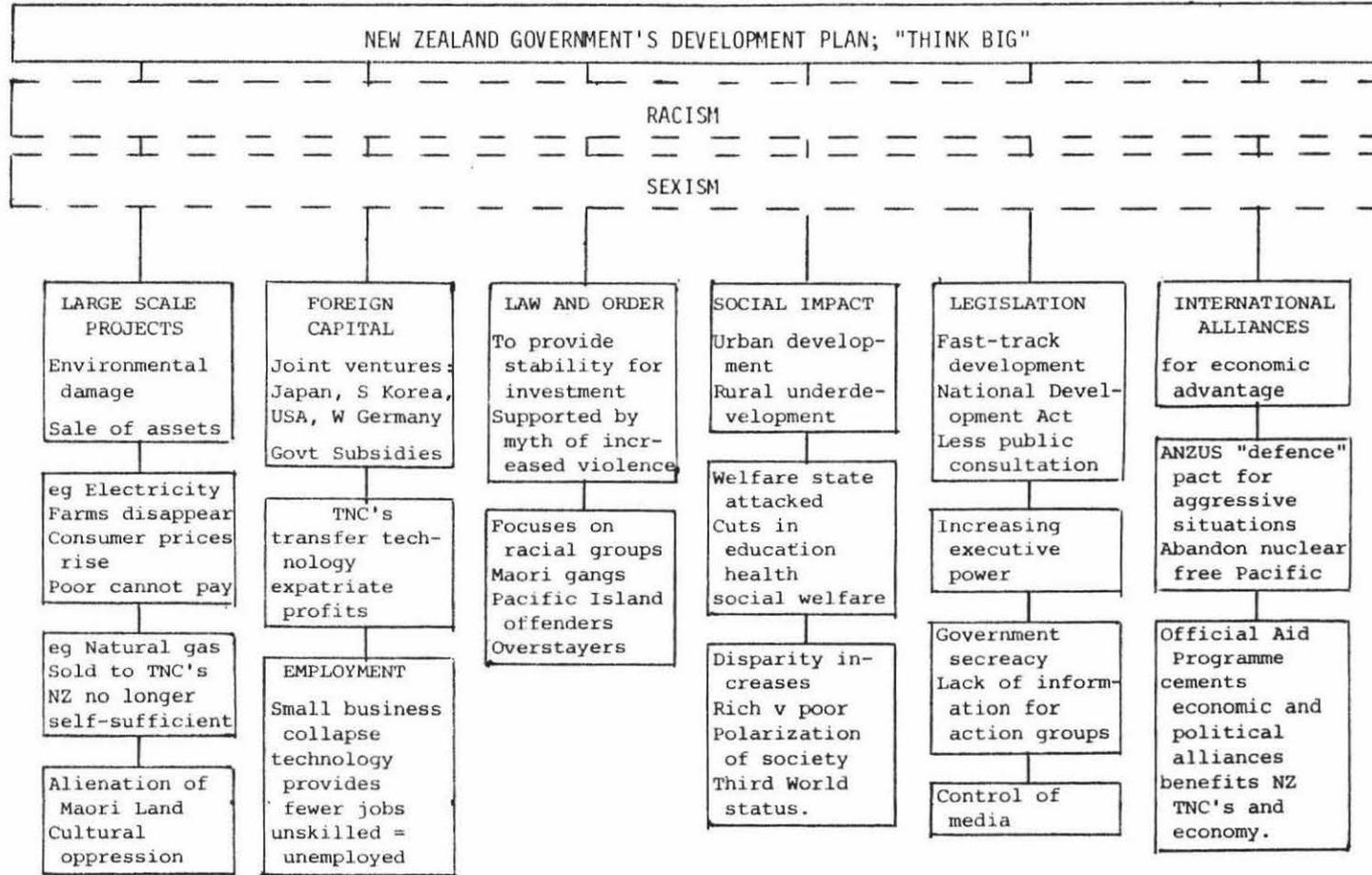


Figure 4

local groups were doing to confront less than human development and to promote alternatives. More than one hundred persons were involved in the preparation-animation process.

The programme engendered strong reaction from three camps. Conservative parishes or conservative groups within parishes felt that the material was too political and not consonant with the Church's "neutral" position and responsibility to publicize all points of view. New Zealand's major developer and transnational corporation, Fletcher-Challenge, sent delegations to Church leaders and to the Secretariat, arguing that the material was unbalanced and, according to one spokesman, "on the level of the *People's Voice*" (Christian Action Week Report, 1981:7).

By far the most outspoken criticism came, however, from the Government. The Minister of Labour in a letter to the Editor of *Zealandia* (28 May 1981) expressed his deep disappointment with the programme which appeared to him to be far too pessimistic at a time when people should "Tackle the task of implementing our full economic growth strategy with confidence, determination and vigour". The Under-Secretary of National Development in a letter of 26 May 1981 proclaimed the programme "an exercise in mindless propaganda" from the extreme left. He took particular exception to the word "struggle", "being a concept well understood by readers of Marx, Lenin and Mao", and to the theological emphasis "that God is working to reverse all the normal expectations of human society". "No strategy ever devised by man could survive this live attack", he insisted. (See Appendix D).

Winston Peters, Member of Parliament for Hunua, issued a long statement claiming that *Issues 81* was "masquerading as a Christian publication but was in fact "being used as a Marxist mouthpiece by a radical minority within the Church". The publication, he continued, "preaches not love but hatred, even claiming biblical justification for working against this government". He went on to argue that this anti-government propaganda was being promulgated at the expense of the twelve major churches whose members were unwittingly supporting the activities of Christian Action Week. He suggests that the Churches should stop supporting ESOD, "a body which has already been criticized by *Tablet* on the grounds of political activism". (Appendix D).

The attack was taken up in Parliament by Mr Talbot, Member of Parliament for Ashburton, who, in defending the Government's think-big policies, claimed that "left-wing churchmen from most denominations have latched on to the Labour Party's position and hooked on to the policy of distortion for some devious political reason. Some of the churchmen are associated with a section of the National Council of Churches. The Christian Week (sic) publication *Issues 1981* is being used as a Marxist mouthpiece within the church". The Member claimed that "It is deplorable that leading churchmen, even bishops, have latched on to the policy of distortion, whether it relates to the rule of law or to the Government's growth strategy" and goes on to appeal to the mainstream of New Zealand society "particularly the genuine Christian people who are concerned about the extremists in our churches . . . to isolate themselves from the extremists, for the good of democracy in New Zealand, and for the tolerance we must have in our society". (Hansard, No. 16, 1981:2137).

In the Secretariat's judgement these attacks served the useful purpose of bringing Christian Action Week to the attention of even more people than it may otherwise have reached. But the Government responses were the first specific attempt to publicly link the Secretariat to the Left and to identify it as a Marxist organization. The Secretariat's structural-conjunctural analysis had led it into adopting a clear stance on New Zealand's growth strategy. The collusion between conservative churches, big business and government in attacking the agency served to confirm its analysis of the way the state apparatus, and particularly the ideological apparatus, operates. Christian Action Week had been regarded by its sponsors as a reasonably low-key and "safe" activity. In 1981 it became the locus of ESOD's critique of capitalism and promotion of the "just, participatory and sustainable society" - the socialist society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEARNINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

ESOD as an Ecumenical Pioneer

ESOD is one of a very small group of development agencies which has the support of the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the Protestant Churches. Other comparable agencies are Action for World Development (AWD) in Australia, the Ecumenical Centre for Development (ECD) in the Philippines and the Ecumenical Service Commission (ESE) in Brazil. In historical sequence of foundation, ESOD follows after the Australian agency and hence lays claim to being one of the first fully ecumenical agencies.

It is difficult to reach any firm answers to the question, Why did ecumenical co-operation advance so quickly in the Pacific region? Certainly, within New Zealand the National Council of Churches, established in 1941, is amongst the earliest councils to be founded, predating those in Britain (1942), Canada (1944), Australia (1946) and even the World Council of Churches itself (1948). Colin Brown's history of the National Council of Churches, *Forty Years On* (1981), explains this early development on the basis of the personal commitment of New Zealand's ecumenical pioneers and the experience of co-operation built up through agencies like the National Missionary Council and the Bible in Schools League, and through a series of ecumenical conferences. In this respect it is important to note that the National Missionary Council was established after a visit to New Zealand by the ecumenical pioneer John R. Mott in 1926 who met with representatives of most of the churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church.

Brown also notes some of the other factors involved in this ecumenical development. He suggests that the general decline in Church membership since 1906 may have prompted the Churches to opt for lateral rather than frontal growth. There is evidence as well that the depression of the 1930's radicalized some clergy, particularly Methodists and Roman Catholics, provoking them into social and political action, which contributed to the shift in

political opinion which was to bring the Labour Party to power and established the importance of a united front for Church social action. This latter effect is possibly the most important, because of its connections with the desire on the part of a significant number of clergy to see "Christian principles" applied to life in New Zealand. Brown argues that it was this objective, coupled with the recognition that in a society becoming more secular, the Churches were becoming marginalized, which led to the establishment of the NCC and the Campaign for Christian Order with which it was associated. The Campaign, responding to the call of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, supported by voices within New Zealand, aimed to involve Christians in the social and political reconstruction believed necessary once the War was ended.

Brown gives no attention, however, to two of the underlying bases for ecumenism. For the first very little data exists apart from the histories of pioneering families. The pioneer of British origins was removed from, and in many cases consciously removed himself from, the ecclesiastical structures of Britain: a State Church with power and privilege, intimately involved in the affairs of State, with the Protestant Churches marginalized; employment and preferment (for example in the universities) dependent upon denominational allegiance; the Roman Catholic Church discriminated against in Law; and the growing identification of denominations with the class and political structure ("Church" being upper and middle-class Tory, "Chapel" being working-class socialist) the pioneer tended to be less conventional in church attendance and allegiance. In many cases pioneers chose to attend the nearest Church irrespective of denomination, particularly in isolated areas. Thus, for example, of my paternal ancestors, some who lived in the far North remained Anglican while those in the King Country became Methodists. And on my maternal side my Grandfather was an elder in the Presbyterian Church at the same time that my Grandmother was superintendent of the Anglican Sunday School, and their descendents have felt at ease in both traditions, with several becoming communicant members of *both*. This degree of experience was not uncommon and contributed to a greater degree of openness to the ecumenical movement.

A second factor which Brown ignores is the strong centralizing tendency which has developed in New Zealand life.

From the establishment of the settlements people have looked towards strong regional and national centres and this attitude has permeated most aspects of life. The tendency has contributed to the ecumenical situation as well, creating a dynamic which has facilitated moves towards the Churches speaking with a unified voice.

While the pioneering situation molded the ecumenical experience of the Anglican and Protestant Churches, it appears to have had little effect upon the Roman Catholic Church which, as late as the 1950's, still stood aloof from ecumenical conversations and action. A number of factors in the 1960's precipitated this Church into ecumenism. One of these was the emphasis on ecumenism in the papal encyclicals from Pope John XXIII on. The encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961) concludes its list of addresses with the "faithful of the Catholic World"; *Pacem in Terris* (1963) with the "faithful of the Whole World"; *Populorum Progressio* (1967) is addressed not only to the Bishops, Priests, Religious and Faithful but to "all men of good will". And Pope Paul's Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis Redintegratio* (1964) proclaiming that "there can be no ecumenism worthy of the name without a change of heart" (UR 7) urged Roman Catholic engagement in ecumenical dialogue. With ecumenism now part of the magisterium, ecumenical questions could no longer be avoided.

Another important factor yet to be studied in detail is the appointment of New Zealand-born bishops to the Church's hierarchy. These appointments from the nineteen-sixties on helped to free the Church from the reservations which the predominantly Irish-born prelates had exhibited, no doubt with their Irish experiences a contributing factor. New Zealand-born bishops, on the other hand, raised in a milieu of greater religious tolerance, have not found so many obstacles to ecumenical commitment. At the present time two of the six diocesan bishops are serving ecumenical bodies at the international level: Bishop Ashby on the Vatican's Council for Ecumenism, and Bishop Cullinane on the international Commission on Roman Catholic-Methodist relationships.

A further very important influence has been the experience of ecumenism in the Pacific Islands. For Polynesian and Melanesian communities, denominational differences do not hold the same importance as they do for western communities. This point is, incidentally, well illustrated by the Maori approach to ecumenism

where the description "Christian" is held more important than denomination and where clergy of all denominations are without distinction honoured in marae ceremonial. This state of affairs has led to a real anomaly within the National Council of Churches, where the Maori Section of the Council is fully ecumenical, involves Roman Catholic participation, and disturbs the NCC because of overtures to the indigenous Maori churches of Ratana and Ringatu.

This ability to override denominational structures has in the South Pacific led to a fully ecumenical Pacific Conference of Churches in which the Roman Catholic Church has full membership. The New Zealand Bishops, being members of the Pacific Regional Episcopal Conference (CEPAC), were introduced to the ecumenical dimension to their colleagues' experience and inevitably drawn into wider ecumenical concerns. Bishop Ashby has participated, on the basis of this experience, in some of the meetings of the Pacific Conference of Churches. And we should recall from Chapter Three that the proposal to establish ESOD came first from the Roman Catholic Church, new to the ecumenical scene, but fresh from a consultation on development in the South Pacific. Once committed to ecumenism, the Roman Catholic Church has pursued unity with vigour. While it established at one level a Joint Working Committee with the National Council of Churches which probes many of the theological and social issues, ESOD has become that Church's experiment in ecumenical action and has enabled it to express points of view that it could not have expressed as a denominational body.

Two concepts underlying ESOD make it an ideal instrument for joint Roman Catholic/National Council of Churches action. The first is that it focussed on justice, and, as we saw in Chapter Two, there were strong lines of convergence between the social teaching of the Vatican and the World Council. Justice was an area of consensus in which theological and doctrinal differences were minimal, as contrasted, for example, with efforts at establishing consensus around the doctrine of sacraments where there are opposing doctrinal and theological positions. On the constituent elements of justice there was major agreement, although, as we have seen elsewhere, there may have been major disagreements on the means by which justice can be established.

Secondly, ESOD was an action-oriented agency, both in the

sense of its support for popular movements for change and in its belief that development education in the sense of attitudinal change occurs only when people are confronted by the requirement to act and subsequently reflect upon that action.

It was the Executive Officer's personal conclusion that unity is better promoted by common action around an issue of justice than through theological debate and negotiation by Church hierarchies. This was one of his learnings from ministry in the Middle-East where he had responsibility for the only English-speaking Church in northern Israel which, as a consequence, included in its congregation Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Hebrew Christians, Quakers, Pentecostals and Open Brethren. While still technically an Evangelical Episcopal (Anglican) Church under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Archbishop of Jerusalem, it had developed a liturgy of its own which tried to take account of the needs of all its members and boasted as its churchwardens a Baptist doctor and a Pentecostal pastor! While English language provided the pretext for meeting, unity from which liturgical understanding flowed was achieved by involvement in common action: provision of a hostel for the "street children" migrating to the city in large numbers in search of employment.

ESOD offers a degree of confirmation of this thesis. Had the Secretariat not been engaged in action, and reflecting upon that action, the four early Statements, and particularly the second two on Bastion Point and Free Enterprise, could not have been issued with such unanimity. Furthermore, that unanimity has been maintained despite the Secretariat, since 1978, retiring and replacing a quarter of its membership each year. The unanimity even led to Bishop Ashby formally issuing statements which contained (as some Roman Catholic respondents pointed out in the survey we conducted) ideas which contradict Roman Catholic teaching: the use of the term "the Churches", when much Roman Catholic thought will not admit that term, insisting instead on "the Church". Though that is perhaps a minor issue, the phrase in the Statement on Free Enterprise, "the Gospel is the only authority which the Church recognizes" is not. The Roman Catholic Church very clearly recognizes other authority (tradition and the Papacy) and some Roman Catholic respondents lamented this betrayal of Church teaching in

the interests of ecumenism.

The Roman Catholic members of ESOD have always affirmed ESOD as "an ecumenical experiment" and this description appears in its official literature. ESOD has survived as an agency, not because of the quality of its development action or development education, nor because of overwhelming support from the member-churches of the National Council of Churches. Indeed, the bulk of the criticism of ESOD has come from those Churches. It has survived because of the enthusiastic support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy for an "ecumenical experiment" in which ecumenical co-operation is being tested. At the time of writing a joint Commission has been established of National Council of Churches and Roman Catholic members to discuss the formation of a new Christian Council in which the Roman Catholics would have full membership. If such a Council becomes a reality ESOD will lose its identity as an independent agency to become part of the new structure. But it will have successfully pioneered the way to fuller ecumenicity.

ESOD's Representative Role and Accountability to the Churches

ESOD has always claimed to represent the major Churches in their work of human development. This description appears in the introductory brochure the Secretariat issued; it has quite often appeared in the explanatory letter accompanying press releases, and it appears in the covering letter introducing the questionnaire which was sent to all clergy in the 1978 survey.

The Secretariat has *claimed* this right rather than being *granted* it. It was not a role envisaged for the Secretariat by those who established it. The proposal which emerged from the Auckland consultation in August 1973 (See Chapter Three, page 79) speaks of the Secretariat involving, supporting and fostering development initiatives, but makes no mention of a representative function which might include the issuing of statements on behalf of all the supporting churches. On the other hand, the possibility of issuing statements as an educational tool cannot be said to be ruled out! It is significant that neither the practice of issuing statements nor the right to issue statements on behalf of the supporting churches has ever been specifically challenged by those churches. This is particularly so in the case of the Roman Catholic

Church, because it is not technically possible for that Church to allow an ecumenical body to make statements on its behalf. It must be assumed that the Episcopal Conference felt that, in having one of its members as Chairperson of the agency, it could maintain some watching brief in this area. What is more probable is that the hierarchy does not regard them as official statements at all.

The representative role is significant also in the case of the National Council of Churches, for the Anglican Bishops insisted on including in the statement of purposes for that body: "No conclusions of the Council shall be published or be binding upon the particular Churches unless or until they have agreed to the same. The Council shall have no power to act in the name of such Churches except so far as all or any of them have commissioned it so to do". (Brown, 1981:21). Although this proviso did not appear in the first constitution of the NCC, one of the objects and functions listed in the original constitution, "To make such statements or pronouncements upon issues of importance as may be presumed to express the common mind and judgement of the Churches", was deleted from the revised Constitution of 1943 and has never been in any form reinstated. It has nevertheless become customary for the NCC to issue statements on important issues and what it permits for itself it could hardly deny one of the agencies it supports.

The Secretariat, however, clearly had it in mind that the issuing of statements was an important element of its activities. The Minutes of the Fourth Meeting in March 1976 record (page 2) that there should be flexibility over issuing statements, with the Executive Officer, in consultation with the Chairperson, issuing statements on immediate issues and the Secretariat as a whole drafting more considered statements on long-term issues. For the Executive Officer's guidance it was suggested that "he is seen to be speaking in support of the weak and oppressed". In the drafting of statements which the body has thus far issued the claim of representing the Churches has clearly been used to give the statements standing and authority they would not otherwise have had if issued in the name of an independent Church agency. That this strategy has worked is illustrated in the manner in which Government has, in response to the Statements, attacked the Churches rather than the agencies. We might note also that while several

respondents to the national survey challenged the right of ESOD to issue statements on behalf of the Churches, on the whole this right seems to have general acceptance.

The question of accountability is one which has dogged the Secretariat's history. The parent bodies are the National Council of Churches and the New Zealand Catholic Episcopal Conference. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, the line of accountability is clear: ESOD reports to the Bishops and the Bishops make decisions about personnel, policy and funding. In fact, the Bishops have in practice delegated the first two functions to the Roman Catholic representatives on ESOD and in 1981 made funding the responsibility of the Catholic Commission on Evangelization, Justice and Development. However, the Bishops remain the body to whom ESOD is responsible and this accountability is exercised through the Bishops receiving copies of the Minutes of each meeting, and of the agency's annual report. The Episcopal Conference has rarely made comment on these documents.

The situation within the National Council of Churches is more complex. The full Council meets every eighteen months, and consists of representatives of all the member Churches, more than sixty persons in all. Some Churches have a fairly stable system of representation; others tend to send representatives from the locality in which the meeting is held. Because of this turnover of personnel, reporting back at this level is difficult. There is always a proportion of delegates who know nothing of the Secretariat's history or activities, and a basic rationale is often required. Between meetings the business of the Council is carried on by an Executive, again consisting of representatives of the member-churches, which meets every six months. This Executive approves the appointment of the NCC representatives to ESOD: and the four representatives are usually from the three major Churches, Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist, with the fourth representing the minority churches. The representatives may or may not be members of the Executive: in 1979 three of the four representatives and the Consultant were members of the Executive; in 1981 only one representative and the Consultant were members. In the Secretariat's view, it is the responsibility of these representatives to report back to the Executive.

The Executive has, however, expected the Executive Officer to report back in person, something which has never been an expectation of the Catholic Episcopal Conference. In this expectation lies the origin of the degree of tension which exists between ESOD and the NCC. The idea that the Executive Officer is personally accountable to the NCC Executive was raised when his name appeared on official papers as a Staff Member of the National Council of Churches. This was resisted, particularly by the Roman Catholic Bishops, but also by the Secretariat as a whole. The character of ESOD as an independent agency was emphasized over against the concept of its being in any sense a division of the National Council of Churches or the Episcopal Conference. The Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Secretariat (March, 1978) record that it was agreed "that the Executive Officer is accountable solely to the Secretariat. It is for the Secretariat as a whole to work out its accountability to the Catholic Bishops' Conference and the National Council of Churches". This accountability has never, however, been worked out to the satisfaction of the NCC.

Much of the correspondence and debate with the NCC on this issue has focussed on questions of funding, and it would appear that the NCC regards financial accountability as the major aspect of accountability. This view the Secretariat has rejected on the basis of its understanding of development. In development programmes the demand by donor agencies that projects exercise financial accountability in a style and manner considered appropriate by the donors was recognized as an important element in the perpetuation of structures of dominance/dependence and paternalism. Third World programmes insisted that accountability could be expressed in other ways, and that development depends on liberation from precisely these structures which perpetuate a donor-recipient mentality rather than solidarity and trust. The Secretariat believed that this principle needed to be acknowledged in the NCC relationship rather than the primary emphasis being on financial accountability.

The question of financial accountability was raised as an issue in the course of the 1978 General Meeting of the NCC, where two suggestions were discussed. One was that ESOD might be treated on the same basis as other "development projects" and be encouraged to become self-supporting. This reflected a current view in

development circles that self-reliance included self-sufficiency in funding. The other was that donors might be encouraged to designate funds (e.g., "development projects", "development education") in their gifts to the National Council of Churches' Christmas Appeal. As the tenor of the debate raised criticisms of ESOD's style, these suggestions were seen as a way of making ESOD financially dependent upon (and by implication accountable to) either individual churches or individual supporters, or both.

In the event, funding remained the direct responsibility of the NCC, although it has increasingly devolved that responsibility to its Christian World Service division. The financial question was raised again, however, at the 1981 General Meeting where, in view of a cut-back in Anglican contributions to the NCC, the latter body's budget was under great pressure and a number of budget cuts were proposed. This included reducing the NCC's contribution to ESOD by \$3,000 per annum. At the time it was pointed out to the meeting that such a unilateral decision by one parent body would not further ecumenical relations with the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, ESOD was the only agency for which a reduction of budget was proposed. Despite the offer of other agencies to share the budget cuts, the meeting resolved to explore ways of reducing the NCC contribution to ESOD.

The General Secretary of the NCC subsequently wrote to the Secretariat requesting explanations of figures in ESOD's budget for 1981, particularly those which appeared to differ from the provisions within the NCC's own budget: for example, ESOD paid a hospitality allowance to its Executive Officer where the NCC makes no such provision for staff; the NCC budgets \$1,150 for staff travel in New Zealand where ESOD budgets \$3,000. The implication was that ESOD's budget should approximate to that of the NCC in these areas and that, in view of the fact that the letter was addressed to the Executive Officer personally, he was accountable in these matters. The Fourteenth Meeting of the Secretariat (March 1981) took two steps in this matter. It reaffirmed in the Minutes "that ESOD is an independent development agency with its Executive Officer responsible to the Secretariat", and recommended that the items raised by the NCC should be discussed with them by an ESOD delegation. At this discussion the Roman Catholic representatives

took a strong line, expressing the Episcopal Conference's concern that diminishing NCC support called the whole enterprise into question. A compromise was reached whereby the NCC agreed to fund any ESOD deficit that year to a maximum of \$3,000 (in the event it was \$1,500) but the Roman Catholic delegates made it clear that they had grave doubts about continuing their funding other than in a fifty-fifty partnership. This pressure resulted in renewed commitment on the part of the NCC.

The question of accountability was raised again through a proposal initiated by the NCC for a total review of its work and agencies. This proposal was originally raised as a response to concern expressed in the 1978 General Meeting that there was too much overlapping of agencies. It was pointed out that on the Bastion Point issue at least three agencies, ESOD, the Church and Society Commission and Christian World Service had issued statements, and the implication was that such duplication was unhelpful. It was the Secretariat's conviction, however, (described in the Executive Officer's Report for the Tenth Meeting) that the strategy of a number of groups from a number of parts of the country making statements was more effective than one joint statement. The Secretariat also raised the question of the appropriateness of the NCC unilaterally carrying out a review of agencies like ITIM, ICCI and ESOD which were not structurally part of the NCC, but independent ecumenical entities.

The NCC established its review Committee, however, and proceeded to an evaluation of "NCC Agencies and related bodies". The Executive Officer raised with members at the Eighth Meeting of the Secretariat the kinds of accountability the Secretariat might exercise in line with development theory. While it was agreed that there must be a degree of accountability to funding bodies, two other aspects of accountability were important: peer accountability and constituency accountability. Peer accountability is exercised in relation to equivalent agencies and groups, both Church and secular-based; constituency accountability towards those whose interests the Secretariat served. In the Executive Officer's view this constituency was not comprised of members of the Churches but of those groups of oppressed and poor with whom the Secretariat attempted to stand in solidarity.

This raised the basic question of whose interests the Secretariat was established to serve. The question is discussed in more detail in the Sections on style of work and educational constituencies below. It is sufficient to note at this point that there was strong resistance to the Churches regarding themselves as the primary constituency of ESOD.

At the Tenth Meeting, in response to the NCC request for co-operation in the evaluation, the Executive Officer raised the question again, urging that the NCC be asked to consult with peer groups (Trade Aid, CORSO, Community Volunteers, Volunteer Service Abroad, Anglican-Methodist Social Services), and with constituency groups (action-reflection groups, Bastion Point, etc.) In recommending this course, he was elaborating the view that development and development agencies are best evaluated not by a "hierarchical" and "expert-dominated" process, but by those people whom the agency claims to serve. The Secretariat had advocated this process when it had been invited to serve as Consultant to other agencies. For example, it had suggested to Anglican-Methodist Social Services that evaluation of its community-work projects could be undertaken only in co-operation with the clients it was claiming to serve. So this was not a newly introduced concept. The Secretariat discussed this suggestion at length, gave it guarded approval, but recognized that from the NCC's point of view this created real difficulties. In the end the meeting resolved, somewhat lamely, that in the questionnaires returned by the clergy the agency already had evaluative material, and that this, along with anything else that might assist the NCC, should be made available.

The NCC Review, when it came to light two years later, proposed some rationalization of work, but no major structural changes. In the meantime, the situation was changing again with the professed interest of the Roman Catholic Church in membership of a new Council, that body making it clear that it would not consider joining the present NCC, but that a new body with quite different structures should be created. But the process of the NCC's review did raise in stark form some of the major issues of accountability and the disquiet the body had over ESOD.

Another good example of the NCC's approach to, and understanding of, accountability is its relationship to the National Association of Clergy (Chapter Six, pages 165-168).

Evaluations of ESOD's Style of Work

ESOD deliberately embarked upon a "low-profile" style of operation for two reasons. The first was that, if the agency was genuine about listening to "the voices of the oppressed" and working at the level of establishing confidence and trust with people's movements, it seemed both inappropriate and inadvisable to adopt a high-profile public stance. Nor did the agency wish to get into the business of claiming success and publicity for itself, an approach which, while it might proclaim the Church's involvement in development issues, did not appear consonant with development principles. The second was the Roman Catholic attitude to ESOD as "an experiment" and the desire to proceed into controversial areas with some caution.

The NCC member-Churches soon began to question this whole style of operation. At the Eighth Meeting (March, 1978) the Secretariat discussed a paper which had been tabled by the NCC Consultant on behalf of Christian World Service. This paper took up and developed some of the concerns which had been expressed in the NCC's General Meeting the previous month. The two specific questions the paper raised were (1) Whether in its second triennium ESOD could explore strategies other than the ones it had so far engaged in *to achieve greater visibility and acceptability of the Secretariat within the Church*; and (2) Whether in relating to individuals, groups or activities loosely or non-related to the Churches there is duplication with other resource groups or institutions. In introducing this paper, the Consultant intimated that the chief criticism he was hearing of ESOD was that its voice was not being heard in the churches.

The paper clearly wished to establish that work within the churches is ESOD's major responsibility. In the discussion which ensued, the Secretariat's foundation document (*Report on the Joint Consultation on Development, 1973*) was referred to on several occasions to illustrate that development education is not fulfilled by the transmission of information so much as by active involvement

in contesting those structures which oppress people. This involvement and reflection will, in the main, pick up groups outside the Church or in the case of ESOD's action-reflection groups activists who, although only loosely related to the Church, are an essential and critical part of it. Members saw great dangers in making educational thrusts within the Church ESOD's primary task. The greatest danger would be that ESOD would end up a group of people collaborating with the churches in what the Churches would permit them to do. Another was that ESOD believed itself to be working through, or even participating in, the creation of appropriate structures for human liberation: to focus on Church programmes would be a return to structures which the body regarded as inappropriate for that task. It was resolved that the task of ESOD in this respect was to act as a catalyst in provoking the Churches into running their own programmes; that if the churches wanted a person to work entirely within their structures they should provide finance to enable ESOD to appoint a Churches Education Officer; but that ways should be explored of giving ESOD greater *visibility* in the Churches.

Despite attempts to increase visibility by becoming much more involved in parish-based programmes and adopting a policy of never refusing an invitation from the Churches (no matter how inappropriate the structure might appear to be for genuine development education) criticism of the low-profile stance continued. It was particularly articulated by two of the bodies who gave funding in addition to the NCC, the Presbyterian International Affairs Committee and the Methodist International Relations Committee. And it was raised at the NCC's General Meeting in Palmerston North in February 1981, where in response to a major report the Secretariat had issued (*Activity Report: February 1981*) members urged the Secretariat to adopt a higher profile. On this occasion the reason for wanting a higher profile had changed: not so that the Secretariat should be seen to be accountable, but because the issues raised by the Forestry Project and the Seeds of the Earth Workshop were considered of critical importance to New Zealand's development.

In the event, the Secretariat's profile was heightened by the decision to focus Christian Action Week 1981 on New Zealand's "Think Big" development strategy, and to directly confront the

Government on the issue in an election year. (See Chapter Six, pages 170-173). In the view of some, ESOD's profile became too high in the course of this programme. The NCC in its newsletter substituted the official Christian Action Week poster (a cartoon of the Prime Minister dragging an unwilling Kiwi along his development track) with a more acceptable one (a multiracial group of people looking to a Cross-dominated hill!) And when the leaders of the member-churches were invited to endorse the programme, the Salvation Army wrote to state that it was unable to oblige because Christian Action Week had become blatantly political. From some of the criticism of Christian Action Week which emerged it is clear that many of those who wanted the agency to have a higher profile meant that they wanted it to engage in traditional Church activities and functions. (Christian Action Week Evaluation, 1981).

Despite the level of criticism, ESOD held firmly to the conviction that development action and education must be pursued in a context wider than the church, and even in some instances, despite the Church. It did so, partly in the belief that it was its task in relation to the Church to be prophetic: (in the Biblical sense) to read the signs of the times, to call the Church to repentance and a new understanding of its mission. In the tradition of the Prophet, it believed this best done by standing aside from the institution rather than speaking from within it. There was a general belief amongst members of the Secretariat that the agency was a radical one, and that the Statements it had issued would be regarded by those in the institution as radical statements.

The results of the National Survey of Clergy indicate, however, that as far as the clergy is concerned, the Secretariat is neither as radical nor as prophetic as it had supposed itself to be. As indicated in Chapter Five, the measure of support amongst the clergy for the four statements, and particularly that on Free Enterprise, was far greater than anticipated. In view of this, the argument that the Secretariat is prophetic, calling people to a new position on major issues, cannot be sustained, at least in respect to the clergy. In view of the fact that the clergy are generally more liberal than their congregations, it is possible, on the other hand, that the Secretariat's views are far more advanced than those of the laity. In this sense it is a pity that the ESOD survey did not

compare clergy attitudes with lay attitudes, for by so doing a more reliable picture of the relationship vis-a-vis the Church could have been gained.

In the comments added to returned questionnaires there is evidence substantiating the view that clergy with radical views quite often modify them in view of their understanding of the pastoral relationship within the congregation. Thus for example, one respondent wrote of his parish and ministry: "Politically it's about the bluest of blue ribbon districts. On the much consulted chart at the election it was recorded as being the safest National Party seat in the whole country . . . If I were to attempt to put across the kind of thing I got in your handouts it would mean an incredulous and hostile reaction, so I don't do it. It is not that I am afraid; what would there be for me to fear in the last year of my ministry? It is rather the knowledge that if I lost the confidence of my tiny and not very influential congregation they would not be able to listen to me about anything . . . it's the knowledge that, if a parish priest puts himself politically offside with his congregation, he has undermined his pastoral standing with them". It is a matter of personal interest that this priest when he did retire became a full-time organizer for the Labour Party. But his attitude is characteristic of many clergy who, in the belief that pulpit and politics don't mix and that statements like those of ESOD are essentially political, do not promote them in their congregation. It is interesting in this respect to see that Alan Webster's (1978) research showed that 42.8 percent of his respondents were in favour of pulpit expression of political beliefs and had done this; 19.8 percent were in favour but had never acted in this way; and 37.4 percent were not in favour and had not done so.

ESOD's statements would seem to serve the clergy as statements of belief. (The blue-ribbon respondent heartily affirmed them all!) We have already noted the subtle distinction between the statements: three are statements of principle, one (Bastion Point) describes and legitimizes Christian action and calls for greater involvement. While the political and racial implications of the Bastion Point statement are divisive factors, the fact that it was a call for action or physical involvement also contributed towards its being the most unpopular of the statements. Here again,

Webster's results on the relationship between belief and action amongst the clergy are illuminating. In his research, of the sixty percent of clergy in favour of protest marches against Government policy, only sixteen percent had actually taken part; of the eighty-five percent in favour of civil protest against racial discrimination only sixteen percent had actually participated; of the seventy-three percent in favour of participation in secular organizations committed to social reconstruction, nineteen percent had done so; and of the seventy-six percent in favour of clergy in industrial conciliation, only three percent had become involved. While the recent (1981) Springbok rugby tour protests may well have boosted the percentage of clergy activists, it is fairly clear that the clergy are more at home discussing issues than taking action in relation to them. The Secretariat needs to take note of the fact that the National survey reveals that its educational efforts have led to only 34 or 3.8 percent of respondents actually becoming involved in ESOD's work.

Learnings From Development Education

Through its six years' experience in development education ESOD has gained much greater clarity about its constituencies and foci of work. This clarity was beginning to be expressed by the eleventh meeting of the Secretariat (September, 1979) for which, in response to a request from the previous meeting, the Executive Officer presented a paper on target groups and strategies.

The paper was prefaced by discussion of three views of the way the Church can relate to the poor and oppressed in the community. The first is that the institutional Church is the Body of Christ and throughout history has demonstrated the capacity to reform through popular movements or charismatic leadership. The task of development education is to enable people to identify the poor and oppressed, listen to their concerns, and so shape the institution to serve their needs.

In the second view, the Church is being revealed amongst the poor and oppressed who are signs of hope to the rest of the community. It is only the poor who understand the Gospel, for it was given to them, and they will share it with those who are willing to listen. The poor are the Church, and the task of development

education is to point those in the churches in the direction of the Church, and encourage them to live the Gospel as manifested among the poor.

The third view is that, as it is only the poor and oppressed who are able to identify the causes of oppression and who are the only people motivated to change, they will confront and overturn the structures of oppression, which include the institutional Church. In this process the Church will be purified, liberated or reconstructed to become once more the vehicle for the Gospel, rather than as at present, a tool in the hands of the oppressor. Development education needs to prepare people for this change.

It appeared from the discussion which ensued that the Secretariat was committed to this third (revolutionary change) model although some wished also to affirm elements of the second (lifestyle) model, and to encourage the first model where there were indications of change through reform.

The paper went on to suggest that if the third model were to be taken seriously, the Secretariat had to identify clearly its areas of work and strategies. As a first step it must offer its support and solidarity to the struggles already occurring: Maori land protests, Pacific Island immigration groups, the gay liberation movement, unions of the unemployed and work co-operatives and so on. Secondly, it must identify potential groups, such as those the Forestry Study was working with, and the urban dispossessed. These groups must be the primary focus of development education and action.

The second constituency for development education the paper designates "auxiliary groups", that is, groups which are auxiliary to the struggles of the poor and oppressed, and which, because of their class, educational and professional backgrounds, have access to power structures and can so facilitate processes of change. It nominated amongst these groups the Trade Unions, voluntary associations (for example, CORSO) and the churches.

This analysis of development education had emerged before the Secretariat embarked on its structural analysis seminars in the autumn of 1980. But the analysis (Chapter Six, pages 150-156), clarified the theoretical basis of the understanding, and moved the Secretariat away from romantic understandings of identification with

the poor and oppressed to the need for, and nature and constituent elements of, strategic alliances. Of vital importance was the understanding which emerged from structural analysis of the Church's role as a co-opted ideological agent within the State apparatus. The Church, through its promotion and maintenance of values (either values of capitalism or values open to capitalist manipulation) legitimizes the entire apparatus. On the other hand, the Church is in the position, if not to participate in the construction of a counter-ideology, then at least to emphasize Christian values in such a manner as to create a climate sympathetic towards change. Up to this point the Secretariat had tended to underestimate, and in some cases to reject, the Churches as themselves agents of change. This new understanding underlined the importance of the Churches in the process of change and renewed the Secretariat's interest in them as a primary target group.

ESOD's Activity Report of February 1981 is thus able to identify the agency's two constituencies much more comprehensively: first the poor, oppressed and marginalized in the community amongst whom ESOD should be promoting conscientization-type programmes ("structural analysis" or "education for social change") which enable the oppressed to identify causes of oppression. ESOD should also be providing training in strategies, tactics and personal skills which enable the oppressed in their role as change-agents. The second constituency is comprised of the advantaged, affluent and powerful, the beneficiaries of present structures and processes. Development education amongst this group ("education for social change") must enable people to understand their role within structures of oppression and explore ways in which they can become strategic allies of the poor in the struggle for justice. The two constituencies thus call for different pedagogies: one being the "pedagogy of the oppressed" (Freire) supported by a theology of revolution; the other the "pedagogy of the non-poor" (Marie Augusta Neale, 1977) based upon a theology of relinquishment.

The Secretariat did not accept these understandings uncritically. In response to a discussion document on development education sent out by the Commission on the Churches Participation in Development in 1980 the Executive Officer questioned whether development educators were not using the descriptions "the poor must

be the primary agents of change" and "only the oppressed can liberate the oppressor" too exclusively, and suggested they may give the impression to "concerned liberals" that all they had to do was wait to be liberated. The terminology is not very helpful in explaining the crucial alliance necessary between the oppressed and auxiliary classes in confronting the dominant class. In many societies the role of the auxiliary class in social and structural change is just as important as that of the oppressed class. Furthermore, he argued, does not the Cuban revolution, promoted by an auxiliary class elite but in which the poor are the primary beneficiaries, indicate that there are other possibilities for significant structural change?

In this evaluative document, written on behalf of the Secretariat, the Executive Officer goes on to comment on three other aspects of ESOD's experience. He points out that the distinctive difference between development education as it has emerged in Australasia and elsewhere is that in this region, it has developed a concern for both constituencies whereas in the North Atlantic region it is almost exclusively concerned with "the conscientization of the rich". He makes the point that the Australasian type of agency, as a direct consequence of its controversial political profile, has to invest an inordinate amount of time and energy in ensuring survival by finding ways of maintaining the confidence of the funding churches while not compromising the radical nature of the work. And thirdly he comments that in the process of creating counter-ideology and values sympathetic to change (counter public opinion) the making available of counter-information becomes a crucial element. This is an area in which development education as a whole has little experience, and to which it is devoting too little attention.

On the global scale development education has not been as effective in "conscientizing the rich" as its pioneers had hoped. As a World Council of Churches assessment (1980) puts it: "Development education was meant to: 'change attitudes' of people (particularly in rich countries) in favour of more justice at home and abroad. What development education has really done is to *indicate hindrances existing at the level of awareness* to the type of changes that are necessary in the process of creating a more just world".

This has certainly been ESOD's experience in terms of

working with the second constituency, the auxiliary class. Rather than having achieved success in the area of attitudinal change, we have become aware of the obstacles to attitudinal change. One obstacle has been the lack of a common understanding and a unified approach to development education amongst the Churches and para-Church agencies. Quite different understandings have seen the emergence of programmes both in a national setting and internationally, which may be in total contradiction to each other. And such is the degree of voluntarism within the churches that members are left free to choose from a range of programme activities, the basis of some of which is not attitudinal change and the unmasking of reality, but reinforcement of analyses and values which contribute to both the individual Christian's and the institutional Church's continued participation in and affirmation of structures of domination and oppression. It was largely in response to these counterveiling pressures within the Churches that the Secretariat initiated its programme of structural analysis seminars, and has included as an important focus in those, church leaders, decision-makers and educationalists. The promotion and acceptance of a common analysis is now seen by the Secretariat as a necessary prerequisite to development education. It has promoted this view both in New Zealand and within the international forums of which it is a member, so that other development education agencies are beginning to also employ this approach. The first series of seminars in Australia will commence in 1982.

A second obstacle for development education when it sees its task as becoming involved with the poor in their struggles for justice is the constant pressure towards institutionalization and domestication. Not only has a great deal of ESOD's energy been absorbed in ensuring survival of the agency, but much has also been invested in resisting institutionalization. Part of this struggle has been internal. ESOD was established on the model of a co-operative working group in which members would each gather people around them in some development action and reflection, with the Executive Officer as a co-ordinating link between these initiatives. It has become instead an agency comparable to other Church social service institutions with a Director accountable to his Board, even though a non-hierarchical and consensual stance has been maintained. Another aspect of the problem has been the physical location of the

Secretariat. What began as a useful working coalition sharing office space with *New Citizen* newspaper, Anglican-Methodist Social Services (which had specialized in community work) and the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, suddenly changed character when new office premises were provided on Auckland's "golden mile". Although the shift was advantageous in that the Inter-Church Trade and Industry Mission was able to join the Coalition, the allocation of offices, the nature of the building, and the clientele making use of it, removed the Secretariat even further away from a physical base in people's struggles. On the positive side, it can be said that the Secretariat has been very aware of the implications of this process. It has discussed such alternatives as siting the Secretariat on a marae near Taupo, or in an old house amongst the urban dispossessed in Auckland, but factors such as the financial cost of a change of premises have tended to militate against firm action. The Secretariat is currently proposing to appoint a fieldworker, a person who, freed from any physical base, would be able to work wholly amongst and facilitate links between various pieces of development action.

Another aspect of the tendency towards institutionalization has been the not-too-subtle attempts of the National Council of Churches to impose its concepts of structure, working relationship and accountability upon the Secretariat, by making programme development within the churches the primary function of development education. This process, as we have indicated above, has been fiercely and thus far successfully resisted.

A third obstacle has been the lack of a well defined pedagogy. So far development education has been experimenting with pedagogies and the conscientization methodology as it continues to develop appears to be effective amongst the oppressed. But in educating the rich the problems of making and mediating experiences, the assumption that "microsituations" contain the same learnings as "macrosituations" and the dynamics of learning motivation all need to be understood and tested at greater depth before further progress can be made.

One of the more important learnings of the Secretariat has been in the area of methodology. As we saw in Chapter Four, much of the development action the Secretariat has tried to promote both

directly and through other agencies was on the model of community organization. It was thought that these social-action initiatives would give people an understanding and experience of power at grassroots and community level, that links could be created between various pieces of action and a common movement encouraged. While the Secretariat would in no way wish to abandon this approach, nor underestimate its importance in preparing people for the responsible exercise of power, it has become aware of its limitations.

The limitations of social action include organization around immediate needs which produce action groups which have their life only in relation to a particular issue and do not continue beyond the successful attainment of the objective; a "hit-and-run" form of activism which moves from issue to issue; a dependency on outside funding and a tendency towards bureaucratization of the paid members of the group; the tendency of the person acting as catalyst or facilitator to legitimate new relationships of dependency; the comparative ease with which activists can be co-opted by the establishment; and the propensity for regarding the grass-roots as the *only* source of political power.

Development action of this type becomes socio-political action when groups are able to take into account the global situation, understand the global forces and strategies (especially those of capitalism) in which their action, programme or project is located, when various struggles are being consciously linked together, and where there is an ongoing assessment of action in both its practical and historical aspects. This latter aspect is important, for it enables people to understand how their particular struggle fits in to the broader historical canvas and encourages them to understand that they are subjects and writers of history not objects and readers of it.

But the Secretariat has come to understand that even this kind of socio-political action, essential as it is to the development process, is not a really effective strategy unless directly linked to politico-political action. In other words, grass-roots development action must be itself politically aware, but also have direct links to the ideological development and strategies of the formal political processes. Either development action must be linked to a political party with which it shares ideology and political programme, or such

a party must be created, with its strategy-making mechanism, its network of support groups and its solidarity-building through structural-conjunctural analysis, communications, intelligence and security services, and party discipline. It is only when there is a convergence of grass-roots action and political development at this level that implementation of the socialist model of development becomes a possibility.

Increasingly therefore ESOD's understanding of development education incorporates techniques of political education and "education for social change" (structural-conjunctural analysis) is best understood in this way. While still investing energies into the socio-political level, the Secretariat has begun to work with development activists and action groups in the politico-political arena. Whether the ultimate strategy will become that of attempting to move an existing political party in the direction of socialist policies and programmes or whether it is necessary to establish a new political entity which embodies the values, ideology and strategies discussed in this thesis, and which co-operates with other parties of the left, remains to be seen.

APPENDIX A

ESOD'S STATEMENTS 1976-78

1. GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development expresses the Church's concern over the cutback in the Government's Official Development Assistance programme. The reduction in the level of aid is not consonant with a statement by the Deputy Prime Minister announcing a "pause" in aid; nor with the speech by the Minister of Trade and Industry at UNCTAD IV which referred to the dramatic increase of New Zealand aid over the past five years, and reaffirmed the one percent GNP goal for development assistance.

The Churches consider that the one percent GNP target is in any case a minimal goal which will do little enough to alleviate the serious problems. The eradication of hunger and poverty will only be achieved through a far more substantial transfer of capital and other resources.

Government claims that the level of overseas aid must be reduced in view of New Zealand's own economic situation are unacceptable. We remain one of the world's most affluent and privileged nations, and the problems we are experiencing are insignificant when contrasted with the helplessness of those dying daily from malnutrition and disease, and the lack of proper facilities or opportunities. To make these human issues subservient to economic self-interest and the maintenance of an affluent lifestyle is not only contrary to Christian teaching but also, in the long run, disastrous economic policy.

While the increase in the level of support of South Pacific neighbours is a positive step, it is unfortunate that there should be a decrease in assistance to Africa and Asia. In view of African condemnation of New Zealand policy in other spheres, this decrease is bound to be regarded as petty retribution against positions adopted on grounds of justice and humanity.

It is of concern to all New Zealanders that our country

until recently held in such high regard for its determination to explore solutions to the issues of development, peace and human justice, should now be failing to live up to its earlier promise.

We express the hope that New Zealanders will bear in mind the world's hungry when pressing for increased wages on the one hand, or price increases on the other; and we urge our Government to reconsider its present aid and development policies and demonstrate, through a serious engagement in the issues, our commitment to the world's poor.

2. THE RIGHT TO DISSENT

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development affirms that Christians have a responsibility to work wherever possible with the Government to establish social justice, peace and a new humanity.

But Christians have the additional responsibility of judging the policies of any administration against the standards of the Gospel. For the Christian the demands of the Gospel take priority over everything else. In those cases where Government policies or statements are seen to be an offence to the Gospel, and therefore to Christian conscience, we defend the right of Christians both to dissent publicly from the policies, and to work against their implementation.

We believe that this dissent makes a positive contribution within a democracy. We are therefore concerned with what has become increasingly a pattern in our society: that dissent is answered by personal attacks upon the dissenter rather than by responding to the argument itself.

Recent suggestions that the Church is a home for left-wing conspiracy, and that those who follow their conscience may be guilty of acts that border on treason, we regard as an attempt to manipulate the Church and to silence Christian conscience in this land.

The Church should not capitulate before these attacks on its integrity. The Gospel demands of the Church that it be seen to stand with the poor, the oppressed and the powerless, especially

those in our own community. If this stance brings individual Christians into conflict with authority, it becomes the Church's responsibility to support such persons in public.

The Church has always had a concern for social justice, and claims the right to criticise any government when it ceases to reflect Christian ideals, or begins to affront Christian values.

3. BASTION POINT

The Ecumenical Secretariat on Development expresses the deep disquiet of Christian Churches over the manner in which Government has handled the Bastion Point dispute.

Prior to the arrest of the protestors, the Secretariat sent a telegram to the Prime Minister expressing deep concern and urging Government to respect the traditions, rights and dignity of the Maori people.

The Secretariat laments Government obsession with the legal and economic aspects of this issue, while failing to recognise the inadequacy of the present juridical system to cope with cultural values other than those which Europeans rightly and properly take pride in. We are in no way opposed to the rule of law, but we are saddened by evidence in the highest places of the misapprehension that in New Zealand, legality invariably means justice. We believe that a just solution of issues like Bastion Point requires our legal and administrative processes to take full account of Maori as well as European cultural values. Only by recognising different cultural approaches to land ownership will we be able to live justly as well as legally.

We view with alarm the use of a large number of police, and the involvement of units of the Armed Forces in the eviction of the Bastion Point protest group. We note that this is the second recent occasion on which the Armed Forces have been deployed against New Zealanders expressing legitimate grievances, and deplore the precedent that these actions create.

The Secretariat has supported the Bastion Point protest. It commends Maori and other protestors for their resolute adherence to

the principle of non-violence. It affirms again the Christian commitment to non-violent social change.

We express particular concern over the attempts of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Lands and the Attorney General to obscure the real issues and justify governmental action against the protestors by claiming that the protest was orchestrated by the Socialist Unity Party. We acknowledge that the protest was organized by Maori people opposed to an injustice, and that they were joined by men and women of goodwill. Amongst these supporters are many committed Christians.

We affirm the right of Christians to make such stands against injustice, and to demonstrate peacefully against the Government whenever it fails to treat the legitimate grievances of any New Zealanders with understanding and compassion.

4. TIME TO QUESTION "PRIVATE ENTERPRISE" SYSTEM

"We have reached a stage in the history of New Zealand that calls for a re-examination of our economic system, especially that aspect of the system we call free enterprise," according to a statement made by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch, The Most Revd Brian Ashby, on behalf of the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development.

"Something must be radically wrong with a system which on the one hand produces an excess of an unprecedented variety of goods, but on the other hand requires such belt-tightening that growing numbers of people cannot afford to buy them," the statement continued. "With the actual numbers of men and women who would like to work but who cannot find jobs approaching the 100,000 mark, we can no longer be satisfied with the view that we are living beyond our means. If we harnessed the potential contribution that these unemployed people could make to our national product, we would not be living beyond our means at all. This seems to be one of the contradictions of the present system".

"ESOD recognizes the disposition of government to alleviate the consequences of unemployment by providing the means of life for the unemployed, by introduction of special work schemes, and the

like. Many of the most humanly destructive features of previous economic depressions are thus being at least temporarily averted. Nobody, however, seems to see such measures of relief as fundamental solutions to the grave human problem".

"Unemployment is the most serious problem confronting New Zealand at the moment. Since the only solution to unemployment under the private enterprise system is to make it profitable for employers to hire workers, our times, which are characterized by growing pressures on profits, call for a re-examination of the private enterprise system itself. This would not be so urgent if falling profits could be blamed on wage increases. But when falling profits, falling real wages, and growing unemployment all occur simultaneously the need to question the system assumes greater urgency. ESOD will continue to help groups throughout the country to question the present system and to develop just alternatives".

The statement released by Bishop Ashby concluded by affirming the right of the Churches to express their views on the country's economic problems. "Wherever there is human suffering the Gospel calls on the Church to take a stand; ministering to the poor often requires exposing the institutions and processes which oppress them. Since the Gospel is the only authority which the Church recognizes, all human institutions, including the Churches, governments, and political parties come under its judgement".

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL SURVEY OF CLERGY



ECUMENICAL SECRETARIAT ON DEVELOPMENT

P.O. Box 5038, Wellesley Street, Auckland 1 Telephone 774-433

kia tupu whakaritorito

8 December 1978

Dear Friend:

Our Secretariat has now been active for three years and we are anxious to evaluate our effectiveness. We particularly wish to ascertain the extent to which our work is known amongst the Churches, the degree to which the Churches are following up development issues, and the extent to which the Secretariat represents the views of the Churches.

We are therefore sending each Priest, Minister, Officer or Clerk of the twelve national Churches this information pack about the Secretariat together with a short Questionnaire based on the four major statements which the Secretariat has so far issued.

The Secretariat represents the eleven members of the National Council of Churches, and the Roman Catholic Church in the area of development action and education. We are therefore a fully ecumenical body which reports back to the Churches.

What we are inviting you to do will take less than half an hour.

Before you throw this into the wastepaper basket, would you please consider that the Churches have been funding the Secretariat for three years. This year the Secretariat's budget is \$28,000. Issues of accountability are significant ones for any Christian organization. Your views are therefore very important to us.

We very much appreciate your cooperation in this attempt to evaluate our work as an agency supported by your Church.

Yours sincerely,

The Most Revd B.P. Ashby,
Chairman

ECUMENICAL SECRETARIAT ON DEVELOPMENT

P.O. Box 5038, Wellesley Street, Auckland 1. Telephone 774-433



kia tupu whakaritorito

QUESTIONNAIRE

STEPS

Would you please follow these steps:

- (1) STEP ONE
Before reading any further, would you please turn the page and answer both sections of Question 1.
- ↓
- (2) STEP TWO
Now read the statement which the Secretariat issued concerning Government Development Assistance (on the BLUE sheet) and answer Question 2.
- ↓
- (3) STEP THREE
Please now turn to the PINK sheet, "The Right to Dissent" and respond to Question 3.
- ↓
- (4) STEP FOUR
Bastion Point Statement: You will find this on the YELLOW sheet. Would you indicate your reaction after reading it by marking Question 4.
- ↓
- (5) STEP FIVE
Please read the statement "Time to Question Private Enterprise System" on the GREEN sheet and respond to Question 5.
- ↓
- (6) STEP SIX
Would you be good enough to give us some information about yourself in Questions 6 to 17.
- ↓
- (7) FINALLY
Please seal your responses in the envelope provided and return it to the Secretariat immediately.

We are very grateful for your cooperation, and will send you a Report of the results of this questionnaire as soon as they are available.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. (a) Please indicate the extent of your knowledge of the Secretariat prior to receiving this information pack:

I was aware of the Secretariat's existence
 I had some knowledge of the Secretariat's work
 I have been involved with the Secretariat's work
 I had never heard of the Secretariat

- (b) If you had any previous knowledge of the Secretariat or its work, please indicate sources:

Church newspaper
 Parish newsletter
 Daily press
 Television
 Radio
 Conference/seminar
 National Council of Churches
 Secretariat's publications
 Secretariat's Resource Centre
 Christian Action Week
 Church Synod/Assembly/Court
 Personal contact with members
 of Secretariat
 Other (Please specify)

2. Please indicate your reaction to the Secretariat's statement on Government Development Assistance by marking one box:

Strongly agree
 Agree
 Not sure
 Disagree
 Strongly disagree

3. Please indicate your reaction to the statement on the Right to Dissent:

Strongly agree
 Agree
 Not sure
 Disagree
 Strongly disagree

/Please turn over

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Table 1a: *Numbers of clergy approached*

Anglican Church	593
Roman Catholic Church	579
Presbyterian Church	510
Methodist Church	210
Baptist Union	194
Salvation Army	174
Churches of Christ	42
Liberal Catholic Church	20
Society of Friends	14
Congregational Union	5
Greek Orthodox Church	3
<i>Total:</i>	2,344

Table 1b: *Returned questionnaires by denomination*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Anglican	257	28.9
Presbyterian	217	24.4
Roman Catholic	139	15.7
Methodist	107	12.0
Baptist	82	9.2
Salvation Army	36	4.1
Church of Christ	13	1.5
Society of Friends	3	0.3
Greek Orthodox	3	0.3
Congregational	2	0.2
Liberal Catholic	2	0.2
Refuse to answer	14	1.6
No response	8	0.9

Table 2a: *Returned Questionnaires by Region*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Northland	28	3.2
Auckland City	181	20.4
Auckland Region	21	2.4
Waikato/Thames Valley	35	3.9
Bay of Plenty	37	4.2
Hawkes/Poverty Bays	47	5.3
King Country	7	0.8
Wairarapa	11	1.2
Taranaki	12	1.4
Manawatu/Wanganui	47	5.3
Wellington City	93	10.5
Wellington Region	23	2.6
Marlborough	7	0.8
Nelson	20	2.3
West Coast	11	1.2
Christchurch City	88	9.9
Canterbury	48	5.4
Dunedin City	40	4.5
Otago	17	1.9
Southland	36	4.1
Unknown	78	8.8

Table 2b: *Urban/rural breakdown of Returns*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Urban areas	446	50.3
Rural areas	364	40.9
Unknown	78	8.8

Table 3a: *Awareness of ESOD*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Aware of Existence	431	48.5
Knowledge of work	296	33.3
Involved in work	34	3.8
Never heard of ESOD	239	26.9
No response	3	0.3

Table 3b: *Source of knowledge of ESOD*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Church newspaper	317	35.7
Nat Council of Ch's	301	33.9
Church Synod/Assembly	235	26.5
ESOD publications	232	26.2
Personal contact	176	19.8
Christian Action Week	148	16.7
Daily press	112	12.6
Conference/seminar	82	9.2
Television	43	4.8
Radio	33	3.7
ESOD Resource Centre	18	2.0
Parish Newsletter	12	1.4
CORSO	5	0.6
Church Agency	4	0.5
Seminary	1	0.1
Business Magazine	1	0.1

Table 4a: *Clergy in secular work prior to ministry*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Secular work	659	74.2
No secular work	208	23.4
No response	10	1.1
Refused to answer	8	0.9
Not applicable	3	0.3

Table 4b: *Nature of secular work*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Armed Services	20	2.3
Banking/Accountancy	66	7.4
Public Service	45	5.1
Company/sales Rep.	13	1.5
Engineering	21	2.4
Agriculture	58	6.5
Legal	12	1.4
Media	11	1.2
Secretarial	34	3.8
Pharmacy	11	1.2
Retail	30	3.4
Social Work	7	0.8
Teaching	112	12.6
Laboratory	8	0.9
Trades	47	5.2
Managerial	8	0.9
Architect	5	0.6
Voluntary agency	3	0.3
Unskilled	14	1.6
Variety of jobs	121	13.6

Table 4c: *Years spent in secular work*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1 - 5 years	302	34.0
6 -10 years	244	27.5
11-15 years	62	7.1
16-20 years	30	3.3
Over 20 years	22	2.2

Table 5a: *Number of years in ordained ministry*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1 - 5 years	149	16.7
6 - 10 years	130	14.7
11 - 15 years	158	17.8
16 - 20 years	147	16.6
21 - 25 years	127	14.3
Over 25 years	166	18.7

Table 5b: *Present work*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Fulltime ministry	811	91.4
Part-time ministry	24	2.7
Fulltime secular	34	3.8

Table 5c: *Current appointment*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Pastoral ministry	637	71.8
Specialist ministry	171	19.3
Both	30	3.4
No distinction	11	1.2

Table 5d: *Type of specialist ministry*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Administration	13	1.5
Mission society	9	1.0
Social services	32	3.6
Education	45	5.1
Maori work	18	2.0
Media	5	0.6
Chaplains: Hospital	26	2.9
Prison	10	1.1
Education	13	1.5
Industry	19	2.1
Forces	4	0.5
Port	2	0.2

Table 6: *Sex*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
No response	9	1.0
Male	830	93.6
Female	35	3.9
Refuse to answer	12	1.4

Table 7: *Age*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
22 - 30 years	64	7.2
31 - 40 years	224	27.4
41 - 50 years	286	32.2
51 - 60 years	187	20.9
Over 60 years	80	8.9

Table 8: *Marital status*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Single	180	20.3
Married	668	75.3
Widowed	9	1.0
Divorced	3	0.3

Table 9: Race

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
No response	16	1.8
NZ European	780	87.8
NZ Maori	16	1.8
Pacific Islander	2	0.2
Australian	3	0.3
British	44	5.0
European	2	0.2
Irish	3	0.3
"Human"	3	0.3
Refuse to answer	19	2.1

Table 10: Academic attainment

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Secondary School	47	5.3
Professional diploma	294	33.1
University degree	243	27.4
Advanced degree	171	19.3
No response	103	11.6
Refuse to answer	27	3.0

Table 11: Responses to the four Statements

	Agree	Not sure	Dis- agree
Government Development Aid	89.7	4.6	4.4
Right to Dissent	87.8	6.0	4.7
Bastion Point	51.9	22.7	23.3
Free Enterprise	67.2	16.3	14.1

Table 12: Cross Tabulations

	Government Aid			Right to Dissent			Bastion Point			Free Enterprise		
	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree
<i>a. Denomination</i>												
Anglican	88.8	5.4	5.5	87.6	5.4	6.6	51.6	21.3	26.8	68.6	15.1	15.9
Methodist	96.3		2.8	96.3	2.8		75.7	13.1	8.4	77.6	18.7	2.8
Presbyterian	94.5	2.3	2.7	92.6	4.6	2.3	53.6	27.1	17.9	69.8	13.8	14.7
Roman Catholic	92.2	4.3	2.1	89.3	6.4	2.1	51.3	22.9	22.2	72.2	13.6	9.3
Baptist	87.8	6.1	6.1	84.1	11.0	4.9	36.5	26.8	35.4	47.0	26.8	23.2
Church of Christ	77.0	7.7	15.4	92.3		7.7	69.2	15.4	15.4	77.0	7.7	15.4
Salvation Army	83.4	11.1	5.6	77.8	8.3	13.9	22.2	36.1	38.9	52.8	25.0	19.5
Society of Friends	100.0			100.0			100.0			100.0		
Congregational	100.0			100.0			50.0	50.0		100.0		
Greek Orthodox	66.6			66.6			33.3	33.3		66.6		
Liberal Catholic	100.0			50.0	50.0		50.0	50.0		100.0		
<i>b. Knowledge of ESOD</i>												
Aware of ESOD's existence	92.6	3.9	3.2	91.2	4.2	4.2	56.3	23.8	18.7	71.1	15.9	11.3
Knowledge of ESOD's work	93.6	2.7	3.1	93.3	3.0	3.0	64.2	20.6	13.9	78.4	11.5	8.2
Involved in ESOD's work	94.1		2.9	97.1			79.4	5.9	8.8	82.3	8.8	2.9
Never heard of ESOD	84.1	7.1	7.5	79.6	12.5	6.7	32.5	27.5	38.0	52.1	22.9	23.3
<i>c. Educational Level</i>												
Secondary School	89.3	8.5	2.1	89.3	4.3	6.4	48.9	23.4	23.4	65.9	19.1	14.9
Professional Diploma	88.9	4.7	6.4	86.8	6.8	6.1	49.0	23.0	26.1	63.5	18.2	17.6
University Degree	91.5	2.5	2.0	91.4	5.7	2.4	56.5	22.5	19.1	69.7	15.6	13.1
Advanced Degree	91.2	2.9	4.1	93.0	2.3	3.0	59.7	21.1	16.9	71.3	16.4	9.3

(Table 12 continued)	Government Aid			Right to Dissent			Bastion Point			Free Enterprise		
	Agree	Not Sure	Dis- Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis- Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis- Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis- Agree
<i>d. Race</i>												
NZ European	91.2	4.0	4.4	89.2	6.3	6.3	51.6	23.5	23.4	67.8	16.5	15.1
NZ Maori	81.3	6.3	6.3	81.3	6.3	6.3	62.6	12.5	18.8	75.1	6.3	12.6
British	93.2	4.5	2.3	88.6	4.5	6.8	54.5	25.0	18.2	65.9	22.7	11.3
<i>e. Age</i>												
22-30 years	96.9	1.5		87.8	7.3	2.4	54.6	18.7	26.5	70.3	21.8	3.1
31-40 years	91.8	3.6	4.5	91.8	3.8	4.3	53.6	20.9	23.7	66.8	16.4	15.9
41-50 years	91.6	3.4	4.1	88.1	7.1	4.0	57.0	22.0	19.9	71.3	15.3	11.1
51-60 years	90.3	4.2	4.8	87.7	6.4	4.8	48.6	26.7	22.4	64.7	17.1	17.1
61 years and over	82.7	7.4	7.4	85.2	6.1	7.4	41.9	28.4	25.9	66.6	14.8	17.2
<i>f. Sex</i>												
Female	91.5	2.9	2.9	85.7	8.6	2.9	48.6	34.3	14.3	57.2	20.0	14.3
Male	90.7	4.3	4.4	89.0	6.0	4.4	52.2	22.6	23.5	68.4	16.5	13.8
<i>g. Work Prior to Ministry</i>												
No secular experience	96.2	2.9	1.0	92.4	5.3	1.9	55.1	26.8	16.7	73.7	14.8	9.6
Secular experience	88.7	5.3	5.5	87.8	6.2	5.5	51.3	21.6	25.5	66.0	17.1	15.6
Armed Services	80.0	5.0	10.0	80.0	15.0		55.0	15.0	25.0	60.0	10.0	15.0
Banking/Accountancy	86.4	7.6	6.0	94.0	3.0	3.0	59.1	13.6	27.3	70.3	9.1	19.7
Public Service	91.1	2.2	6.6	82.2	8.9	8.9	48.8	26.7	24.5	57.8	28.9	13.3
Engineering	95.3	4.8		85.7	9.5	4.8	52.4	19.0	23.8	66.7	14.3	19.1
Agriculture	91.4	1.7	6.9	89.7	3.4	6.9	46.5	27.6	24.1	60.3	17.2	22.4
Law	91.7	8.3		100.0			58.4	16.7	25.0	66.7	16.7	16.6

<i>(Table 12 continued)</i>	Government Aid			Right to Dissent			Bastion Point			Free Enterprise		
	Agree	Not sure	Dis- agree	Agree	Not sure	Dis- agree	Agree	Not sure	Dis- agree	Agree	Not sure	Dis- agree
<i>h. Current Appointment</i>												
Parish Ministry	89.2	4.8	5.2	86.1	7.0	6.0	46.3	24.5	27.4	63.9	17.5	16.7
Specialist Ministry	94.2	3.5	1.8	95.3	3.5	0.6	65.7	20.3	12.2	78.0	14.0	6.4
<i>i. Urban/Rural Residence</i>												
Urban respondents	88.3	5.3	4.4	89.2	4.9	3.9	55.0	18.8	23.4	67.3	16.7	13.3
Rural respondents	92.8	3.3	3.8	88.7	5.7	5.5	49.3	29.2	20.6	69.7	15.1	14.0
<i>j. Marital Status</i>												
Single	91.7	4.4	2.3	88.9	6.7	2.2	51.6	25.0	20.0	70.5	14.4	10.6
Married	90.5	4.5	4.7	88.7	5.8	5.2	52.2	22.6	24.1	66.9	17.6	14.6

APPENDIX D

POLITICAL REACTION TO CHRISTIAN ACTION WEEK 1981

1. LETTER FROM THE MINISTER OF LABOUR TO THE EDITOR OF ISSUES 81
28 MAY 1981

As a concerned New Zealander I read your first edition of Issues 81 with a deepening sense of disappointment. I was particularly disappointed with the tone of pessimism, almost amounting to despair, in Mrs Sue Mills' reflections on her children's future employment prospects in this country.

Are their prospects really all that bad?

Our unemployment rate is about half that of Australia's despite Australia's comparatively rich oil resources and in the face of a tenfold increase in our annual oil import bill during the past seven years. We have been able to achieve a remarkably low rate of youth unemployment by comparison with all other OECD countries during these difficult times. This is one measure of our intention to get back to full employment with all the social benefits that accompany this ideal state, just as quickly as we can.

To create 400,000 plus jobs in this decade is an ambitious but realistic target that will be more easily achieved if we tackle the task of implementing our full economic growth strategy with confidence, determination and vigour.

One hope I have is that your next issue will reflect these qualities in a way that is perhaps more characteristic of our people than the unrelieved gloom that seems to exude from your first edition.

(sgd) J.B. Bolger
Minister of Labour

2. LETTER FROM THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO THE EDITOR OF ZEALANDIA, 26 MAY 1981

The liftout on *Issues '81* contained in your issue of May 17 was an exercise in mindless propaganda which should have no place in a Catholic newspaper concerned with truth and fairness.

The whole approach of your presentation is to dream up a mythical strategy which you choose to term "think big", ascribe to it a number of imaginary attributes, and then (with little difficulty) decrying those attributes. While such paper tigers may be diverting, they contribute nothing constructive to the debate on the economic and social future of New Zealand.

The first item in your liftout is a contribution from the extreme left, arguing that all of the problems of modern society have been caused by some unarticulated "think big" strategy which has apparently been operating in New Zealand for many years. The author claims that it has made New Zealand people poor, homeless, violent and unemployed, responsible for despoiling the countryside, creating urban drift, alienating Maori land, diminishing energy self-sufficiency, increasing power of the state, racial disharmony, international aggression, and almost all of the other ills of mankind. In particular, the author calls for a "think people" strategy with less concern for money. At the same time, he seeks more money for education, health and social welfare.

In contra distinction to the first item, the second item deals with a Mrs Mills who proposes to go to Australia, because New Zealand does not provide enough money.

The third item is a confusing and prejudiced attempt to call the gospel in aid, to argue against rising standards of living. Somewhat simplistically, it cites the Beatitudes as indicating that God is working to reverse all of the normal expectations of human society. No strategy ever devised by man could survive this live attack.

The next item is a rehearsed litany of all of the arguments against a second aluminium smelter. None of the arguments in favour are given a second thought.

Then we have a Maori viewpoint which calls for a system of "separate development" reminiscent of South Africa. The author does not

shrink from calling for total Maori autonomy with internal Maori self-government, recognised as part of the Third World. Does this sort of humbug contribute to racial harmony?

There is a predictable feminist contribution condemning the structure of society and the "think big" strategy, because it was designed predominantly by men. Readers are then exhorted to form groups to study the issues, and includes the revealing remark - "you may even find yourself caught up in the struggle". As usual in left-wing publications, "the struggle" is left undefined, being a concept well understood by readers of Marx, Lenin and Mao.

Lest any of your readers see some connection between the "think big" monster and the New Zealand Government's Growth Strategy, let me briefly describe the latter. With the nation's income reduced by an extra billion dollars on the oil bill over the past two years, we must inevitably face unemployment, reduced spending (including health, education and welfare, in particular) and decreased opportunities. The level of internal prosperity is entirely dependent upon our foreign earnings, as out of every dollar spent, 30c of imports are generated. The Government is therefore seeking to encourage growth in exports, including farm production, manufactured goods, and energy-based resources, while at the same time reducing our dependence on imported oil.

If there are flaws in that strategy, let them be discussed in a rational way. Zealandia would make a much more positive contribution to the Church and the New Zealand public, if it entered into the real world and addressed the real issues.

(sgd) B.E. Brill

Parliamentary Under-Secretary
of National Development

3. PRESS STATEMENT BY WINSTON PETERS, M.P. FOR HUNUA

"The Christian Action Week publication *Issues 81* is being used as a Marxist mouthpiece by a radical minority within the church," Hunua M.P. Winston Peters claimed today.

"Masquerading as a Christian publication, *Issues 81* is presenting a blatantly biased view of government policy, urging readers to become 'caught up in the struggle' against it. Their analysis of the government's growth and development strategy is inaccurate, misleading and unChristian," said Mr Peters.

"It is hypocritical in the extreme to claim that this is a Christian publication," he said. "It preaches not love, but hatred, even claiming Biblical justification for working against this government. It contains extravagant statements such as the following:

'People are not choosing to be poor, homeless or violent. They are being made poor, homeless and violent by the Think Big strategy.'

'It's time for a change. To continue with this strategy is a mistake.'

'Encourage people to think of exercising their votes in the General Election as a political action and a way of ensuring that New Zealand has the most appropriate development strategy.' "

"The publication suggests the establishment of Maori separatism with a separate court system, a separate Maori policy force and armed services, a separate Maori Parliament and a separate Maori TV channel, radio network and newspapers and magazines. It claims that New Zealand is 'beginning to take on a Third World profile: a few extremely rich people and institutions controlling the destinies of the poor majority'; it claims an interview with a 'Mrs Sue Mills' of Auckland, who says there is no future here any more for her children".

"This is pure anti-government propaganda being promulgated under the guise of 'Christianity' at the expense of our twelve major churches and their members who are unwittingly supporting the activities of Christian Action Week," said Mr Peters.

Mr Peters drew attention to the fact that none of the extremely

distorted articles are attributed to any author, nor is there any indication of who is involved in the production of this political document.

"It states that the paper has been produced by the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development, a body which has already been criticised by *Tablet* on the grounds of political activism. In this week's *Listener* Rev. John Curnow, Executive Officer of the Catholic Commission for Evangelization, Justice and Development, admits giving \$15,000 to this body. Rev. Curnow's own organisation is totally funded by the Catholic lenten collection, therefore it appears that donations at Lent from Catholics around the country are being used to finance this blatant exercise in anti-government propaganda. Rev. Curnow says without equivocation that he uses the tools of analysis developed by Christianity's supposed antithesis, Marxism."

"I do not believe that Catholics who give money to the church at Lent, or the congregations of the other 11 churches, would be happy knowing that these funds are being diverted to a political organisation which is using them to publish literature heavily prejudiced against the National Government," said Mr Peters.

"'Issues 81' is inflammatory, totally misleading and very unfair to those Christians who are unknowingly funding its publication."

(sgd) Winston Peters

4. EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF MR TALBOT (GOVERNMENT - ASHBURTON) IN PARLIAMENT OF 30 JULY 1981 (HANSARD, 1981, NO. 16: 2137-38)

Although it is not permissible under the Standing Orders to refer to comments that have been made in the House tonight, I can quite properly say that the task for New Zealand today is to isolate the extremists in society, who are hell-bent on defying the law and distorting the Government's growth strategies - a two-pronged attack. Many of the extremists who have sucked thousands of genuine New Zealanders into unlawful protests are involved with churches. They are being aided and abetted by the Opposition.

One of the worst aspects of the Budget debate has been that Opposition members, such as the member for Lyttelton and the member for Manurewa, have distorted the Government's investment and think-big policies. It would appear that that is a part of the Labour Party's 1981 campaign of distortion and fear. I believe that the Labour Party is isolating itself from the mainstream of New Zealand society. The country must be told quite clearly and unemotionally what is taking place in society today. Last night I proved to the House that the National Government's growth strategies and think-big policies were not denying investment to farming, small business, or education - in fact, the reverse applies. I tell all responsible citizens to wake up to the tactics being used by the Labour Party. Some of the people who have been conned - certain elements in the churches - have latched on to the Labour Party's policies, which are nothing more than a continuation of the dirty-tricks campaign the Labour Party has conducted in the past. We have heard scurrilous statements, and distortion at its very worst. The left-wing churchmen from most denominations have latched on to the Labour Party's position, and hooked on to the policy of distortion for some devious political reason. Some of the churchmen are associated with a section of the National Council of Churches. The Christian week publication *Issues 1981* is being used as a Marxist mouthpiece within the church. For church groups to get involved in that type of campaign is not only divisive; it is also totally unchristian, and can lead only to a further lowering of the credibility of some churchmen. They are isolating completely the part they should be taking in a caring society, which we have in New Zealand, and which is second to none in the world.

The campaign of distortion backed up by a group of left-wing churchmen is sad in the extreme. It is more in keeping with a dirty-tricks campaign, or a sort of second-generation 'Citizens for Rowling' campaign. It is deplorable that leading churchmen, even bishops, have latched on to the policy of distortion, whether it relates to the rule of law or to the Government's growth strategy. The Government will be spelling out to the country over the next few days and months that it must get rid of the distortion. The mainstream of New Zealand society will put it on the line in November of this year. It will sweep the Labour Party aside.

I appeal to the mainstream of New Zealand society, particularly the genuine Christian people who are concerned about the extremists in our churches, and the extremists in the Labour Party - I shall not name them, because the people know who they are - to isolate themselves from the extremists, for the good of democracy in New Zealand, and for the tolerance we must have in our society. It has been evident in the past few days that the extremists will not tolerate democracy. It has been evident in the discussions that have taken place about the Government's think-big policies. It is a sad commentary that such distortion has developed in a country such as New Zealand, which can hold its head high because it has the best human rights policy in the world. People who term themselves Christians - the leaders of the Christian churches - are getting involved with the dissident group.

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