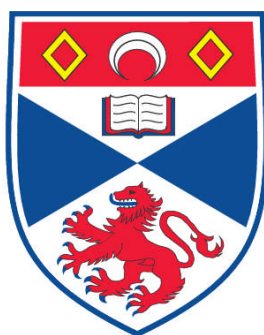


**THE "OPTION FOR THE POOR" AND THE SCOTTISH
EPISCOPAL CHURCH**

Robert D. Whiteman

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS
ST MARY'S COLLEGE

THE "OPTION FOR THE POOR"
AND THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY
AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
ROBERT D. WHITEMAN

ST ANDREWS, SCOTLAND
UNITED KINGDOM
2009

I, Robert Whiteman, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2004 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in December 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2009.

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The production of this thesis has run alongside a number of very difficult episodes in my life. I would like to thank my erstwhile wife, Martha Whiteman, for her support in getting this work started. I would like to thank my many, many friends and work colleagues for their help in carrying this project forward while everything else has been going on. Some have, unknowingly, made significant contributions to me being able to work at all and thus complete this thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis looks at *Blessed are the Poor?*, a document presented to the General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church that sought to outline Liberation Theology to the Church. In response to this the Synod voted £1,000,000 of its resources to be used specifically in projects in the poorest parts of Scotland. The thesis outlines those projects and the way in which they sought to embody the "Option for the Poor". The thesis closes by looking at whether *Blessed are the Poor?* faithfully represented Liberation Theology and the "Option"; whether the projects represented that theology and concluding that they did not, recognises that it is the nature of both the "Option" and the institutional Church that such a task could never be achieved.

In order to understand the pastoral project this thesis outlines the historical development of Liberation Theology after the Second Vatican Council and in Latin America with particular emphasis on the "Option for the Poor". This thesis proceeds to look at the development of an "Option for the Poor" in the work of Gustavo Gutiérrez, the leading Liberation Theologian. The critiques of that work from the Vatican, Pablo Richard and Hugo Assmann are then considered. Gutiérrez's works are used to develop a theological matrix that identifies the essential elements of the "Option for the Poor". Having considered the notion of the "Option for the Poor" the thesis proceeds to look at how the "Option" was taken forward in the Churches in Britain before focussing on the specific response of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The matrix is used as a tool to assess whether the various parts of the response truly reflected the "Option for the Poor".

Introduction

This thesis looks at a potential journey by looking at a number of shorter journeys and asking whether, together, they make one coherent journey.

The first section of the journey is an historical and ideological one. This looks at the emergence of Liberation Theology in Latin America from the 1960s. Gustavo Gutierrez, the foremost figure of Liberation Theology, has stated that "the "Option for the Poor" is 90% of Liberation Theology".¹ Thus the survey of the development of Liberation Theology concentrates on the development of that "Option". This part of the journey is tackled over the first three chapters. The first is a broad overview. The second looks closely at the development of the "Option for the Poor" in the writings of Gutierrez. This chapter closes by attempting to develop a typological matrix of the "Option for the Poor" that can be used later to assess projects that might be seen as trying to embody Liberation Theology. This theological matrix is derived from the work of Gutierrez because the broad overview recognises his central place in Liberation Theology. For this reason the second chapter concentrates on him. It shows that Gutierrez developed the idea of the "Option" in his writings and derives the matrix from the mature version of the "Option" in those writings. The third chapter looks at the critiques of the "Option" that came from within Gutierrez's context², particularly from the Vatican and fellow theologians, Pablo Richard and Hugo Assmann.

¹ In conversation with the author and others in St Andrews June 2004.

² Context here is taken in two senses. The Vatican is Gutierrez's in that it is the governing body of his de facto, if not de iure, employer. Richard and Assmann are theologians within Latin America and thus part of Gutierrez's geographical and socio-political context.

The second section of the journey is more applied. It looks at how the insights of Liberation Theology were taken on board by the Churches in Britain. The impact on the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England as the largest and most influential churches are looked at in greatest detail. This forms the first half of the fourth chapter. The second half concentrates on the Churches in Scotland, especially the Church of Scotland, before focussing on the Scottish Episcopal Church in which the rest of the thesis is based.

The next part of the journey is a very specific potential application of the ideas outlined in the first part of the journey. It is the work of the Scottish Episcopal Church in taking on the insights of Liberation Theology. Liberation Theology emerged within the Latin American context so one would not expect it to transferable wholesale to the Scottish context but that those insights might be. This was done primarily through the preparation of the document *Blessed are the Poor?* by the Doctrine Committee and its subsequent presentation to the General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church. This led to an emergency motion to the Synod to devote £1million of reserves to work in the most disadvantaged areas of Scotland. The use of that money is the last section of the journey.

I was employed as the Development Officer to support the projects funded by the money that collectively came to be known as Million for Mission. This provides the background to this thesis. It is being written for me to reflect on work that I did earlier and what there is to learn from that. Thus the thesis has to walk a knowing line between an entirely objective assessment of the work and the realisation that for someone involved day to day with the projects for five years such objectivity is not

possible nor, it can be argued, desirable. As part of the theological engagement of this thesis *Blessed are the Poor?* and the projects will be looked at individually through the theological matrix based on an understanding of the "Option for the Poor" derived from the work of Gutiérrez.

The conclusion of the thesis will consider whether the various parts outlined above join together to form one coherent journey. It will consider whether the Scottish Episcopal Church considered a true reflection of the Liberation Theology in *Blessed are the Poor?*; whether Liberation Theology informed the decision to set up Million for Mission and whether the subsequent projects were a true embodiment of Liberation Theology; whether they truly reflected an "Option for the Poor". Even if the answers to any of these questions is no, the next section of the journey remains important because each step assumed the integrity of the earlier parts of the journey and built upon that. This thesis is a journey from the broad historical and theological development of Liberation Theology to a very specific application of it. In doing so it addresses some questions about what Liberation Theology can mean in practical terms within the Scottish Episcopal Church. It is written from the position that Liberation Theology is a true manifestation of the Gospel of Christ that offers much to the wider Church and wonders how that Church is placed to take on those insights. The theological matrix developed in Chapter Two is derived from the work of Gutiérrez as an intellectual and methodological tool to assess the projects in the third section of the thesis but it is only that. It must always be recognised that such can only be an abstraction on the second act that is theology, the truth is directly rooted in God and this thesis seeks to view that.

Chapter One - The History of Liberation Theology

This chapter looks at the development of Liberation Theology through various Councils, Conferences and controversies rather than as a survey of the development of ideas. That survey will follow in a later chapter. In this chapter particular emphasis will be given to the "Option for the Poor" within Liberation Theology.

Vatican II

Any account of Liberation Theology must start with the Second Vatican Council.³ It is the working through of the outcomes of the Council within the Latin American context that leads to the Liberation Theology that we know today.

The Council was the sole idea of John XXIII.⁴ He announced his decision to hold such a Council very early in his pontificate.⁵ The purpose of the Council was driven "solely by a concern for the 'good of souls' and in order that the new pontificate may come to grips, in a clear and well defined way, with the spiritual needs of the present time."⁶ The Council started on 11 October 1962 but John XXIII had already set the tone. On 11 September he gave a radio address in which he stated that "the church is, and wishes to be, the Church of all, and especially the Church of the poor".⁷ John

³ The Council met from 11 October 1962 to 8 December 1965. It met for 2 months each year.

⁴ Pope John XXIII lived from 1881-1963. He was ordained Priest in 1904, consecrated Bishop in 1925, elevated to Cardinal and Archbishop of Venice in 1953 and appointed Pope at the age of 77 in 1958, a post that he held until his death.

⁵ The first mention of a Council came in a short address to some Cardinals gathered in Rome at the end of a week of prayer for the Unity of the Churches on 25 January 1959. The discussion of this in Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II*, vol. I (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996)1-3 shows in footnote 2 that the status of the Council may have been upgraded over time and was originally announced as a General Council and changed in the final versions to an Ecumenical Council. He concludes that the Council was solely John XXIII's idea (3); a view confirmed by the Pope himself Pope John XXIII, *Journal of a Soul* New English Library ed. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 388

⁶ From the speech of 25 January 1959 quoted in Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II* vol. I, 1.

⁷ Quoted in Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino, eds., *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993)244 in article on the *Option for the Poor* by Gustavo Gutiérrez. Also Mario Aguilar, *Current Issues on Theology and Religion in Latin America*

XXIII died during the first Inter-Session of the Council and was followed by Paul VI⁸ who carried on the work of the Council.

The outcome of the Council is seen in its documents. The most important of these documents for the emergence of Liberation Theology was the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*.⁹ This is known, as papal documents are, by the Latin of its first words, *Gaudium et Spes* (henceforth *GS*).¹⁰ This was the last of the documents and was produced at the very end of the Council.

GS also stands out among the documents as one proposed from the floor of the Council. In December 1962 an opportunity was given for the members to discuss the future course of the Council. On 4 December Cardinal Suenens,¹¹ drawing on John XXIII radio address of 11 September, proposed that the future work of the Council be focused entirely on the Church but in two parts - internally and externally. The second would follow from the first and "would deal with the Church in dialogue with the world. The points of the dialogue were defined in terms of what the Church has to say about the life of the human person, social justice, the evangelization of the poor, and

and Africa (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2002), 26-7. It is discussed in Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II* vol. I, 435-442.

⁸ Paul VI lived from 1897-1978. He was ordained Priest in 1920 and consecrated as Archbishop of Milan in 1953. He was viewed as a candidate when John XXIII was elected and was the first to be appointed Cardinal by the new Pope. He became Pope in 1963 and pledged to continue his predecessor's work. He remained Pope until his death.

⁹ The translations of the title vary. The title above is found in Austin Flannery, ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Leominster: Fowler Books, 1980) and Walter Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II* (Piscataway, NJ: Association Press, 1966) but as *Pastoral Constitution on the church in the world of today* in Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990). All these translations have the *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* to show that they can be regarded as approved versions, though not technically authorised translations.

¹⁰ Latin was the language of the Council as appointed by the decree *Appropinquante concilio* published on 6 August 1962. Public proceedings were conducted in Latin. *GS* is dated 7 December 1965. It is the largest of the documents of the Council running to 23,335 words out of a total of 103,014. The next largest document is 16,200 (*Lumen Gentium*) with no other document above 10,000 words.

peace and war."¹² He proceeded to suggest three areas of dialogue of which the third was dialogue with the modern world. This was well received and was supported in a speech the following day by Cardinal Montini (later Paul VI).¹³ The other speech from the floor initiating *GS* was made on 6 December by Cardinal Lercaro.¹⁴ This also echoed the speech of 11 September and called for the "the Mystery of Christ in the Church of the poor" to be a central theme of the Council.¹⁵ Indeed he stated that "this should not be just one motif among many, but rather "the sole theme of Vatican II in its entirety,"; "the synthesizing idea, the point that gives light and coherence to all the subjects thus far discussed and all the work that we must undertake."¹⁶ From these speeches *GS* was to emerge.¹⁷

GS starts:

The joys and the hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts....That is why this

¹¹ Leon-Joseph Suenens lived from 1904-1996. John XXIII made him Archbishop of Malines-Brussels in 1961. He was made Cardinal and Primate of Belgium in 1962. Paul VI made him one of the four moderators of Vatican II and in this role he presided over some of the sessions.

¹² Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II*, vol. II (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997)344. José Míguez Bonino, "The Reception of Vatican II in Latin America," *Ecumenical Review*, no. 37 (1985), 269 states that this approach was suggested by Cardinal Montini.

¹³ This whole discussion is covered in Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II* vol. II, 340-7.

¹⁴ Giacomo Lercaro lived from 1891 - 1976. Ordained Priest in 1914, he was consecrated Archbishop of Ravenna e Cervia in 1947, elevated to Archbishop of Bologna in 1952 and Cardinal in 1953. Paul VI made him one of the four moderators of Vatican II and in this role he presided over some of the sessions.

¹⁵ See Bonino, "The Reception of Vatican II in Latin America," 266-274. Quotation from 270.

¹⁶ Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II* vol. II, 345-6.

¹⁷ At the very start of the Council *A Message to Humanity* was issued. This stated that the Council saw peace and social justice as two points that should be particularly stressed in the work of the Council. (Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*, 5-6). In the subsequent weeks the Council focussed on matters internal to the Church so this return was timely even if it did not bear fruit until the very end of the Council.

community realizes that it is truly and intimately linked with mankind and its history.¹⁸

This is the Church turning from itself to serve the world. In §2 the Council addresses itself

without hesitation, not only to the sons of the Church and to all who invoke the name of Christ, but to the whole of humanity. For the Council yearns to explain to everyone how it conceives of the presence and activity of the Church in the world of today.

There is also recognition of the specifics of time and place in §4.¹⁹

After an initial Preface and Introduction the document moves to consider a number of specific matters. Some of these would become important in the development of Liberation Theology. §62 saw the value of worldly learning to the church and faith:

Although the Church has contributed much to the development of culture, experience shows that, because of circumstances, it is sometimes difficult to harmonise culture with Christian teaching.

These difficulties do not necessarily harm the life of faith. Indeed they can stimulate the mind to a more accurate and penetrating grasp of the faith. For recent studies and findings of science, history, and philosophy raise new questions which influence life and demand new theological investigations.

¹⁸ GS §1. All further quotations from Vatican II documents are taken from Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*.

¹⁹ "the Church has always had the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions which men ask about this present life and the life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other. We must therefore recognize and understand the world in which we live, its expectations, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics."

It continues to draw particular attention to psychology and sociology, among the secular sciences, as well as recognising the importance of literature and the arts to the life of the Church. There is a valuing of the modern world for the life of faith:

May the faithful, therefore, live in very close union with the men of their time. Let them strive to understand perfectly their way of thinking and feeling, as expressed in their culture. Let them blend modern science and its theories and the understanding of the most recent discoveries with Christian morality and doctrine. Thus their religious practice and morality can keep pace with their scientific knowledge and with an ever-advancing technology. Thus they too will be able to test and interpret all things in a truly Christian spirit.²⁰

Chapter III of *GS* addresses the sphere of socio-economic life. It recognises that enormous numbers of people "lack the absolute necessities of life"²¹ and seeks that all have the opportunity to participate fully in their own governance.²²

Other Vatican II documents were to become roots of Liberation Theology as they were incorporated into Church life in Latin America. One of these is *The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium* henceforth *LG*).²³ As a Dogmatic Constitution it is the most solemn form of conciliar utterance. In §8 the place of the poor is alluded to: "as Christ carried out the work of redemption in poverty and under oppression, so the Church is called to follow the same path in communicating to men the fruits of salvation."²⁴ It continues:

²⁰ *GS* §62

²¹ *GS* §63

²² *GS* §70

²³ *LG* was approved by the Council Fathers on 21 November 1964 by a majority of 2,151 to 5 and immediately promulgated by Paul VI.

²⁴ *LG* §8

Christ was sent by the Father "to bring good news to the poor, to heal the contrite of heart" (Lk 4:18), "to seek and to save what was lost" (Lk 19:10). Similarly, the Church encompasses with love all those who are afflicted with human weakness. Indeed, she recognizes in the poor and the suffering the likeness of her poor and suffering Founder. She does all she can to relieve their need and in them she strives to serve Christ.²⁵

The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity (Ad Gentes henceforth AG) contains further references to the place of the poor in the life of the Church. §5 speaks of the mission of the Church:

This mission is a continuing one. In the course of history it unfolds the mission of Christ Himself, who was sent to preach the gospel to the poor. Hence, prompted by the Holy Spirit, the Church must walk the same road which Christ walked: a road of poverty and obedience, of service and self-sacrifice to the death, from which death He came forth a victor by his resurrection.²⁶

Further in §12: "the Church, through her children, is one with men of every condition, but especially with the poor and the afflicted. On their behalf she happily spends herself."²⁷

This brief survey of the Vatican II documents indicates the springboard that the Council provided for the emergence of Liberation Theology but it is worth noting that

²⁵ LG §8

²⁶ AG §5

²⁷ AG §12

they do not speak of a "Church of the poor" as Cardinal Lercaro suggested they should in his speech of 6 December 1962.²⁸

It is necessary to look at the part played by those from Latin America at the Council - it was not a large part. At the start of Vatican II 601 of the bishops present were from Latin America with a further 52 experts. This represented 22% of the Bishops but Latin America contained 35% of the global Roman Catholic population.²⁹ Thus Latin America was under represented and then proceeded not to fully participate. The Latin American Church participation in the Council was such that it has been called a "church of silence".³⁰ There may have been good reason for this; possibly that the matters under discussion at the Council were often not the true concerns of the Latin American Church but of the Western Church to which the Latin Americans had little to contribute.³¹ The importance of Vatican II lies in the change of outlook that it allowed in the Church.³² It is this change of outlook that will be taken up in Latin America in its response to the Council rather than specific documents.

Before concluding this review of Vatican II, two papal encyclicals of the 1960's should also be noted. The first is *Mater et Magistra* (henceforth *MM*).³³ Much of the

²⁸ This point is noted in Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Density of the Present* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999a), 70.

²⁹ Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981), 139.

³⁰ Oliveros, Roberto quoted in Rosino Gibellini, *The Liberation Theology Debate* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 27

³¹ See Donal Dorr, *Option for the Poor* Revised ed. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1992), 149-176 esp 165-167

³² The permission to use the vernacular in the Mass is a clear example of a change of outlook to one where change from the past is permissible. This was contained in the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, the first Constitution to be produced by the Council and a dramatic change. Latin had been the required language of the Liturgy since 1570 as laid down by Pope Pius V in *Quo Primum*.

³³ The title on the Vatican website: Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* (www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_15051961_mater-en.html, 1961 [cited 20 July 2009] is as given but it is often seen as *Mater et Magister*. *MM* was published on 15 May 1961, though dated 15 March (Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 401)

encyclical was taken up with a rehearsal of previous documents³⁴ but it did stress the place of the Church in the wider world.³⁵ The title of *MM* continues *On Recent Developments of the Social Question in the Light of Christian Teaching*. This points to *MM* questioning the strong and presumed link between the Church and the conservative forces of the rich and powerful and thus open the way for a Church opting to be on the side of the poor.³⁶ In this way it was a pointer to the approach that John XXIII would take in Vatican II.³⁷

The other encyclical is *Populorum Progressio* (henceforth *PP*).³⁸ This encyclical expressed the Church's concern for the poor in strong terms. It starts:

The progressive development of peoples is an object of deep interest and concern to the Church. This is particularly true in the case of those peoples who are trying to escape the ravages of hunger, poverty, endemic disease and ignorance; of those who are seeking a larger share in the benefits of civilization and a more active improvement of their human qualities; of those who are consciously striving for fuller growth.³⁹

The emphasis on the poor is continued in §3: "The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly."⁴⁰ The encyclical marked a development of Vatican II. Paul VI does not start from the current understandings of development but seeks to establish basic principles as to

³⁴ Parts 1 and 2 (§10-121 out of a total of 264)

³⁵ *MM* §3.

³⁶ Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 132-138, 142-146

³⁷ Ibid., 146, David Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2002), 77

³⁸ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*

(www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html, 20 July 2009 1967 [cited 20 July 2009] It was published on 26 March 1967.

³⁹ *PP* §1.

what would be ideal and then proceeds to measure against those. In the later sections there is consideration of trade, colonialism and the acceptability of armed revolution⁴¹ among other themes. These themes were particularly resonant in Latin America⁴² and the document was both well received and widely discussed.⁴³ However *PP* does not represent a fully fledged "Option for the Poor" as it focuses on solidarity and dialogue between rich and poor leading to changes in structures⁴⁴ rather than the poor themselves bringing about change.

Developments in Latin America before Medellín

While the Latin American Bishops were not playing a great part in Vatican II, it is not fair to say that nothing was happening in the Latin American Church or that the Bishops themselves were doing nothing.

The General Conference of the Latin American Episcopacy (CELAM) had been established in 1955 as a body for co-ordinating the Latin American Episcopal Conferences.⁴⁵ The Archbishop of each Province and a bishop elected from within each Province attended the meeting. The establishment of CELAM was approved by Pope Pius XII on 2 November 1955.⁴⁶ Regular meetings were held across South America on an annual basis. In 1962 they met in Rome and similar meetings were

⁴⁰ *PP* §3.

⁴¹ *PP* §7-9, 31, 52, 56-58,

⁴² In *PP* §4 Paul VI explicitly refers to his travels in Latin America prior to becoming Pope as a background to the document.

⁴³ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 103 refers to a special meeting called by CELAM to discuss *PP*. The product of this meeting is Latin American Priests, "*Populorum Progressio* and Latin American Realities" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1967) Another meeting led to Third World Bishops, "A Letter to the Peoples of the Third World" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1967)

⁴⁴ *PP* §48-9, 54, 73, 76-7

⁴⁵ Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)*, 113-5 The first meeting was in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil from 25 July to 4 August 1955.

held there in the three subsequent years. On the 10th anniversary of the founding of CELAM Paul VI wrote to the Latin American Bishops referring to "the responsibilities of the sacred pastors in the post-conciliar period."⁴⁷ After the Council actions were taken at National Bishops Conferences but the most thorough reflection on Vatican II took place at the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held at Medellín, Colombia from 26 August to 6 September 1968.

Before looking at that conference it is necessary to consider reflections on the Latin American situation and Vatican II that were going on outside the Roman Catholic hierarchy. As early as 1962 there had been calls to discern an authentic Christianity for Latin America⁴⁸ but the real push for change came from the Council. A meeting was held at Petrópolis in Brazil in March 1964 at which the main speakers were Juan Luis Segundo, Lucio Gera and Gustavo Gutiérrez.⁴⁹ The presentation by Segundo looked at the social context of Latin America and the evangelising task of the Church, while Gera looked at the role of the theologian. Gutiérrez contributed a paper that Oliveros says "opened up directions of study and of expression that would eventually

⁴⁶ Alberigo, ed., *History of Vatican II* vol. II, 216

⁴⁷ Quoted in Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)*, 140.

⁴⁸ Segundo, Juan Luis 1962 *The Future of Christianity in Latin America* quoted in Alfred T Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990)29-37.

⁴⁹ Papers for the conference do not appear to exist but its contents are available through the work of Roberto Oliveros. The original work is Spanish and is not available in translation but the section on the meeting at Petrópolis is translated in Roberto Oliveros, "Meeting of Theologians at Petrópolis" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1966).

Juan Luis Segundo lived from 1925-1996. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1941. He studied philosophy in Argentina and theology at Louvain. He was ordained priest in 1955 before further study in Paris. He returned to his homeland of Uruguay in 1959 where he founded the Centro Peter Faber for the study of social and theological issues. He never held an academic post in Uruguay but regularly lectured abroad.

Gustavo Gutierrez was born in 1928. He studied medicine, psychology and theology at the universities of Lima, Louvain and the Gregoriana in Rome. Ordained in 1959, he is the founder and Director of the Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, Lima, Peru.

become the theology of liberation."⁵⁰ The talk was grounded in the Latin American context and sought to examine the mission of the Church in that context. The ideas would be developed further in a talk by Gutiérrez given at a meeting in Chimbote, Peru between 21-25 July 1968 in the run up to the Medellín Conference. The development of Gutiérrez thought will be discussed in a later chapter so it is sufficient to note here that he starts to talk explicitly of developing a "theology of liberation".⁵¹

Elsewhere the 1968 meeting of the Latin American Provincials in the Society of Jesus had imposed upon the Jesuits that "our goal should be the liberation of humankind from every sort of servitude which oppresses it: the lack of life's necessities...".⁵² The letter to all members of the Society continued: "we propose first of all to allocate a part of our apostolic resources to the growing mass of those who are most neglected."⁵³

Overall, changes were taking place in the Latin American Church but the question remained as to the reaction of the hierarchy. That question was to be resolved at Medellín.

Medellín

The preparatory papers for Medellín were written in Bogotá, Peru from 19-26 January 1968. Gustavo Gutiérrez was one of those involved in their preparation. This *Basic*

⁵⁰ Ibid., 45.

⁵¹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Toward a Theology of Liberation" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1968).

⁵² Provincials of the Society of Jesus, "The Jesuits in Latin America" Ibid., 78.

⁵³ Ibid., 79.

Document was circulated to Rome and the various Episcopal conferences for comment in the build up to the Conference.⁵⁴

The conference was held from 26 August to 6 September 1968 with the title of "The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council". The conference was part of the first visit ever by a Pope to any part of the Americas. Paul VI gave the Opening Address on 24 August.⁵⁵ The aim of the conference may have been given in its title but the reality of the *Final Documents* shows that to have been inverted, so that it can be said that the Council was interpreted in the light of Latin American experience. Reflection started with the Latin American situation rather than the documents of the Council.

The *Document on the Poverty of the Church* starts:

The Latin American bishops cannot remain indifferent in the face of the tremendous social injustices existent in Latin America, which keep the majority of our peoples in dismal poverty, which in many cases becomes human wretchedness.⁵⁶

The document continues to recognise that the institutional church had not worked to help those people and indeed had often worked against them. In §4 and §5 the Bishops identify three different forms of Poverty – material, spiritual and the voluntary poverty of commitment. The hand of Gutierrez in the preparation of the

⁵⁴ There is some discussion of this in Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)*, 143-5 and Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 106-7 esp f59.

⁵⁵ The conference itself was attended by 146 cardinals, archbishops and bishops along with a further 120 advisers. Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)*, 145 and Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 107 f62.

⁵⁶ CELAM, *The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council* 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Division for Latin America - USCC, 1973), 14.1.

document can clearly be discerned at this point.⁵⁷ In §7 it is recognised that "the example and teaching of Jesus, the anguished condition of millions of the poor in Latin America, the urgent exhortation of the Pope and of the council"⁵⁸ call the church to action. The church was called to poverty: "to be a sign and a commitment – a sign of the inestimable value of the poor in the eyes of God, an obligation of solidarity with those who suffer."⁵⁹ Furthermore in §9 it is stated that

The Lord's distinct commandment to 'evangelise the poor' ought to bring us to a distribution of resources and apostolic personnel that effectively gives preference to the poorest and most needy sectors and to those segregated for any cause whatsoever, animating and accelerating the initiatives and studies that are already been made with that goal in mind. We, the bishops, wish to come closer to the poor in sincerity and fellowship, making ourselves accessible to them.⁶⁰

In §10 the Bishops continue to state the need for them and thus the Church to stand in solidarity with the poor – "We ought to sharpen the awareness of our duty of solidarity with the poor, to which charity leads us. This solidarity means that we make ours their problems and their struggles, that we know how to speak with them."⁶¹ Throughout the other documents of the Conference, there being 16 in total, there are similar calls for a concern for the poor.⁶²

The Medellín documents follow the model of *GS* in analyzing the situation, reflecting upon that and then making recommendations. The importance of Medellín lies in the clarity with which they are presented. The documents make it clear that within Latin

⁵⁷ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 111 f85.

⁵⁸ CELAM, *Medellín*, 14.7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 14.10.

⁶² The document on "Peace" is a particular example.

America the poor present a particular challenge; that poverty is the product of institutional injustice and that the Church is called upon to respond to this problem in solidarity with the poor. In many of the documents the word 'liberation' is used to describe what is desired for the poor.⁶³

Medellín to Puebla

The next period in this history must look at the developments prior to and preparations for the next General Conference of CELAM in Puebla de Los Angeles, Mexico in 1979, and the conference itself. This period will be dealt with under three headings. Firstly, the developments in Liberation Theology within Latin America, primarily seen in publication; the sharing of Liberation Theology with the wider world and finally the developments in CELAM and the build up to the Conference at Puebla.

Developments in Liberation Theology in Latin America

Gustavo Gutiérrez continued to develop his thoughts and share them⁶⁴ but the major production was *A Theology of Liberation* published in 1971. This is the major work of Liberation Theology and will be discussed elsewhere but it is far from the only work of this period. Others that should be included are *Theology and the Liberation of Man*, a paper presented by Rubem Alves at the Cartigny conference; *Jesus Christ Liberator* published by Leonardo Boff⁶⁵ in 1972 and his *Theology of Captivity and Liberation*

⁶³ Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 209-210.

⁶⁴ Tombs highlights a meeting at Cartigny, Switzerland of SODEPAX (Committee on Society, Development and Peace) in November 1969. Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 112 incl f88 Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 122 refers to an article *Notes for a Theology of Liberation* published in *Theological Studies* in June 1970. Tombs describes this as "a reprint in different translation" of the Cartigny paper.

⁶⁵ Leonardo Boff was born in 1938. He is a Franciscan priest and was educated in his native Brazil and Munich, where he received his doctorate in theology. He is a Professor of Theology at Petropolis in Brazil.

from 1975; *Opresión – Liberación. Desafío a los cristianos* of 1971 and in a 1975 reworked and translated form as *Practical Theology of Liberation* by Hugo Assmann; The five volume series on *Theology for Artisans of a New Humanity* produced between 1968 and 1974 by Juan Luis Segundo as well as his *The Liberation of Theology* of 1976; *Contemplación y apostolado* (1972) and *Espiritualidad de la liberación* were produced by Segundo Galilea in 1972 and 1974 respectively. This list cannot be exhaustive but demonstrates that the period after the Medellín Conference saw an explosion in publication in Liberation Theology.

The Sharing of Liberation Theology with the wider world

The rest of the world had been able to see what had happened at Medellín, owing to the increasing speed of communication and thus it was not surprising that Liberation Theology started to be shared at various conferences. The first of note was on the site of Philip II's palace at El Escorial, Spain from 8-15 July 1972 where Liberation Theology was presented to a European audience for the first time under the title "Christian Faith and Social Change in Latin America". This was a large meeting with over 400 Europeans present and a long list of Latin American speakers.⁶⁶ At this meeting the plans were made for the journal *Concilium* to devote an edition to *Liberation and Faith*. The volume was intended to give those in Europe a chance to engage with Liberation Theology using writings written within the Latin American context.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 186 and table 8.9 on 187 The speakers included Gustavo Gutiérrez.

⁶⁷ "it is difficult to "convert" the theology of liberation for the sake of a would-be universal theology if one is not taking part in the struggles of those Christians actually engaged in liberating the South American continent. It is also very difficult to judge it critically from without, inasmuch as the very originality of this form of theological discourse depends on its indissolubility from real practice. Hence, in this special issue of *Concilium*, we have given Latin American theologians an exclusive opportunity to make known their views.

The major exposure to a North American audience came in Detroit under the title of "Theology in the Americas". This was a different type of conference as the document arising from it demonstrates.⁶⁸ In essence it was a conversation or collision between differing approaches.⁶⁹ The input from Latin America came in a series of brief addresses on Monday 18 August by José Míguez Bonino, Juan Luis Segundo, Javier Iguñiz, Enrique Dussel, José Pofirio Miranda, Leonardo Boff, Hugo Assmann, Beatriz Couch and, on the last day, Gustavo Gutiérrez.⁷⁰ The outcome of the conference was a continuation of a process of discussion that was relevant to the context of North America.⁷¹

The contact of Latin American theologians with theologians of Asia and Africa followed at the meeting of EATWOT (Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians) at the University of Dar-es-Salaam from 5-12 August 1976. This was the first theological conference of EATWOT. One of the speakers at the conference was Gustavo Gutiérrez. In the 'Introduction' to the papers of what was termed an ecumenical dialogue, Sergio Torres, the Executive Secretary of EATWOT, states that the resulting paper from that talk "is one of those that best express what we attempted to do in Dar Es Salaam, that is, to use the scholarship of academic theology to express

Therefore the articles in this issue should be read as bearing witness to a prophetic theology arising from a particular ecclesiastical experience, and as a question addressed to the European theology for which *Concilium* is too exclusively a medium." Claude Geffré, "Editorial - A Prophetic Theology," *Concilium* 6, no. 10 (1974), 7 Other writers were Segundo Galilea, Enrique Dussel, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonardo Boff, Joseph Comblin, Juan Luis Segundo, Raúl Vidales, Ronaldo Muñoz and José Míguez Bonino.

⁶⁸ Sergio Torres and John Eagleson, eds., *Theology in the Americas* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976) The conference was from 18-24 August 1975.

⁶⁹ This is clearly seen in the paper *A Preface and a Conclusion* by Robert McAfee Brown in Ibid. ix-xxviii as well as throughout the report of the conference.

⁷⁰ He had been detained by political events in Peru. Enrique Dussel said of Gutiérrez absence on the day of the Latin American addresses "If he is not here now it is because he is committed to the process of liberation; I believe his absence is the best lecture he could have given." Ibid. 289.

the aspirations and sufferings of Third World Christians who are struggling against all forms of oppression."⁷² Gutiérrez's approach can clearly be seen in the Final Statement when it states: "we are increasingly aware of the impact of the political, social, economic, cultural, racial, and religious conditions on theology, we wish to analyze the background of our countries as one point of reference for our theological reflection."⁷³ It continues: "We reject as irrelevant an academic theology that is divorced from action. We are prepared for a radical break in epistemology which makes commitment the first act of theology and engages in critical reflection on the praxis of the reality in the Third World."⁷⁴ There is a recognition that different contexts call for different approaches but it moves to conclude "Our conviction is that the theologian should have a fuller understanding of living in the Holy Spirit, for this also means being committed to a lifestyle of solidarity with the poor and the oppressed and in involvement in action with them."⁷⁵

The "Option for the Poor" being aired from Latin America was being shared, heard and discussed across the world.

Developments in Latin America, Rome, CELAM and the build-up to Puebla

While Liberation Theology was being shared widely, the situation in Latin America was not standing still. On the political front the early 1970's saw great upheavals in the area. The 1964 coup in Brazil was an early outlier of a large number of coups and changes of government in the early 1970s leading to National Security regimes -

⁷¹ The last section of Ibid. 431-6 outlines how this might be done.

⁷² Sergio Torres and Virginia Fabella, eds., *The Emergent Gospel: Theology from the Underside of History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1978)xii.

⁷³ Ibid. 259-260 The final statement was largely the work of Sergio Torres (Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 216 f54).

⁷⁴ Torres and Fabella, eds., *The Emergent Gospel: Theology from the Underside of History* 269

Bolivia, 1971; Uruguay, 1973; Chile, 1973; Peru, 1975; Ecuador, 1976 and Argentina in 1976. These regimes led to repression of those who stood up for the poor, often with large numbers of killings or disappearances among those who did. The situation in Chile was noticeable for this but far from unique. One of its effects was to end the 'Christians for Socialism' movement that had been emerging in Chile with a particular emphasis for the poor, though from a decidedly Marxist leaning.⁷⁶

There were also developments in Rome. Soon after Medellín Paul VI issued *Octagesima Adveniens* (henceforth *OA*).⁷⁷ This apostolic letter can be seen as a response to Medellín.⁷⁸ Much of *OA* is taken up with the relationship of the political and economic spheres as well as a discussion of socialism and marxism but it does speak of preferential respect for the poor (*OA* §23) and recognises that different contexts call for different solutions. Thereby it can be seen to tacitly endorse the approach of Medellín and its conclusions.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Ibid. 270.

⁷⁶ This is illustrated in the *Final Document of the Convention* produced by Christians for Socialism at a meeting in Santiago, Chile on 30 April 1972. John Eagleson, ed., *Christians and Socialism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1975) 160-175 and quoted in Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 147-158.

Christians for Socialism was not the only such movement; many were emerging from the grassroots and making public statements and protests. There are introductory lists of such activities in Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*,²⁰ and Pablo Richard, *Death of Christendoms, Birth of the Church: historical analysis and theological interpretation of the Church in Latin America*, trans. Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 150 However, Smith argues that the importance of Christians for Socialism is as the place where the distinct networks of emerging Liberation Theologians met together for the first time (Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 168) He presents the April 1972 meeting of Christians for Socialism as the point where "the organised leadership of the liberation theology movement was formed." Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 169.

⁷⁷ Issued 14 May 1971.

⁷⁸ Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, Ch 9 205-226 esp 205, 213.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 218-220 See also Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 141

The Synod of Bishops met in Rome in 1971.⁸⁰ Their discussions included the topic of social justice and prepared the document *Justice in the World* (henceforth *JW*). This document forms part of the process of sharing Medellín with the wider world. It makes use of the term 'liberation'⁸¹ and explicitly calls on the Church to make those who are "voiceless, victims of injustice" her concern.⁸² In §6 the Bishops state that

Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appears to us a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation.⁸³

This became a controversial statement in making such justice work central to the work of the Church rather than potentially incidental. The document shows particular concern for the poor⁸⁴ and recognises that this will mean different things in different places, thereby tacitly endorsing Medellín⁸⁵ but does not have a fully fledged "Option for the Poor".

The following Synod of Bishops on "Evangelisation in the Modern World" led to Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (henceforth *EN*).⁸⁶ This was a wide ranging document that included a further discussion of the issues raised in *JW* §6. The word "liberation" is used⁸⁷ and there can be no doubt that its usage is endorsed⁸⁸ but

⁸⁰ This was the third meeting held after Vatican II. The council had decided that a meeting should be called every two years. The purpose of the meeting was to act only as an advisory body for the Pope. Thus the status of its documents is not as high as the body's title might suggest. They do not appear on the Vatican's website.

⁸¹ The words liberation, liberator or liberate appear 8 times in the document. Care is taken to show that this is in accordance with biblical tradition and Christian faith *JW* §29-38.

⁸² *JW* §20.

⁸³ *JW* §6.

⁸⁴ E.g. *JW* §77, 20, 47.

⁸⁵ *JW* §72.

⁸⁶ Issued 8 December 1975.

⁸⁷ It appears 20 times.

⁸⁸ E.g. *EN* §30.

there is also care taken to ensure against its misuse or misunderstanding.⁸⁹ Early in *EN*⁹⁰ the place of the poor in the gospel is recognised but the theme is not developed.

Within the Latin American Church there was also a marked sea change. The sixteenth annual meeting of CELAM held at Sucre in Brazil from 15-23 November 1972 elected the Colombian bishop Alfonso López Trujillo⁹¹ to be the Secretary General. He kept this post until 1979 when he became President of CELAM, holding that post until 1984. His approach to Liberation Theology can be seen in the paper *Liberation, a Permanent Value* of 1977. In the article he accepts the idea of Christ the Liberator but proceeds to define the meaning of this liberation in a different fashion to that associated with Liberation Theologians. He closes: "An authentic theology of liberation has to be founded on immovable pillars of faith. Otherwise, one would become too suspicious if the theology seemed to be an emotional pretext for plotting a social revolution."⁹²

The appointment of a conservative to head CELAM had major effects for Liberation Theology. Trujillo moved the emphasis to one of opposition through the selective use of funding in which Roger Vekemans played a distinctive part. He had been developing arguments against Liberation Theology in Chile and was strongly critical

⁸⁹ *EN* §31-38.

⁹⁰ *EN* §6.

⁹¹ Alfonso López Trujillo lived from 1935-2008. He was ordained Priest in 1960. He attended Medellín as a theological expert. He was consecrated Bishop in 1971, elevated to Archbishop in 1979, Cardinal in 1983 and Cardinal Bishop in 2001. He has been the Archbishop Emeritus of Medellín from 1991.

⁹² Alfonso López Trujillo, "Liberation, a Permanent Value " in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1977), 172 See also speech Alfonso López Trujillo, *On the 25th anniversary of the Puebla Conference* (Pontifical Council for the Family www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/family/documents/rc_pc_family_doc_20040212_trujillo-puebla_en.html, 2005 [cited 20 July 2009]).

of the Christians for Socialism movement.⁹³ He was the Director of the Center of Studies for Development and Integration in Latin America (CEDIAL) based in Bogotá, Colombia. Trujillo and Vekemans produced a conservative periodical, *Tierra Nueva* and generally sought to discredit Liberation Theology. Meetings were held to consider the matter to which no Liberation Theologians were invited.⁹⁴ A number of avenues that had been used to spread Liberation Theology were now closed but in the following period the increased growth of CEBs was one of the means of dissemination.⁹⁵

Puebla

In 1977 the Preparatory Document for the Puebla conference was circulated, having been written by Trujillo, Vekemans and others. The document was not supportive of the thrust of Medellín and was thus very poorly received, including by the various national episcopates. It was sent back to be rewritten.⁹⁶ The new document was circulated shortly before the Conference date of October 1978. The new Pope, John Paul I⁹⁷ had agreed to open the Conference but he died and the Conference had to be

⁹³ Roger Vekemans is a shadowy figure but some pointers are given in Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the people* (New York, NY: Doubleday & Co, 1980), esp 25-28, 289-309 and 414. He wrote *Teología de la liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo* as outlined in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 193 f58.

⁹⁴ The whole movement and its funding is laid bare in Gregory Baum, "German Theologians and Liberation Theology" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1978), 220-224.

⁹⁵ This whole period and change of emphasis is well covered in Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 189-209 This is a good factual account but I feel that its conclusions should be treated with care. The whole work appears to see the emergence of Liberation Theology as a case study for the development of a social movement and attempts to shape the facts to a theory for that rather than vice versa. It also has no room for the place of faith and ignores faith as a possible motive for action (eg the discussion on military repression and the opposition of Bishops 192-6). It does, however, contain details that are not found elsewhere.

⁹⁶ There is a discussion of this process in Lernoux, *Cry of the people*, 417-423.

⁹⁷ John Paul I was born in 1912. He was ordained Priest in 1935 and consecrated as Bishop of Vittorio Veneto in 1958. He was present at Vatican II and was elevated to Patriarch of Venice in 1969 and Cardinal in 1973. He was elected Pope in 1978 on the second day of the conclave but died the same

postponed. This delay gave longer for people to react and prepare following the issuing of the second Working Document.⁹⁸

The Conference was held from 27 January - 13 February 1979.⁹⁹ It should be noted that there were a low number of theological advisers and Trujillo worked hard to ensure that the delegates were kept isolated from outside influences during the conference.¹⁰⁰

The Opening Address was given by John Paul II¹⁰¹ on the first Apostolic Voyage of his papacy. The conference was covered by some 4,000 journalists and this speech was presented by them in a number of ways. This appears to be a nuanced address seeking to steer a delicate path between the various factions that had emerged.¹⁰² He started by noting the historic importance and profile of the conference. He recognised the place of Medellín and the preparatory papers before drawing attention to *EN*:

year. It is impossible to guess what effect John Paul I would have had had he lived but he is known to have quarrelled with Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, president of the Vatican Bank, to whom he said "the poor are the true treasure of the Church" (quoted in Peter Hebblewaite, "John Paul I " in *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*, ed. Adrian Hastings (London: SPCK, 1991), 445) In his Opening Address at Puebla John Paul II cites John Paul I: "In one of his beautiful catechetical instructions, Pope John Paul I alludes to the virtue of hope. Then he says: "By contrast, it is a mistake to state that political, economic, and social liberation coincide with salvation in Jesus Christ; that the *regnum dei* is identified with the *regnum hominis*" (John Paul I, Catechetical Lesson on the Theological Virtue of Hope, 20 September 1978)." John Eagleson and Philip Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979)62.

⁹⁸ Sergio Torres and John Eagleson, eds., *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981)94 demonstrates the importance that Dussel places on the postponement.

⁹⁹ The Conference was attended by 350 people, including 175 elected bishops from the national conferences, 12 bishops appointed by the Vatican, and 16 official theological advisers. The remaining 147 were representatives from the religious orders, churches in other continents and other denominations.

¹⁰⁰ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 195 paints an interesting picture of clandestine late night meetings where documents were passed so that theologians could work through the night on them.

¹⁰¹ John Paul II was born in 1920. He was ordained Priest in 1946, consecrated Bishop in 1958 and elevated to Archbishop in 1964, Cardinal in 1967 and was elected Pope in 1978, a post he held until his death in 2005. He attended Vatican II and held a doctorate on the works of St John of the Cross.

¹⁰² Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 265-266.

it [the conference] will have to take Medellín's conclusions as its point of departure, with all the positive elements contained therein, but without disregarding the incorrect interpretations that have sometimes resulted and that call for calm discernment, opportune criticism, and clear-cut stances.

In your debates you will find guidance in the working draft, which was drawn up with great care so that it might serve as a constant point of reference.

But you will also have in your hands Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation entitled *Evangelii Nuntiandi*.¹⁰³

He did not shy away from using the term "liberation"¹⁰⁴ but before considering the matter there is a strong assertion of the importance of and duty for unity at all levels.¹⁰⁵ When he moved to consider "liberation" he cited *EN* extensively¹⁰⁶ in order to be clear about the position that he is taking. Closing his remarks on "liberation" he stated "as you see, the whole set of observations on the theme of liberation that were made by *Evangelii Nuntiandi* retain their full validity."¹⁰⁷

The Conference itself rejected attempts at direction by the staff of CELAM. Its final document, as approved by the Pope, makes some strong statements in support of the concerns of Liberation Theology and especially "the Option for the Poor" which appears as a phrase for the first time in such a document. Part Four is headed "A

¹⁰³ Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* 57-58.

¹⁰⁴ It is used 23 times in the Opening Address.

¹⁰⁵ Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* 64-65.

¹⁰⁶ The section that considers liberation (Ibid. 68-69) includes 6 quotations from *EN*; in total *EN* is cited 19 times in the address while there are only 16 biblical references.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 69.

Missionary Church Serving Evangelisation in Latin America" with the first chapter "A Preferential Option for the Poor". It starts:

With renewed hope in the vivifying power of the Spirit, we are going to take up once again the position of the Second General Conference of the Latin American episcopate in Medellín, which adopted a clear and prophetic option expressing preference for, and solidarity with, the poor. We do this despite the distortions and interpretations of some, who vitiate the spirit of Medellín, and despite the disregard and even hostility of others. We affirm the need for conversion on the part of the whole Church to a preferential option for the poor, an option aimed at their integral liberation.¹⁰⁸

This is followed by doctrinal reflections based on the themes of Jesus evangelises the poor; service to our poor brothers and sisters; Christian poverty and then ties pastoral guidelines for action to those doctrinal themes.¹⁰⁹

The best way to reflect on the outcome of Puebla is to look at what John Paul II said in the following days. In a *General Audience on Evangelization and Liberation* held in Rome eight days after the close of the Conference he said "The 'theology of liberation' is often connected (sometimes too exclusively) with Latin America; but it must be admitted that one of the great contemporary theologians,... is right when he demands a theology of liberation on a universal scale"¹¹⁰ and he continued to talk of our liberation in Christ and the need to integrate that with the modern world. He closed: "The third conference of the Latin American episcopate bears witness to the

¹⁰⁸ CELAM, *Puebla: Evangelisation at Present and in the future of Latin America: Conclusions* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1980), §1134.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., §1141-1165.

¹¹⁰ Pope John Paul II, "General Audience on Evangelization and Liberation" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 270.

readiness to undertake this effort. We want not only to recommend this effort to God, but also to follow it for the good of the church and of the whole human family."¹¹¹

After Puebla

The next period of Liberation Theology is the events following Puebla through the 1980's. This survey will end at the point where the Scottish Episcopal Church looked at the emphases of Liberation Theology. It will look at the attacks on Liberation Theology both from within and outside the Church before looking at the positive steps made.

Attacks within the Church

The quotation from John Paul II above suggests that discussions about the place and validity of Liberation Theology were at an end but the Puebla documents were not that clear cut. From the Liberation Theologian's point of view the Conference had not been the disaster that some had feared¹¹² but conservative anti-Liberation Theology forces remained in the ascendancy in the Latin American ecclesial hierarchy and were to emerge within the Roman hierarchy. The role of priests in the democratic socialist Sandanista Government of Nicaragua caused concern in Rome that was highlighted in

¹¹¹ Ibid., 271.

¹¹² The discussion of the Conference in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 231-9 gives some flavour of this feeling. On 239 he summarises "In Medellín the originators - CELAM of 1968 - and the conservatives surrendered the sessions as well as the texts to the more prophetic groups in the Church. Consequently there was hardly any necessity for a popular appropriation of Medellín. Medellín was born in the hearts of the oppressed.

This was not the case in Puebla, which was given birth by those who appear to have resisted the idea that the Third Conference be a popular Christian "event." The apparent intention was to bury Medellín and to consign to limbo many of the questions related to the Church committed to the poor. But this attempt failed. The "text" of Puebla, the *quarry-text*, contains many precious stones and an abundance of marble. We should avoid the historical mistake of allowing Puebla to be appropriated by the dominant classes, by the national security governments, or by those elements in the Church that are not

a Papal visit in 1983.¹¹³ The Roman hierarchy had changed in November 1981 with the appointment of Cardinal Ratzinger¹¹⁴ as Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. His position is clear in that, following the elevation of López Trujillo to Cardinal in February 1983, Ratzinger appointed him to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

In 1981 Leonardo Boff published a collection of earlier works on the Church. This led to review and discussion in Brazil and, following publication in *Communio*, in Rome. He was asked to explain his views, first within Brazil and then by Ratzinger in Rome. After several articles and counter articles Boff was invited to Rome where he met with Ratzinger accompanied by two supportive Brazilian cardinals. The eventual upshot was that Boff was silenced for 8 months.¹¹⁵

The attack on Gutiérrez was not in response to any one piece of writing but claimed to respond to *A Theology of Liberation* and *The Power of the Poor in History*. Ratzinger and the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith produced *Ten Observations on the Theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez* in March 1983. The contents of the document itself

committed to the poor." Here he is drawing on the work of Dussel in Torres and Eagleson, eds., *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities* 97-8.

¹¹³ This is covered in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 231-4.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Ratzinger was born in 1927. He served in the Wehrmacht Infantry of the German Army in World War II. He was ordained Priest in 1951. He was made a Professor in 1959 and attended Vatican II. In the 1960's Ratzinger was a liberal and a founder member of *Concilium* in 1967. By the late 1970's he was associated with the conservative *Communio*, probably as a response to his experiences in Tübingen during the student unrest of the late 1960's. As Archbishop of Munich from 1977 he worked to make the German Church more conservative. He was elevated to Cardinal in 1977, Cardinal Bishop in 1993, Vice Dean of the College of Cardinals in 1998 and Dean in 2002. He was elected as Pope Benedict XVI in 2005.

¹¹⁵ The period of silence was 9 May 1985 to 29 March 1986. The whole incident is covered in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 236-8, 239-41 and 245-7 and Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 225-6 among others. The statement from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Notification Sent to Fr. Leonardo Boff regarding Errors in His Book, *Church: Charism and Power*" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985).

will be considered elsewhere but it should be noted that, with relation to the "Option for the Poor", the argument ran that this was a selective reading of the biblical texts (e.g. Mt 25) in the light of a Marxist interpretation of history.¹¹⁶ Some of the Peruvian Bishops gave Gutiérrez their support so that the Peruvian bishops, as a whole, were not in a position to agree and sent two assessments back to Ratzinger. Gutiérrez also received support from the noted German theologian Karl Rahner¹¹⁷ in a *Letter to Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts of Lima, Peru* that he was "convinced of the orthodoxy of the theological work of Gustavo Gutiérrez."¹¹⁸

The central part of the attack, however, came in the *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'* (*Libertatis Nuntius* henceforth *LN*) issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on 6 August 1984. This was the first Vatican document that was wholly concerned with Liberation Theology. It was a sweeping document in which no specific names were mentioned. It accepts that there are different theologies of liberation "between the preferential option for the poor forcefully reaffirmed without ambiguity after Medellín at the conference of Puebla on the one hand, and the temptation to reduce the Gospel to an earthly gospel on the other."¹¹⁹ It recognises in its preface that "The gospel of Jesus Christ is a message of freedom and a force for liberation. In recent years this essential truth has become the object of reflection for theologians, with a new kind of attention which is itself full of promise."¹²⁰ In the first section of the document the odd numbered paragraphs reflect

¹¹⁶ Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 349 paragraphs 2 and 3.

¹¹⁷ Karl Rahner was born in 1904. He was ordained Priest in 1932 and spent the rest of his life as a Professor in Germany. He was at Vatican II. He died in 1984.

¹¹⁸ Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 351.

¹¹⁹ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 400.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 393.

this affirmation of the principle of liberation as a theme with the even numbered paragraphs condemning what is seen as its current practice. The second part accuses Latin American Liberation Theology of the use of Marxist analysis and reductionism. The preface also speaks of a second document that will follow that will "detail in a positive fashion the great richness of this theme [Christian freedom and liberation] for the doctrine and the life of the church."¹²¹

LN was released on 3 September 1984, the day after Leonardo Boff had arrived in Rome to be interviewed by Ratzinger and after the Cardinal had given an interview to the Italian journalist Vittorio Messori. This interview gave Ratzinger's own views on the matter and reveal that he saw it as "a fundamental threat to the faith of the Church."¹²² *LN* was received in various ways. The opponents of Liberation Theology welcomed it. One example is the *Declaration of Los Andes*, which included Cardinal Trujillo among its signatories. This arose from a conference sponsored by the journal *Communio* and was in no doubt that the concerns raised in *LN* were real and could be seen in the writings of Liberation Theologians in Latin America.¹²³ The declaration continues:

we can see the powerful influence it [concepts borrowed from Marxist thought]

has had on those theologies and the uncritical manner in which it has been

¹²¹ Ibid., 394.

¹²² This quotation is taken from Vittorio Messori, *The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church* (Leominster: Fowler Wright Books, 1985), 175 The interview was given on 15 August 1984 (11) but includes a paper on *Liberation Theology* prepared by Ratzinger. The *Ratzinger Report* quotes this in full (174-186) and notes that "As a result of journalistic indiscretion, however, an article was published in which Ratzinger had given his personal views, as a theologian, on the problem." (169) and notes that its preparation as a "private" document preceded the publication (and possibly preparation) of *LN* (174). Hennelly dates the paper to March 1984 and says that it was published in the September 1984 edition of *Catholicism in Crisis* (Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 367) while Tombs says extracts were published in the magazine *Jesus* in 1985 (Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 241) Smith should be ignored on this matter as he confuses the *Ratzinger Report* with the *Instruction* (Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 225-6).

incorporated into their theologico-social discourse. Whatever its subjective intentions were, this theoretical influence tends to betray the true option for the poor in Latin America and eventually becomes a fundamental danger for the faith of the people of God.¹²⁴

Those to whom *LN* was taken to refer argued that it did not reflect their work.¹²⁵ Gutiérrez received support from a variety of sources including the Peruvian Bishops and the wider academic community. On 29 May 1985 he received a doctorate from the Catholic Institute of Lyon based on his published works. The discussion that preceded the award gave him opportunity to dismiss the accusations and affirm the theo-centric basis of his commitment to the poor within the context of catholic teaching.¹²⁶

The promised second document, *Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation*, (*Libertatis Conscientia* henceforth *LC*) was issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith dated 22 March 1986. This was a longer document with a more positive tone overall. It includes sections that try to place developments in Latin America within a wider context of the teaching of the Church with little direct reference to Latin America. It included a section headed "A Love of Preference for the Poor" that states "those who are oppressed by poverty are the object of a love of preference on the part of the church, which since its origin and in spite of the failings

¹²³ Communio, "Declaration of Los Andes" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), 445

¹²⁴ Ibid., 446

¹²⁵ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 244 incl f75.

¹²⁶ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 1-13

of many members, has not ceased to work for their relief, defense and liberation"¹²⁷ but proceeds to qualify this by saying "The special option for the poor, far from being a sign of particularism or sectarianism, manifests the universality of the church's being and mission. This option excludes no one."¹²⁸

The document received a more favourable response than its predecessor and marked a definite change in the approach, though some suggest not the outlook, of Rome.¹²⁹ John Paul II explicitly approved *LC* and ordered that it be published.¹³⁰ On 9 April 1986 he sent a letter to the Brazilian Episcopal Conference. In this he states "that the theology of liberation is not only timely but useful and necessary."¹³¹ and continues to place that within a context of historical orthodoxy and Catholic teaching, mindful of previous caveats. He continues:

May God help you to be unceasingly watchful so that a correct and necessary theology can develop in Brazil and Latin America in a homogenous and not heterogenous fashion with relation to the theology of all times, in full fidelity to church doctrine, attentive to a preferential but not excluding or exclusive love of the poor.¹³²

This can only be read as an acceptance and encouragement of Liberation Theology, if on the Vatican's terms. Gustavo Gutiérrez welcomed *LC* as closing a chapter and opening a new and more positive period.

¹²⁷ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986), 482

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 483.

¹²⁹ E.g. Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 250-4.

¹³⁰ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation", 493

¹³¹ Pope John Paul II, "Letter to Brazilian Episcopal Conference" *Ibid.*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly, 503

¹³² *Ibid.*, 504.

The final papal document for consideration here is the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*.¹³³ This was issued to mark the 20th anniversary of *Populorum Progressio*. It notes that in the intervening years "a new way of confronting the problems of underdevelopment has spread in some areas of the world, especially in Latin America. This approach makes liberation the fundamental and first principle of action. The positive values as well as the deviations and risks of deviation, which are damaging to faith and are connected with this form of theological reflection and method, have been appropriately pointed out by the Church's magisterium."¹³⁴ The place and value of Liberation Theology has clearly been recognised and within that there is an early discussion of the idea of the "Option for the Poor"¹³⁵ even if this has since been read as a dilution of the content of that phrase as it is used in Liberation Theology.¹³⁶

While the approach of the Vatican was changing there were also significant developments in Liberation Theology. A meeting at Petropolis in 1985 agreed on the publication of the *Theology and Liberation* series¹³⁷ with a view to covering all the

¹³³ Dated 19 February 1988.

¹³⁴ Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 526 para 46.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 522 para 42.

¹³⁶ As suggested in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 253-4 esp fl 12.

The settled position of the Vatican may be seen in the Opening Address by Pope John Paul II at the Santo Domingo Conference of CELAM in 1992:

"In continuity with the Medellín and Puebla conferences, the church reaffirms the preferential option on behalf of the poor. That option is not exclusive or excluding, since the message of salvation is intended for all. It is "an option, moreover, that is based essentially on God's word, and not on criteria provided by human sciences or opposed ideologies, which often reduce the poor to abstract sociopolitical and economic categories. But it is a firm and irrevocable option" (Address to the Roman Curia [December 21, 1984], 9) ...

The genuine praxis of liberation must always be inspired by the doctrine of the Church as set forth in the two instructions by the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (*Libertatis Nuntius*, 1984; *Libertatis Conscientia*, 1986), which must be kept in mind when the topic of liberation theologies come up for discussion. However, the Church can in no way allow any ideology or political current to snatch away the banner of justice, for it is one of the primary demands of the gospel and, at the same time, a fruit of God's kingdom." CELAM, *Santo Domingo Conclusions*, trans. Phillip Berryman (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1993), 13-14.

¹³⁷ The number of volumes planned in the series is unclear. Enrique Dussel, ed., *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns and Oates, 1992) 399 speaks of "some fifty titles"; Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 266 says there will be "no less than fifty-five volumes"; Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 273 has "a comprehensive fifty volume

basic themes of theology and pastoral practice from a liberation approach in a systematic way. The idea was that the originals would appear in Spanish and Portuguese with translations to follow in German, French, Italian and English. However, the names of the "Sponsorship Committee" of 129 Bishops, mainly Brazilian, disappeared after a few volumes and the volumes themselves have appeared less and less frequently – particularly in translation.¹³⁸

Attacks outside the Church

The first part of the 1980s is dominated by the policies of the Reagan Presidency in the US.¹³⁹ In 1980 the Council for Inter-American Security produced the Santa Fe Document. This document's full title was *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties*. In the section on "Internal Subversion" it states:

Manipulation of the information media through church-affiliated groups and other so-called human rights lobbies has played an increasingly important role in overthrowing authoritarian, but pro-US., governments and replacing them with anti-US., Communist, or pro-Communist dictatorships of a totalitarian character.¹⁴⁰

collection" and Aguilar, *Current Issues on Theology and Religion in Latin America and Africa*,⁴⁴ has "a whole series of 52 volumes". Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 274 incl f3 and 4 states that the series was suspended after the 12th volume as a result of poor sales and pressure from the Vatican. He also sees Ellacuria and Sobrino, eds., *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology* 273 fulfilling a similar function.

¹³⁸ See Dussel, ed., *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992* 399.

¹³⁹ Ronald Reagan lived from 1911 to 2004. He was the 40th President of the United States from 1981-9. In his earlier life he made 53 films and was President of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947-52 and 59-60. In that role he gave evidence to the House Un-American Activities Committee on 25 October 1947. In his evidence to this committee leading an anti-Communist purge he said "I detest, I abhor their philosophy [the Communists], but I detest more than that their tactics, which are those of the fifth column, and are dishonest, but at the same time I never as a citizen want to see our country become urged, by either fear or resentment of this group, that we ever compromise with any of our democratic principles through that fear or resentment." Quoted in Anne Edwards, *Early Reagan* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 1987), 349 In 1962 Reagan was employed by General Electric to give anti-communist speeches across America. Thus his opposition to what he saw as Communism was long standing and should be seen to be one of the products of his time.

¹⁴⁰ Committee of Santa Fé, "A New Inter-American Policy for the 80s," (Washington, DC: 1980), 20

It proceeds to recommend that "US foreign policy must begin to counter (not react against) liberation theology as it is utilised in Latin America by the 'liberation theology' clergy."¹⁴¹ The explanation continues:

The role of the church in Latin America is vital to the concept of political freedom. Unfortunately, Marxist-Leninist forces have utilised the church as a political weapon against private property and productive capitalism by infiltrating the religious community with ideas that are less Christian than Communist.¹⁴²

The authors¹⁴³ of the document went on to hold significant positions in the Reagan Administration and these views shaped its policy.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid. It is interesting to note that the quotations of the document in English are inaccurate. The last part of the quotation above is given as "more Communist than Christian" Robert McAfee Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), 134 and this has then been used elsewhere. This may be because Brown had not seen the original but quotes from a source in Spanish. I suspect that the Spanish has an incorrect translation from the original or that Brown has translated incorrectly.

¹⁴³ The authors are Lewis Tambs, principal editor and later ambassador to Columbia and Costa Rica; Robert W. Fontaine, later National Security Council advisor for Latin America; retired Lt Gen Gordon Sumner, later special assistant to the Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; David C. Jordan, and L Francis Bouchey with a foreword by Ronald F. Docksai.

¹⁴⁴ The impact of the document lies in tying Liberation Theology with Communism and thus condemning it. Commentators have doubted the importance of Lewis Tambs as an advisor but the document makes this link. Michael McClintock, *State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala*, vol. II, *The American Connection* (London: Zed Books, 1985), 285-9 sees Tambs advocating a link between insurgents in Latin America and the Soviets but suggests that others were more influential in forming opinion in this regard e.g. Jeane Kirkpatrick, *International Herald Tribune* journalist: "It's almost unbearably unfashionable to say so, but there is a plan to create a communist Central America which, if successful, will have momentous consequences for our security and that of our European allies, for Israel's international position, and for the unfortunate people of Central America." Quoted in McClintock, *State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala*, 286.

It is not possible to know which the influential documents were at this stage but the strength of language and the thrust of the argument in the Santa Fe document now, in hindsight, seem remarkable. A quotation from the Introduction illustrates this but the whole document echoes the same. "America is everywhere in retreat. The impending loss of the petroleum of the Middle East and potential interdiction of the sea routes spanning the Indian Ocean, along with the Soviet satellization of the mineral zone of Southern Africa, foreshadow the Finlandization of Western Europe and the alienation of Japan.

Even the Caribbean, America's maritime crossroad and petroleum refining center, is becoming a Marxist-Leninist lake. Never before has the Republic been in such jeopardy from its exposed southern flank. Never before has American foreign policy abused, abandoned and betrayed its allies to the south in Latin America.

It is time to seize the initiative. An integrated global foreign policy is essential. It is time to sound a clarion call for freedom, dignity and national self interest which will echo the spirit of the American people. Either a Pax Sovietica or a worldwide counter-projection of American power is in the offing.

The socio-political context of Liberation Theology changed dramatically in the period under review. There was a move from military rule and National Security regimes towards elected civilian governments.¹⁴⁵ However, the attitude of the Reagan Administration, outlined above, was not designed to be supportive of Liberation Theology, as it was understood by that Administration. Against this background it is easy to see the geo-political atmosphere in which Liberation Theology was attacked in the first part of the 1980's. As the decade developed the background changed with the emergence of the Solidarity movement in Poland, starting from the Gdansk strike in 1980, to the fall of Communism in 1989.¹⁴⁶ The gradual softening of the approach to Liberation Theology must be seen against this wider context.

Conclusion

This survey closes at the end of the 1980's as the document *Blessed are the Poor?* was presented to the General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1988 and thus did not draw on an understanding of Liberation Theology beyond that date. This chapter has looked at the outline history of the development of Liberation Theology and specifically the "Option for the Poor" that stood at the heart of *Blessed are the Poor?*

The hour of decision can no longer be postponed." Committee of Santa Fe, "A New Inter-American Policy for the 80s," (Washington, DC: Council for Inter-American Security, 1980), 2.

¹⁴⁵ Peru – 1980; Honduras – 1982; Argentina – 1983; Brazil and Guatemala – 1985; Chile – 1988; Paraguay and Panama – 1989 Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, 231.

¹⁴⁶ The collapse of Communism was a complex phenomenon well beyond the scope of this study. However, it should be noted that events in Poland were an important part of that and that John Paul II played some part in those events. George Sanford, *Democratization in Poland, 1988-90: Polish Voices* (New York, NY: St Martin's Press, 1992), 4 in looking at the reason for the fall states "was especially so in Poland, where the charismatic Pope John Paul II, the one-time Cardinal of Kraków, mobilised the country psychologically and politically through his repeated visits to his Fatherland from 1979 onwards". This process cannot have failed to have an effect.

It should also be noted that Mikhail Gorbachev rose to power in the USSR in 1985 as the Vatican position starts to thaw. It is not appropriate to try to divine cause and effect here, merely to note co-occurrence and recognise that there may be correlation.

The next chapter will look at how the idea of the "Option for the Poor" developed in the work of the leading Liberation Theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez.

Chapter Two - The "Option for the Poor" in the work of Gustavo Gutiérrez

This chapter will look at the development of the idea of the "Option for the Poor" in the work of Gustavo Gutiérrez as a model of the development of that idea in Liberation Theology. Gutiérrez has stated that "the "Option for the Poor" is 90% of Liberation Theology".¹⁴⁷ He is the figure through which to trace the development of this idea as he is rightly regarded as the major figure in Liberation Theology.¹⁴⁸

The Scottish Episcopal Church document *Blessed are the Poor?* sees a focus in Liberation Theology on an "Option for the Poor". This focus is not central to the very earliest phases of Liberation Theology. This chapter looks at how that focus emerged

¹⁴⁷ In conversation with the author and others in St Andrews June 2004. In the Introduction Robert McAfee Brown writes "For the rest of this book I will refer to him as "Gustavo," simply because everyone who knows him does so. Nothing would be less authentic in writing about his unprepossessing and humble man than to give him a title like "professor" or "doctor" or "father," or to formalise him as "Gutiérrez." He is "Gustavo," plain and simple, to all who know him." Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, xxiv As shown I have met him but cannot claim to know him, thus I shall use Gutiérrez as an appropriate term.

¹⁴⁸ Gustavo Gutierrez was born in 1928. He studied medicine, psychology and theology at the universities of Lima, Louvain and the Gregoriana in Rome. Ordained in 1959, he is the founder and Director of the Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, Lima, Peru.

The pre-eminent position of Gutiérrez within Liberation Theology is not in doubt. A few quotations are sufficient to illustrate the point. "Most observers consider Gustavo Gutiérrez of Peru the pre-eminent Latin American liberation theologian. His *Teología de la liberación*, published in 1971, has been hailed as the Magna Carta of liberation theology." Deane William Fernald, *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986), 16.

Penny Lernoux describes him as "Liberation theology's best known exponent" in Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* 10.

Victorio Araya says "Gustavo Gutiérrez is the best known, most representative, and most influential of the liberation theologians. His name has been linked with the theology of liberation from its inception; he is the "dean" of liberation theologians. Edward Schillebeeckx, renowned European theologian, has pointed to Gutiérrez as "the first person in modern history to reactivate the great themes of Christian theology from a point of departure in the basic option for the poor" (Schillebeeckx, "Presentación," 464). It is not so much that Gutiérrez adds a new subject or chapter to the old theology, but that he introduces a new *manner* of doing theology: he does theology "from the underside of history." Victorio Araya, *God of the Poor*, trans. Robert R Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 3-4.

Marcella Althaus-Reid states that he is "considered to be the father of liberation theology" in Marcella Althaus-Reid, "Gustavo Gutiérrez" in *Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 284.

John Bowden, *Who's Who in Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 55 describes him as the "Founding Father of liberation theology".

From a different perspective Andrew Kirk, *Liberation Theology: An Evangelical View from the Third World* (Basingstoke, UK: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1979), 23 states "Gustavo Gutiérrez, the Peruvian theologian, who has written the most systematic account of the theology of liberation, has also defined it most closely."

in Liberation Theology as shown in the writings of Gutiérrez, alongside the wider history of Liberation Theology, as a means of understanding the background to *Blessed are the Poor*? It will start by reviewing the methodological questions inherent in such a study and then proceed to a chronological study of the writings of Gutiérrez.

Methodology

This chapter will chronicle the development of the "Option for the Poor" in Gutiérrez's work in chronological order but it should be recognised that such an approach has several methodological difficulties.

Firstly, Gutiérrez writes in Spanish. His works are translated into English on a spasmodic and incomplete basis. I do not read Spanish and thus my work with the texts must be with an incomplete survey of texts and in translation. This also brings the difficulties inherent in any translation that the nuances available and understood by the native speaker are lost in the translation, however good. A translation can never be a fully faithful representation of the original intent of the author owing to the inherent differences between languages themselves.

Secondly, the evidence is drawn from a number of sources – magazines, articles and published talks. There are differing and unknown time lags between the production of these items and their publication. This means that it is impossible to be certain of their exact chronological order in terms of their development as opposed to publication.

Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979)*, 236 refers to Gutiérrez as "the father of the theology of liberation"

The third difficulty is specific to Gutiérrez. He has written a large number of pieces but many of them are re-workings of very similar material tailored to different situations and contexts. Brown notes that these are then often published in one place and, possibly, translated; to be followed by a similar article in another country with another translation. Gutiérrez himself is aware of this difficulty as Brown recognises - "Confronted once with a sizeable bibliography of his writings in many languages, Gustavo took one look and responded, 'Is always the same article.' The disclaimer, although containing a grain of truth, is too modest."¹⁴⁹

One final problem confronts this particular exercise as an approach to understanding the "Option for the Poor" within Liberation Theology. Brown states:

Those who compile, or turn to, listings of books as a way to understand liberation theology need to remember Gustavo's comment that 'all liberation theology originates among the world's anonymous, whoever may write the books or declarations articulating it,' and Hugo Assmann's warning that 'it is a great mistake to attempt to understand what liberation theology is and represents by way of a consideration of authors and their writings....Any attempt to analyze the theology of liberation as a movement of ideas is indicative of a failure to understand its principle dimension, which is spiritual and pastoral.'¹⁵⁰

This chapter does not seek to negate this comment but must work within the parameters of possibility. In doing so it will attempt to let Gutiérrez speak for himself, as far as possible.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 185.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 197.

¹⁵¹ This paper will also break up the survey into periods for ease of presentation but must be mindful of Gutiérrez's own comments: "Las Casas's life is frequently divided into broad periods....Doubtless there are elements in favour of a division of Bartolomé's life into stages; but, as such a classification will tend to do, it sometimes fails to do justice to the complexity of a person's life and the evolution of his

Beginnings

The first account of a talk by Gutiérrez is given by Roberto Oliveros on the meeting of theologians at Petrópolis in 1964. This contains no obvious reference to the poor. The first document to consider is the talk that Gutiérrez gave at Chimbote in 1968, titled "Toward a Theology of Liberation". It gives a tentative, early outline that was to develop into Liberation Theology and consciously breaks with previous discussions at Mar del Plata and Itapoan.¹⁵² It does not mention the idea of an "Option for the Poor" but the seeds can be discerned. In defining theology as a second act or reflection he sees the primary act of commitment being charity.¹⁵³ He draws on a range of sources in his argument including Vatican II and *Populorum Progressio*.¹⁵⁴ Here he looks for a definition of the relationship between human emancipation and the Kingdom of God and suggests that "It is a question, rather, of building a world where all persons, no matter what their race, religion, or nationality, can live a fully human life, freed from servitude imposed on them by other human beings or by natural forces over which they have no control".¹⁵⁵ The answer to the question as to how that freedom is established is to be the Theology of Liberation.

Gutiérrez continues to use biblical themes to look at human liberation and salvation, including the promise of the Messiah:

thought." Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Christ*, trans. Robert R Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 468 f6.

¹⁵² Gutiérrez, "Toward a Theology of Liberation", 64.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁵⁴ *Populorum Progressio* was issued on 26 March 1967. This came 75 years after *Rerum Novarum* a document that Dorr describes as "the first of the great social encyclicals" Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 13 and Pope John Paul II calls a "decisively important Encyclical" in *Laborem Exercens*, an encyclical he issued on the 90th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*.

¹⁵⁵ *Populorum Progressio* quoted in Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 68.

The prophets announce a kingdom of peace. But peace presupposes the establishment of justice, the defense of the *rights of the poor*, the punishment of oppressors, a life lived without fear of being enslaved by others. A poorly conceived spiritualization has often made us forget the human task and the power to transform unjust structures that the messianic promises contain. The elimination of misery and exploitation is a sign of the coming of the messiah.¹⁵⁶

He continues to work with the texts from Luke 4:18, that will become widely used in Liberation Theology, to show that the message of the Messiah has been restricted to a spiritual plane. Using Paul VI again, he concludes that "An intimate relationship exists between the kingdom and the elimination of poverty and misery. The kingdom comes to suppress injustice."¹⁵⁷

He proceeds to look at God in history and uses the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Mt 25) to illustrate this. He requires that faith radicalizes commitment. "To be a Christian in our epoch, it is necessary to commit oneself in one way or another in the process of human emancipation."¹⁵⁸ It would be an exaggeration to see an "Option for the poor" in this talk but the kernel is there in this very initial statement of Liberation Theology. Some key texts on the idea of the poor are cited and there is a definite recognition that faith involves commitment in this world.

Medellín

The place of the Medellín Conference of CELAM in the emergence of Liberation Theology cannot be doubted.¹⁵⁹ The place of Gutiérrez in the documents of Medellín

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 72.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 73.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 75.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. Ibid. 89.

is a more uncertain question. The Archbishop of Lima, Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts, one of the co-presidents of the conference invited Gutiérrez to be a theological adviser at the conference and he was also involved in the preparation of the preparatory papers.¹⁶⁰ In the final documents it is not possible to say who wrote what and it should be noted that the documents themselves were agreed by the bishops present. However, it is suggested that the document on "Peace" was largely written by Gutiérrez and so it is necessary to consider that document in particular.¹⁶¹

The document looks at Peace in a broad manner. It is not merely the absence of violent conflict but much more. The concept of "institutional violence" is used to show that the situation in Latin America is already violent:

They [Christians] recognise that in many instances Latin America finds itself faced with a situation of injustice that can be called institutionalized violence, when, because of a structural deficiency of industry and agriculture, of national and international economy, of cultural and political life, "whole towns lack necessities, live in such dependence as hinders all initiative and responsibility as well as every possibility for cultural promotion and participation in social and political life," thus violating fundamental rights. This situation demands all-embracing, courageous, urgent and profoundly renovating transformations.¹⁶²

In this situation it is clear to the Bishops who the oppressors are and that the place of the Church is to stand with the oppressed; the poor. This is most clearly seen in the "Pastoral Conclusions" at the end of the document:

¹⁶⁰ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 106 f59.

To us, the pastors of the church, belongs the duty to educate the Christian conscience, to inspire, stimulate and help orient all the initiatives that contribute to the human formation. It is also up to us to denounce everything which, opposing justice destroys peace.¹⁶³

Then they make some pastoral points including:

22 To defend the rights of the poor and oppressed according to the gospel commandment, urging our governments and upper classes to eliminate anything which might destroy social peace...

23 To favor integration, energetically denouncing the abuses and unjust consequences of the excessive inequalities between poor and rich, weak and powerful...

27 To encourage and favor the efforts of the people to create and develop their own grassroots organizations for the redress and consolidation of their rights and the search for true justice.¹⁶⁴

The words "Option for the Poor" are not used but the idea of favour leans strongly in that direction.

Post-Medellín

Gutiérrez continued to develop his thoughts. He spoke at the ecumenical meeting of SODEPAX (Committee on Society, Development and Peace) in Cartigny, Switzerland in November 1969. The talk was included in the proceedings of that conference as published by the World Council of Churches in 1970 and published

¹⁶¹ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 11.

¹⁶² CELAM, *Medellín*, §16. The quotation is from *Populorum Progressio* §30.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, §20.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, §22, 23 and 27.

again in *Theological Studies*¹⁶⁵ in June 1970 with the heading "Notes for a Theology of Liberation". The purpose of the talk is to outline the territory of the theology of liberation that was emerging in Gutiérrez mind. The conference was supposed to consider a "Theology of Development" but Gutiérrez gave a talk arguing that liberation was the way forward.¹⁶⁶ The first section of the article is taken up with definitions before moving to look at the Church in Latin America and the options that face it. He refers to Medellín and sees it as part of the Church's involvement in the liberation process. He cites Medellín in saying "A constant refrain in these statements is the admission of the Church's solidarity with Latin America's plight. The Church refuses to disregard that plight, seeking instead to accept its responsibility to correct the injustices."¹⁶⁷ He moves to consider theological themes as he views the outlook, these themes relate to "the involvement of Christians in the fight against injustice."¹⁶⁸ In a further echo of Medellín he speaks of peace being part of the eschatological promises of the prophets. That peace "supposes the establishment of justice, defense of the rights of the poor, punishment of the oppressor, a life lived without fear of being enslaved."¹⁶⁹ This argument is supported by a list of biblical texts.

The final section is headed "Poverty – in Solidarity and in Protest." Again, using a raft of biblical texts as supporting evidence, Gutiérrez looks to define poverty and includes a definition of spiritual poverty. He warns against the idealising of poverty that he detects in some quarters, saying:

¹⁶⁵ Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 122 argues that this was a "very scholarly and influential journal" and that the inclusion of the article brought the theology of Gutiérrez to the attention of theologians throughout the world before the publication of *A Theology of Liberation*. A fact that Hennelly feels has been overlooked.

¹⁶⁶ See Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 112 and Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 35.

¹⁶⁷ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," *Theological Studies* 31, no. 2 (1970), 251

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 256.

When Christ assumed the condition of poverty, He did not do so to idealize it, but to show love and solidarity with men and to redeem them from sin. Christian poverty, an expression of love, makes us one with those who are poor and protests against their poverty.¹⁷⁰

He stresses that such protest has "a real political overtone" in the world and may entail risk, but he sees it as the only way forward for the Church:

Only by repudiating poverty and making itself poor in protest against it can the Church preach "spiritual poverty," ie an openness of man and the history he lives in to the future promised by God.¹⁷¹

The words "Option for the Poor" are not used but there is a distinct focussing on poverty and the poor as areas for the Church's work.

A Theology of Liberation

All this preparation led to the publication of *Teología de la liberación: Perspectivas* in 1971; it was published in English as *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* in 1973. Before looking at the content of this work it is necessary to recognise its importance within the development of Liberation Theology. Brown states "From the moment of publication, this work achieved worldwide acclaim, and remains, twenty years later, the most important single treatment of liberation theology."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 260.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 261.

¹⁷² Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 186 There are many similar quotations that give a flavour of the importance of the work. Tombs describes it as "the first systematic statement of liberation theology's agenda and it became one of the most influential works in twentieth-century Christian theology." Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 120 Hennelly writes, in reviewing publications on liberation theology, "Leading the field, of course is Gustavo Gutiérrez, whose *A Theology of Liberation* was published (in Spanish) in 1971...The lasting value of this volume was that it provided a panoramic survey or map of the field, which later collaborators could follow, develop, or even correct." Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 121-2 Brown outlines the success of the volume in that it sold 86,000 copies over many printings and translations so

The bulk of the book is drawn from the Chimbote and Cartigny lectures outlined above.¹⁷³ The first sections of the book focus on methodology and terminology to develop the outline of liberation theology while the final section is headed "Poverty: Solidarity and Protest" and is directly relevant to this paper. While this area had been briefly addressed in the Chimbote and Cartigny papers above, this section is presented as a summary of lectures given in Montreal in July 1967 on "The Church and the Problems of Poverty."¹⁷⁴

The chapter starts by rehearsing the unsuccessful attempts of Pope John XXIII and Cardinal Lercaro around the time of Vatican II, *Populorum Progressio* and elsewhere to focus the Church on being the Church of the poor.¹⁷⁵ Gutiérrez then proceeds to examine the various concepts of poverty and includes a detailed examination from the biblical perspective. It should be noted that the chapter contains 99 biblical references as well as references to the writings of many others throughout the centuries in the development of its argument. The discussion focuses on material and spiritual poverty before drawing the two together in an attempted synthesis.

The resulting threefold definition is a clear echo of the Medellín document on the "Poverty of the Church" §4 and 5, as he recognises in a footnote.¹⁷⁶ "Material poverty is a scandalous condition. Spiritual poverty is an attitude of openness to God and

that a fifteenth anniversary edition was produced in 1988. (it should be noted that this is the fifteenth anniversary of the publication in English). Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 186 Brown also notes that "with the publication of *A Theology of Liberation* in 1971, he [Gustavo Gutiérrez] immediately became a public figure." Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 36.

¹⁷³ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, trans. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), xi f

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 302 f1.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 287-8.

spiritual childhood... We turn now to a third meaning of the term: poverty as a commitment of solidarity and protest."¹⁷⁷ Again he builds his argument on first biblical and then supporting works towards his conclusions:

Poverty is an act of love and liberation. It has a redemptive value. If the ultimate cause of man's exploitation and alienation is selfishness, the deepest reason for voluntary poverty is love of neighbour. Christian poverty has meaning only as a commitment of solidarity with the poor, with those who suffer misery and injustice. The commitment is to witness to the evil which has resulted from sin and is a breach of communion. It is not a question of idealizing poverty, but rather of taking it on as it is - an evil - to protest against it and to struggle to abolish it.¹⁷⁸

Here Gutiérrez is drawing together a number of themes that he has developed earlier in the book e.g. salvation and justice as seen in the Cartigny and Chimbote lectures.

He then returns to biblical sources to develop the argument further and relate it to the life of the Church.

Only by rejecting poverty and making itself poor in order to protest against it can the Church preach something that is uniquely its own: "spiritual poverty," that is the openness of man and history to the future promised by God. Only in this way will the Church be able to fulfil authentically – and with the possibility of being listened to – its prophetic function of denouncing every injustice to man. And only in this way will it be able to preach the word which liberates, the word of genuine brotherhood.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 305-6 f48.

Only authentic solidarity with the poor and a real protest against the poverty of our time can provide the concrete, vital context necessary for a theological discussion of poverty. The absence of a sufficient commitment to the poor, the margined, and the exploited is perhaps the fundamental reason why we have no solid contemporary reflection on the witness of poverty.¹⁷⁹

This long quotation all but ends the book, it provides the conclusion. It does not use the term "Option for the Poor" but it moves beyond the previous works outlined in this paper in that it makes a clear call to the Church. That call picks up the theme of Medellín and the hopes of some for Vatican II, that the Church be the Church of the poor. Tombs sums up the importance of *A Theology of Liberation* in that it:

served to baptise and name the newly born movement. It provided the firm theological foundation on which progressives in the church in Latin America could base their political option for the poor and ensured that liberation theology would come to the attention of a global audience.

The crucial contribution of *A Theology of Liberation* was that it set the key challenges facing the Latin American church into a powerful and well-integrated framework... Third, *a new pastoral option and political commitment* – a commitment to serve the poor and a new solidarity in both thought and deed – which would provide the social impetus to liberation theology and the pastoral programme for the church.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 299.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 300.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 301-2.

¹⁸⁰ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 136.

Next developments

The next two pieces of Gutiérrez work that will be considered were published in *Concilium*.

The first article appeared in the March 1974 edition. It is titled "Liberation Movements and Theology". The content of the article is very much in line with the approach of *A Theology of Liberation*. The focus is on developing the idea of what the praxis of liberation is and this is presented as coming from "a position of real and effective solidarity with the poor, the marginal race, the victimized classes."¹⁸¹ The idea of solidarity with the poor is again very much to the fore¹⁸² and this is also expressed as "a society geared to the poor and the dispossessed"¹⁸³ or "a society constructed in the service of the poor and exploited classes."¹⁸⁴ The closing sentence seeks to sum up the task of liberation theology and the place of the poor in that project: "The value and true worth of a specific way of apprehending faith is what is at stake here and this will be judged by the impact on human history of the gospel message to the poor and of the liberation message to the oppressed of our time."¹⁸⁵

The second of these two articles, "Liberation, Theology and Proclamation" was part of the whole volume devoted exclusively to Latin American Liberation Theologians as planned at the meeting at El Escorial in July 1972. It appeared in June 1974. This is

¹⁸¹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Liberation Movements and Theology," *Concilium* 10, no. 3 (1974a), 139 It should be noted that the author is given as Gustavo Gutiérrez-Merino in *Concilium* 93 but Gustavo Gutiérrez in *Concilium* 96. However an examination of the brief bibliographical details at the back of the journal leaves no doubt that they are the same writer.

¹⁸² E.g. *Ibid.*, 142, 144.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 146.

an important article as it sees the use of the phrase "Option for the Poor" for the first time in Gutiérrez writings in English. It is already used in quotation marks.

The purpose of the article is a reflection on the theological task that arises from "an historical practice of liberation, through which the poor and oppressed of this world are endeavouring to build a different social order and a new way of being men."¹⁸⁶ This task is tackled under 8 headings. The first "The Practice of Liberation" summarises what is to follow:

The irruption of the other, the poor man, into our lives leads to active solidarity with his interests and his struggles. This commitment is expressed in an attempt to transform a social order which breeds marginalization and oppression. Participation in the historical practice of liberation is ultimately the practice of love, the love of Christ in one's neighbour; and of encounter with the Lord in the midst of a conflictual history.¹⁸⁷

In the second part he considers "Who has been this Man's neighbour?" and it is here that the "Option for the Poor" emerges. The neighbour is not the close person but one who is more distant and "other", i.e. the poor. This is presented as the heart of the gospel and the new focus from within Latin America upon which the volume is to focus:

That is what happens when an authentic and effective "Option for the Poor" is made, because for the Gospel, the poor man is the neighbour *par excellence*.

¹⁸⁶ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Liberation, Theology and Proclamation," *Concilium* 10, no. 6 (1974b), 58.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

This option is the axle on which turns a new way of being a man and being a Christian in Latin America.¹⁸⁸

He expands on the idea of option in line with *A Theology of Liberation* to see it as solidarity with the interests and struggles of the poor as a practical consequence of the ideas with which much of the rest of the article deals.

In the next section "History and Liberating Love" he argues that the liberating praxis, the transformation of history from the standpoint of the marginalised which an "option for the poor" calls for is a practice of love rooted in "the gratuitous, free love of the Father".¹⁸⁹ "Believing and Understanding" revisits the idea of evangelical poverty, as seen in *A Theology of Liberation* and presents it as a full spiritual experience within, not apart from the world. It is in true encounter and solidarity with the poor that true encounter and solidarity with Christ can occur.¹⁹⁰ He moves to look at an "Understanding Faith" and, for the first time, brings in the person of Bartolomé de las Casas as an example of someone facing the question of speaking of a God who is not recognised as being everywhere, who is not with the poor and marginalised. This fact and the rediscovery of the poor call for entry into the political realm, the "arena of history" on the side of the "dominated and oppressed".¹⁹¹ This is liberating practice.

Gutiérrez proceeds in "Evangelization" and "Ecclesia" and the last two sections "Liberating Evangelization" and "Solidarity with the Poor and the People of God" to consider what "the proclamation of the Gospel from the standpoint of identification

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 59.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 64.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 65.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 70.

with the poor"¹⁹² means. Simply, it means that the Church has a duty "to contribute from its own task, the proclamation of the Gospel, to the abolition of a society built for the benefit of the few, and to the construction of a different social order, juster and more human for all."¹⁹³

The two articles from *Concilium* were brought together with a further untranslated article in *La fuerza historica de los pobres* published in 1979 and in translation in English as *The Power of the Poor in History* in 1983. It should be noted that even with a different translator it is possible to identify the separate parts of the *Concilium* articles in the later coalesced article.¹⁹⁴ This version of the articles has not been used as they are a later production and this thesis seeks to uncover the development of the idea; development that may be hidden by later revision.

As has been shown there is a significant change between the two articles and thus it would be interesting to know why that change occurred. As a first step it is necessary to consider when they were written. *Concilium* 93 (March 1974) has biographical notes that include the title *Apuntes para una Teología de la Liberación* published in Lima in 1971. By *Concilium* 96 (June 1974) this has been amended to read *A Theology of Liberation* with a publication date of 1973, yet they were published two months apart and both were later than the date of the second publication. Thus the answer to the question as to when they were written remains unclear. As discussed above the preparation of *Concilium* 96 was planned in July 1972 in Spain and thus that article is assumed to postdate that point. It can only be assumed that the

¹⁹² Ibid., 75

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, trans. Robert R Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983a), 36-74

preparation of *Concilium* 96 was much faster than that for *Concilium* 93 and thus the gap between them in terms of the evolution of thought is far greater than 3 months. A brief survey of the footnotes of the two articles shows that the later article contains 1974 references while there are only references as late as 1973 in the former. Gutiérrez himself is not of great value in answering this question. In 1982 he suggests that "Medellín prophetically affirmed an option for the poor"¹⁹⁵ and in discussing the later emergence of a preferential option for the poor he notes that it emerged "Between Medellín and Puebla".¹⁹⁶

The footnotes can assist in this area. The 1983 version has an expansion on the *Concilium* 96 version that proves to be helpful. In using "option for the poor" it should be noted that it appears in quotation marks when first used.¹⁹⁷ It is followed by a footnote that points to two untranslated works of Gutiérrez and an untranslated work by Ronaldo Muñoz. This work appears to be a survey of texts or documents circulating in the Latin American church. It has been shown that the phrase "option for the poor" is not used in the documents of Medellín but must previously have been used elsewhere; the context of Muñoz work suggests that that may have been within base communities.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Gutiérrez, *The Density of the Present*, 25 Note there are no quotation marks.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 127.

¹⁹⁷ Gutiérrez, "Liberation, Theology and Proclamation," 59.

¹⁹⁸ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 177 writes "Whereas many of the early works in liberation theology prior to 1975 were clearly intended with a well-educated audience in mind, as the 1970's progressed, liberation theologians were prompted to reconsider the insights in the movements earliest publications in the light of their creative theological partnership with the base communities and their reading of the Bible. In the process, they began to open up further theological avenues for exploration. It was this shift, which can be dated from 1975-1979 onward, that marked the transition from opting to write a theology *for* the poor to a theology *from* the poor." Thus it is not fanciful to see the phrase "option for the poor" emerging from base communities but we have seen that this change in emphasis can be seen as early as 1974 in the published articles of Gutiérrez. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "From

The "Theology in the Americas" conference was held in Detroit in 1975.¹⁹⁹ Gutiérrez arrived late and made his presentation on the last day, a full week after the other Latin American theologians present had made their presentations. It is a short statement in which he tries to outline the purpose of Liberation Theology. He notes that historically Christianity is connected to particular culture, races and classes. He sees the task of theology today being to reread that history "in terms of the poor, the humiliated and the rejected of society."²⁰⁰ This rereading is taken to mean a remaking of history and that involves a commitment on the side of the poor. This is the historical praxis of liberation, by praxis he means "transforming action"²⁰¹ and this is done by the poor themselves. They "are not only the hearers of the gospel; they are also, and especially, its bearers."²⁰² The poor must take the gospel back from those forces that have historically possessed it and thus defined it. It is only in this way, Gutiérrez argues, that it is possible to say to the poor that God loves them - "This leads Christianity to an alliance with the world's poor".²⁰³ The phrase "Option for the Poor" is not used but its contents are present.

In the same year Gutiérrez gave an address at the opening of the summer session of the Department of Theology of the Catholic University of Lima. This address is included in the 1979 compilation *The Power of the Poor in History* where it is also

Exclusion to Discipleship," *Concilium* 232 (1994), 88 also attributes the emergence to "Christian communities".

¹⁹⁹ See p22.

²⁰⁰ Gutiérrez "Statement by Gustavo Gutiérrez" in Torres and Eagleson, eds., *Theology in the Americas* 310 Gustavo Gutiérrez and Richard Shaull, *Liberation and Change* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1977) is an expansion of this engagement with North America as presented at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary in 1976.

²⁰¹ Torres and Eagleson, eds., *Theology in the Americas* 310.

²⁰² Ibid. 311.

²⁰³ Ibid. 313.

acknowledged that the same material was published in Spanish in 1976.²⁰⁴ This develops the same argument but starts from biblical sources.

1976 saw the EATWOT conference in Dar es Salaam. Gutiérrez presented a long paper entitled "Two Theological Perspectives: Liberation Theology and Progressivist Theology". Much of the paper is taken up with an historical survey of the development of theology in Latin America as influenced by European Theology but also to be seen as distinctive from it. He then proceeds to a consideration of Liberation Theology and it is only here that the poor emerge as "Theological discourse becomes true – is verified – in and through its engagement in the liberation of the poor."²⁰⁵ He seeks to place this identification with the poor in an historical continuum drawn periodically throughout Christian history with a particular emphasis on Latin America.²⁰⁶ It is this that is to be the project of Liberation Theology.

Concilium produced an edition on "The Poor and the Church" in 1977. Gutiérrez contribution is an article on "The Poor in the Church", a difference of emphasis from the title of the volume. The contents of the article show that it was written after the Detroit talk and the contents of that talk are very much present. The ideas are, however, expanded and advanced. The introduction sets a wider scene:

²⁰⁴ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 3 f.

²⁰⁵ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Two Theological Perspectives: Liberation Theology and Progressivist Theology" in *The Emergent Gospel: Theology from the Developing World*, ed. Sergio Torres and Virginia Fabella (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1978a), 247 The footnotes to the Introductory Address by Sergio Torres point to some of the problems inherent in a survey of Gutiérrez writings that I have already referred to. It states "Although the main thoughts contained in the article were expressed in the Dar es Salaam Conference, what is published in this book is a translation and condensation of a longer work published in Italian by Queriniana." Torres and Fabella, eds., *The Emergent Gospel: Theology from the Underside of History* xxiii f33.

²⁰⁶ Gutiérrez, "Two Theological Perspectives: Liberation Theology and Progressivist Theology", 248-9.

the Church is not involved in the question of poverty by the fact that it is present in a poor country. It is involved primarily and fundamentally by the God of the Bible to whom it wants to, and must be faithful

and continues "the poor today rather than being regarded as merely a 'problem for the Church' raise the question of what 'being the Church' really means."²⁰⁷ Throughout the article there is an emphasis on reordering matters from the perspective of the poor, as seen at Detroit but now expanded upon. The tasks of Vatican II are analysed, including a reference to the radio broadcast of John XXIII, and he argues that the task of "bearing witness to the Church for the poor"²⁰⁸ is now only starting to be addressed. He states:

many Christians have recently been becoming more aware that if the Church wants to be faithful to the God of Jesus Christ, it has to rethink itself *from below*, from the position of the poor of this world.²⁰⁹

In the last section "The Gospel of the Poor" he moves beyond the Detroit address and its call for the poor to reclaim the gospel from those who have tried to own it. The poor are now to be the preachers of the gospel.²¹⁰ He notes that the discussion of the ideas of liberation have started to meet resistance in Latin America²¹¹ but meets this with a clear call for the Church to action. The response to this will "decide how faithful it [the Church] is to its own authentic tradition and thus to the Lord who

²⁰⁷ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "The Poor in the Church," *Concilium* 104 (1977), 11.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 12.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 13.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 15.

²¹¹ Ibid., 14. There is an obvious reference to the work of Cardinal Trujillo in trying to sanitise the use of the concept of liberation and carried on in the quotation from Berdiaer. On 16 it says "A few years ago communication between different Christian communities engaged in the struggle for liberation in Latin America was active and enriching. Today the political and ecclesiastical conditions have changed and the lines have been broken to some extent." While he sees hope in the CEBs in Brazil there is also a list of examples of oppression across the continent.

‘establishes justice and right’.”²¹² The call is for “a new covenant ‘with us who are all of us here alive this day’ (Deut. 5.3), breaking the historical covenant made with the ruling culture, race and class. It requires a covenant with the poor of this world, a new kind of universality.”²¹³ This is stronger than the Detroit message.

Before closing this section of pre-Puebla writings it is necessary to include two other writings. The first is “Liberation Praxis and Christian Faith”.²¹⁴ This piece is interesting because it starts explicitly from the point of the poor. Earlier pieces have ended with the poor as a focus of Liberation Theology but this starts from that assertion and proceeds to outline how Liberation Theology has developed. The piece forms part of a book seeking to act as an introduction to the various aspects of Liberation Theology as seen by a number of writers. It is the first anthology in book form. The second is Chapter Four of *The Power of the Poor in History*. This is a further survey of the development of Liberation Theology and, more specifically of the “defense of the rights of the poor.”²¹⁵ This piece also starts from the poor rather than ending with them as was seen in earlier works (e.g. *A Theology of Liberation*). It is an optimistic reading of the journey that we have covered above but it does note the harsh reality of suffering that some had endured²¹⁶ and the rise of conservative elements in the Church opposed to the new developments.²¹⁷

²¹² Ibid., 16.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Gustavo Gutiérrez, “Liberation Praxis and Christian Faith” in *Frontiers of Theology in Latin America*, ed. Rosino Gibellini (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979) This was originally published in Italian in 1975 and translated. The notes to the volume (313) state that the article used was the prologue to a 1973 volume in Spanish. We cannot be certain of the date of any parts of it as it may have been revised in translation. Thus I have not used it as a substantive piece.

²¹⁵ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 75.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 75, 79, 88-90.

²¹⁷ Ibid., e.g. 81

In the period between *A Theology of Liberation* and Puebla the "Option for the Poor" emerges and starts to take its place at the heart of Liberation Theology as has been seen in the survey above.

Puebla

In the build up to the Puebla Conference a *Preliminary Document (PD)* was produced by the CELAM Secretariat and circulated to the Episcopal Conferences for comment. It was widely criticised. Gutiérrez also produced a critical response. His concerns were primarily that the *PD* did not reflect the reality of the Latin American church but reflected European concerns of secularism. He concludes:

It would be absurd to deny the problems that arise from what the text calls 'secularism.' But in Latin America they must be seen from another viewpoint - the viewpoint of social injustice produced by an oppressive system that murders the poor. That is why the poor of Latin America feel so distant from this text. What bewilders and hurts in this document is the lack of acknowledgement of what constitutes the most living and creative part of the experience of the Latin American church during these recent years, of all that emerges from the poor and oppressed areas.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "The 'Preparatory Document' for Puebla: A Retreat From Commitment," *Christianity and Crisis* 38, no. 13 (1978b), 218

He sees the Medellín Conference as having "opted for the liberation of the poor, and given a testimony to evangelical poverty."²¹⁹ It "gave a great boost to commitment with the poor, and that commitment is the most authentic way of proclaiming the God of the Bible."²²⁰ The emphasis on the poor who are: "the preferred people of God",²²¹ "of a God who liberates, who is a God of the poor. This perspective is lacking in the document...but this, nevertheless, corresponds to the richest experience of the poor people in Latin America."²²² In essence Gutiérrez criticism of the *PD* is that it does not take account of the poor and the Church's "Option for the Poor" as it had emerged since Medellín.

Gutiérrez did not attend the Puebla conference, the CELAM Secretariat having taken great care to exclude the advisers who had been so influential at Medellín. As Brown suggests "those officially excluded from participation at Puebla represented a veritable Who's Who in Latin American Liberation Theology....Anybody who was somebody was not there."²²³ The excluded theologians rented a house nearby and, through the offices of sympathetic bishops, they were unofficially involved in the process of the conference.²²⁴ For the purpose of this paper it is not possible to identify

²¹⁹ Ibid., 216.

²²⁰ Ibid., 214.

²²¹ Ibid., 214.

²²² Ibid., 216.

²²³ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 38 The role of Liberation Theologians in the Conference is also covered in Lernoux, *Cry of the people*, 434-435.

²²⁴ The article by Moises Sandoval in Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* 36 " By working day and night (at one point Gustavo Gutiérrez went twenty-four hours with only one hour of sleep) the outside theologians and social scientists were able to prepare eighty-four position papers for the twenty-one commissions as the document went through four drafts. As a result according to several delegates, at least 25 per cent of the final document was written directly by these uninvited assistants."

any piece of the final document as the work of Gutiérrez²²⁵ so we move to his response to the conference.

The Documents of Puebla were lengthy and, like the Conference, were interpreted in different ways. Gutiérrez responded to the conference in an article published in the April following the close of the conference in February.²²⁶ The article's title "Liberation and the Poor" exemplifies its focus. He sees this theme being "very much to the fore in the documents of Puebla"²²⁷ and welcomes such an emphasis. The article is a more strident piece than he usually produces.²²⁸ The whole thrust of the article is to show that the findings of Puebla are fully in line with Medellín, the Pope and the position of the Roman Catholic Church and the Bible. To do this he quotes and cites various sections of the Puebla documents, particularly from the chapter entitled "A Preferential Option for the Poor"²²⁹ and particularly those sections which further refer to Medellín or speeches made by John Paul II on his visit to Mexico for the conference. He also refers to the response of his own national episcopate to the

²²⁵ The article by Robert McAfee Brown in Ibid. 341 holds up the document on *The Preferential option for the Poor* as "showing traces of the fine hand of Gustavo Gutiérrez".

²²⁶ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 125-165.

²²⁷ Ibid., 126.

²²⁸ E.g. Ibid., 128 "They are mistaken. There is nothing to be gained by beating about the bush here. There are distorted interpretations abroad, insistently repeated, and we may as well come out and tell the truth of the matter." This is one of many comments in the article which strongly assert the correctness of one position as against another. There are no specific names given but the context is such that one can be in little doubt as to the various parties being referred to e.g. "Conservative groups, many of them calling themselves Catholics, carried out a campaign of defamation before and after the conference. When the conference was in progress, even bishops of great pastoral experience, who were playing an important role at Puebla, were attacked and calumniated." The footnote attached to this section names the bishops but not their attackers. The article is in translation and thus care must be taken not to overemphasise the strength of the language, without reference to the nuances of the original, but in English the use of phrases such as "mutilation of the gospel" 128; "capricious and irresponsible" and "persons having little understanding of biblical questions" 131; "the only thing the protestors managed to achieve by their protests was that they themselves were left standing before the eyes of all in stark theological nakedness." 135 are a few examples and are much stronger than previous writings.

²²⁹ Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* §1134-1165.

PD.²³⁰ Brown suggests that those excluded from Puebla, including Gutiérrez, made a conscious decision to try to accentuate the positives that they could find from the conference rather than attacking it.²³¹ However, it is not sufficient to say that Gutiérrez looks only to hold the line of Medellín and assert its consistency of that line with the Church's teaching. He also identifies points where Puebla develops or clarifies the teaching of Medellín.

One such area is the definition of poverty. §1156 shows the use of the term 'solidarity' in line with Medellín, but Puebla goes further in its use of 'preferential option'; a term that John Paul II used in his opening address to the conference.²³² Indeed this is cited as strong evidence of the support of the Pope for "what is clearest and sanest in recent Latin American theological experience and reflection."²³³ A statement that only just stops short of claiming the Pope as a Liberation Theologian.

Gutiérrez sees the documents of the conference proceeding to seek to define and clarify the concepts of 'institutional violence' and 'poverty' that had briefly been used at Medellín. Further the document links the two together and Gutiérrez sees this moving further beyond Medellín.²³⁴ This is a clear development of Medellín, as is the emphasis on the evangelizing potential of the poor, that Gutiérrez cites later in the

²³⁰ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 138.

²³¹ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 38-9.

²³² Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* 74.

²³³ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 129.

²³⁴ Eagleson and Scharper, eds., *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary* §31-42, 328.

article.²³⁵ He also notes that Puebla recognises and affirms the poor working together in defence of their rights and in development of their faith.²³⁶

Overall, the article presents Puebla as being in line with both Medellín and the wider history of the Church and closes by stating that "In placing itself in continuity with Medellín, Puebla has reissued Medellín's call and challenge. For that call and challenge have not been sufficiently heard, and the Puebla documents remind us of this repeatedly."²³⁷ In 1989 Gutiérrez produced 'The Meaning and Scope of Medellín' looking back at the journey of the Church in Latin America, here he takes a similar position on the relationship between the two conferences when he says that "The path that was opened at Medellín continued and matured at Puebla".²³⁸

One item of passing interest is to note that this is the first time that Gutiérrez uses the term 'preferential option for the poor' in print though this is hardly revolutionary as it had already been a section title at the conference and, all but used by the Pope in his opening address.

Post-Puebla

In 1980 EATWOT met in Sao Paulo with Gutiérrez among the speakers. His talk acts as a good review of the development of the "Option for the Poor". He sets out the task

²³⁵ Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, 152.

²³⁶ Ibid., 154 referring to Puebla §1137.

²³⁷ Ibid., 159.

²³⁸ Gutiérrez, *The Density of the Present*, 101.

of attempting to present the situation in Latin America to the visitors. He focuses on the place of the poor in the Church and Society of Latin America. After centuries of marginalisation they are moving to the centre of life and making their voice heard in both the historical process and the Church. This involvement of the poor, or their irruption, is presented as the reality of liberation theology: "The outlines of a theology of liberation that we possess today are simply an expression of the poor and oppressed people's right to think. And that right to think is merely a manifestation of their very right to exist."²³⁹ Gutiérrez recognises that the poor are not merely isolated individuals but are a social class, who in Latin America are both oppressed and believing, and that fact brings a challenge to the Church:

"We remain convinced – and the practice of the poor confirms this – that the truly faithful and imaginative challenge lies in a "contemplation in action", in action that will transform history. It has to do with encountering God in the poor, in solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed, in a faith filled with hope and joy that is lived within a liberation process whose agent is the poor people."²⁴⁰

The theme of the conference was Christian Communities and thus Gutiérrez proceeds to outline the central role that they have played in this process. In reviewing the term "base" he notes that it refers to those who "have made, or are making, an option to join in solidarity with their brothers and sisters"²⁴¹ and "thereby answer the demands of the gospel message, which proclaims a God whose love goes out to the poor by

²³⁹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "The Irruption of the Poor in Latin America and the Christian Communities of the Common People" in *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities*, ed. Sergio Torres and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981), 110

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 115

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 116

way of preference."²⁴² This is a clear echo of Puebla and he continues in that vein in looking at the place of the poor in evangelization. Using familiar biblical references he sees "a summons to all that they evangelize in terms of God's proclaimed preference for the poor and the oppressed."²⁴³ He notes that the poor have become the evangelizers and presents the following simple version of the development that we have seen in the "Option for the Poor" during this chapter:

After Vatican II and the stimulus of the Medellín Conference, we creatively reappropriated the gospel expression about evangelizing or "preaching the good news to the poor."²⁴⁴

Reinforced by an option for the oppressed and a commitment of solidarity with them, a series of rich and promising initiatives took place all over Latin America.

Then came the irruption of the poor. At a terrible price the common people began to become the active protagonists of history. This fact gave us deeper insight into the whole matter of evangelization. Working in the midst of the poor, exploited people, whom we were supposedly going to evangelize, we were evangelized by them. Here the CCBs played a major role. The Puebla Conference commented on this when it noted that the Church discovered the

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid., 117

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 120

"evangelizing potential of the poor" through its involvement with the poor and such communities.²⁴⁵

The rest of this chapter will move from a chronological to a thematic approach.²⁴⁶ This is justified because after Puebla the "Option for the Poor" has reached a settled position and runs in line with the summary above from the Sao Paulo conference. One of the themes will review those writings that represent liberation theology in a new context or for a new audience. The first section, however will look at the developments that are seen in the "Option" in the works of Gutiérrez. These are mainly amplifications of points that have previously been made by him but are revisited for fuller discussion. Another theme that could be looked at is the defences that Gutiérrez made of his position in response to attacks, particularly from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. This will be dealt with in a later chapter.

Developments and Amplifications

The idea and place of spirituality was included in Gutiérrez's work from the very beginning.²⁴⁷ In the period after Puebla the early sketches were filled out more fully.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. I have quoted this passage at length as a summary of the journey thus far in Gutiérrez own words. The same progression can also be seen in the summaries that Tombs presents at the end of his chapters surveying this period eg Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 157, 176-7 and 199. In his introduction he states that "Latin American liberation theology is best understood in terms of an initial political option for the poor that was followed by a subsequent epistemological option for the poor that was added in the mid-1970s." xii.

²⁴⁶ This approach should not be seen as exclusive. It is used to make the task manageable and it is recognised that some of the categorisations are open for debate.

²⁴⁷ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Essential Writings* (London: SCM Press, 1996), 286-7. The introductory section by James B Nickoloff cites works from 1966 onwards, including *A Theology of Liberation*, to illustrate this point.

Firstly in an article in *Concilium*²⁴⁸ that acts as a trailer for *We Drink from Our Own Wells*²⁴⁹ and furthermore in *On Job*²⁵⁰ and *The God of Life*²⁵¹. The *Concilium* article mirrors the structure of *We Drink from Our Own Wells* and contains the same phrases and content in miniature. It starts "Today, the poor of Latin America have set out on the road in their struggle to affirm their human dignity and their experience."²⁵² and continues to suggest: "This is now an old subject for the theological enquiry undertaken in Latin America."²⁵³ Later Gutiérrez writes:

"This is what many Christians are today experiencing: being a follower of Jesus means walking with and being committed to the poor people, an exploited people and at the same time a believing people; this is where we meet the Lord, hidden and at the same time revealed in the face of the poor."²⁵⁴

This is an illustration of the fact that in the books and papers in this section the "Option for the Poor" is used as a building block that is a given in the construction of a further point. In the expansion in *We Drink from Our Own Wells* the points are expanded with reference to Medellín, Puebla etc. but for the sake of completeness and illustration rather than controversy.

²⁴⁸ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Drink from your own Well," *Concilium* 159 (1982), 38-45.

²⁴⁹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People*, trans. Matthew J O'Connell (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984b).

²⁵⁰ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *On Job: God-Talk and the Suffering of the Innocent*, trans. Matthew J O'Connell (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987).

²⁵¹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The God of Life*, trans. Matthew J O'Connell (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991).

²⁵² Gutiérrez, "Drink from your own Well," 38.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 41.

Puebla had taken specific steps to identify the poor in the Latin American context.²⁵⁵ This was further refined and developed. The Fourth General Conference of CELAM was held at Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, to mark the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas, in 1992. A special edition of *Concilium* was produced to mark the anniversary. Gutiérrez contributed an introductory piece in which he looked at the other and their place in the history of Latin America and Liberation Theology. In this he states that "the purpose of looking back at this history is to deal with our present situation and to show solidarity with the poor today."²⁵⁶ He cites a number of significant figures from Latin American history, including Bartolomé de Las Casas, and proceeds to move to the present and sees it as right to consider the interests of those who have previously been ignored. A call he extends to the Santo Domingo Conference but one that is exercised through the lens of the "Option for the Poor": "In the history of today, Christians decide on their discipleship and solidarity with the poor and oppressed."²⁵⁷ The Conference itself did not greatly focus on the "Option" but used it to move forward.²⁵⁸

The figure of Bartolomé de Las Casas appeared in Gutiérrez from early on and he works in an Institute bearing Las Casas' name. In 1993 he produced a large volume devoted to this one figure. The work argues that Las Casas' is a figure who transcends

²⁵⁵ §31-40, 1134 This is picked up in Gutiérrez response (Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, esp 133-137) where he draws attention to the fact that the section noting the double oppression of women, that had been part of the approved text at Puebla, was relegated to a footnote in the final published version.

²⁵⁶ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Towards the Fifth Centenary," *Concilium* 1990, no. 6 (1990b), 4.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁵⁸ CELAM, *Santo Domingo Conclusions* §296 "We make ours the cry of the poor. In continuity with Medellín and Puebla, we assume with renewed ardour the gospel preferential option for the poor." see also §178-181. §178 reads "Such is the basis for our commitment to a gospel-based and preferential option for the poor, one that is firm and irrevocable but not exclusive or excluding, as was very solemnly affirmed at the Medellín and Puebla Conferences. Like Jesus, we draw inspiration for all community and personal evangelising activity from such a preferential option (cf. SRS 42 and RM 14; OA 16). The poor Church wants to energize the evangelization of our communities with the "evangelizing potential of the poor" (Puebla Conclusions, 1147)." SRS is *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, RM is

time and has insights for the modern day. The "Option for the Poor" is part of this. Gutiérrez writes:

To exhume the truth of the Indies will be Bartolomé's life purpose. The hidden truth, hidden deeper than the mines worked by the Indians, is this: in those abused and despised beings, Christ is present. To oppress and bury the dwellers of the Indies is to oppress and bury Christ himself, who is "truth and life" and also "the way" to take (John 14:6) in order that truth might resound and breathe: the preferential option for the poor.²⁵⁹

With reference to the "Option" this work demonstrates that the emphasis of modern times chimes with a long running, if not universally shared, emphasis in Latin America; an emphasis that had led to persecution in previous centuries that paralleled the situation in Latin America in the 1980s:

Let us not forget, however, that the viewpoint of the poor, a preferential option for the dispossessed (as demanded with renewed vigour in our days by Medellín, Puebla, and John Paul II), was the soul of the practice of many missionaries and bishops as early as the sixteenth century. Then as now, this meant an upheaval, a radical change in practice and perspective, and therefore a change exposed to all manner of attacks at the hands of the established order and the political theologies that justified that order.²⁶⁰

Redemptoris Missio – both encyclicals of Pope John Paul II; OA is his Opening Address to the Bishops in Santo Domingo.

²⁵⁹ Gutiérrez, *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Christ*, 66.

Restatements

1982 saw the publication of various responses to the Papal Encyclical *Laborem Exercens*.²⁶¹ Gutiérrez's paper had previously been presented as a lecture. In it he lays out how the option for the poor is represented in the encyclical in line with previous documents of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁶²

EATWOT met again in New Delhi in 1981 and the papers of that conference include a reflection from Gutiérrez and the Latin American perspective. Here he rehearses the changes in Latin American theology, in contrast to dominant western theologies, in moving to a theology building from the experience of the poor as a second act and sees in this the task of all theology "deriving from the poor majorities of the human race seeks to answer the questions raised by those "without history,".²⁶³ A similar representation of liberation theology through the lens of approaches to the idea of God is seen in *Concilium* 171.²⁶⁴ In *Concilium* 176 there is a review of similar material

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 429 see also 457-8

²⁶¹ *Laborem Exercens* was published on 14 September 1981. It was issued to mark the 90th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*.

²⁶² Gutiérrez, *The Density of the Present*, 3-38 is a translation of the lecture published in 1999. The importance of such correlation will become apparent in the section on attacks but can be illustrated by a quotation from the Obituary of Pope John Paul II in the Times on 4 April 2005: "Over the next 20 years, in moves that met with incomprehension outside the Church and bitterness from some within it, a half dozen more theologians would be disciplined. To those who raised concerns about academic freedom, the Pope could respond in uncompromising terms: 'Within the ecclesial community, theological discussion takes place within the framework of faith. Dissent from Church doctrine remains what it is, dissent; as such it may not be proposed on an equal footing with the Church's authentic teaching.'"

²⁶³ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Reflections from a Latin American perspective: Finding Our Way to Talk about God" in *Irruption of the Third World: Challenge to Theology*, ed. Virginia Fabella and Sergio Torres (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983b), 227.

²⁶⁴ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Speaking about God," *Concilium* 18, no. 1 (1984a), 27-31.

starting from an autobiographical position and focusing on the place of base communities in the development of the option.²⁶⁵

A major forum for the restating of Gutiérrez's ideas on the "Option for the Poor" was through the various introductions, companions and compendia of Liberation Theology that started to appear in the late 1980s and 1990s. Chief among these is *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*.²⁶⁶ In this volume Gutiérrez provides the essay "Option for the Poor".²⁶⁷ Other publications include *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*²⁶⁸ and *Liberation Theologies, Postmodernity, and the Americas*.²⁶⁹

The classic representation is the republication of *A Theology of Liberation* on the 15th anniversary of the English language edition. A few amendments were made to update

²⁶⁵ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "The Task of Theology and Ecclesial Experience," *Concilium* 18, no. 6 (1984c), 61-64.

²⁶⁶ Ellacuría and Sobrino, eds., *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology* This was originally a two volume work in Spanish that was abridged in translation. The purpose of the volume is made clear in the "Preface to the English Edition" xiv "For us, there is no doubt that the theology of liberation remains a possibility and a necessity. In similar language, the language of the option for the poor, our point is echoed in the words of Dom Pedro Casaldáliga, expressed with characteristic vigour: "Today the option for the poor is more timely than ever. There are two reasons: There are more of them, both in Latin America, and in all the Third World; and they are ever poorer." With our gaze fastened on these poor and oppressed of the world, in their ever-increasing numbers, we offer this volume to the English-speaking reader, with the request that you also keep before your eyes these poor of the world, the better to enhance your reading."

²⁶⁷ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Option for the Poor" in *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, ed. Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993).

²⁶⁸ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "The task and content of liberation theology" in *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, ed. Christopher Rowland (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999b).

²⁶⁹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Renewing the Option for the Poor" in *Liberation Theologies, Postmodernity, and the Americas*, ed. David Batstone, et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) In the "Introduction" it states "The essay by Gustavo Gutiérrez, the Peruvian priest who shook up the religious world in the late 1960s with his call for the Christian Church to make a "preferential option for the poor," develops a theology. He revisits the hermeneutical precedence of "the poor" in liberation theology and links their destiny to the ultimate negotiation of life and death. Gutiérrez does not try to justify "preference" for the poor on the basis of social theory, but locates it in religious faith. He

the notes, make the language more inclusive etc. but the only substantive change to the text was a rewriting of the section that had originally been headed "Christian Brotherhood and Class Struggle" as "Faith and Social Conflict". The rewriting was mainly a response to the charge of Marxism that had been levelled at Liberation Theology by some of its critics. However it does allow for reference to the "Option for the Poor" in the main text if only to say that it is not identified with any ideology or specific political program."²⁷⁰

The other major addition to the 1988 edition was a second "Introduction". This allowed Gutiérrez to outline the changes that had occurred since the first publication. Under the title "Expanding the View" he talks of the passage of time but also the spatial expansion of liberation theology and recognises the rolling out to include a wider definition of the poor, as seen at Puebla and Santo Domingo. In the heart of this he writes of "Opting for the God of Jesus". He stresses that while knowledge of the poverty of people through science etc. is important, "theological work proper begins when we try to interpret this reality in the light of Christian revelation."²⁷¹ He then proceeds to succinctly and clearly outline the development of the idea of the mature "Option for the Poor" that we have seen from John XXIII, through Medellín and Puebla, as well as Gutiérrez writings. He takes particular care to show the support of John Paul II for the "Option" in his speeches, encyclicals and other magisterial pronouncements. In his consideration of the matter he states:

concludes by explicating the spiritual practices that facilitate one's capacity to materialize this option in history." 18. Again the "Option" is taken as read to develop further.

²⁷⁰ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (London: SCM Press, 1988), 160.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, xxv.

As Christians, however, our commitment [to the poor and oppressed] is grounded, in the final analysis, in the God of our faith. It is a theocentric, prophetic option that has its roots in the unmerited love of God and is demanded by this love. Bartolomé de Las Casas, who had direct experience of the terrible poverty and decimation of Latin American Amerindians, explained it by saying: "God has the freshest and keenest memory of the least and most forgotten."²⁷²

This is the point to end this chapter as *A Theology of Liberation* was one of the texts in the brief bibliography to the *Blessed are the Poor?* paper that the General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church debated in its consideration of Liberation Theology. It contains a mature statement of Gutiérrez's development of the "Option for the Poor" as seen in its "Introduction to the Revised Edition". This chapter has shown how that mature statement had emerged in the writings of Gutiérrez and the wider context of the development of Liberation Theology. The next chapter will look at the critiques of the "Option for the Poor" that emerged directly within Gutiérrez context - both the Vatican and other Latin American Liberation Theologians, specifically Pablo Richard and Hugo Assmann.

Theological Matrix

This chapter has reviewed the development of the "Option" in the work of Gutiérrez. The first chapter showed that Gutiérrez is the central figure of Liberation Theology and the development of the "Option for the Poor", thus his work is the source from which to draw any working definition of the "Option". The Revised Introduction to *A*

²⁷² Ibid., xxvii.

Theology for Liberation produced in February 1988 is the classic exposition of the "Option". It includes the following as a definition of the "Option":

"In the final analysis, an option for the poor is an option for the God of the kingdom which Jesus proclaims to us;... The entire Bible, beginning with the story of Cain and Abel, mirrors God's predilection for the weak and abused of human history. This preference brings out the gratuitous or unmerited character of God's love. The same revelation is given in the evangelical Beatitudes, for they tell us with the utmost simplicity that God's predilection for the poor, the hungry, and the suffering is based on God's unmerited goodness to us.

The ultimate reason for commitment to the poor and oppressed is not to be found in the social analysis that we use, or in human compassion, or in any direct experience we ourselves may have of poverty... As Christians, however, our faith is grounded, in the final analysis, in the God of our faith. It is a theocentric, prophetic option that has its roots in the unmerited love of God and is demanded by this love. Bartolomé de las Casas,... explained it by saying "God has the freshest and keenest memory of the least and most forgotten."

The same perception was confirmed by the experience of the Christian communities of Latin America and... Puebla asserted that simply because of God's love for them as manifested in Christ "the poor merit preferential attention, whatever may be the moral or personal situation in which they find themselves" (no. 1142). In other words, the poor deserve preference not because they are morally or religiously better than others, but because God is God, in whose eyes "the last are first." This statement clashes with our narrow understanding of justice; this very preference reminds us, therefore, that God's ways are not ours (see Isa. 55:8).

There have certainly been misunderstandings of the preferential option for the poor, as well as tendencies, sociological and spiritualist, to play it down and this on the part both of those who claim to favour it and those who are expressly opposed to it. It can be said, nonetheless, that the option is now an essential element in the understanding that the church as a whole has of its task in the present world."²⁷³

Here Gutierrez shows that the "Option" is central to the Gospel and the life of the Church. He also recognises the problem of clinical definition, seeing instead an "Option" grounded in God. However, from this quotation is possible to say that any true manifestation of the "Option for the Poor" must be theocentric and prophetic and that this must be reflected in its praxis. Such praxis should not merely show a concern for the poor but recognition that they have a prior place in the eyes of God that should be reflected in the life of the Church. The responsibility lies with the Church to conform to the realities of the poor rather than vice versa. This thesis will use these three principles as a typology to assess the work of the Scottish Episcopal Church that claimed to reflect the emphasis of Liberation Theology, particularly as the "Option for the Poor".

This chapter has shown how Gutierrez developed the "Option for the Poor" in his writings, and given his central role, how the "Option" developed in Liberation Theology. The fully developed "Option" has then been used to develop a theological matrix that will be used to assess whether projects or work truly reflect Liberation Theology.

²⁷³ Ibid., xxvii-xxvii.

Chapter Three - Critiques

This chapter will look at the various attacks and critiques of the work of Gustavo Gutiérrez, from within his context, with a particularly focus on the idea of the "Option for the Poor". There were other wider attacks on Liberation Theology and theologians, including the silencing of Leonardo Boff and the murder and torture of others but this chapter will concentrate on the figure of Gutiérrez.

Rome

The first critique or attack on Liberation Theology to be looked at is that from Rome and most particularly by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith under its prefect, Cardinal Ratzinger. This is the most important because it was the highest profile attack on Gutiérrez and the one that took up the most of his time.²⁷⁴

The first document produced by Rome was *Ten Observations on the Theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez*.²⁷⁵ It claims to be based on reading of *A Theology of Liberation* and *The Power of the Poor in History*. The main argument is that Gutiérrez's theology is Marxist, not Christian. In the Introduction it refers to John Paul II's Opening Address at Puebla to show that the idea of liberation does have a true place within Christianity:

Facing the situation of poverty and oppression of millions of Latin Americans, the church has the duty of proclaiming the liberation of humankind and of

²⁷⁴ This is clear from Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 137 "From 1983 through most of 1985, Gustavo had to devote most of his time to replying to these and subsequent charges, frequently by going to Rome (at his own expense) to defend himself in person and clarify from his own writings what he meant. (We may recall again Gustavo's comment: "The Sacred Congregation invented a new torture for me. They forced me to read many times my own books.")" See also Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 239.

helping this liberation to come to birth. But it also has the duty of proclaiming liberation in its integral and profound meaning, in the same way that Jesus announced it and realized it. In order to protect the originality and the specific contribution of Christian liberation, it is important to avoid all reductionism and all ambiguity.²⁷⁶

In the ten points Gutiérrez is variously accused of many things including a partial reading of biblical texts and warped understanding of the role of the Church as solely an institution of class struggle. The summary proclaims that for Gutiérrez "the objective is to make of Christianity a means of mobilizing for the sake of revolution. By its recourse to Marxism, this theology can pervert an inspiration that is evangelical: the consciousness and hopes of the poor."²⁷⁷ It should be noted that there are no specific references or quotations in the *Observations* and thus specific rebuttal or comment is hard.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Ten Observations on the Theology of Gustavo Gutiérrez" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983) Hennelly dates this as March 1983. Henceforth *Observations*.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 348.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 350.

²⁷⁸ The response of Gutiérrez was first published in *Páginas*, the bi-monthly publication of the Centro Estudios y Publicaciones, Lima in September 1984. It is included in Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations*, trans. Matthew J O'Connell (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990a), 53-84. Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 247 sees this as a reply to Ratzinger's *Observations*; while Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 209-210 f5 states that the essay "draws on writings that date back to a conference in 1974 – a full decade earlier – and thus represents a matured theological position rather than an eleventh hour attempt to placate the Sacred Congregation as some critics have charged." He then cites various references in support of his argument. He does see the essay as significant "in the ongoing struggle with Rome" (ibid. 93.) but it is fair to say that the essay is not a point by point rebuttal but a development of themes.

In opening his essay Gutiérrez writes of liberation theology being "concerned, as Medellín and Puebla were, to understand the situation of poverty, its causes, and the efforts of those suffering under it to escape from it. It is at this stage that recourse to the social sciences plays a significant part, for these sciences allow us to gain a more accurate knowledge of society as it really is and so to articulate with greater precision the challenges it poses for the proclamation of the gospel and thus for theological reflection as well". Gutiérrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations*, 55. He thus decides to limit himself to looking at the relationship between theology and the social sciences and Marxism in particular. As usual this is done with extensive reference to Magisterial and other sources as well as his own works. In doing so he faces down many of the charges of Ratzinger. One example is his response to the Marxist use of class struggle as a driving force of history. He writes "My only concern here is to

The *Observations* formed part of a wider pressure placed on the Peruvian bishops to condemn the work of Gutiérrez. The pressure came from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and took the form of a number of meetings held in Lima and, later, Rome.²⁷⁹ There were also articles produced on behalf of Cardinal Ratzinger²⁸⁰ as well as a 50 page unsigned paper supplied by Rome to the Peruvian Bishops.²⁸¹

insist that this approach does not reflect my own thinking and that therefore I have never used such expressions." (ibid. 72.) Looking at the role of the poor he writes "There is obviously no question of identifying a preferential option for the poor with an ideology or a specific political programme that would serve as framework for reinterpreting the gospel or the task of the church. Nor is there any question of limiting oneself to one sector of the human race. I regard these reductive positions as utterly alien. But I have dealt with this matter on various occasions and need not insist on the point once again." (ibid. 77.) Again he implicitly refutes the points in the *Observations* and states that he is merely reiterating his previously stated position. In closing he notes "I think that what I have written will help readers to recall my position..." (ibid. 80.)

²⁷⁹ Following the *Observations* the Peruvian bishops discussed Gutiérrez work but were deadlocked on whether to condemn it. In March 1984 Ratzinger called the Doctrinal Commissions of the Latin American Churches together in Bogotá and stressed the errors that he saw in Liberation Theology. This did not produce a condemnation and was followed by a personal visit from Ratzinger to the bishops in Peru in April 1984 that still failed to produce a condemnation. They were summoned en masse to Rome in September 1984 and had several days of closed session discussions without the sought after condemnation appearing. This is covered in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 238-239, 241-242 and Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 138-139, 145.

This was not the only support that Gutiérrez received. There was a letter written by Karl Rahner to Cardinal Landázuri Ricketts of Peru, two weeks before Rahner died, in which he asserts "I am convinced of the orthodoxy of the theological work of Gustavo Gutiérrez. The Theology of Liberation that he represents is entirely orthodox and is aware of its limits within the whole context of Catholic theology." Karl Rahner, "Letter to Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts of Lima, Peru" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 351. The support of such a major figure as Rahner would not have gone unnoticed. This is referred to by Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, Juan Luis Segundo, *Theology and the Church: A response to Cardinal Ratzinger and A Warning to the Whole Church*, trans. John Diercksmeier (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1985), 17-19, Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 238 and extensively discussed and analyzed by Segundo, *Theology and the Church: A response to Cardinal Ratzinger and A Warning to the Whole Church*, 17 who writes "It is not possible for me to determine if this letter, dated 16 March 1984, originated from the vague rumours that were then circulating about a possible condemnation of liberation theology or, more specifically, from a series of negative observations made by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith about Gustavo Gutiérrez and his theology – observations to which Rahner had to respond." (Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey*, 57) before arguing that the letter was highly significant. Ferm mentions a further letter written by Rahner but this time directly to Gutiérrez in which he says "I have read all through your works and can find nothing in them that is against orthodoxy." Ferm suggests that this letter "considerably defused" the criticism of Gutiérrez. The letter was published in April 1984. Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 239.

²⁸⁰ Segundo, *Theology and the Church: A response to Cardinal Ratzinger and A Warning to the Whole Church*, 3 mentions an article from *30 Giorni* as being produced from Ratzinger's confidential papers without his permission. Juan Luis Segundo states "Furthermore, there appeared a critical and somewhat strange article, published by Ratzinger himself in an Italian journal, directed at the Latin American theology of liberation". Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* 367-374 A version of the article from the September 1984 edition of *Catholicism in Crisis* is printed in Messori, *The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church*, 174-186 and in a different

The *Instruction on Certain Aspects of Liberation Theology* or *Libertatis Nuntius* (henceforth *LN*) emerged at this time. This is a more important document, not particularly for what it said but for the profile that it was given and the discussion that it engendered.²⁸² This is a fuller document than the *Observations* though it shares many of the same arguments and also lacks any specific references or quotations in support of those arguments. While there can be no doubt that it was intended as a strong criticism of Liberation Theology it opens with support for the concept of liberation within theology before considering misinterpretations of that truth. It opens: "The gospel of Jesus Christ is a message of freedom and a force for liberation. In recent years this essential truth has become the object of reflection for theologians, with a new kind of attention which is itself full of promise."²⁸³ This introduction promises that a further document will follow that will look at liberation but, for now,

the present instruction has a much more limited and precise purpose: to draw attention of pastors, theologians, and all the faithful to the deviations and risk of deviation, damaging to the faith and to Christian living, that are brought about

translation in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, f61 241 and 246 incl f86 This version was definitely produced with the author's permission. See also Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 138-140.

²⁸¹ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 138-140 has a description of this document, *La Théologie de la Libération de Gustavo Gutiérrez*. and f3 (213) states "As far as I know, the document was never published. I received a copy of the document through a source I have no intention of revealing." In his section on the document he cites a rebuttal produced by eight members of the Pacific School of Religion in California which concludes "It seems clear to us that the Sacred Congregation has not been well-served by the document. The theology that is described and critiqued in the paper is not the position of Gutiérrez, and his own spirit and theological commitments are not discernable in it. Based on limited and wholly inadequate appeal to sources, it proceeds by selective quotation, and arrives at what can only appear to be predetermined conclusions. It insists on seeing everything in terms of a Marxist perspective, whereas a less biased reading of the material cannot help but lead to different conclusions". (140). However other writers do not mention this paper and I can, not surprisingly, find no other trace of it.

²⁸² There are many examples to illustrate this e.g. "The recent Vatican critique of liberation theology (LT) is a far from parochial matter, since it is around the Vatican's argument that opposition, including political opposition, is likely to coalesce." Anselm K Min, "The Vatican, Marxism, and Liberation Theology," *Cross Currents* XXXIV, no. 4 (1984-1985), 439.

²⁸³ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'", 393

by certain forms of liberation theology which use, in an insufficiently critical manner, concepts borrowed from various currents of Marxist thought."²⁸⁴

It also notes the appropriate place of the "Option for the Poor": "This warning should in no way be interpreted as a disavowal of all those who want to respond generously and with an authentic evangelical spirit to the "preferential option for the poor."²⁸⁵

This theme is carried forward strongly in the section on the "Voice of the Magisterium".²⁸⁶ This is contrasted with that which *LN* seeks to attack:

"The different theologies of liberation are situated between the preferential option for the poor forcefully reaffirmed without ambiguity after Medellín at the conference at Puebla on the one hand, and the temptation to reduce the gospel to an earthly gospel on the other."²⁸⁷

LN uses its first six paragraphs in an antiphonal fashion to contrast affirmation of liberation in principle with the dangers that it sees in liberation theology on the ground in Latin America. "The powerful and almost irresistible aspiration that people have for liberation constitutes one of the principal signs of the times which the church has to examine and interpret in the light of the gospel"²⁸⁸ is contrasted with "The yearning for justice and for the effective recognition of the dignity of every human being needs, like every deep aspiration, to be clarified and guided."²⁸⁹ In §III *LN* notes that "the expression "theology of liberation" refers first of all to a special concern for the poor and the victims of oppression, which in turn begets a commitment to

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 394.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ *LN* §V This draws attention to papal documents, Vatican II papers, papal addresses and other papers. Particular attention is drawn to the Medellín and Puebla conferences.

²⁸⁷ *LN* §VI, 5.

²⁸⁸ *LN* §I, 1.

²⁸⁹ *LN* §II, 1.

justice"²⁹⁰ but proceeds to state that "as with all movements of ideas, the "theologies of liberation" present diverse theological positions. Their doctrinal frontiers are badly defined."²⁹¹ A contrast is set up between a valid theology of liberation and theologies of liberation which fall short and are misinterpretations. This is brought to a head in §VI:

4. To some it even seems that the necessary struggle for human justice and freedom in the economic and political sense constitutes the whole essence of salvation. For them, the gospel is reduced to a purely earthly gospel.

5. The different theologies of liberation are situated between the preferential option for the poor forcefully reaffirmed without ambiguity after Medellín at the conference of Puebla on the one hand, and the temptation to reduce the gospel to an earthly gospel on the other...

9. In this present document, we will only be discussing developments of that current of thought which, under the name "theology of liberation," proposes a novel interpretation of both the content of the faith and of Christian existence, which seriously departs from the faith of the church, and, in fact, actually constitutes a practical negation.

10. Concepts uncritically borrowed from Marxist ideology and recourse to theses of a biblical hermeneutic marked by rationalism are at the basis of the new interpretation which is currently corrupting whatever was authentic in the general initial commitment on behalf of the poor.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ LN §III, 3.

²⁹¹ LN §III, 3.

²⁹² LN §VI, 4, 5, 9, 10.

The rest of *LN* takes up and expands these criticisms of Marxist analysis and thus total acceptance of Marxism;²⁹³ a commitment to violence and class struggle;²⁹⁴ an atheistic philosophy²⁹⁵ and a partial or "reductionist reading of the bible".²⁹⁶

Much of *LN* was only an expansion of the charges in the *Observations* but its power comes in what was done with it. Segundo introduces the document with the simple statement that it "was published in the media."²⁹⁷ It certainly had a higher profile than the *Observations* and thus required response. The Peruvian Bishops were called to Rome²⁹⁸ but the outcome was not the condemnation that Ratzinger sought but a statement that the Peruvian Bishops would abide by *LN*, about which they had little choice. They welcomed the recognition that liberation theology was a valid term and that while

there are some "deviations and distortions," it was accepted that God is "in solidarity with all who are miserable"; Marxism is no answer – such themes, the bishops declare, deserve the support of the church and are fully consistent with scripture. The message of *authentic* liberation is "a sign of hope and salvation, especially among the poorest and most marginated in society" (§10).²⁹⁹

The bishops refused to condemn Gutiérrez and recognised the value of the "Option for the Poor" within Peru.

²⁹³ *LN* §VII.

²⁹⁴ *LN* §VIII.

²⁹⁵ *LN* §IX.

²⁹⁶ *LN* §X.

²⁹⁷ Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 145-146.

²⁹⁸ See f279.

²⁹⁹ Editorial Board Concilium, "Statement of Solidarity with Liberation Theologians" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984) discusses the paper *A Challenge to Faith: 26 November 1984* produced by the Peruvian Episcopal Conference and published in *Páginas* (November/December, 1984). The quotation is from 145 and it is assumed that that translation is his own as a published English translation does not exist.

Following the publication of the Ratzinger interview³⁰⁰ the editorial board of *Concilium* produced a *Statement of Solidarity with Liberation Theologians*.³⁰¹ In 1985 this was countered by the *Declaration of Los Andes* produced at a conference sponsored by the more conservative journal *Communio* and signed by a number of bishops including Cardinal Trujillo. This wholeheartedly supported *LN* and stated:

The study of this Instruction, when compared with the theological works which its own authors have called and still call the "theology of liberation," have led once again to this conclusion. Even if different movements are included under this title, nevertheless the positions described in parts VI to X of the Instruction are not hypothetical constructs, but real pronouncements contained in numerous books, essays, and articles that circulate throughout Latin America.³⁰²

This lays out the ground on which much of the discussion was to be held.

The previous September Gutiérrez had given an interview on *LN*. This was reproduced in a number of locations. He does not see a condemnation of liberation theology in *LN*³⁰³ and more tellingly does not see his work in *LN*.³⁰⁴ He even argues that *LN* is an affirmation of liberation theology.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ See f280.

³⁰¹ *Communio*, "Declaration of Los Andes", 444-445 Dated 24 June 1984.

³⁰² Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Criticism Will Deepen, Clarify Liberation Theology" *Ibid.*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (1984d), 420.

³⁰³ "At no time in the course of the present debate has there been any mention of a condemnation. Furthermore, highly placed, authoritative sources have explicitly rejected the possibility of any sort of condemnation. Cardinal Ratzinger has been very clear about this in his *Instruction on Some Aspects of Liberation Theology*, which he views as one contribution to the dialogue on this delicate topic." *Ibid.*, 423.

³⁰⁴ "The document contains questions and criticism of what it sees as deviations and excesses. I believe these criticisms are important for a deepening and a clearer formulation of these themes. I believe the document speaks to all of us. At the same time I can say in conscience that the excesses referred to in the *Instruction* are not found in what I have written." *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ "What is your response to the recently released document from the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on liberation theology?"

Above and beyond all the clamor, I believe it is a very important document, not only because of its source but also for its content. The document declares that the Christian message 'is a message of freedom and a force for liberation.' It also affirms that aspirations to liberation are a sign of our times

While Leonardo Boff was being silenced others rallied to the support of Gutiérrez; the theological faculty of the Catholic Institute of Lyon awarded him a doctorate on the basis of his published writings.

The process for awarding the degree started with Gutiérrez giving a lecture outlining his position. He used this opportunity to respond to *LN* and the Peruvian Bishops statement³⁰⁶ and thereby assert his orthodoxy.³⁰⁷ In his talk he speaks extensively of the "Option for the Poor" and the role of liberation theology. He states that:

"The aim of the theology of liberation is to be a language about God, and to be this in the communion of the church. It is an effort to make the word of life present in a world of oppression, injustice and death."³⁰⁸

that must be analyzed in the light of the gospel. It explicitly states that "the expression 'liberation theology' is a totally valid expression."

And that was never admitted before?

Well, it depends on what level. This is the first time it has been admitted in a document on this level and of this kind. Pope John Paul II did refer to liberation theology in a speech shortly before the bishops' conference in Puebla." Ibid.

Gutiérrez stated this view in a further interview with Fred Herzog from around the same time: "The response from some Liberation theologians in Latin America like Sobrino or myself was this: in our works it is not possible to find the points criticised by the "Instruction." [The "Instruction"] may be useful. But it is not a description of present Latin American liberation theology." Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 148.

This was probably not a solitary view. Segundo writes "One of my Latin American colleagues, in a memorandum on the Vatican document and its proper interpretation, writes what I have here summarized: 'I adhere loyally and in responsible obedience to the pastoral "*Orientations*" with which the document ends (XI)....With even greater reason, I unreservedly adhere to *the doctrinal judgements upon the faith* contained in the body of the document....I also adhere to *the great anthropological, social and ethical-political principles* that the document reaffirms....But out of ecclesial loyalty, I must give witness to the fact that *I do not know*....theologians in Latin America who support the 'reductive' interpretations of the faith described by the document or who deny those great principles of the Christian conception of humanity and society' (my colleague's emphasis)." Segundo, *Theology and the Church: A response to Cardinal Ratzinger and A Warning to the Whole Church*, 13-14. It is possible that the unnamed colleague is Gutiérrez but as he is named elsewhere that seems unlikely.

³⁰⁶ Gutiérrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations*, 52 fl.

³⁰⁷ "I have tried to clarify, in this summary presentation (and in the theological discussion of my work that follows it), the train of thought developed in my writings; I hope thereby to forestall inadequate interpretations of it. The effort at clarification has given me an opportunity to reaffirm my communion with the magisterium and my will and desire to place my theological thinking at the service of the church's work of evangelization". Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 18.

The lecture refers to *LN* infrequently, but goes through and addresses the criticisms in it one by one through developing his own position, with the "Option for the Poor" at the very heart. He starts by asking how one can speak about God and answers that this must be a second step following on the "realm of practice"³⁰⁹ and in this the "Option for the Poor" is central.³¹⁰ These poor are also Christian and it is from that combined experience that liberation theology emerges³¹¹ and this combination refutes the charge of "reductionism".³¹² At this point Gutiérrez raises the question of social analysis that forms so much of the critique of *LN*. He notes the poverty in Latin America and its anti-evangelical effect and states that "it therefore becomes necessary to analyze and denounce the structural causes of the injustice and oppression in which the poor of

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 3.

³¹⁰ "In our dealings with the poor we encounter the Lord (see Mt 25: 31-46), but this encounter makes our solidarity with the poor more radical and more authentic. Contemplation and commitment within history are fundamental dimensions of Christian practice; thus there is no way of evading them. The mystery reveals itself through prayer and solidarity with the poor. I call Christian life itself the 'first act'; only then can this life inspire a process of reflection, which is the 'second act.'" Ibid., 8

"Entrance into the world of the poor is a long and sometimes painful process, but it is there that we find the One of whom theology is called upon to speak". Ibid., 5.

"A Christian is defined as one who follows Christ. But according to the biblical sources the following is a communal experience, for it is really a communal experience, for it is really a people that sets out on a journey. The poor of Latin America are today taking an active part in the struggle to assert their human dignity and their status as sons and daughters of God, and in this activity a spiritual experience is unfolding. In other words, the struggle is the place and time of an encounter with the Lord; a way is opening up therein for the following of Jesus Christ". Ibid., 6.

³¹¹ "We can in fact claim that a language for speaking about God is arising among us today out of the unjust sufferings, but also the hopes, of the poor of Latin America". Ibid., 9

"The poor who are irrupting into our history are a people both oppressed and Christian. Latin America is in fact the only constituent part of the so-called Third World that has a majority of Christians. This makes the situation especially painful and constitutes a major challenge to the Christian Faith and to the church". Ibid.

³¹² This section highlights the usual method of Gutiérrez. He develops and restates his thought and then demonstrates that this stands in the tradition of the church; he co-opts his perceived opponents as supporters. "It has been a concern of liberation theology from the very beginning to reject, on the one hand, a disincarnate spiritualism that emphasizes the religious side of a people without attending to the material conditions in which they live, and, on the other, a political activity that sets aside until later the requirements and possibilities of the Christian faith, on the grounds that economic and social problems are more urgent. (These are nevertheless two persistent temptations; see Puebla, no.329; for this reason the Instruction of September 1984 warns against "the temptation to reduce the gospel to an earthly gospel" [VI, 5; see also VI, 4]. But it is important that this observation not be taken as approbation "of those who contribute to the misery of the people" [XI, 1].) These two kinds of reductionism ignore both the fullness of the Christian message and the concrete life of the Latin American people. They must refuse to see that the challenge we must face is to learn to encounter the Lord in today's poor. The challenge, in other words, is to live a hope-filled and joyous faith within a love that creates solidarity with the oppressed and their hopes and struggles, with a view to their complete liberation". Ibid.

Latin America are living."³¹³ He then immediately cites John Paul II in support of his argument³¹⁴ and continues, in considering the condition of the poor:

Here is where the theological undertaking known as the theology of liberation applies social analysis, with the intention that it help us understand the concrete forms that injustice and death take in Latin America.³¹⁵

This rebuttal is central to Gutiérrez response to *LN*:

We are not therefore, as has been claimed at times, confronting only the challenge of a "social situation," as if it were something to that had nothing to do with the fundamental demands of the gospel. No: we are confronted here with something opposed to the reign of life that the Lord proclaimed; with something, therefore, that a Christian must reject. Neither is it possible to limit the idea of "the poor" to a particular social class. Any interpretation of poverty that reduces the poor and the option for the poor to the purely economic and political level is therefore mistaken and can claim no support from our thinking.³¹⁶

In this single paragraph Gutiérrez covers most of the arguments of *LN*, recognises the errors that they highlight and disassociates himself from them. He counters the arguments of the *Declaration of Los Andes* and implicitly of *LN* by stating that the errors that they condemn are not found in his work - this was a consistent position for

³¹³ Ibid. There is further discussion of the place of Social Sciences and specifically Marxism later in the lecture "In today's social sciences there are certain elements that come from Marxist analysis. This fact, however, does not, in any way justify an identification of the social sciences with Marxist analysis[...] It follows that the appeal to the social sciences in the theology of liberation has for its primary purpose to promote a better understanding of the social reality of the Latin American people[...] On the other hand, recourse by theologians to the social sciences, or other branches of human knowledge, necessary implies what the Instruction calls "a critical examination of the analytical methods borrowed from other disciplines." Ibid. 11-12. Gutiérrez again argues that *LN* simply does not apply to his work.

³¹⁴ Further demonstration of the method outlined in f313. See also the section on Kingdom and Liberation. Ibid., 14-16.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 10.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

Gutiérrez who simply appropriates the pronouncements of the Magisterium in support of his argument and to demonstrate that he stands within the tradition of the church. He grounds liberation theology and the "Option for the Poor" in God: "Solidarity with the poor and the oppressed is based on our faith in God, the God of life who is revealed in Jesus Christ"³¹⁷ and sees all else flowing from that as shown in the definition of liberation theology cited earlier.³¹⁸ After such a lecture it can be no surprise that the discussion was tame and the degree awarded; the purpose of the whole exercise was to show support for Gutiérrez.

The Second *Instruction On Christian Freedom and Liberation*³¹⁹ or *Libertatis Conscientia* (henceforth *LC*) that had been promised in *LN* was a much longer document that made little specific reference to Latin American liberation theology but concentrated on developing broad themes for itself rather than countering opposition. It is a much quieter document than its predecessor and was generally well received. Gutiérrez commented that "it closes a chapter; a new more positive period is beginning."³²⁰ The section on the "Option for the Poor" is small. It reaffirms "A Love of Preference for the Poor"³²¹ built from biblical roots³²² and expressed by the Magisterium in various documents and by CELAM at Puebla.³²³ Some of the

³¹⁷ Ibid. ; also "the ultimate motive at work in what is called "the preferential option for the poor" is to be found in the God in whom we believe." Ibid. 12.

³¹⁸ f308.

³¹⁹ *LC* was issued on 5 April 1986, though dated 22 March 1986 and originally scheduled for release on Easter Sunday, 30 March 1986. (Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 249) Alfred T Hennelly, "The Red-Hot Issue: Liberation Theology" in *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History*, ed. Alfred T Hennelly (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986)

³²⁰ Hennelly, "The Red-Hot Issue: Liberation Theology", 513, also Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 251 Hennelly, "The Red-Hot Issue: Liberation Theology", 510

³²¹ *LC* 4, II.

³²² *LC* 4, II §66-67.

³²³ See footnotes to *LC* 4, II §68. Hennelly records "a certain controversy has arisen in press reports concerning the phrase "a love of preference for the poor"; some accounts held that this was replacing the expression 'preferential option for the poor,' which had come into common usage through the Latin American Bishops' Conference. Supposedly this was done to avoid the potential divisive effects implied in a "preferential option." However, the phrase 'special option for the poor' is used no less than

concerns expressed previously about reductionism are still there but they are given much less space and can almost be seen as symbolic.³²⁴

Gutiérrez's main response was made in the essay "*The Truth Shall Make You Free*" which responds to *LN* as well as *LC* but crucially also ties in a letter from John Paul II to the Brazilian Bishops to see an end of the difficult times of liberation theology:

if we add to the new instruction [*LC*] the message that John Paul II sent shortly afterward in a letter, under his own signature, to the Brazilian Bishops at their annual conference (henceforth *Message*), we have before us the shape of a new stage in the discussion of liberation theology.³²⁵

The introductory remarks continue:

three times in the pertinent section (no. 68), which clearly refutes the charge that it was being deliberately jettisoned. We may only speculate that the 'love of preference' was also used in order to emphasize the Christian motivation of the option." Hennelly, "The Red-Hot Issue: Liberation Theology", 510.

Brown stirs this up further "The document lays great stress on concern for the poor, although (in a deliberate attempt to undercut the Puebla phrase "a preferential option for the poor") an awkward phrase, "a love of preference for the poor," is occasionally substituted. A warning is issued against "reductive sociological and ideological categories" that would make the "option for the poor" (the phrase returns unchallenged) a "partisan choice and a source of conflict." This "reductionist" critique, so frequently used against liberation theology, has no detectable dwelling place in the life and work of living, breathing liberation theologians." Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 147. At this point in his book Brown admits (Ibid. 156) that he has ceased to provide an objective account of matters and that his heart is ruling his head.

Gibellini does not see a conspiracy and seeks to explain the difference "the preferential option for the poor [...] is also called in the *Instruction* 'preferential love for the poor'; this twofold linguistic expression is not aimed at weakening the option of the Puebla conference (no.1134), but arises from the different destinations of the two church documents: the text of Puebla is a document peculiar to the Latin American church and sets out the pastoral choices; the *Instruction*, however, is a Vatican document addressed to the universal church." Gibellini, *The Liberation Theology Debate*, 56-57

Gutiérrez acknowledges that there had been heated discussion around the topic of liberation theology in recent years (Gutiérrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free: Confrontations*, 85) and his essay "The Truth Shall Make You Free" takes a very calm approach to *LC*. On the specific topic of the phrases "preferential option", "preferential love", "special love" he notes "*LC* had hardly been published when some of the media were claiming that the *Instruction* had replaced "preferential option" with "preferential love" and that this supposed shift signified a break with what had been said earlier by Medellín, Puebla, and John Paul II. There is certainly no basis for the claim. Furthermore, the Pope has continued to use that expression in texts subsequent to the *Instruction*." Ibid. 198 f150. This is in line with Gutiérrez approach to the whole document.

³²⁴ *LC* 4,11§68 includes only the following "This is the reason why the church cannot express this option by means of a reductive sociological and ideological categories which would make this preference a partisan choice and a greater source of conflict."

³²⁵ Ibid. 86.

The time has come for stocktaking and a review that will help in some way to a fuller development of liberation theology, which John Paul II describes as "not only timely but useful and necessary" (*Message*, no. 5). Liberation theology must look for correct answers that will be "as effective and constructive as possible and, at the same time, consistent and coherent with the teachings of the gospel, of the living tradition and of the ongoing magisterium of the church" (*ibid.*).³²⁶

The essay then proceeds to play down differences and look for common cause as far as possible.³²⁷ It is clear that *LC* and the *Message* were designed to find positive ways forward beyond confrontation and that Gutiérrez was keen to join that.³²⁸

Pablo Richard

The critique of Gutiérrez's work was not all from the same direction. Pablo Richard³²⁹ was part of the "Christians for Socialism" movement.³³⁰ He was one of 13 signatories of a letter to Cardinal Silva which includes the following:

³²⁶ *Ibid.* 86. The further quotation from the *Message* in f4 on 175-176 should also be noted.

³²⁷ E.g. "To the people involved in this deeper and calmer discussion the recent Roman pronouncements (*LC* and *Message*) have therefore come as no surprise; these documents are rather a sequel. They do not withdraw condemnations, because there had been no condemnations; they do not represent compromises in the face of pressure or devices for avoiding divisions that in fact were never in sight. Instead, as Cardinal Ratzinger said of the second instruction ...they are intended as "the point of departure for a new body of writings on the subject of Christian freedom and responsibility in political and social spheres."...A new body of theological literature is justified by the emergence of new challenges...the cardinal's words are an invitation to further reflection in this area...It is in this spirit that I have tried to write...*ibid.* 86-87. The section in f323 would be another of many examples.

³²⁸ Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 247-250 suggests that the reason for the tempering of Vatican overt opposition to liberation theology grew out of ecclesial politics but that is beyond the scope of this work.

Hennelly, "The Red-Hot Issue: Liberation Theology", 513 talks of the reaction to *LC* and says that he has only seen a few quotations from Latin Americans in the international press but "one of these that impressed me greatly was that of Gustavo Gutiérrez. The Peruvian priest referred to the Instruction as a "relaunching" of the movement and insisted that "it closes a chapter; a new, more positive period is beginning." It seems appropriate to leave the last word to Gutiérrez.

³²⁹ Pablo Richard was born in Chile in 1939 and ordained as a priest in 1967. He has doctorates in religious sociology from the Sorbonne and in theology from the Free Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris. He is Professor of Theology at the National University of Costa Rica and Director of its

We agree ... the Christian vision of liberation is more profound and complete than the Marxist vision ... the Christian does go even deeper, planting and posing liberation in terms of man's relationship with God. On this level human beings do not simply liberate themselves; they integrate their efforts into the liberation achieved by Christ. But while Christianity does have a more clear-cut vision of the overall perspectives of liberation, it also has much to learn from Marxism, psychoanalysis, and other disciplines about their concrete mechanisms through which liberation works itself out at different levels.³³¹

While Richard was only one signatory among many this quotation lays out the ground from which he critiques Gutiérrez, though it should be noted that this is not an attack in which Gutiérrez is named or implied, merely the assertion of a different position.

Richard starts from a focus on oppression in his approach to liberation and his end point of liberation theology lies in action and praxis. This is manifest in several ways and fully develops over a number of articles and presentations. He uses the dialectical approach in many of his writings, drawing contrasts between opposites as he sees them.³³²

Ecumenical Research Department. See Mario Aguilar, *The History and Politics of Latin America*, vol. 1 (SCM Press, 2007), 81.

³³⁰ See f76 for a general view of the place of this movement. Eagleson, ed., *Christians and Socialism* has a full coverage of the relevant documents. Richard's role in it is covered in Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 148-149 incl f50-52.

³³¹ Eagleson, ed., *Christians and Socialism* 55-56.

³³² In the paper to be considered next there is the following example "We consider that the root of the chief contradiction in the present theological confrontation must be sought in the dialectic of oppression and liberation." Pablo Richard, "Latin-American Theology of Liberation: A critical contribution to European Theology," in *European Theology Challenged by the World-Wide Church* (Geneva: Conference of European Churches, 1976), 31 Again "The two positions are antagonistic and irreconcilable" Ibid. 40. It should be noticed that the very vocabulary that he uses is far more confrontational than that of Gutiérrez.

The Council of European Churches held a conference on "European Theology Challenged by the World-Wide Church"³³³ and invited Richard to give an address on *Latin-American Theology of Liberation: A critical contribution to European Theology*. This talk contains much of the essence of Richard's thought. Gutiérrez sees a difference between European and Latin American theology in terms of methodology³³⁴ but Richard sees the difference in terms of domination and oppression. He sees examples of both types of theology on both continents with those who side with the oppressed being liberation theologians, wherever they come from. Most come from Latin America because that is where oppression is greater.³³⁵ He proceeds to say that liberation theology is not a new theme or field of study as that view negates its dynamic role. Theology is not about abstract thought but action. For Richard the role of the dominant European theology has been the abstract legitimization of a social and political scheme that oppresses, the role of liberation theology is part of the struggle against that.³³⁶

The final negative understanding that he points to relates to methodology. In doing so he implicitly describes the system that liberation stands against. He points to the current understanding as an "idolatrous cult of the Church"³³⁷ that the dominant

³³³ The Consultation was held in Geneva from 29 March – 2 April 1976. Richard is listed as representing the Roman Catholic Church with a French postal address.

³³⁴ E.g. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Statement by Gustavo Gutiérrez" in *Theology in the Americas*, ed. Sergio Torres and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976) See also the previous chapter.

³³⁵ "If there is a specifically Latin-American kind of theology, it is because it has decided that what constitutes the central problem of theological work is the central problem of our continent: the subsistence and liberation of 250 millions of our exploited and dominated brothers. The theology of liberation is Latin-American because liberation is the deepest, most human, most Christian and most Latin-American struggle in Latin America." Richard, "Latin-American Theology of Liberation: A critical contribution to European Theology," 31.

³³⁶ "The theology of liberation is, in this sense, a liberation of theology, setting it free from its captivity which allows it to be made a tool of the dominant ideology, which is always the theology of the ruling classes. The liberation of theology is only one particular part of a global process of liberation which is simultaneously economic, political, cultural, ideological and religious." Ibid., 34.

³³⁷ In this "idolatrous cult of the Church" people "attribute a sacred character to things in it that are mere products of history, confuse the authority of Christ with that of the Church, and identify the

theology merely describes and analyses, at its best. The difference in liberation theology is that it plays a part in transforming reality and freeing people from oppression.³³⁸ For Richard "the primordial and originating fact of our [liberation] theology: [is] real and effective participation in the liberation struggle of the Latin-American continent."³³⁹

Richard then moves to consider the positive aspects of liberation theology when placed against the dominant European theology. He defines liberation theology through three formulas that are then developed. He stresses that it is a "believing and militant theology".³⁴⁰ This is a theology, driven by praxis, emerging from the political and economic struggle for emancipation from what Richard calls "imperialist and capitalist oppression."³⁴¹ In doing so it requires the "real and practical discovery of "the other person" ...the world of the poor, the marginalized, the exploited".³⁴²

Richard then proceeds to contrast the position of theology in history as the dominant and oppressive theology with that in liberation theology and notes a false practice of liberation in the dominant theology. The first reduces historical reality to a

Church with the kingdom of God." This "is the ruin of faith...because by accepting as historical reality what we see, we can hope for what we do not see; for if we believe we already really possess what we hope for in faith, our faith and our hope both die. The more abstract, absolute and non-historical the institutional Church affirms itself to be the more it will act and govern as though it were the Kingdom of God on earth. That Church can hardly announce the Kingdom (in faith) if it thinks it already possesses it (in reality)." Ibid., 35.

³³⁸ "The theology of liberation takes a qualitative leap forward and produces a radical epistemological rupture by proposing as starting point of theological work not an analysis or interpretation of reality, but the transformation of reality...If theology wants to start from a knowledge of reality, it must participate in the transformation of reality. The actual work of theology must be a praxis of liberation, a specific liberating factor in a total praxis of economic, political, cultural and religious liberation." Ibid., 35.

³³⁹ Ibid., 35.

³⁴⁰ By "militant" he means that it is "organically linked with the working class movement and its political vanguards. It recognises that the active subject of theological creation is the active subject of praxis, namely, the organized, conscious people's movement taking into its hands the responsibility for the liberation of history which at the same time is the liberation of nature and society." Ibid., 37.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 38.

transcendent and other-worldly position supporting the dominant system of oppression while he favours a second position whereby that transcendent support of oppression is rejected. Indeed he argues that in the rejection of oppression the true "transcendent and supernatural dimension" of the Church is found.³⁴³ In conclusion he states that "practical action, not theoretical distinction, is what is capable of affirming the liberating character of faith or of Christianity."³⁴⁴

The speech closes with a review of the assumptions that Richard sees underpinning his theology of liberation. He stresses that faith and praxis must go together and this requires the rejection of the false practice of liberation that he sees in a faith that maintains a system of oppression. This faith within praxis is asserted as being traditional,³⁴⁵ ecclesial³⁴⁶ and transcendent.³⁴⁷ In this he stresses the importance of a true reading of the bible and the appropriation of the Church by the poor. He states that such an ecclesiology "which takes upon itself the class conflicts of society. Only that kind of ecclesiology will express the Church as a sign of unity, in a society divided into antagonistic classes precisely because it is a society of oppression and exploitation"³⁴⁸ He stands for what he sees as the transfer of salvation by faith realised in the resurrection and salvation by law that he sees in the focus on the cross, abstract theology and oppression of the Constantinian Church that form the root of the

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ This argument is outlined in Ibid., 39-41 and he states "The more theology and the Church lose that falsely spiritual and universal character and adopt real practical work for liberation, the more they adopt the historical rationality of struggle against the oppression of the system of domination and take their stand on the side of the poor and exploited against every practice of oppression, the better able theology and the Church will be to find once more their transcendent and supernatural dimension." Richard, "Latin-American Theology of Liberation: A critical contribution to European Theology," 41

³⁴⁴ Richard, "Latin-American Theology of Liberation: A critical contribution to European Theology," 42.

³⁴⁵ i.e. "in historic continuity with the biblical tradition and the post-biblical tradition" Ibid., 44

³⁴⁶ i.e. "a faith confessed, celebrated and communicated within the ecclesial community" Ibid.

³⁴⁷ i.e. "faith in the resurrection" Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. 45.

dominant system of oppression. I have covered this somewhat minor talk in detail because in it Richard lays out the themes that he proceeds to develop and elaborate in the rest of his writings.

In *The Idols of Death and the God of Life: A Theology* Richard contributes an article that develops the brief references to idols and idolatry in the previous article. The threat to the capitalist system of oppression is atheism³⁴⁹ and thus that system creates idols.³⁵⁰ He proceeds to review the examples of idolatry in the bible and argues that, "the biblical message on idolatry is essentially one of liberation and of hope in moments of crisis, and of the oppression of the people of Israel and the first Christian communities."³⁵¹ Not surprisingly he sees this as relevant to modern day Latin America but more importantly today there is the possibility of actually changing the structures of oppression in a way that was not possible in biblical times.³⁵² He states "the poor can seek the visage of the real God only by working within a political praxis of liberation. Likewise, class struggle has been transformed into a struggle of the God

³⁴⁹ "atheism is an obstacle to the development of the modern world. It acts as a brake on consumption, and as an active resistance to the creation of mechanisms of political, cultural, and ideological domination" Pablo Richard, "Biblical Theology of Confrontation with Idols" in *The Idols of Death and the God of Life: A Theology*, ed. Pablo Richard et al (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), 3. The work was produced in Spanish in 1980 and is thus taken first in this survey.

³⁵⁰ "it is no accident that today the centrality and importance of the problem of idolatry have been discovered in Latin America. Idolatry is part of our deepest experience when we live, express, and communicate our faith in the God of Jesus Christ, in the present situation of extreme oppression on our continent. We live crushed under the idols of an oppressive and unjust system. ... Idolatry is a question of politics and a question of faith...capitalism is idolatrous rather than atheistic, which poses a political and theological problem at the same time, especially within the context of Latin American capitalism." Ibid., 24.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

³⁵² "The biblical message against idolatry reaches us very directly and deeply. It is a message that interprets our reality with no major exegetical complications. However, today we are living through a new situation, one that did not exist in biblical times, making this new anti-idolatry proclamation even more pressing and radical. This new reality is the *praxis of liberation*, with all its political, organic, and theoretical complexities. In biblical times, the possibility of a radical and conscious transformation of the economic and political structure of an idolatrous system did not yet exist. Today the possibility exists." Ibid., 24.

of Jesus Christ against the Olympus of the gods of the capitalist system."³⁵³ This is a call for radical action.

Richard continues to develop his ideas on the different models of church that he sees. He moves from the use of dominant, European theology to a refinement: "THE BASIC contrast in the Church in Latin America is between the *ruling Christendom* and the *Church that springs from the people*."³⁵⁴ These are seen to be in contrast: "analysis of progressive neo-conservatism is always seen against the liberating movement for renewal in the Church. So we are studying a negative phenomenon within a generally positive framework."³⁵⁵ Much of the article is taken up with a definition and discussion of terms. Classic conservatism is unconditional legitimisation by the Church of the ruling power or structure, Social Christianity is when that legitimisation is conditional. Christendom is the insertion of the Church into the overall social fabric whereby both Church and State legitimise each other, whichever model is used.³⁵⁶ He sees a crisis in the legitimacy of this approach born out of the reality of death of many in Latin America, the traditional understanding of the poor of "faith in the resurrection and hope in the kingdom" as the core of faith and the practice of some Christians within the wider struggle for the liberation of the poor and oppressed within Latin America.³⁵⁷ Richard sees this crisis forcing some³⁵⁸ to try to re-establish a new model of Christendom, which he labels as 'progressive neo-conservatism.' This model tries to import the progressive values of the people's

³⁵³ Ibid. 4.

³⁵⁴ Pablo Richard, "Progressive Neo-Conservatism in Latin America," *Concilium* 141 (1981), 51.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 51.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 51-53.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 54-55.

³⁵⁸ He points to "some highly-placed ecclesiastical institutions and persons, such as CELAM and some of its eminent theologians" Ibid., 55 as those following this route. This should be read to include Cardinal Alfonso López Trujillo (see 191 and following) and Roger Vekemans.

church but in such a way as to affirm the legitimacy of the ruling powers. This he does not accept.

He prefers:

a new model of the Church...in Latin America. This breaks completely with the model of Christendom,...It is a Church springing up on the margins of and against Christendom, offering no kind of legitimisation to the ruling powers or political system. This model of the Church is known as 'the people's Church or 'the Church that springs from the people', its existence was officially recognised in the Puebla Document (no.263). This new model of the Church is not opposed to the hierarchical or official Church, but only to the model of Christendom. It is a Church that does not use the ruling political powers as a means of taking shape in society, but depends solely on the power of the gospel and the strength of its faith, hope and charity.³⁵⁹

He proceeds to define more fully this "Church of the Poor". The main feature to note is that this church is part of "a larger process of mobilisation among the poorer classes in search of their liberation."³⁶⁰ This is expressed at various levels within the popular movement: as militant Christians, those involved in pastoral activity, the CEBs and the poor and believing people at the heart of the popular church.³⁶¹ The Church of the

³⁵⁹ Ibid. 53.

³⁶⁰ Leonardo Boff and Virgil Elizondo, "Editorial," *Concilium* 176 (1984) Pablo Richard, "The Church of the Poor within the Popular Movement (*Movimiento Popular*)," *Concilium* 176 (1984), 11.

³⁶¹ "Militant Christians" are those who "live their faith explicitly and publicly by giving it some form of ecclesial reference point of reference and basing it on some theological reflection." Some of these have been killed for their faith.

"Those involved in pastoral activity" are those with pastoral responsibilities in the Church (eg priests religious and others), "some of these agents have become directly involved in the political organisations of the people" but most "help the people pastorally on their way to political maturity."

CEBs "participate in the liberation movements and, within these, create a dimension within which Christians can pray, celebrate the faith and read the Bible."

Poor is both an outcome and a cause of the popular movement but the participation of the oppressed majority. The identity and mission of the popular church is within the popular movement and its place within the universal church is as a source of conversion and renewal of the universal vocation of the Church. The place of the Church of the Poor is to show "that God is with the poor in their struggle for liberation."³⁶² This is built on a spirituality growing from the experience of the poor of the presence of God in their struggle for liberation.³⁶³ This can be communicated through re-reading of the bible which allows a discernment of the place of God in history. This leads to theological reflection that can only affirm the place and practice of liberation. From this the Church of the Poor can only carry on "the practice and activity of Jesus amongst the poor and oppressed",³⁶⁴ something that seeks to renew rather than overturn the institutional church. He stresses that the Church of the Poor should never use political power, it is a church of service to the popular movement:

the mission of the Church of the Poor is simply to give a name and ecclesial expression to that God hidden in the heart of the popular movements and in their spiritual powers for liberation.³⁶⁵

In a further article looking at Christian Democracy within Latin America, Richard outlines an historical development and looks to a new model that he sees growing out of the recent Catholic Social Teaching - not just at Medellín and Puebla but also in the work of John Paul II.³⁶⁶ He outlines the new project, as before, as being within the

Richard, "The Church of the Poor within the Popular Movement (*Movimiento Popular*)," 11.

³⁶² Ibid., 13.

³⁶³ It should be noted that this spirituality "always begins with a political commitment and with an analysis of reality as necessary conditions of that spirituality which prepares us to accept the revelation of God in history." Ibid., 14.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 16 Gregory Baum and John Coleman, "Editorial," *Concilium* 193 (1987), xxii.

³⁶⁶ In the editorial summary of the article it reads "Liberation theology is therefore not simply a religious philosophy; it is closely associated with a new Catholic social project, religiously pluralistic

wider goal of the liberation of the poor. One extension is in his statement of common cause. He cites an extensive quotation from Ernesto Guevara³⁶⁷ and appears to make common cause with Marxists: "Today in Central America we no longer talk of 'Christians and Marxists', but of 'revolutionary Christians and non-Christians', so as to avoid ideological contrasts and emphasise common practice in which each recognises his or her own identity."³⁶⁸ He looks for the Church and Christians to "provide a structured and public Christian contribution to the historical project of liberating the poor."³⁶⁹

This survey has deliberately left out one volume. In English it is *Death of Christendoms, Birth of the Church*. This was first published in French in 1978, but is available in English in a translation, with updating and amendments by the author in Spanish, from 1987. This is Richard's most comprehensive work and is based on case studies from across the history and geography of Latin America.³⁷⁰ It brings both problems of time location and comprehension. Its contents are more accessible in the various articles and book sections that coalesce in this one volume that forms a compendium of the ideas in the works covered.

in nature, that calls for taking sides in the social struggle, for the option for the poor, for preferential solidarity with the masses. What is remarkable is that recent Catholic social teaching – first the Latin American bishops conferences at Medellin [sic] and Puebla and later John Paul II's *Laborem exercens* – actually supports the preferential option for the poor and the more conflictual politics that flows from this principle." Baum and Coleman, "Editorial," xxii. See also Pablo Richard, "Political Organisation of Christians in Latin America: from Christian Democracy to a New Model," *Concilium* 193 (1987a), 18, 22.

³⁶⁷ More often known as Che Guevara, Ernesto Guevara de la Serna 1928-1967 was born in Argentina and trained as a doctor he was also widely read in radical philosophy and politics. He was part of Castro's Cuban revolution and Minister for Industries from 1961-1965. As Director of the National Bank he signed banknotes 'Che'; a nickname derived from his habit of punctuating his speech with 'Che', a common Argentine expression for friend. Following a speech in Algiers critical of the USSR he was sacked and travelled the world in support of various revolutionary movements. He was killed in Bolivia on 9 October 1967.

³⁶⁸ Richard, "Political Organisation of Christians in Latin America: from Christian Democracy to a New Model," 21.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 23.

In taking an overview of the position of Richard it is easiest to return to the discussion that followed the 1976 paper in Geneva. Here Metropolitan Emilianos³⁷¹ asked whether it was the main task of the Church to change society? His writings suggest that, put simply, the answer to that question is that the Church is called upon to participate in the changing of society through the liberation of the oppressed.

Hugo Assmann

A further step from Gutierrez is Hugo Assmann.³⁷² He is an important early figure in liberation theology.³⁷³ This survey will draw on some of his works.³⁷⁴ The most

³⁷⁰ The breadth of Richard's grasp of liberation theology across Latin America is apparent in Pablo Richard, "The Theological Literature of Latin America," *Concilium* 199 (1988), 76-89.

³⁷¹ Emilianos Zacharopoulos was born in 1915 in Turkey, Ordained deacon in 1937 and later priest. Elected Metropolitan of Selevkia in 1959 but exiled from Turkey in 1964. Elected as the first metropolitan of the Archdiocese of Belgium and Exarchate of the Netherlands and Luxembourg in 1969, he has been His Eminence the Most Reverend Metropolitan Emilianos of Kos since 1982.

³⁷² Hugo Assmann was born in Brazil in 1933. He has studied widely and has qualifications in social sciences, theology and mass communications. He has been exiled from Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay. He has taught in a number of locations and has been part of the School of Journalism at the University of Costa Rica. He is also part of the Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones, established in 1976 at the same university. James Penney, "Introduction to the Articles by Clodovis Boff, Frei Betto and Hugo Assmann," *Religion, State and Society* 21, no. 1 (1993), 21-22. Reports that at that time Assmann was a Professor of Postgraduate Studies in Human and Social Sciences at the Methodist University of Piracicaba in the state of São Paulo, from this we can assume that his exile from Brazil was at an end. Deane William Ferm, *Profiles in Liberation* (Mystic, CN: Twenty-Third Publications, 1988), 117 confirms that he was allowed to return to Brazil in 1981. He retired from the post at Piracicaba in November 2005 on grounds of ill health. Michael Novak, *Will it liberate?* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1986), 237 recalls a dinner from 1985 that shows him to have been a priest but that he is now married. It also suggests (241) that he is an influential man but that he prefers to keep in the background. Homrighausen also describes him as a priest (Elmer G Homrighausen, "Church and State in Korea, Russia, and Latin America," *Theology Today* 31, no. 2 (1974), 146). Ferm does not record him as being a priest.

Eagleson, ed., *Christians and Socialism* 234 and 245 f12 suggest that in 1975 he was regarded by some as being as important and influential as Gutierrez.

³⁷³ Michael J Cook, "Jesus from the other side of history: christology in Latin America," *Theological Studies* 44, no. 2 (1983), 261 suggests that Assmann both follows a similar line to Gutierrez and predates him. This survey, therefore, will not outline Assmann's thought in full but highlight the points of divergence from Gutierrez.

³⁷⁴ James W Savolainen, "A communist's reflection on the intellectual history of Marx as a critique of the "Marxist Christian" project," *Dialog* 23, no. 4 (1984), 283, 285 f6 shows that most of his works only exist in Spanish. The few from this period that do exist in English are often not relevant to this work e.g. Hugo Assmann, "Theological Training and the diversity of ministries," *International Review of Mission* 66, no. January (1977).

famous is *Practical Theology of Liberation*.³⁷⁵ This is a collection of essays with an Introduction from Gutiérrez.³⁷⁶ This shows that the two were close at the time. This can also be seen in their collaboration on the *Final Document* of the Christians for Socialism Convention in 1972.³⁷⁷ The first essay seeks to place a theology of liberation in an historical context, both time and place; it starts from the situation of a dominated Latin America. It is a political theology that uses secular sciences in its analysis of that situation and thus has an ethical and political position, an inherent support of a liberating historical process.³⁷⁸

The second essay is far longer but has a similar method built on a general survey followed by investigation of more specific areas. He continues to stress the importance of being rooted historically and seeks to clarify what he means by a theology of liberation and the tasks before it. In essence he argues that "for critical reflection to become theology, it must have the distinctive characteristics of reference to faith and the historical embodiments of this faith - the Bible and the history of Christianity."³⁷⁹ Furthermore for it to be good theology it must have "the added

³⁷⁵ This title is not without its problems. Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 113 f93 notes "The pamphlet first appeared in 1969, but was not formally published until a year later, as H. Assmann, *Teología de la Liberación: una evaluación prospectiva* (Montevideo: MIEC-JECI, 1970). This was then developed and expanded into a larger volume (a collection of smaller writings), H. Assmann, *Opresión-Liberación: Desafío a los Cristianos* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1971). With further elaboration these became *Teología desde de la praxis de la liberación. Ensayo teológico desde la América dependiente* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1973), 27-102. A partial English translation of this was published in the U.K. as *A Practical Theology of Liberation* (trans. P. Burns; London: Search Press, 1975). Apparently Assmann objected to the translation of the title (saying that he did not know what practical theology was), and when published in the United States, it was titled *Theology for a Nomad Church* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1976)." Cook, "Jesus from the other side of history: christology in Latin America," 261 f9 says that *Theology for a Nomad Church* is not the whole work. Savolainen, "A communist's reflection on the intellectual history of Marx as a critique of the "Marxist Christian" project," 285 f6 describes it as "An abridged translation of uneven quality". Thus I have used *Practical Theology of Liberation* despite the author's reservations over the title.

³⁷⁶ The Introduction was also published as Gutiérrez, "Liberation, Theology and Proclamation," See Chapter 2, 50-53.

³⁷⁷ See f76, f330 and Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, 150.

³⁷⁸ Hugo Assmann, *Practical Theology of Liberation*, trans. Paul Burns (London: Search Press, 1975), 29-39.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

criteria of reference to the historical value of experience, such as the process of liberation in history, and these can only be formed through the secular sciences."³⁸⁰ In this exposition conflict is a constant theme. As with Richard, Assmann uses far stronger language than Gutiérrez; a more active palette. He makes the political aspect and its call for action explicit in a theology of liberation:

If the final eschatological vision isn't made operative, and doesn't become a practical articulation of hope, it is a pretext for evading the facts of history. The political aspect of eschatology is therefore an important recurring theme in the theology of liberation.³⁸¹

True Christian faith leads to participation in the struggle for liberation.³⁸²

The third essay concentrates particularly on the language around the theology of liberation. The fourth is the most important for this survey as it focuses on the specific Christian contribution to liberation in Latin America. He reiterates that this presupposes an understanding that people in Latin America are oppressed and that such a statement represents a political and ethical stance, in itself.³⁸³ He then surveys that place of the Church at the global and local level and notes that, while some have made encouraging noises, the Church remains part of the status quo.³⁸⁴ There are, however, some Christians committed to the process of liberation and it is to them that he turns. These Christians are marked by a rejection of the model of development and a commitment to the liberation of the oppressed as an historical process. It is this

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 68.

³⁸² Ibid., 81 and further "the situation is more acute in Latin America, where the obvious urgency of the struggle for liberation does not leave many alternatives open to the Church, and where sometimes priorities have to be decided in relation to only one possible course of action" (98). "The biggest differences now are not between pre-conciliar traditionalists and post-conciliar reformers, who are almost exclusively concerned with internal ecclesial and pastoral reform and tend to avoid politics; they are between those and Christians truly committed to the needs of the struggle for liberation" (99).

³⁸³ Ibid., 129.

liberation that forms the reference point of their faith and thus they reject traditional Christian social teaching as inadequate and look to the tools of Marxism.³⁸⁵ This leads to commitment in action and that includes the Church being part of the class struggle. The effect of the commitment of these Christians to the oppressed is to bring them into conflict with other Christians and the Church. The oppressed and exploited have a clear personal interest in the project of liberation and Christians can be part of that if they fully side with the poor and oppressed. They can legitimately do this if they see such liberation as a true embodiment of love and it is in this that Christians can make a distinct contribution to the project of liberation, but this must lead to action.³⁸⁶

Assmann was one of those who spoke for Latin America at Detroit in 1976.³⁸⁷ In his address he gives consideration to the privileged position of the poor and argues that can only be interpreted to cover those who actively struggle to change their situation.³⁸⁸ He sees revolution as "a precondition of Christian faith"³⁸⁹ and social science as an important tool in the development of that faith.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 132-136.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 138 "In general they [Christians committed to liberation] realize that the traditional contributions of Christian social teaching - which has been discussed with growing freedom in Latin America in recent years - are wholly inadequate for acting on the more radical implications of faith as the practice of liberation. As a result, until a viable Christian body of thought can be elaborated, they inevitably turn to the analytical techniques of Marxism, often without taking account of the possible overall consequences". It should be noted that in his discussion of the Christian contribution to liberation (139-141) the quotations are from Engels and Che Guevara and not the Bible.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 141-145.

³⁸⁷ See p22. Assmann spoke on Monday 18 August 1976.

³⁸⁸ Hugo Assmann, "Statement by Hugo Assmann" in *Theology in the Americas*, ed. Sergio Torres and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), 300 "In order to be in such a privileged position, it is absolutely necessary to be a *struggling* poor person, to be a poor person struggling in an efficient way, not just moving around...A struggling poor person means a poor person with at least a beginning of class consciousness, class awareness, and this implies a lot of things on a socio-analytic level. Struggling means loving in an effective way, with a revolutionary horizon, with strategic goals and practical praxis steps...The privileged poor of the gospel are the struggling poor, struggling within an holistic perspective of revolution."

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 299, 301.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 302.

His next work goes in two directions. Firstly, he looks at the debate and need for a Christology that reflects the Latin American situation. He rejects the ideas of a Christ outside present history for one "on the side of the oppressed and against their oppressors";³⁹¹ a Christ who "keeps pointing toward the future because that is where we will encounter him. His challenge to liberate the oppressed implies an ongoing revolution, but a realistic rather than an idealistic one."³⁹²

Secondly, he follows Richard in his consideration of idols. This is prefigured in earlier works³⁹³ and follows similar lines to Richard. In his consideration Assmann uses examples of poetry written by those directly fighting oppression to illustrate his position,³⁹⁴ this is a concrete example of the Puebla "evangelising potential of the poor."³⁹⁵ Assmann says he includes the poems for their "capacity to express the mind of the believers who are struggling for liberation. And I try to bring out their ability to identify and denounce the idolatrous nature of their oppressors' alleged faith."³⁹⁶

There is still a strong call for action:

in the spontaneous naturalness of that massive Christian presence in revolutionary process, [Nicaragua] lies the major datum that must not be distorted or manipulated on behalf of outdated designs of Christianity...But let no one be deceived: the old ties of certain sectors of the church with certain

³⁹¹ Hugo Assmann, "The Power of Christ in History: Conflicting Christologies and Discernment" in *Frontiers of Theology in Latin America*, ed. Rosino Gibellini (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 146. A very similar article appears as Hugo Assmann, "The Actuation of the Power of Christ in History: Notes on the Discernment of Christological Contradiction" in *Faces of Jesus: Latin American Christologies*, ed. José Míguez Bonino (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984). This second article is missing the introduction of the first, is in a different translation and is differently laid out, but although there are some changes, the central thrust is sufficiently similar for it to require no further consideration here.

³⁹² Assmann, "The Power of Christ in History: Conflicting Christologies and Discernment", 146.

³⁹³ E.g. Assmann, *Practical Theology of Liberation*, 89.

³⁹⁴ These include Che Guevara (see f367 and 385), a number of other less well known fighters killed in revolutionary activity and tellingly an extract from a Nicaraguan Peasant Mass.

sectors of the ruling classes call for constant vigilance to thwart any resumption of manipulation of the Christian faith against the forward march of the revolution.³⁹⁷

He argues that the true faith of the poor can only emerge in situations of revolutionary action³⁹⁸ and it is this that challenges the false or idolatrous faith of the oppressor.³⁹⁹

A theme that emerges in both Richard and Assmann is of a church that has sided with the oppressors, that stands with the colonial powers and the power structures that they leave. Both writers reject that approach to the faith as a false interpretation, Richard calls it Christendom and the same term can be found in Assmann. They call on Christians to be part of a wider movement of liberation and thus to reject much of the institutional church, siding instead for active change. We have seen above that Gutiérrez sought to stress his place within the thinking of that Church during the attacks of the 1980s. That was a response to the attacks from Rome but can also be seen in different relation to the works of Richard and Assmann despite the suggestions that within the 1970s the works of Gutiérrez and Assmann were very close.

³⁹⁵ Hugo Assmann, "The Faith of the Poor in Their Struggle with Idols" in *The Idols of Death and the God of Life: A Theology*, ed. Pablo Richard et al (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), 194.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 195.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 195-196.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 199 "the potential for a "theological faith" latent in popular religiosity cannot be activated except under historical conditions for struggle based on very concrete liberation causes."

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 200 "it is possible to discover (under certain historical conditions) a symbology and a religious self-expression that are intrinsically, not accidentally, revolutionary...In a confrontation with the religion of the dominator, an oppressed people, by expressing its faith linked with its historical action, carries out a process of expropriating the means of symbolic production held by the oppressors. This

Conclusion

There are other critiques of liberation theology, in general and the work of Gutiérrez, in particular,⁴⁰⁰ but this chapter has considered those from within Gutiérrez's own context and they have been chosen to represent various strands.

The works of Richard⁴⁰¹ and Assmann⁴⁰² offer the critique that Gutiérrez and others did not go far enough in their liberation theology.⁴⁰³ The various Papal documents and other criticism from within the Vatican strongly question Liberation Theology and particularly its association with Marxist thought but appear eventually to step back from the final assertion that Gutiérrez and Liberation Theology are Marxist. These two critical strands, emerging from Gutiérrez's own context, have been covered in this chapter. Those who were widely read in the Scottish Episcopal Church might have been aware of these critiques as they considered Liberation Theology in the 1988 General Synod. The next chapter will look at the tools that were explicitly placed at their disposal for their discussions. It will start by looking at how Liberation Theology

expropriation entails the exposure of the contradiction that exists between the uses of the same religious symbols in a society comprised of opposing classes."

⁴⁰⁰ See Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey*, 100-117; Brown, *Gustavo Gutiérrez: An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 131-156. It should be noted, however, that both writers are strident and dismissive in their reaction to these critiques and often give them very short shrift e.g. Brown 132 "Such charges need not be dignified by serious comment, and are mentioned here only to illustrate that persons who ought to know better frequently do not." The substance of their dismissals is born from the argument that those making the criticisms are misinformed, ignorant or wrong.

⁴⁰¹ Richard's further work has looked in particular at broadening out the definition of the poor to include racial, cultural and gender criteria as well as study of the book of Revelation. See Pablo Richard and Team, "Challenges to Liberation Theology" in *New Face of the Church in Latin America*, ed. Guillermo Cook, *American Society of Missiology Series* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994) and Pablo Richard, "A Latin American Evaluation of Oaxtepec" in *Third World Theologies: Commonalities & Divergences*, ed. K C Abraham (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990).

⁴⁰² The developments in Assmann's thinking after the period of this study led him to a more economic consideration of matters, particularly based on the concept of the market. Hugo Assmann, "Liberation Theology: Looking Forward," *Religion, State and Society* 21, no. 1 (1993), 39-52, Claudio de Oliveira Ribiero, "Has Liberation Theology Died?" *Ecumenical Review* 51, no. 3 (1999), 304-314, esp 309, Jung Mo Sung, "The Human Being as Subject" in *Latin American Liberation Theology*, ed. Ivan Petrella (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 1-18, esp 13.

⁴⁰³ E.g. William R Barr, "Debated Issues in Liberation Theology," *Theology Today* 43, no. 4 (1987), 510-523, esp 514.

was engaged with generally by the British Churches before moving to the Scottish Episcopal Church in particular.

Chapter Four - The Churches in Britain

In the period following Vatican II we have seen that there were major developments in Latin America. There were also changes in the British churches. There were a large number of individuals who were deeply concerned by the plight of the poor and undertook innovative work and projects in order to both make a difference and raise awareness.⁴⁰⁴ However, this chapter will look at the institutional church responses to the "Option for the Poor", before focussing specifically on the Scottish Episcopal Church.

⁴⁰⁴ The list of such individuals is, by definition, incomplete as much of this work was done quietly. It could also be very long.

The place of basic Christian groups in this is covered in David Clark, *The Liberation of the Church* (Birmingham: National Centre for Christian Communities, 1984) and includes a long list of initiatives (92-126). He makes it clear that these groups are different from the CEBs that were emerging in Latin America (these are covered in chapter 1). There are significant differences between the two models and Clark expands on this in an appendix (188-191).

A small number of individuals:

David Sheppard lived from 1929 - 2005. Educated at Sherborne and Cambridge. He captained England at cricket before retiring early to concentrate on his ministry. Ordained in 1955 early part of this was spent in London in Canning Town and from 1969 as Bishop of Woolwich. He was the youngest ever diocesan when consecrated Bishop of Liverpool in 1975, retiring in 1997. He wrote a number of books and gave many lectures incl. David Sheppard, *Built as a City* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), 1 in which he notes that "a distinctive mark of the mission of Jesus Christ is the 'good news' that is proclaimed to the poor". In a later work (David Sheppard, *Bias to the poor* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), 150-151) he was considering Liberation theology and states "It is the argument of this book that the Church is called to a bias towards the poor in the Western democracies as well as in Latin America.". He expresses reservation about Liberation Theology (157-158) but argues that the Church is called to a bias to the poor (9-18). Sheppard is an important individual because he had a structural place within the Established Church (as a Bishop within the House of Lords and later as a life peer (appointed 1998); as Chair of the Board of Social Responsibility) as well as within the national consciousness having been a captain of England.

The Urban Theology Unit, based in Sheffield and lead by John Vincent was an important centre of thinking and played a major part in the development of Methodist initiatives, as did David Haslam. Haslam was involved in a number of conferences and as well as Radical Methodism and went on to be Secretary of the Churches Commission for Racial Justice. Within the Roman Catholic Community Fr Austin Smith published Austin Smith, *Passion for the Inner City: A Personal View* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1983) but there were many others.

Within Scotland the Gorbals Group that included John Harvey (later leader of the Iona Community see f442), Richard and Jean Holloway (see f457) should be mentioned. It is discussed in Elizabeth Marshall, *Nasturtiums and nettles: forty years of social work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway* (Glasgow: Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway Social Responsibility Unit, 1995), 5-13 and Edward

Churches

The Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales took some while to take on board Vatican II⁴⁰⁵ but a National Pastoral Conference was held in Liverpool from 2-6 May 1980 attended by 2,115 delegates.⁴⁰⁶ There was considerable consultation in the build up to the conference and it was called "consciously and purposefully to apply to our life and work as the People of God the teachings and consequences of the Second Vatican Council."⁴⁰⁷ The closing declaration included the statement that "the first concern of Christians must be for the poor of the world, at home and abroad"⁴⁰⁸ and Cardinal Hume's closing homily referred to the poor as being among "God's special friends".⁴⁰⁹ Following the Congress the Bishops issued *The Easter People: a message from the Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales in the light of the National*

Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1996), 66.

⁴⁰⁵ Robert Nowell, "The Church in England and Wales" in *The Church Now*, ed. John Cumming and Paul Burns (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 15 suggests "Vatican II took English Catholics rather by surprise." Anthony Archer, *The Two Catholic Churches: A Study in Oppression* (London: SCM Press, 1986), 197-201 points to left wing Catholics in England in the 1960s and early 1970s but says that this movement came to an end in the mid 1970s leaving "its survivors to point to the distant hope of the liberation movement in South America and the theology attached to this as embodying the true patrimony of the church... Their starting point was to be the hearing 'in the depths of our hearts the cry of the oppressed, a hearing which will call each one of us, in all differing ways, "to exist and suffer with" the powerless' (201).

In correspondence with Julian Filochowski, who was at CIIR in the 1970s and 1980s, before he became Director of CAFOD, he writes "I don't think that the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales had any theology of liberation in its thinking or documentation although in the latter years when the option for the poor became part of the lexicon of the Catholic magisterium in Rome then that idea was incorporated" Julian Filochowski, 13 April 2006.

The reasons for the move of the "Option for the Poor" from a number of individuals to the institutional churches is beyond the scope of this work: but important factors include the ongoing decline of British industry in the 1970s, the significant rise in unemployment in the last 1970s and early 1980s and the change in political outlook from 1979. This is covered in Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London: Collins, 1986), 589-601 while the response of the churches appears in the subsequent chapters.

⁴⁰⁶ 42 bishops attended, along with 255 clergy, 150 religious and 36 ecumenical observers. The rest and the bulk of the delegates were Roman Catholic laity. Michael P Hornsby-Smith, *Roman Catholics in England: studies in social structure since the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 37 National Pastoral Congress, *Liverpool 1980: Official report of the National Pastoral Congress* (Slough: St Paul Publications, 1981), 5.

⁴⁰⁷ National Pastoral Congress, *Liverpool 1980: Official report of the National Pastoral Congress*, xv.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 298.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 302.

Pastoral Congress. The strong hint of preference that had been present at the Congress is lacking in this response which refers more to concern and commitment towards the poor rather than preference.⁴¹⁰ The Congress itself had seen a preference for the poor but that bishops backed away and put other priorities forward.

One growth that emerged sooner after Vatican II appeared in the para-Church agencies of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly those following a peace and justice agenda emerging from *Gaudium et Spes* and various papal encyclicals. The most important, in terms of the "Option for the Poor" was the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR). This has recently become *Progressio* and its website, looking back, states:

In the 1970s, following the Second Vatican Council and the statement of the Catholic Church's commitment to the option for the poor, progressive elements in the Catholic Church supported grassroots liberation movements.

CIIR's then education department supported the progressive elements of the church in various liberation and human rights struggles in Central America, southern Africa and Asia. CIIR published booklets on liberation theology and promoted progressive church speakers.⁴¹¹

CAFOD is the official agency for overseas development of the Roman Catholic Church and it has also had the "Option for the Poor" on its agenda from the 1970's. It is possible that the representation of these agencies and their members at the National

⁴¹⁰ *The Easter People* §124, 166 and 196 in *Ibid.*, 360, 377 and 393.

⁴¹¹ www.ciir.org/Templates/internal.asp?nodeid=91445&int1stParentNodeID=89624 Julian Filowchowski reports that "we did a great deal to disseminate liberation theology and its ideas and imported the first copies of the Gutierrez opus from Orbis Books in the US in 1973/4 until SCM were finally persuaded to publish it in Britain. We brought over Cesar Jerez, Jon Sobrino and others to speak at various conferences seminars etc. CIIR subsequently published a number of pamphlets and booklets on liberation theology and spread the word in the Justice and Peace Network in Britain." Filochowski,

Pastoral Conference helped to push that conference towards the option, certainly there was a minority within the church for whom it was important.⁴¹²

The Methodist Church appointed an Inner City Committee in 1973 and this led to the establishment of "Mission Alongside the Poor".⁴¹³ This was a fund to support the work of the Methodist Church in the poorest areas. It was set up in 1981 and ran to 1995 when it was subsumed into wider budgets. Some of the objectives of the project were laid out in a workbook prepared by the Urban Theology Unit in Sheffield for the Methodist Church:

to expose the divisions of society today, to arouse the Christian conscience about poverty and deprivation, to study the gospel as good news to the poor, to hold up places and activities which represent Christ's mission among the poor, to motivate the whole church to share in the church's mission among the needy in the cities.⁴¹⁴

Vincent is clear in seeing this as a "preferential option for the poor" as well as part of the heritage of John Wesley's preference for the life and company of the poor.⁴¹⁵

Faith in the City

Faith in the City was written by The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas. This was a body called into being on the personal initiative of Archbishop Runcie and reporting to him. It was modelled on the idea of a Royal

⁴¹² Hornsby-Smith, *Roman Catholics in England: studies in social structure since the Second World War*, 177-179.

⁴¹³ See Derek R Farrow and John J Vincent, "Mission Alongside the Poor" in *A Dictionary of Methodism*, ed. John A Vickers (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2000).

⁴¹⁴ John Vincent, *Two Nations, One Gospel*, vol. 14, *New City Journal* (Sheffield: New City, Urban Theology Unit, 1981), 2 When cited in John Munsey Turner, *Modern Methodism in England 1932 - 1998* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1998), 36 the 'expose' has been replaced with 'explore'.

⁴¹⁵ John J Vincent, "The Poor" in *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland*, ed. John A Vickers (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2000), 276.

Commission i.e. a panel of experts called together to give in depth consideration to a matter and make recommendations for action. The terms of reference were:

To examine the strengths, insights, problems and needs of the Church's life and mission in Urban Priority Areas and, as a result, to reflect on the challenge which God may be making to Church and Nation: and to make recommendations to appropriate bodies.⁴¹⁶

It was chaired by Sir Richard O'Brien, a layman who had recently retired as head of the Manpower Services Commission with The Bishop of Liverpool, David Sheppard, as his deputy and called upon a wide range of experience and backgrounds in the 16 other members, along with six resource people. The methods of the Commission included a series of visits to areas of urban deprivation with a focus on hearing the views of local residents.

Faith in the City has a clear, inescapable, theological heart⁴¹⁷ laid out over two chapters but sufficiently covered in the first paragraph. Under the heading "What is the place of Theology in Our Argument?" it states:

⁴¹⁶ Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith in the City* (London: Church House Publishing, 1985), iii.

⁴¹⁷ This is my reading of the report. Following its publication there was considerable discussion in the media and church circles. Many saw it as a report that was weak in its development of its theology. Duncan B Forrester, ed., *Faith in the Scottish City* (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1986)11 talks of its "explicit theology, laid out in chapters three and four, which it must be said is bland in a distinctively Anglican way, and academic in the sense of being detached. It is not surprising that this theology is not integrated in a wholly convincing way with the rest of the report as it is hardly capable of throwing light on the great issues which are addressed." In Duncan B Forrester, *Beliefs, Values and Policies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 84-86 there is a further expansion of this and complaint that the theology is an addition to the report rather than its core. This points to the critique provided by Nigel Biggar, *Theological Politics* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1988) This sees theology as the weakest dimension of the report and says that this is because it embraces Liberation Theology: "There is an alternative explanation of the failure of Faith in the City to allow theological belief to have a critical impact upon common social ethical concepts: its commitment to the theological and ethical method of Liberation Theology." Biggar, *Theological Politics*, 44.

This view of the theological content of *Faith in the City* is not universal. "Contrary to a number of comments on *Faith in the City*, the Report was not weak on theology. That its theological reflection tended to be somewhat tentative and provisional is due both to issues under review, namely inner-city deprivation and the Church's response, and to the present state of play in the Western tradition of theology." Andrew Kirk, "A Different Task: Liberation Theology and Local Theologies" in *Theology*

The teaching of Jesus makes many demands on us. Some of them may seem difficult to meet in the social and political conditions of today, and theological reflection may be required to show their continuing relevance. Others, however, are of such simplicity and directness that theology may seem to have little, if anything, to add to them. Jesus' call to show compassion on those in need is one of these: it finds an immediate response in the hearts of Christians (and not only Christians). No 'theology' is required to drive it home.⁴¹⁸

In many ways the rest of the document is a commentary on this one paragraph. The report is clear that the Church has a duty to acknowledge its obligation to remember the poor and that it has not always done so. However "it should be sufficient to sound the alert: there is a clear demand on us all to come to the aid of those who have fallen so far behind the relative prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us."⁴¹⁹ The only question arises when one asks how this is done. This is reflected upon in the conclusion to the chapter that recognises both a personal and a societal dimension to the transformation

in the City: A Theological Response to Faith in the City, ed. Anthony Harvey (London: SPCK, 1989), 15 "Theology has taken a front seat in responses to the Report...The Report itself speaks of 'an inescapable theological debate' and therefore those of us who support the Report must welcome the fact that its theology is being so actively debated. A right theology is vital for our ministry in the inner city. We are encouraged that the General Synod Standing Committee Report says, 'In the coming phase there is a need, first, for theological reflection' Roger Sainsbury and John Holden, "What sort of THEOLOGY?" in *Taking on Faith in the City*, ed. David Newman (Nottingham: Grove Books Limited, 1986), 7. What is clear is that different critics were looking for different things. As Kirk puts it: "What critics may have wanted to see was some kind of systematic theological reflection on such topics as the nature of human life, justice and injustice, reconciliation and salvation, starting from a firm base in Christian doctrine. What they did find was the beginning of a re-evaluation of the theological task as such." He continues to recognise "the vital contribution already made by liberation and other Third World theologies to the fulfilment of this hope" Kirk, "A Different Task: Liberation Theology and Local Theologies", 15. Those who were more satisfied with the theology were those who appear more positive about liberation theology.

It should also be noted that there were a number of diocesan responses reflecting on the local situations. These are listed in Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Living Faith in the City* (London: General Synod of the Church of England, 1990), 168-169.

⁴¹⁸ Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith in the City*, 47 §3.1; 56 §3.18; 73 §4.3.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 48 §3.3 See also §3.42 (1) "It requires no theological argument to show that the misery, indignity and despair which we have encountered in the cities of England demand a response from all

that is called for.⁴²⁰ There is a clear "Option for the Poor" espoused that cannot be ignored and for which the Report, in the traditional style of Anglican understatement, feels no need to over emphasise – put simply it is so obvious that it would be improper and impolite to insult the intelligence of the reader by continual repetition. The Report points to Liberation Theology as a model for reviewing both thought and practice and holds it up as something of value.⁴²¹ It outlines many of the key features of Liberation Theology as central to the future of the Church⁴²² and points out that the Church of England has much to learn from its Urban Priority Areas.

The rest of the report simply takes these principles and using a methodology that Liberation Theology would recognise in that the tools of the social sciences are used to establish the reality, this is viewed through the eyes of the poor and appropriate recommendations made to both Church and Nation. It should be noted that they are made more to Church than to Nation.

The impact of the Report was considerable⁴²³ but this thesis will restrict itself to the impact on the Churches. The major impact was on the Church of England which set up the Church Urban Fund in 1987. By 2005 the Fund had distributed over £54

members of the Church (as they already receive from other sensitive observers). It should be sufficient to alert the Christian conscience to the plight of so many of our fellow citizens.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 68 §3.42 (2-4).

⁴²¹ Ibid., 63 §3.32-3.36.

⁴²² E.g. Ibid., 56 §3.18; 58-59 §3.22; 61-62 §3.29; 66-67 §3.39.

⁴²³ Some of the theological responses have been considered above and the Report also excited much interest in both the media and Parliament see Biggar, *Theological Politics*, 5-6. Davie notes that "Not only did it provoke a considerable action at the time, it also spawned a whole series of subsequent studies...The political repercussions were, however, considerable. For an established church can, it seems, still create an impact denied to other denominations and bring to the attention of the nation as a whole the plight of those living in the most deprived areas of Britain's larger conurbations. The Church of England had in fact achieved what the Labour Party had so consistently failed to do; that is, to push issues of deprivation – and in particular urban deprivation – to the top of the political agenda." Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain: since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1994), 152.

Turner sees *Faith in the City* as a prestigious report but feels that it needed the Church Urban Fund to give it teeth (36).

million to over 4,000 faith based projects in the poorest parts of England.⁴²⁴ At that point the General Synod committed itself to continuing the Fund. Throughout its history publications had recognised the place of Liberation Theology in its thinking⁴²⁵ and this was echoed in the debate at the Synod.⁴²⁶

Scotland

The Scottish Churches' response can be seen in a conference held at New College, Edinburgh on

1 March 1986 by the Centre for Theology and Public Issues in co-operation with the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland, the Social

⁴²⁴ Fran Beckett, "The Church Urban Fund - A New Future," (Church of England, 2005), 1.

⁴²⁵ E.g. Archbishop of Canterbury's Advisory Group on Urban Priority Areas, *Living Faith in the City* (London: General Synod of the Church of England, 1990), 10-16 esp 12-13; Archbishop of Canterbury's Advisory Group on Urban Priority Areas, *Staying in the City* (London: Church House Publishing, 1995), 112 including the statement that "God puts poor and oppressed people first and we should too". It is noticeable that Liberation Theology and the "Option for the Poor" are not visible in Archbishop of Canterbury's Urban Theology Group, *God in the City* (London: Mowbray, 1995)

⁴²⁶ The Bishop of Willesden, Pete Broadbent, opened the debate: "I want to take the Synod back to the heady days on the 1980s and *Faith in the City*. For those of us who worked in the inner cities in those days, that report was ground-breaking. At last, the Church was owning its commitment to the poor and disadvantaged in our cities and our outer estates, in the face of Government denials that the situation on the ground was as the report painted it. However, when the political and theological debate that *Faith in the City* provoked had died away as the Church of England as a whole assimilated its recommendations, the Church Urban Fund emerged as perhaps the most significant lasting legacy of that report" (General Synod proceedings 10 July 2005 251) and continued: "Yes, there is a risk involved, but our commitment to the poor and disadvantaged, our continuing desire for the Church of England to be there in every place, not reneging on our mission task, is actually spelt R-I-S-K. We have to take the risk for the poor to whom we are committed." Church of England, *Proceedings of the General Synod* (www.cofe.anglican.org/about/gensynod/proceedings/july2005/r3j05.pdf, 2005 [cited 20 July 2009])

A number of contributors referred to the place of *Faith in the City* in their submissions and one stated "The publication of *Faith in the City* in 1985 was arguably the best thing that the Church of England has done for the nation since the second world war" and continued: "The gospel is good news to the poor because it is a message of liberation, a message of grace and a message of community. Poverty is about marginalization, vulnerability, isolation and exclusion. The most important thing that the Church can do for the poor is to be the Church, to be a place where people can find a sense of welcome and belonging. Good social inclusion involves more than providing for the poor. We want people to regain their God-given dignity as human beings made to contribute to community life. At the heart of good social action is the participation of those in need. Twenty years on the biblical and mission imperative is timeless" Church of England, *Proceedings of the General Synod* ([cited]).

Responsibility Committee of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Peace and Justice Commission of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴²⁷

The intention was that it would "stimulate much serious discussion of the implications for Scotland of Faith in the City."⁴²⁸ The seminar started with an introduction to the report by its chair, Sir Richard O'Brien, followed by a number of responses from different perspectives, most of which were academic. The most interesting responses came from those working on the ground in Scotland. The Rev John Miller⁴²⁹ from Castlemilk described *Faith in the City* as "a 22 ounce exercise in the powerful talking to one another"⁴³⁰ but reserved his strongest criticism for his own Church of Scotland. Overall, the seminar downplays the importance of the report in Scotland while acknowledging that there are issues to be addressed.⁴³¹

The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland might be expected to be the first of the Scottish Churches to be influenced by the "Option for the Poor", as it had originally emerged within the Roman Catholic Church. However, the Scottish Church is very conservative and that proved not to be the case.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ Forrester, ed., *Faith in the Scottish City* frontispiece.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ John Miller was born in 1941. Educated at Oxford, Edinburgh and Union Theological Seminary in NY he worked as an assistant in Edinburgh before being ordained and inducted to Castlemilk East Church in 1971. He has been there ever since with the exception of 2001-2002 when he was Moderator of the General Assembly. Biographies of Church of Scotland Ministers are taken from John Alexander Lamb, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. IX (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), Donald Farquhar Macleod Macdonald, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. X (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1981), Finlay Angus John Macdonald, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, vol. XI (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) Forrester, ed., *Faith in the Scottish City* 16 and various yearbooks.

⁴³⁰ Robert Whiteman, "Culture, Denomination and History," *Connections* 8, no. 3 (2004).

⁴³¹ This outlook should not be seen as surprising. It is a product of the outlook of the Scottish churches and the Church of Scotland, in particular, as seen in the response of Duncan Forrester above and the initial response of the Church of Scotland seen below. An exploration of the reasons for this is started in John Cumming and Paul Burns, eds., *The Church Now* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980).

⁴³² Anthony Ross, "The Church in Scotland" in *The Church Now*, ed. John Cumming and Paul Burns (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 29-30 contains a chapter on the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland and paints it as highly conservative, even after Vatican II. Two quotations illustrate this: "Theology has not flourished among Scottish Catholics in the twentieth century, although there have been some hopeful signs of growing interest since the second Vatican Council. But it was a Scottish bishop who declared on television, not so many years ago, that crocodiles were created by the Devil,

and another Scottish bishop who rebuked a priest who had echoed St Jerome's reservations about the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with the words: 'We want none of your continental theology here!' Ross, "The Church in Scotland", 31.

"Among some of the socially and politically conscious young people in the Church there is a feeling that not enough is done in Scotland in the cause of social improvement. There is a Commission for Justice and Peace, as there are other commissions reflecting the ideas of Vatican II – but, 'what do they do?' is the cry? The answer is 'very little usually, except to hold meetings and produce reports'. Scotland is a land of committees, grinding more slowly than the proverbial 'mills of God', and the Catholic Church can match the established Church of Scotland any day in the art of setting up committees with high sounding titles, and a fine standard of annual window dressing reports." John Cooney, *Scotland and the Papacy* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris Publishing, 1982).

Roman Catholicism in Scotland is divided into 2 Provinces (East and West) that meet together in a Bishops' Conference for Scotland. In Hornsby-Smith, *Roman Catholics in England: studies in social structure since the Second World War*, 178 the two Archbishops are described thus:

Cardinal Gray – "The cardinal, who is known as the *Eminence Grise*, has presided over the Scottish Church during the difficult years after Vatican II with a deceptively firm hand. He was not one of the prelates to support the 'deromanisation' call of Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens, who wanted the principle of co-responsibility applied to church government. From Rome's point of view, the cardinal is a sound middle-of-the-road man who has a shrewd political feel for the currents of opinion" 72-73.

Archbishop Winning – "the key outlook of Dr Winning is that he is a Roman Canon Lawyer. He was the spiritual director of the Scots College, Rome during the years of Vatican II, so he is a conciliar bishop but his observance of Vatican II is strictly Rome's interpretation of the Council." 73.

This book was produced in the build up to John Paul II visit to Scotland in 1982 and argues that the Pope in his visit "cannot fail to see how far behind the Scottish Catholic Church is introducing the reforms of Vatican II (116) and here the author refers to structures and governance, the theological changes arising from Vatican II and since then that are not even seen to register with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In the same work it is stated that "The Scottish bishops were assiduous attenders at the sessions of Vatican II but they were silent. The academic nature of the debate, and its conduct in Latin, made it difficult for them to follow the discussions, and they voted in favour of a draft text on Revelation that was thrown out by the Council as too conservative and not sufficiently expressive of the new insights of theology." (97) It is also recognised that they were hampered by not having a professional theologian with them as many other delegations did. It is said that Cardinal Gray returned from Vatican II with the comment "Not much to bother us there" (reported by David McCann 1 September 2006).

However, changes were happening. Cooney notes that despite attempts to censor reports of the Council reaching ordinary Roman Catholics in Scotland (97) there were some who were keen to incorporate the ideas of the Council. Cooney outlines the development of the Newman Association and the development of a Scottish Council of the Association with a reforming agenda and a desire to discuss Vatican II and later *Humanae Vitae*. A Scottish Lay Action Movement (SLAM) emerged in the discussion of *Humanae Vitae* and this was renamed the Scottish Catholic Renewal Movement (SCRM) in April 1969. Its main action was to bring a number of leading Roman Catholic theologians to Glasgow. This did not meet the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities and they were forced to remove the term Catholic from their name. Cooney notes "The SCRM was many of many groups which sprung up in the United States, Holland and England, but nowhere did it find such strong ecclesiastical opposition as in Scotland." (101) .

It is clear that the response of the Scottish Roman Catholic Church to Vatican II was not positive but highly conservative, the "Option for the Poor" does not appear to register.

The Scottish Bishops did set up the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF) with "a vision of a world in which all people, especially the poor and oppressed, have the opportunity and the means to have life and have it to the full". Church of Scotland, *Deliverances of the General Assembly* (Church of Scotland Board of Practice and Procedure, 1986), 11 recognises that SCIAF worked alongside English and Welsh para church peace and justice organisations

The Pastoral Care Trust of the Archdiocese of Glasgow was set up in 1992 to mark the 500th anniversary of the Diocese to make small grants to projects for the common good of the people of Glasgow but this was many years later, was highly localised and a small fund; it is clear that the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland lagged behind that in England and Wales in its response to the "Option for the Poor".

It should also be acknowledged that the structure of the Roman Catholic Church which does not have Annual Meetings and Reports mitigates against the easy tracing of the development of local initiatives.

The Report of the Church of Scotland Mission Committee of 1986 made no reference to *Faith in the City* although there was a presentation planned and made at the General Assembly on the report. However, the Assembly went further and added an extra deliverance to: "Instruct the Committee to study the Report of the Archbishops Commission on Urban Priority Areas, "Faith in the City" to elicit what may be helpful to our own witness among the urban poor in Scotland and report."⁴³³ This was mainly brought about by the Rev Malcolm Cuthbertson⁴³⁴ who spoke passionately and moved the Assembly to special consideration of *Faith in the City* when that was not the wish of the Convener of the Committee. He outlined the general context that he saw behind the *Faith in the City* and then argued that the Mission Committee was not taking it seriously enough. He continued:

I mention these things not just to give them publicity, but to bring to shame the Church of Scotland and its way of handling our deprived areas in Scotland. But while the rest of the world when considering Mission and Evangelism see the urban poor as the priority of that mission, we don't even have them on the agenda.⁴³⁵

In moving his motion he made it clear that he was motivated by the "Option for the Poor".⁴³⁶ Reports were then made to subsequent Assemblies and committees set up.

The records of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland are held in Edinburgh but I have not been able to see them as they are restricted under a 40 year disclosure rule.

⁴³³ Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," (1986), 1127-1142 The discussion leading to this is Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," 1132.

⁴³⁴ Malcolm Cuthbertson was born in 1956. Educated at Stirling, Aberdeen and Edinburgh he was ordained and inducted to St George's and St Peter's, Easterhouse in 1984.

⁴³⁵ Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," 1133-1134.

⁴³⁶ "Finally, Moderator, it would be terribly remiss of me to allow the Assembly to believe that I was only interested in mission to the urban poor. Indeed it is a priority and that is the thrust of my motion, but only that they in turn take their place at the forefront of the mission of the whole Church, for if the Third World Church is teaching us nothing else it is that the future of the Church lies not among the academics, nor among the suburban Christians, but it is the harsh realities of spiritual and material

The next significant debate was in 1990. The Report of the Urban Priority Areas Working Party, chaired by the Rev Malcolm Cuthbertson, argued that theology was "not a specialist activity but will arise out of the sharing of the experience of God's people, enlightened by Scripture, nourished by prayer, and done from the perspective of the poor" and:

the call to the Christian to love, serve, and obey are unqualified: it is the call for downward mobility to be alongside the oppressed, the poor and the marginalised of our society, from which place the hard words that Jesus spoke to the rich, and those who had or sought status, may be repeated.⁴³⁷

The report closed:

The belief is that such priority status [within the mission of the Church] is demanded by both natural justice (equal opportunities and access to what our society has to offer) and more importantly Biblical justice which calls for a bias toward the poor.⁴³⁸

The Mission Council had proposed a fairly anodyne set of deliverances but on the floor of the Assembly a further deliverance was added:

The General Assembly welcome the concern about urban and rural poverty contained in reports from other Boards of the Church and aware of the success and pump priming importance of the Church Urban Fund to similar situations in

poverty and the parlousness of the politically oppressed and the degradation of the socially ostracised. Let us find ways to take the good news to the poor that in turn we may be challenged by them. When, finishing, Scripture tells us God chose what is foolish to shame the wise; he chose what is weak to shame the powerful; he chose what the world looks down on and despises and thinks is nothing in order to destroy what the world thinks important, that no one might boast in the presence of God" Church of Scotland, *Reports to the General Assembly* (Church of Scotland Board of Practice and Procedure, 1990), 291.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 296.

England instruct the Board of National Mission to give consideration to the desirability of having formed a Church Rural and Urban Fund (C.R.U.F.), such proposals to include plans for funding and grant giving based on English experience, and report to the General Assembly of 1991.⁴³⁹

The driving force behind this motion was the Rev Ian C Fraser.⁴⁴⁰ In his opening speech he reiterated the emphasis on "God's bias with the poor"⁴⁴¹ but this emphasis then disappeared as the proposal was carried through within the Church of Scotland.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁸ Church of Scotland, *Deliverances of the General Assembly* (Church of Scotland Board of Practice and Procedure, 1990), 20.

⁴³⁹ Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," (1990), Vol 1 58-61, Vol 4 469-482 The debate is Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," Vol 1 58.

⁴⁴⁰ Ian C Fraser was born in 1943. Educated in Edinburgh and Glasgow he worked in Insurance and Community work prior to ordination. He was ordained and introduced to Community Ministry in Greenock in 1982 and has served in Glasgow since 1995. He has published on Community Ministry.

⁴⁴¹ Church of Scotland, "Report of Proceedings of the General Assembly," Vol 1 58.

⁴⁴² The Fund came to be called the Priority Areas Fund. Its Missionary Principles were laid out in the Report of 1992. "A 'Priority Areas Fund' would help to hold in balance what is often the tension in the Church between the 'spiritual' and 'material' aspects of the human condition by stressing the complementarity of these. Our understanding is that mission is not a choice between salvation of the soul or the social and economic welfare of the individual or community. It is about spiritual regeneration leading to and encouraging concern for and activity with those who, for whatever reason, find themselves on the periphery of all the norms of life today. It is about encouraging the people of God, from the perspective of showing God's love and concern to all, to actively work for the salvation of the world; and it is also about demonstrating to those whose disadvantage is social and economic that the reality of God's grace transforms the whole of life and can help individuals and communities to rise above what seem to be impenetrable barriers. It is from this perspective that our motivation comes. The 'material' is not inconsequential, but it is not the ultimate motivation. The hope of the spiritual regeneration is; but this has to be addressed in a manner appropriate to the realities people face – and in Priority Areas both rural and urban, we believe that these are often dictated by the 'material'" Church of Scotland, *Reports to the General Assembly* (Church of Scotland Board of Practice and Procedure, 1992), 255.

These principles make no reference to the "Option for the Poor" and such an emphasis does not appear until 2002 when the following Deliverance was passed: The General Assembly "Affirm, in the light of the "Sharing the Pain – Holding the Hope" Report, that the whole Church must recognise that to be committed to the poorest and most vulnerable is the Gospel imperative facing us all." Church of Scotland, *Deliverances of the General Assembly* (Church of Scotland Board of Practice and Procedure, 2002), 19 This was reiterated in the Deliverances of 2003 (22) and 2005 (17).

The Church of Scotland has a strong link with the Iona Community. This arose from the work of George Macleod in Govan in the 1930s and has always had an involvement with the poorer communities in Scotland. One of its leaders, John Harvey, was a member of the Gorbals Group (f404) as were other Community members and while the 1989 strategic plan of the Community identified one of its priorities as "the cause of the poor and the exploited, and representatives of the Community have shared in many initiatives, at both local and national level, which seek to combat and draw attention to poverty and injustice, give a voice to those who are not normally heard and work for political change" Ronald Ferguson, *Chasing the Wild Goose: The Story of the Iona Community* (Glasgow: Wild Goose

Scottish Episcopal Church

The Scottish Episcopal Church (henceforth SEC) is the subject of the rest of this thesis and thus should be introduced. The SEC defines itself as "The Scottish Church, being a branch of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, retains inviolate in the sacred ministry the three orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons as of Divine Institution."⁴⁴³ The SEC traces its roots back to the start of Christianity in Scotland and on to Christ himself though the history really starts at the Scottish Reformation of 1560 and the distinct history with the Restoration of 1690. The support of the Stuart succession and the Jacobite cause precipitated great problems and almost led to the end of the Church. The strongest years came in the late 19th and early 20th century.⁴⁴⁴ The SEC has variously been seen as an 'English' Church and a church of the upper and middle classes. It does, however, have a heritage of involvement in the poorest areas of Scotland and has shown a commitment to them through a number of schemes and other initiatives.⁴⁴⁵

In 1984 the Scottish Office issued its report on "areas of multiple deprivation" identifying the poorest parts of Scotland. *Faith in the City* appeared in 1985. The SEC response was two fold. The 1985 General Synod passed resolutions calling on the

Publications, 1998), 178 there is no evidence that this has been motivated by a view of a specific "Option for the Poor".

⁴⁴³ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, *The Code of Canons* (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2005), Canon 1.

⁴⁴⁴ There are a number of good histories. Frederick Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland* Revised ed. (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976) is a general history to the mid 20th century and has been updated by Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century* as well as Gavin White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History* (Edinburgh: General Synod Office of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1998) For an introduction to the specific parts of the history that have defined much of the essence of Episcopalianism see Edward Luscombe, *Steps to Freedom: Laurence Kirk 1804* (Edinburgh: General Synod Office of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 2004) also available as *Out of Bondage*, see also the review, Robert Whiteman, "Essential reading for all" *Scottish Episcopalian*, May 2004, 6.

⁴⁴⁵ See Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, 63-67 Also Robert Whiteman, "Million for Mission: An Update," *Scottish Episcopal Church Review* 1, no. 1 (1992), 57 - 66, esp 57.

dioceses to prepare a 'Plan for Action on Poverty'.⁴⁴⁶ This led to discussion in the Home Mission Committee; the making of one grant of £2,500 for a part-time Diocesan Social Responsibility Development Officer with the earmarking of a further £5,000 for another by the Social Responsibility Committee and a commitment to do some work by the Doctrine Committee.⁴⁴⁷ Somewhat surprisingly the most important of these was the work of the Doctrine Committee⁴⁴⁸ in producing *Blessed are the Poor?* The Introduction reads:

The last few years have seen two developments in theology that raise important questions both about the engagement of the church in practical and social issues and about the fitness of present church structures. The first is a broad theological movement: Latin American liberation theology. The second is a specific document from England: the 1985 report 'Faith in the City'.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "Minutes of the General Synod," (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1985), 18-19; General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "3rd Annual Report," (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1986), 65 This followed discussion at the General Synod the previous year where "deprived areas (with concern for the poor)" were introduced as one of four areas of priority for the Social Responsibility Committee for the next year. The Synod continued "The Rev J Morrow, seconded by the Rev J Walker, spoke on Churches Action on Poverty. Mr Morrow emphasised the poverty issue as one in which we were not closely involved and on which we did not have a good track record. Mr Walker spoke of the needs of the unemployed and of those on a very low income.

Mr S Freebairn-Smith, Mrs S Kilbey and the Rev N Chamberlain having also expressed concern, the Rev Canon A I Watt then spoke of the Church's interest in the poor and how we should be concerned with our resources and a possible redistribution orientated towards assisting the poor." General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "Minutes of the General Synod," (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1984), 14 The minutes of the General Synod were not included in the Annual Report until the 5th Report covering 1987. I am indebted to the Rev Canon Malcolm Grant for letting me have copies of the minutes for previous years. It should be noted that verbatim transcripts along the lines of those produced by the Church of England and Church of Scotland do not exist for the SEC.

⁴⁴⁷ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "4th Annual Report," (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1987), 49, 53 and 33 The Doctrine Committee report says "The Committee is determined to address wider theological issues which face the contemporary Church. In particular we have begun to work on an examination of the document, 'Faith in the City' with special reference to 'Theological Priorities'. We have also commenced a consideration of South American Liberation Theology to see what relevance it has for the Scottish Episcopal Church."

⁴⁴⁸ The Convener was Rev J Farrant. The other members were the Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness, Rt Rev G Sessford; Rev J K Riches; Rev Canon M C Paternoster; Rev Dr R Edwards; Rev Dr A H D Knock; Dr M Paton and Mr P West.

⁴⁴⁹ *Blessed are the Poor?* is attached as Appendix 1. The version reproduced is a fuller version that was revised for discussion in the Diocese. The version presented to the General Synod lacked the preamble above the name of John Farrant and the Questions and Recommendations after the

It was presented to the General Synod of 1988 which recommended the report for study by the Church.⁴⁵⁰ That could easily have been the end of *Blessed are the Poor?* but it was brought back onto the central agenda of the Church at the General Synod of 1990. This was the result of two initiatives.

Firstly, the Doctrine Committee was keen that the report was not lost and tried to promote wider discussion and dissemination, to this end it "sponsored a group of clergy and University students in Glasgow to make a video exploring the situations and asking some of the questions raised by the report."⁴⁵¹ The video was 'Glasnost in Glasgow'.⁴⁵²

bibliography for *Faith in the City*. It is in the General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "5th Annual Report," (Edinburgh: General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1988), 39-41.

⁴⁵⁰ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "6th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1989), 6 It was presented by John Riches. He was born in 1939. Educated at Cambridge, he received a 2nd class degree, he was ordained deacon in 1965 and priest in 1966. He has never served in the full-time parish ministry but has been an academic in Cambridge and Glasgow, despite not holding a doctorate. He was expected to be elected Bishop of Edinburgh in 2001 but failed; retired in 2002; was involved in a car accident in 2004 and was charged, under the Code of Canons, with bullying and harassment of General Synod Office staff in 2006.

The 1988 General Synod had seen discussion of *Government in Britain*, a paper produced by the British Council of Churches. As part of this discussion a resolution was brought to set up a fund, built on voluntary donations, to make immediate grants to the poorest in Scotland. The reasons given for this included "There have been two financial events recently: the Budget, which clearly gives more money to all who pay income tax; and the changes in benefit payments which, while complex, clearly reduce housing benefit payments, single-need payments, and, in the view of many experts in the field, will leave many of the poor in society poorer.

The Government may or may not be right in its policy for the nation as a whole, but some Christians, having been allowed these extra resources, may feel they would like to share some of them with others less fortunate and so strengthen the poor." General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "5th Annual Report," 54.

The Report of the Mission Board to the 1990 General Synod saw this Community Fund, as it was called, the work of Cwti Green for the Social Responsibility Committee and work on Homes for the Elderly and with Church Action on Poverty as part of "Hearing the Cry of the Poor." General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "7th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1990), 49.

⁴⁵¹ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "6th Annual Report," 31.

⁴⁵² In 1992 Robert Whiteman wrote "This video was made by students from Glasgow University Student Television in conjunction with the Revd. John Turner, Chaplain to the Anglican Students at Glasgow and Strathclyde Universities. The format was a series of interviews with members of St Matthew's, Possilpark and St Serf's, Shettleston. Editorial control was retained by the students themselves and that can be seen as partly responsible for some of the sharper edges of the video. The message of the piece was quite clear. The people living in those Urban Priority Areas felt not only geographically isolated but also isolated from decisions that affected their lives. Within the Church

Secondly, and at the same time, the Social Responsibility Committee was employing Ms Cwti Green⁴⁵³ on a six month contract with the stated aim:

to take the Doctrine Committee report a stage further by actually going out to the people in the churches in the poorer areas, to find out what these people had to say about their own church, and about the wider Church. The hope is that the wider Church listens to what these people have to say, and can use the information to look at ways of taking the Church forward in the poorer areas with the input and help of these people.

This is not, and does not claim to be, a scientific and statistical report. The important thing has been to listen to what people have to say about their church, and the wider Church, and for them to feel free to say as much as they want about the things that are important to them. These people are our Church as much as anybody else – perhaps more so if we believe in the Gospel's bias to

structures this meant that they felt powerless and dependent on charity. There was also a feeling of being slowly abandoned by the rest of the church. The video offered a challenge along the lines of Liberation Theology to listen to the agenda the poor had to present but this time it was not in far off Latin America but on our doorstep. It received an initial airing at the Glasgow Synod of 1990 and was also available to be viewed at the General Synod of the same year. It received a mixed reception but was undoubtedly a catalyst for further discussion and reflection as to how the church should respond to the plight of the under-privileged within Scotland" Whiteman, "Million for Mission: An Update," 59 This is still a good summary of the video and its impact. It is also discussed in Marshall, *Nasturtiums and nettles: forty years of social work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway* .

⁴⁵³ "Cwti Green has worked in community development since the late 1970s. She worked for the Scottish Episcopal Church in Dundee and Glasgow from 1984 – 1993, then worked on Iona as Programme Worker and Deputy Warden for 3 years.

For the last 10 years she has been working for an East End charity, Community Links, as a community development worker. At the moment she is a tutor, teaching an NOCN degree in community development with local people and is the trustee of a charity which she set up, the Community Childcare Service.

She lives in a council estate in South London and is a qualified City of London Guide."

The biographies of Scottish Episcopal Priests included in this work are taken from David M Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), various yearbooks of the SEC and personal knowledge. In the case of lay people the task is far harder. The biography above was provided by Cwti herself, following email inquiry (6 September 2006).

the poor – and we ignore what they have to say at the cost of our integrity and credibility as a Church.⁴⁵⁴

The resulting publication, *Good News for Whom?* gathers together the responses of clergy and congregation members, from nine churches in deprived areas across five dioceses,⁴⁵⁵ to a series of questions looking at church life, involvement and leadership. Each question ends with a summary of the responses and some further questions.

Good News for Whom? was used as the basis for discussion in 14 small groups and then plenary discussion at the General Synod of 1990. As a result of the discussion the following resolution was passed: "That this General Synod receives the report Good News for Whom? and asks dioceses to prepare action plans with costing implications."⁴⁵⁶ This debate was held on Friday 15 June 1990 but the next day the real teeth were added when the Bishop of Edinburgh, Richard Holloway,⁴⁵⁷ proposed an emergency motion:

The General Synod resolves to invite the Administration Board to identify capital of £1M to be used in UPAs (in addition to money already committed from the Clergy Stipend Fund) during the next 5 years; the use of this money to be determined at the General Synod 1991, following submission of detailed

⁴⁵⁴ Cwti Green, *Good News for Whom?* (Edinburgh: Social Responsibility Committee, General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1990), 1.

⁴⁵⁵ The SEC is divided into 7 dioceses that cover the whole of Scotland between them. Each is autonomous but they join together to form a Province, one of 38 that make up the Anglican Communion. The General Synod is the annual business meeting of the Province, with each Diocese also holding Diocesan Synods during the year. Each Diocese has a Bishop and between them they elect one of their number to be Primus.

⁴⁵⁶ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "8th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1990), 10.

⁴⁵⁷ Richard Holloway was born in 1933. He was educated at Kelham College, London University, Edinburgh Theological College and Union Theological Seminary, NY. Ordained deacon in 1959, priest in 1960 he served in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Boston, MA before being consecrated as Bishop of Edinburgh in 1986. He was elected Primus in 1992 and retired in 2000. From 2005-2008 he is chair of the Scottish Arts Council and still broadcasts extensively. He has published widely.

plans from dioceses, either through the Mission Board or directly to the Administration Board.

This was seconded by the Bishop of Brechin and passed with 6 against.⁴⁵⁸

The 1991 General Synod was presented with *Good News - How?* This was presented by the Convener of the Mission Board, the Rev A B Cameron,⁴⁵⁹ and the Convener of the Administration Board, R L C Chalmers. This document outlined possible financial ways in which the plan, now known as 'Million for Mission' could be delivered as well as the projects themselves. In two votes it was again agreed that £1 Million be set aside for work in Urban Areas and also the manner by which it would be funded. The Mission Board set up a separate sub-committee, the Mission Board Development Group to oversee the work. The Social Responsibility Committee prepared a job description for a Development Officer to support the work and Robert Whiteman was appointed in February 1992⁴⁶⁰. At that point the "Million for Mission" Project was fully underway.

This chapter has looked at how the British churches engaged with the emergence of Liberation Theology and the "Option for the Poor" before focussing on the response of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The next chapter will look at how that response was demonstrated in the "Million for Mission" projects.

⁴⁵⁸ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "8th Annual Report," 3.

⁴⁵⁹ Bruce Cameron was born in 1941. He was educated at the Edinburgh Theological College and also studied later in his ministry at the Urban Theology Unit in Sheffield. He was ordained deacon in 1964, priest in 1965 and served in Edinburgh, Livingston and Perth as well as being Provincial Youth Officer and Chaplain of Heriot-Watt University. He was consecrated as Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney in 1993 and elected Primus in 2000. He retired in 2006.

⁴⁶⁰ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "9th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1991), 75; General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "10th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1992), 36 See also Chris Dormer, "One Million for Mission" *Newscan*, July/August 1991.

Chapter Five - Million for Mission Projects

This chapter will outline the "Million for Mission" projects so that their effectiveness in delivering the vision of the General Synod and *Blessed are the Poor?* and whether the "Option for the Poor" was present in the work of the Scottish Episcopal Church (SEC) can be assessed. The last chapter looked at how the British Churches engaged with Liberation Theology as it emerged in Latin America and ended by looking at the specific response of the SEC to *Blessed are the Poor?* that led to £1M of reserves being voted to support projects in the poorest parts of Scotland in a programme known as "Million For Mission". A basic outline of the structures of the SEC was also given in the previous chapter.

Methodology

Previous chapters have been written from a solely academic perspective because there was no option but to do so. This chapter concerns work with which I was directly involved in a day to day capacity for five years. This chapter will narrate the life of the projects themselves. In doing so it will seek to maintain an academic distance from the projects. This is not a simple process. Gutiérrez sees theology as inescapably contextual. He states that:

the situation of theologians has changed. Theologians can only accomplish their goals in the Christian community if they have included themselves in the process of liberation, and involved themselves with the poor and the oppressed. Difficult questions are raised for theological reflection, making it clear that it is quite impossible to separate the theory from the social process. The theologian is not an idle spectator in this historical setting, watching it pass by, but a person

who has an important living place in society among the social classes that confront him or her.⁴⁶¹

This is part of the 'emic'/'etic' discussions⁴⁶² of social anthropologists but for this study it is recognised that involvement is necessary for there to be real, valid engagement but that it is essential to recognise that involvement brings a footprint and to acknowledge where those footprints are. This chapter seeks as objective a narrative as

⁴⁶¹ Gutiérrez and Shaull, *Liberation and Change*, 184.

⁴⁶² "An emic model is one which explains the ideology or behaviour of members of a culture according to indigenous definitions. An etic model is one which is based on criteria from outside a particular culture. Etic models are held to be universal; emic models are culture-specific" Alan Barnard, "emic and etic" in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 180. This was a development from linguistics, firstly by Kenneth L Pike in the 1950s, and within Social Anthropology is now seen as a background to the questions of objectivity in study. It is recognised that while the aim is to seek objectivity that is inherently elusive as the observer is themselves located.

Some recent discussion has looked at the perspectives that Theology (and particularly Biblical Studies) and Social Anthropology can offer to each other. Lawrence (Louise J Lawrence and Mario Aguilar, eds., *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* (Leiden: Deo, 2004) and Louise J Lawrence, *Reading with Anthropology: Exhibiting Aspects of New Testament Religion* (Milton Keynes and Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press, 2005) sees anthropology as concerned with the 'other' and the concepts of emic and etic within that as useful tools. She writes: "We have to learn something from our encounter with "others", whom we must see not as subjects alone but also peers and even friends" (Lawrence and Aguilar, eds., *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* 21) and further "Anthropology helps us straddle the divide between seeing "others" as cultural copies of ourselves and, on the other hand seeing them as radically "other" from us" (Lawrence and Aguilar, eds., *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* 22). In the context of this chapter the work of McCutcheon, cited by Lawrence, is helpful "The emic perspective then is the outsider's attempt to produce as faithfully as possible...the informants own descriptions or production of sounds, behaviour, beliefs. The etic perspective is the observer's subsequent attempt to take the descriptive information they have already gathered and to organise, systematise and compare...that information in terms of a system of their own making" Russell T McCutcheon, ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999)17 cited at Lawrence and Aguilar, eds., *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* 10.

McCutcheon continues "In recent years there has been a virtual revolution in the way in which scholars conceive of themselves in relation to the people they write about. This revolution has entailed rethinking the very opposition between insiders and outsiders, between subjects and objects, that has so far been presumed by many of those who have studied to this point. What some writers have begun questioning...are the limits of the subject, the limits of the object, and whether anyone can ever attain neutrality when it comes to studying human behaviour. In other words, where does the detached observer begin and the observed subject end? Is the gap between the two as apparent as many have assumed, or is it merely an illusion, constructed and maintained by writers in an effort to generate authority through supposed objectivity? If it is the latter, as some writers now maintain, we might no longer even talk about *solving* the insider/outsider problem as much as *deconstructing* it" McCutcheon 289. This is another context within which the challenge of liberation theology and other developments has emerged (See Lawrence and Aguilar, eds., *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* 21, McCutcheon, ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion* 290, 297-301).

possible while recognising that full objectivity is impossible and, for the Liberation Theologian, not truly desirable.⁴⁶³

The presentation of the projects is based on the written records that exist about them in the shape of minutes of various SEC committees and the reports presented to them. A questionnaire was circulated to the various project workers and others related to Million for Mission who could be reached. The responses to this questionnaire will be used in the discussion of Million for Mission that follows in Chapter Seven.

At the end of Chapter Two a theological matrix was developed that summarised the "Option for the Poor" as developed in the writings of Gutiérrez. That chapter looked at how the "Option" had emerged in his writings and saw a theocentric, prophetic "Option" reflected in praxis. This matrix will be used at the end of the section on each project in an attempt to assess the extent to which each project embodied the "Option for the Poor" and thus can be seen as true embodiment of Liberation Theology. This should not be read as a judgement on the project or the workers involved; it is a methodological tool used to gauge the extent to which the project embodies Liberation Theology.

Theocentric is taken to be the extent to which God stands at the heart of the work that was done. It should be noted that this is explicitly not ecclesiocentric. It cannot be denied that the Church in her best manifestations has God at the heart but it also

⁴⁶³ Aguilar looking at liberation theology states "Our own understanding of those developments can only be interpretative as we try to understand them from our own perspective. The history of a movement and of its writings can ultimately be studied by looking at different discourses on it. However, the fully 'objective' perspective lies between the mediation of the *emic* and the *etic* (outsider's perspective) and can only partially be textually realised" Aguilar, *Current Issues on Theology and Religion in Latin America and Africa*, 26.

cannot be assumed. Prophetic is the extent to which an action calls forward to a changed order that reflects the priorities of the Kingdom of God here on earth. One yardstick one might use here is the Beatitudes (Lk 6: 20-26). Finally, these values must be seen to be worked out and expressed in the action of the project. One issue here would be the extent to which the Church conforms itself to the realities of the poor rather than vice versa; one area of exploration would be who actually manages and directs the project.

Million for Mission Projects

The projects were distributed across Scotland in the most deprived parts of Scotland, as defined by the Scottish Office using the decennial census. Each diocese involved⁴⁶⁴ then decided where work should be done in their area. It was the responsibility of the Mission Board Development Group (MBDG)⁴⁶⁵ to decide exactly where the final funding went and to oversee the work.

⁴⁶⁴ The Diocese of Argyll and the Isles and the Diocese of Moray, Ross and Caithness did not make bids for funds as they did not see the very small pockets of urban deprivation in their areas as priorities for them or the SEC as a whole.

⁴⁶⁵ The SEC is governed by a combination of the College of Bishops and a General Synod, depending on the matter under consideration. This is best understood as Bishops within Synod. Under the General Synod there is a Board and Committee structure. The Boards are made up of representatives of each of the Dioceses, A Bishop and the Conveners of the Board's pendant Committees. The MBDG was rare in that, as a committee, it had a representative structure as well as Conveners of other relevant committees.

The MBDG met 14 times. The minutes of the meetings will be referred to as MBDG mins with the appropriate date. I have not been able to uncover the minutes of the meetings of 16 October 1991 and 13 January 1992. The MBDG was pendant to the Mission Board. The committee structure of the SEC at the time is included as an appendix. The Convener was the Rt Rev R Holloway, the rest of the members were a representative from each diocese along with the Conveners of the Mission Board, Home Mission Committee, Social Responsibility Committee and Finance Committee. R Whiteman entered the employment of the SEC on 17 February 1992. His main tasks as outlined in the job advertisement, with a sub heading "The Scottish Episcopal Church's response to life in Urban Areas" were:

- To help local church groups manage and support projects in urban priority areas
- To develop and implement a fund-raising strategy for the project

He will be referred to as the Development Officer in this paper unless cited as an author.

He produced a report for each meeting of the MBDG. These will be referred to as MBDG Report with the date of the appropriate meeting. Most of the internal papers that will be referred to in this chapter

Aberdeen

The Diocese of Aberdeen and Orkney used Million for Mission to employ a Community Priest at St Clement's, Mastrick.⁴⁶⁶ The Rev I Barcroft⁴⁶⁷ was in post throughout. After initial works to put the buildings in order⁴⁶⁸ he concentrated on the engagement with the community that was the heart of his role. This was carried out on 2 fronts: getting wider use of the church buildings⁴⁶⁹ and involving himself and, hopefully, the whole congregation in the wider community.

Reviewing this aspect of the work the Rev I Zass-Ogilvie⁴⁷⁰ noted that:

are in the archive held in the General Synod Office in Edinburgh and the use of papers that are not available there or publicly elsewhere has been limited as far as possible.

⁴⁶⁶ The first St Clement's was on the Quayside in Aberdeen. The congregation first met in 1885 and had its own building by 1889. A new building was dedicated in 1928 and again in 1960 when the congregation moved from the Quayside to Mastrick.

Mastrick is a large post-war council housing scheme in the North of the city of Aberdeen.

The Project was managed by a group comprising the Bishop, the Dean, the Diocesan Treasurer, a representative of the vestry and the Development Officer. This group focused on financial issues to secure the long term future of the project. The membership of the group was an important symbol of support for the project within the Diocese. This was underscored when the Bishop included St Clement's as one of the "special mission initiatives" in the plan accepted by the Diocesan Synod of 1994. This is covered in the Robert Whiteman, "Million for Mission: Final Report," (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1997), 4 (hereafter Final) that was presented to the Mission Board at the end of the project.

⁴⁶⁷ Ian Barcroft was born in 1960. After a BSc in Manchester he worked in the paper industry in Aberdeen before studying theology in Edinburgh. He was ordained deacon in 1988, priest in 1989. He served his title at Perth Cathedral before moving to St Clement's. Since 1997 he has been Rector of St Mary's, Hamilton.

⁴⁶⁸ MBDG Report 2 December 1992 and 7 December 1993.

⁴⁶⁹ The use of the buildings grew extensively over the years with a number of local groups being involved. A Dance School was particularly important as it provided a lot of funds towards the continuation of the project. (MBDG Report 29 November 1996) This had been the plan of the Support Group. Its minutes of 3 May 1994 state "that the priority for St Clement's should be looking to providing a half stipend at the close of Million for Mission. This should be through the building of capital to provide income in the longer term". Final 5 states "The target has been met. Between 1991 and 1995 congregational income rose by 111%, endowment income by a staggering 868%. There is little reason to doubt that 1996 will produce a similar income."

⁴⁷⁰ An Interim Review was carried out by the Development Officer and the Rev Ian Zass-Ogilvie in the spring of 1994. The text on the projects was written by Zass-Ogilvie, with the Officer adding the financial details. Its report, Robert Whiteman and Ian Zass-Ogilvie, "Million for Mission: Interim Review," (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1994) (hereafter Review) was presented to the MBDG on 12 May 1994 for consideration at the meeting of 26 May 1994.

The remit was:

a Review what Synod vision was.

b Review project achievements and their effect upon dioceses.

c Review criteria as between intended and actual use of money.

d Question diocesan plans for funding after Million for Mission.

"Starting arguably from a point of disadvantage, Ian has been rebuilding links with the community and gradually overcoming suspicion...all these have together helped to project a radically different view of ministry (and of church concerns) to the wider public."

Barcroft involved himself in a number of wider community initiatives as well as the local schools, furthermore members of the congregation became similarly involved in community initiatives including the Community Council.⁴⁷¹ In 1994 Barcroft saw that:

"The Million for Mission Initiative has enabled this small church community to take the first steps in restoring some hope for itself and communicating that to our neighbours. Small steps; a parent and toddler group run by a local mum, a Christmas party organised by local people for children in the area; a growing "young church" for children of three to eleven years; the church hall repaired and with an economical heating system, increasingly used by the local community... Those of us given the privilege to serve and more importantly to live within the ambiguity by the Million for Mission Initiative hope to continue for we are happily messing up the system hearing the voice of the voiceless, challenging them with the idea of a compassionate forgiving community; whilst at the same time provoking the church to break from its complacency and

e Question diocesan priorities and resources.

f Question potential for collaborative action.

g Develop plans for continuation of Million for Mission activities (post 5 years) in relation to UPA needs and to examine how this can be resourced.

Ian Zass-Ogilvie was born in 1938. Ordained Deacon in 1966 and Priest in 1967 he worked as a surveyor and for Housing Associations prior to moving to the full time ministry in England in 1981. He was Rector of Keith, Huntly and Aberchirder from 1984 – 1988 and then Rector of St Peter's, Edinburgh until 2000 when he moved to Durham.

⁴⁷¹ Review 2; Final 4 and Robert Whiteman and others, "Million for Mission: Final Reports from the Dioceses," (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1996), 4 (hereafter Diocese) was presented to the General Synod of 1996. It includes a report prepared by each diocese; an Introduction by the Primus, The Most Rev R Holloway; an Introduction by the Development Officer and an Epilogue of Theological Reflection by the Rev Canon Professor J Riches.

conformity to carry the message of genuine hope into the places of utter despair.

The Million for Mission fund has enabled a community of faith to respond to its context remarkably well.⁴⁷²

In his reflection at the end of the project the Rt Rev A B Cameron noted:

the worshipping community has begun to relate faith to the practical issues of the community. We have observed a real desire to focus our spirituality on the needs of individuals and groups.

He continued:

The real difficulty has been communicating this authentic search for a God amongst us to our local community. We are convinced that this can come about only through relationships, sharing our humanity, serving one another's needs at a basic level, building trust. Yet many around us, including some church attenders seek worlds of escape, desire and denial. Our insecurities and vulnerabilities require these worlds rather than meeting the Christ in the midst of them and learning to trust in and celebrate His presence.⁴⁷³

He saw the future in a development of this community role with a worshipping eucharistic community at its heart.⁴⁷⁴

This project was, in essence, the employment of a community priest to engage a congregation in the wider disadvantaged community around it. The success of the project is that there is still a community priest operating from St Clement's.

The theological matrix developed in Chapter Two provides a method for viewing how a project conforms to the vision of the "Option for the Poor" developed by Gutiérrez and will be used at the end of the presentation of each project.

⁴⁷² Ian Barcroft, "Million for Mission" *Scottish Episcopalian*, March 1994, 5.

In relation to the matrix it should be noted that this work was very much based around a worshipping community and the expressions of that community increased during the life of the project, new services were added. Thus it can be seen that there was a theocentric heart to the project. The quotations above from Barcroft and Cameron show that they both saw a prophetic side to the project and a working out of that prophetic voice in the action of the project, though a recognition that these had been small steps. In terms of the management of the project it is clear that this came from the diocese far more than the local people. While there can be no doubt that efforts were made to hear the voices of the poor and marginalised they cannot be said to be driving the project. Thus in terms of praxis it cannot be argued that this project truly embodies the "Option for the Poor."

Brechin

This was the most controversial and problematic project. The aim was for the Diocese of Brechin to work in partnership with the Local Authority Social Work Department and Social Strategy Unit to deliver debt counselling work. After the 5 year funding finished the work was to be mainstream funded by the Council.⁴⁷⁵ The problems

⁴⁷³ Diocese 4, 5.

⁴⁷⁴ Diocese 5.

⁴⁷⁵ The original plan on which the General Synod of 1991 voted was "to set up a Poverty Action Team, based in Dundee, but with a concern for the whole diocese. The team would be linked with, supported by and jointly managed by Tayside Regional Social Work Department and Social Strategy Unit. The accommodation and administration costs of the project would be met by the Social Work Department and the hope is that, after the first five years, all costs would be included within local authority budgets. During the first five years the Diocese would employ three people: a senior worker, an assistant worker and a clerical worker...

The key tasks of the action team are described as follows:

1. Core investigation (research – if necessary) – done by trained local people with the support of the workers.

started when the original bids were scaled back to meet the money available. The process by which the plan was changed has never been clear⁴⁷⁶ but the effect was that a much smaller project emerged based in the town of Brechin. This was, of itself a

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2. Development of task groups based on issues identified through core investigation and supported by appropriate officers of the Department.
 3. Co-ordination of different task groups to review and monitor progress on a regular basis.
 4. Co-ordination of effort and response to community demands through the establishment of an area support group.
 5. Development of training programmes for local staff and community leaders.
 6. Annual community meeting to present the community strategy which will be the result of the deliberations and work of different task groups.

The Objectives are to develop poverty profiles and to agree strategies in conjunction with local people within a five year developmental period." General Synod - Administration Board and Mission Board, "Good News - How?" (Scottish Episcopal Church, 1990), 6.

Diocesan Action Plans were submitted to the Administration Board and Mission Board in 1991 - 2 and summarised in General Synod - Administration Board and Mission Board, "Good News - How?"

⁴⁷⁶ "The limitation of the Scottish Episcopal Church Million for Mission funding to £25,000 pa (as against £47,735 pa requested) meant that the Poverty Action Team could only consist of one full time and one part-time worker. It was then decided to locate the project in Brechin, rather than Dundee. It is not clear where, or by whom, the decision to change the project was made. It does not appear in the minutes of the Mission Board Development Group. The General Synod decision was made in June 1991. No minuted report was made by the Diocese to the Province until January 1992...The decision was presented to the Mission Board Development Group as one which had already been made." Review 6.

The Bishop wrote on 30 March 1992 "Plan emerged out of joint study by Diocese (Joe Morrow) and Tayside Regional Social Work Department (Lloyd Girling)."

Robert (Bob) Halliday was born in 1932. He received an MA and BD from Glasgow University and was ordained deacon in 1957 and priest in 1958. He served in St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow before being Rector of St Andrew's, St Andrews, where he had served as a curate, from 1983 – 1990. He was consecrated as Bishop of Brechin in 1990 and retired in 1996.

Joseph (Joe) Morrow was born in 1954. He was educated at the Theological College in Edinburgh prior to his ordination as deacon in 1979 and priest in 1980. He served in Dundee and received a DMin from the US in 1984. He received an LLB in 1992 and has pursued a legal career since then as well as acting as a priest. He was a part-time Commissioner of the Mental Health Commission for Scotland from 1998 – 2006. In 2004 he was installed as the Most Worshipful the Grand Master Mason of Scotland but resigned in 2005 for personal reasons that may have included his openly gay lifestyle. He has also been a Labour Councillor in Dundee.

Lloyd Girling was the Assistant Director of Tayside Region Social Work in 1992. He now works Director of the Tayside Council on Alcohol.

A number of Machiavellian reasons for the move may be made but it is almost certainly a product of church politics and "these roots laid the foundation for all the bad feeling which followed" (Final 6).

Following the Interim Review a further review of the Brechin project was conducted by the Rt Rev A B Cameron. This report formed part of the papers for the MBDG meeting of 1 December 1994. Reflecting on the change in the level of funding Cameron noted that "a re-assessment clearly had to be made during the autumn period 1991/2.

...Tayside Social Work Dept came up with a new project focussing on the Angus towns of Brechin, Montrose and Arbroath, - the later two having pockets of urban deprivation. The project, however, was to begin in Brechin, a more rural town, but having recognised areas of deprivation. This was at odds with the criteria set out by the Province, but in what I believe was a genuine desire to support this work the MBDG chose to "turn a blind eye" on the location recognising that poverty needs did exist in such areas." 2.

problem, as Brechin is not a recognised area of urban deprivation as required by the General Synod resolution.⁴⁷⁷

The project that emerged was:

two posts, funded by the Episcopal Church will help to overcome some severe problems caused by the increase in poverty.

They will link in directly with excellent work already done by the social work department's welfare rights team in making sure the income of poor people is maximised, and tackling a range of issues relating to homelessness, fuel poverty and debt.⁴⁷⁸

The two posts were filled by Heather Neil⁴⁷⁹ and Lynn Cairns⁴⁸⁰. The stated focus of their work was on debt counselling as a strategy to combat poverty⁴⁸¹ and this aspect

⁴⁷⁷ This was raised in MBDG Report 13 April 1992; MBDG Report 3 June 1993, and Review 7 but left after the Cameron report (see previous f). The non location in an area of urban deprivation can be seen in the fact that the Project, BAIN was held up as a model of good rural practice in community involvement and partnership in the 1996 Scottish Office Report Rural Framework 9 §23.

⁴⁷⁸ Anon, "Church's debt cash sparks council row" *Evening Telegraph*, 24 February 1992, 11.

⁴⁷⁹ Heather Neil was already working for the Welfare Rights team at the start of the project, though based in Dundee. This is no record of her having been interviewed for the post and may well have been a secondment throughout the project. This may be seen in that she brought a significant caseload with her from her previous post that occupied her for the first few months and was questioned at the time. Towards the end of the Project a reorganisation of Local Authorities occurred and both workers were taken on by the new Council as they were regarded as being on secondment (MBDG mins 29 November 1996).

⁴⁸⁰ Lynn Cairns was already working for Tayside Region Social Work Department as a Day Centre Officer when she joined the project. She had previous experience in Social Work in Fraserburgh and Strathclyde. Her contract was for 24 hours per week.

⁴⁸¹ Bishop Halliday prepared a paper outlining the Diocesan Poverty Action Plan in March 1992. He wrote "3. In U.P.A.'s, deprivation is intensified by despair. People give up hope, cease to claim help to which they are entitled, let things drift.

Debt counsellors, showing how debt can be managed, see hope reborn.

It can be done: the transformation of Fintry.

Plan: Poverty Action Team: 2 Social Workers (1 Administrator in support)

with debt counselling experience, to work Diocese-wide

spending time with individuals and families

helping them to claim rights, manage debt

bringing folk together to improve mini-locality

£25,000 instead of £47,000: one Social Worker plus administrator, working in U.P.A. pockets in Arbroath, Brechin and Montrose."

The case for this approach was also argued in Joan Conlin, "Battle against poverty" *Scottish Episcopalian*, September 1995 Conlin was the lead Officer for the Council in the management of the

of the work formed the core of the reporting on the project from 1995 onwards, as it had been in the initial launch and in the early correspondence from the Bishop.⁴⁸²

In addition a lot of worker time was spent on running a number of community initiatives based in a series of buildings around the town.⁴⁸³ It came to be recognised that these were a 'cover' for the main debt counselling work.⁴⁸⁴ This was seen as standard practice by the Council and this was one misunderstanding, among many, that illustrate the tensions inherent in the design of the project. The fact it was the only one not managed solely by the SEC was a further cause of these tensions. The Diocesan Poverty Action Plan⁴⁸⁵ held up the professional nature of the management of the project as a positive feature and this was echoed in the *Final Reports from the*

Project. She had previous experience in Money Advice and had worked for Newcastle City Council. She continues to be involved in the field of Money Advice for Dundee City Council.

The Review acknowledged this: "Effective debt counselling, which demonstrates that debt can be managed, brings new hope and there is no doubt that this project (the philosophy of which has much to commend it) is intended to be an encouraging model of what can be done in a limited way in an area of some rural poverty" 5 and continued "Its subsequent location in Brechin [was] in order that the Debt Counselling (which was ostensibly the major thrust of the project) could be shown to have some significant impact in a small patch of rural deprivation. It is said that to have placed the project in a UPA, would have swamped the effects of its work and made it totally insignificant. So the intent was to establish a model of excellence in debt counselling in a rural area" 6.

⁴⁸² Figures for the work done were tabled at the Diocesan Synod in February 1996 and showed that £750 of debt had been successfully written off over 19 cases, with 9 bankruptcies and £38,158.63 of additional benefit had been gained between June 1995 and February 1996.

The Final Report echoed the view that some work had been successful in this area. "The workers have been involved in debt-counselling throughout the 5 years. This work complements the food co-op, clothes rail etc. The original proposal cited research which suggested that debt counselling was the most efficient strategy on countering problems of disadvantage. This one to one work is necessarily confidential but has led to the rescheduling of some debt, the cancelling of some and an increase in benefit take up for those individuals involved" Final 7.

⁴⁸³ A needs survey (MBDG Report 2 December 1992, Review 7-8) of the local area was carried out resulting in the opening of a Food Co-op in a room of the Salvation Army Hall on 11 May 1993 (MBDG Report 3 June 1993, Review 8). These premises proved to be unsatisfactory and the Co-op moved to a High Street shop under the title of BAIN (Brechin Action Initiative Network). These premises were larger enabling a clothes rail to be added and the opening hours were extended (MBDG Report 7 December 1993, Review 8-9). The shop next door was gutted by fire in June 1994 and BAIN moved to a Community Flat in one of the poorer parts of the town. This opened on 5 September 1995 and included a washing machine, the town's launderette having been gutted in the fire (MBDG Report 30 November 1995. This was written by Joan Conlin). In the new location the food co-op continued to grow and developed a delivery service to local pensioners and others (Project Update Brechin 4 October 1995 (see f26); MBDG Report 30 November 1995).

⁴⁸⁴ Review 9.

⁴⁸⁵ See f475.

Dioceses.⁴⁸⁶ These tensions and misunderstandings came to a head during the Review and led to the establishment of additional management structures.⁴⁸⁷ Allied to this there was confusion over publicity that led to uncertainty as to whether the Church was or wished to be fully involved with the project, rather than just funding it.⁴⁸⁸

The theological background of the project was also somewhat different to the other projects. The Diocesan Action Plan "*A time to plant*" stated that:

The Christian Church's mission – what she is sent by God to be and do" is
Worship, Fellowship, Evangelistic outreach and "Service without strings – as

⁴⁸⁶ The Bishop prepared the diocesan report and wrote "Run by the Social Work Department of Tayside Region, this project has the most experienced and most professional management of all Million for Mission projects." Final 6.

⁴⁸⁷ The project had a Steering Group (under various titles) throughout. The minutes of this were only sporadically produced and often inconclusive, they were sometimes preceded by reports written by various Tayside Region employees, often Heather Neil. References to this Group and its papers will be included as Brechin with the appropriate meeting date. The needs survey was included in Brechin 31 August and 21 October 1992. After the Interim Review and the Cameron Report there was also a Joint Management Group with representatives of Province, Diocese and Council, the main difference being that it was held in the Bishop's Office and chaired by him, rather than being held in Council locations and being chaired by Joan Conlin. Its remit was narrowed to reviewing the project and receiving accounts rather than the wider advisory and directive role that the earlier group had followed and continued to follow, reporting to the Joint Management Group.

⁴⁸⁸ "Apparently at Diocesan request, the church's salary funding is effectively a confidential gift to the Regional Council under Sect. 85 of the 1977 Local Govmt. (Scotland) Act, (as noted in the Recommendations of their Joint Report No 291/92 to Social Work and Personnel Committee) enabling them to provide social welfare and other assistance under Sect. 12 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act." Review 7.

The question of church involvement was raised from the start e.g. MBDG Report 13 April 1992.

The Cameron report (see f476) drew a number of threads together "...the joint report of Tayside Social Work and Personnel Committee of 13/2/92 reflects a perception of the church's role as non-participatory. It states "the Church seeks no publicity but commit their resources as a genuine act of concern"; and later refers to the funding as a "gift".

In contrast the MBDG at its meeting on 3/4/92 [13/4/92] was stressing the importance of the church being seen to be clearly involved"; and on 3/7/92 "the Bishop of Edinburgh said that the church should not be incognito but must own and celebrate the work".

I remind members of the MBDG of this not to apportion blame but to illustrate how it is at this point, BEFORE the project had developed on the ground that the seeds of misunderstanding were sown. This is the legacy inherited by those who now represent the various 'partners' in the project – the two workers, the Diocesan Social Responsibility group and the Provincial Development Officer, and it has coloured their understanding of their role. This is further illustrated in the first minuted meeting of the Project Steering Group, 31/8/92: "There was some discussion over clarification of the involvement of the church with the project. No conclusion was reached."! What is, however, important to stress is that the underlying principles remained those of the new project in Brechin" Cameron Report MBDG Report 1 December 1994 2-3.

God turns his people outwards in active compassion for human beings in need.⁴⁸⁹

In his Final Report Halliday wrote:

This Diocese's Million for Mission Project is located in the fourth aspect of Christian mission. It is not primarily intended to be evangelistic; its model is the Good Samaritan. We have found in practice, however, that it witnesses quite effectively to what makes us tick: people have been responding in more friendly fashion to the Church and its message because of this practical altruistic outreach to ameliorate human need.⁴⁹⁰

This was often presented by the Bishop as the Good Samaritan model. This was challenged in the Cameron report when he noted that "The "Good Samaritan" could not have been a model of mission without the "Luke" factor – the person who TOLD THE STORY."⁴⁹¹ Halliday remained a strong defender of the project throughout and continued in his Final Report:

There are still some in the Church who are opposed to the project, and presumably think Jesus got it wrong: the Good Samaritan should have left the brigands' victim lying and then, when he got home, to have written a strong letter to Pontius Pilate about the lack of military protection and succour for travellers on the Jerusalem to Jericho road.⁴⁹²

There were tensions for some in the model of mission being used. Halliday argued that the project worked as an almost subliminal form of evangelism without the need

⁴⁸⁹ Diocese 6; also Review 5.

⁴⁹⁰ Diocese 6.

⁴⁹¹ Cameron report MBDG Report 1 December 1994 4.

⁴⁹² Diocese 7.

for being explicit.⁴⁹³ Ann Morisy reflected on this approach of "community involvement as an unconditional gift to groups and communities under stress" and suggested that this denies that "faith makes a difference to a person's and a community's well-being", concluding that "to respond only to people's social welfare needs, when the Christian faith is assessed as having played a profound role in one's own well-being is oddly inconsistent."⁴⁹⁴

This was a very different type of project from all the others and saw itself as a different theological expression. Its focus was not in traditional models of ordained ministry but in strategies that were seen as successful in social work circles.

When the theological matrix is applied to the project several points become very clear. This project was not based in a recognised area of special need. It may have worked with the most disadvantaged within the community within which it worked but that community was not recognised as being particularly disadvantaged. In this way any discussion in relation to the matrix has to start from a recognition that the work was not with the poorest and most marginalised. The work was certainly not theocentric and only the Bishop would have argued that it was prophetic and that that was the driver for its action. Those to whom the project was aimed were not involved

⁴⁹³ See quotation at f490.

⁴⁹⁴ Ann Morisy, *Beyond the Good Samaritan: community ministry and mission* (London: Mowbray, 1997), 5-6 This is cited in Final which continues "I agree with Ann. This project is an excellent example of good social work practice and a credit to the Region and its workers. As a Church project and a model of mission it is deeply flawed. The reasons for this are inherent in its design. People accept that the Church has a faith and are not shy of working with that but we must be honest about that and sufficiently proud and confident of our beliefs to own them – otherwise it all looks very strange and tensions build up." Final 8.

Ann Morisy was born in 1953. Educated at Coventry Polytechnic she worked in the mining areas of South Derbyshire in the 1980s before becoming Community Ministry Adviser in the Diocese of London. He was Director of the Commission on 'Urban Live and Faith' set up by the Church of England to produce a report on the 20th anniversary of *Faith in the City*. She has been a member of the

in its management, there was no opportunity for them to set any agenda for the work, it does not emerge from them. Thus the praxis also does not embody the “Option for the Poor”. The application of the matrix shows that this project cannot be seen as an example of the “Option for the Poor”.

Edinburgh

The Diocese of Edinburgh had a number of areas of special need within its borders but decided to concentrate on the city in its projects. The Bishop⁴⁹⁵ was instrumental in the establishment of Million for Mission and thus started the work in his diocese before the other dioceses were ready to move,⁴⁹⁶ often before Million for Mission had been approved by the General Synod.

Craigmillar

Craigmillar is a large council housing estate on the South East of Edinburgh, the canonical area also contains the communities of Niddrie and Bingham. The first houses were built in the 1930s and refurbishment happened in phases from the 1970s. The project here had two employees but the aim was to engage with the local community from a base within the community as an example of Christian witness. The original Diocesan Action Plan had the following outline:

The Scottish Episcopal Church will be placing its own gifts at the disposal of others in an unselfish way. This project does not call for the establishment of a new Episcopal congregation nor the resurrection of an old or dead congregation.

Church Army Board since 2001. She was the speaker at several Million for Mission Project Workers events. These will be covered in the next chapter.

⁴⁹⁵ See f456.

⁴⁹⁶ Edinburgh had a Million for Mission Group, usually titled BAGUPA (Bishop’s Advisory Group on Urban Priority Areas) that met from as early as 1990. Few of its papers remain but they will be referred to as Edinburgh with the appropriate meeting date.

Rather it calls for the SEC to support and become interwoven with the established Christian Community and its own creative programmes for meeting the needs of people in this UPA...The community will become aware that the church can and is willing to respond to needs identified by them through various agencies...The boldness of this project and the expenditure of these funds will bring alive the Christian message as never before evident within this area. It allows example to be the prime evangelical strategy to be used within this primarily secular community.⁴⁹⁷

The SEC presence in recent years had been very limited so the project started by the employment of staff: The Rev A Murphy⁴⁹⁸ as a Team Priest based at St Mark's and Mrs L Horan⁴⁹⁹ as a Community Development Officer. Their role was to engage with the community and they did this through two main approaches.

Firstly, they made the church hall available for community use.⁵⁰⁰ Horan's job description gave her role as to "programme, manage and solicit volunteers for the use

⁴⁹⁷ General Synod - Administration Board and Mission Board, "Good News - How?" 7.

The SEC charge for the area was St Aidan's. St Aidan's was started as a Mission in 1936 and moved into its building in 1937. It was attached to various congregations until it became an Independent congregation in 1975. In 1976 it was linked to the nearby St Andrew's, when that charge's building was closed. The last full time priest left in 1988 and it was served from St Mark's, Portobello from 1990. It was finally closed in 1998 when its buildings were demolished as part of the redevelopment of the area.

This was one of a number of churches that were built through "The Home Mission Appeal", organised by Herbert Hall, later Bishop of Aberdeen, to raise at least £30,000 for the building of mission church buildings in the 1930s. Among the churches built those at Possilpark, Shettleston, Stenhouse, Craigmillar and Lochgelly were later to be involved in the Million for Mission scheme. Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, 126; Whiteman, "Million for Mission: An Update," 57 Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, 63.

⁴⁹⁸ Alex Murphy was born in 1928. He was educated at St Edmund's College, Ware and ordained deacon in the Roman Catholic Church in 1955, priest in 1956. He served in the Diocese of St Andrews and Edinburgh prior to being received into the SEC in 1988. He served as a non-stipendiary prior to being a team Priest at St Mark's, Portobello (with St Andrew's and St Aidan's) from 1990 - 1993 when he retired. He and his wife lived in the Rectory for St Aidan's, near the hall.

⁴⁹⁹ Linda Horan had 11 years experience living and working in the area when she took up the post on 20 January 1992. She is now Unit Manager of the Salvation Army Homelessness Unit at the Pleasance, Edinburgh. Following the death of her husband she is now Robertson.

⁵⁰⁰ The church hall was reclaimed from the Edinburgh City Mission (Edinburgh 7 September 1991). The Church itself stayed as a furniture depository for the Edinburgh City Mission. A clean up around

of this facility and to assist various groups requiring space and encouragement for their projects."⁵⁰¹ This work developed slowly through the project so that by December 1993 the usage was over 40 hours per week.⁵⁰²

Secondly, links were made in the wider community. One aspect of this that developed was work with a group of local youngsters who were well known to both Police and Social Work. Working with the Community Education Department and following extensive fund-raising by the young people themselves, they went on an Outward Bound course on Raasay in the summer of 1993.⁵⁰³ Horan continued to work with the young people and, in consultation with workers from the groups using the hall, it became clear that the Church was well placed to respond to the needs of local young people.

Over the next two years the 'Doorstep' project was developed. This was an ambitious plan to tackle youth homelessness in the peripheral estates of Edinburgh, working to complement other initiatives by plugging "a gap in provision for those leaving the parental home or residential care and setting up a first tenancy." It looked to provide "medium term supported accommodation within the community, and managed by the community, and offering a tailor made programme of life skills training."⁵⁰⁴ The first phase was to be based in Craigmillar and then rolled out to other locations. Horan and

the hall was held on 28 March 1992 (MDBG Report 13 April 1992, Robert Whiteman, "Million for Mission" *Scottish Episcopalian*, June 1992) and was followed by refurbishment within the hall to convert it to a Community Centre through the provision of office space and appropriate sized meeting rooms, kitchen and toilet facilities and heating. Some of the work was done by voluntary labour e.g. Craigmillar Festival Society and Edinburgh Council for the Single Homeless. Extensive grant funding was received. (Evening News 160392, 140892 and 271192. This also covered in the minutes of a local steering group and the MBDG Reports and Minutes for 13 April, 3 July and 2 December 1992; Review 39; Final 9). The hall was reopened on 26 November 1992 by the Most Rev R Holloway.

⁵⁰¹ Edinburgh 7 September 1991.

⁵⁰² Review 40 gives a list of those using the hall in January 1994; also Final 9.

⁵⁰³ MBDG Report 3 June 1993; Final 9.

the Rev S Cox⁵⁰⁵ were involved in the development of this but the major driver was the Rev K Whitefield.⁵⁰⁶ The plan took up a considerable amount of time and energy in its development and was touted to a number of funding agencies, without success.⁵⁰⁷ In addition to this Horan and Cox were involved in a number of local community organisations and initiatives as part of their task to engage the church in the wider community as a resource.

St Aidan's made several attempts to start Episcopal worship in the area but these were not successful.⁵⁰⁸

Throughout the period there was always the possibility of redevelopment of the area. During 1996 Edinburgh Council decanted people from the area so that by August only 17 sheltered housing units were occupied within the immediate vicinity of the hall, 435 units were empty.⁵⁰⁹ The work at St Aidan's had ended, Cox returned to

⁵⁰⁴ Doorstep proposal 1 in MBDG Report 30 November 1995.

⁵⁰⁵ Sheila Cox was born in 1941. She trained in Aberdeen and was an home economics teacher. She was ordained deacon in 1988 and served in the ecumenical parish of Livingston until 1993 when she moved to Craigmillar, following Alex Murphy's retirement. She was ordained Priest in 1994 and returned to Livingston in 1996. She now works in Eyemouth.

⁵⁰⁶ Keith Whitefield was born in 1960. He studied computing to PhD level in Aberdeen prior to theological education in Edinburgh. He was ordained deacon in 1991 but his ordination as priest was delayed until 1993. He served his title in East Lothian and moved to Wester Hailes in 1994. He resigned in 1999 following allegations of mismanagement in the Wester Hailes Tenant Management Co-op, of which he was a director. He has not served in the SEC since then. In 2002 he was arrested on child pornography charges.

⁵⁰⁷ MBDG Reports 30 May and 30 November 1995, 14 March and 29 November 1996; MBDG Mins 1 December 1994; Final 9-10.

⁵⁰⁸ Ian Zass-Ogilvie, Letter to Richard Holloway, 29 May 1993 was an early review of the work in Edinburgh and noted "A Service has been held in the Hall for those who are HIV+ or with Aids [sic] and there have been a number of requests or enquiries about Baptism". The Review had a lengthy section on the history of the St Aidan's congregation and noted that a Prayer Service was being held on Sundays (38-40). Final noted that this was little more than a group relocated from St Mark's, Portobello. (10).

⁵⁰⁹ The Rev T Engh, the Rector of St Mark's noted "It is believed that people from outside the Craigmillar area have moved into the vacated homes. Many of the units have not been secured properly. Many of the multi-unit structures have been set alight and are currently just burned out shells. The entire area around St Aidan's looks like a war zone."

"The current ministry programme centred at St Aidan's consists of a daily call by the Community Development Officer to pick up mail and messages. Keeping someone in the hall is now considered

Livingston and the Church and hall were demolished in 1998. This was a vision for a community ministry that was successful as long as the community remained, when that ceased to be the case the ministry also ceased. It should also be noted that this was a project with no fully functioning worshipping community at its heart.

In applying the matrix to this project it can be argued that there was a theocentric approach. The Diocesan Action Plan had a clear sense of putting God at the centre of the work and it was based in a very disadvantaged part of Scotland. The prophetic is only there in the sense of being an example of christian witness both within the community and to the wider church of how the church can work in a marginalised community. There were attempts to develop a worshipping community but these were not successful, that part of a theocentric option could not be carried through in action. The model was one of selfless offering but again that is from outwith. Efforts were made to ask the community what was needed and respond, particularly with the young people. Overall, however, the management and impetus lay outside and that is not a true "Option for the Poor".

Wester Hailes

This project was another Community Ministry but it had 2 distinctive phases based on the priest in post. As with the other Community Priest posts the intention was to

dangerous. All of the groups who had previously used the hall for their meetings and social functions have now left the area or moved to safer facilities. The worship services have been moved to the Rectory and out of the hall.... We can no longer call St Aidan's Community Centre a viable facility and will not be able to for some time in the future. Soon the hall and the Niddrie Mission complex will find itself situated within a demolition and building site." "Building a Ministry Vision for the South East Wedge of Edinburgh for the year 2005" 10 in MBDG Report 29 November 1996.

Timm Engh lived from 1938 – 2003. After a career in the US Military he studied and was ordained deacon in 1991, priest in 1992. He served in the US until he moved to Melrose in 1986 and St Mark's, Portobello in 1990. St Aidan's was grouped with St Mark's. He retired in 2002.

engage the congregation with its surrounding community. Wester Hailes was a new community built in the late 1960's, a congregation was meeting as St Luke's by 1976 but was serviced from outside the community. At first it met in the Hailesland Community Centre and from June 1991 it met in a flat. In January of the same year the Rev G MacGregor⁵¹⁰ and his wife, Elizabeth, had moved to Wester Hailes and they lived in the flat above the church.

MacGregor saw two strands to his ministry:

- to give worshipping Christians the strength and courage to live out Christian lives in the circumstances in which they have to live.
- to witness to the wider community through caring for people, especially the young, and the involvement of individuals members in community and development work.

He continued:

The basic philosophy of the centre sees Christian witness as a combination of church things, the church acting in relation to the community and individual Christian involvement in non church matters. If any of these is left out the rest will be less effective. The church's specific contribution comes through focusing such action through the gospel. It is a process of planting and nurturing seeds in the worshipping and wider community whose results we may never see.

⁵¹⁰ Gregor MacGregor lived from 1933 - 2003. After a brief career in shipping he studied at St Andrews and entered the Church of Scotland ministry in 1967, serving in Orkney until 1973 when he joined the SEC. He was ordained deacon and priest in 1977 and worked as an RE teacher until 1981 when he became Rector of Glenrothes. After a brief period at Cumbrae he became Rector of Dollar from 1987 – 1990. He was in Wester Hailes from 1991 – 1994 until he was consecrated Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness. He retired in 1998 and had a stroke almost immediately.

This philosophy was summarised in the introductory leaflet available at the church:

"There are no hidden snares to trap you into a Christian commitment. We are simply here to serve you..."⁵¹¹

This proved to be a very successful ministry in terms of the numerical strength of the congregation;⁵¹² the use of its buildings;⁵¹³ the wider perception of the work in the SEC⁵¹⁴ and in the local community.⁵¹⁵

When MacGregor left to be a Bishop in Moray, Ross and Caithness, he was succeeded by a different approach. The Rev K Whitefield⁵¹⁶ portrayed a more prophetic approach to the work at Wester Hailes.

⁵¹¹ Robert Whiteman, "Spotlight on a flagship project of the church in a disadvantaged area" *Scottish Episcopalian*, June 1994 All the quotations are taken from this article. It was written in conjunction with MacGregor who was a reclusive figure and very reluctant to engage with the wider structures of the SEC. This reclusiveness was apparent in the various MBDG Reports which noted that the Development Officer had little to contribute on the project e.g. "I have visited on several occasions but the project is highly self-sufficient and does not appear to have specific requests of my services." MBDG Report 3 June 1993.

⁵¹² The worshipping congregation was at the heart of MacGregor's work. At his first service there were 8 people present (Final 14), by the time he left there were 61 members, including 34 communicants on the congregational roll. There were 3 celebrations of Holy Communion each week in addition to the saying of Morning and Evening Prayer.

⁵¹³ The growth was such that the original meeting space of the living room of one of the flats proved to be inadequate, so a number of internal walls were removed to increase the available worship space and a third flat was rented to accommodate ancillary activities. These included a variety of mums and toddlers groups in which Mrs MacGregor was deeply involved.

⁵¹⁴ Review 33 stated "The St Luke's Centre in Wester Hailes, is perceived by many as one of the remarkable success stories of the church's recent work in UPA's. It is based in two flats in Wester Hailes Park, with the priest, The Revd Gregor MacGregor and his wife, Elizabeth, living in the flat above. This project beginning with his appointment in January 1991 has seen the effective nurture and development of a local church in tandem with the exercise of a mode of community ministry that has evidently found a genuine local acceptance."

⁵¹⁵ When the planning application for the flat changes was being reviewed an unsolicited letter of support was received from the Wester Hailes Park Neighbourhood Council. This stated that "St Luke's is a valuable asset to our community" Jim Foy, Letter to Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 25 March 1992. This letter is a reflection of the wider work that Gregor did in the wider community. Review 35 stated "His living in the community opened up contact with issues concerned with housing, community relations (Community Relations Council) and employment (Youth Training Schemes). He was elected onto the Community Council and was party (through the Tenants' Management Co-operative) to negotiations concerning the proposals to revitalise the area etc."

⁵¹⁶ See f506.

The Church cannot fill the gap and provide these welfare services. But it can give voice to the injustices in our society which enslaves so many to reliance on state benefits and charity condemning them to a life of poverty and powerlessness. The Church, Christ's body in the world, needs to be where Christ himself chose to be, amidst the powerless and the poor, affirming their dignity and worth, sharing in their pain and struggle, empowering them and giving voice to their aspirations and anger. As we have learnt at St Luke's this means being willing to challenge those who have power, in business and government, to challenge unjust government and commercial self-interest, and to risk public criticism for engaging in political action and debate.⁵¹⁷

Furthermore he presented reports that suggested that St Luke's was central to the work of Wester Hailes in a number of areas.⁵¹⁸ He himself was involved in a number of activities outside the area,⁵¹⁹ and the place of worship in the life of St Luke's was greatly reduced.⁵²⁰ Whitefield followed MacGregor's reclusive tendency⁵²¹ and this

⁵¹⁷ Diocese 14.

⁵¹⁸ "in the last year members of St Luke's have played a key role in securing some £1.6 million of spending on vital economic and welfare initiatives."

"the congregation has been deeply involved in all aspects of the community, its welfare, its regeneration and its development."

"Let me just list some of the local initiatives in which members of this congregation play a vital part. There is the Representative Council...the Credit Union...the setting up of a Tenants Management Co-op...Members of St Luke's have played a vital role in promoting good race relations in the community...St Luke's have been particularly active in the Crime Panel and has recently been involved in setting up a Victim Support service...We are also working with Apex Scotland to set up a Supervised Attendance scheme through local community groups" Diocese 11-13.

⁵¹⁹ These included a number of communications posts in the diocese and with the Anglican Consultative Council, the later involving frequent trips to London and trips to Canberra. (MBDG Report 30 November 1995; Final 14) in addition to the work he did with the Doorstep Project outlined above. One of the effects of this was that a play leader was employed followed by a part-time priest on an honorarium and the use of L Horan's time when the work in Craigmillar became unfeasible.

⁵²⁰ In producing the longest report of all the projects in the Final Reports from the Dioceses Whitefield only said that ""The congregation have developed their own rich and distinctive pattern of worship, reflecting their social concerns and community involvement, and rooting that involvement in the Christian Gospel." Diocese 11.

⁵²¹ "As usual with this project it is difficult to know what is happening at St Luke's. Information is difficult to obtain or assess. The occasional rumour of concern at what is going on in Wester Hailes has reached me though, it must be said, nothing of bona fide substance. I think it is a matter of some

hid the fact that the rhetoric did not match the reality for some time. Some financial concerns were raised⁵²² but Whitefield continued to enjoy the support of the Primus.⁵²³

The story after the close of Million for Mission revealed the truth. Whitefield left in 1999 and was not replaced. St Luke's was transferred to the care of St Salvador's at that time and shut in 2002, when reflections lauded MacGregor's contribution and Whitefield was ignored.⁵²⁴ The project showed how successful a Community Ministry approach could be if carried out conscientiously by the right person and how important the right person was to such success.

The two phases of the project have to be seen differently when viewed using the matrix. In the first phase there was a clear attempt to put God at the centre of the work as outlined in the quotations from MacGregor. He talks of "focusing such action through the gospel". The second phase had more of a focus, at least rhetorically, on prophetic action and this is shown in the quotation in *The Reports from Diocese*.

concern that Keith feels able to take on a large number of commitments outside Wester Hailes when his predecessor could never be attracted out of Wester Hailes owing to work commitments" MBDG Report 30 November 1995.

At the MBDG meeting a year later the Primus reported "This work was particularly focused in the wider community of Wester Hailes and had done much to raise the awareness of the Episcopal Church in the area. The Primus noted that the congregation was still building gently and remained at the heart of the work" MBDG mins 29 November 1996.

⁵²² "It was agreed that accounts should be sought for the block grant to St Luke's in order to insure full accountability to the General Synod" MBDG mins 29 November 1996.

"In statistical terms the Church is steady in membership and its income has more than halved since Gregor left. The total income for 1995 was £2,011 but these can never be the only measure of a Church as it may be that a different style of ministry is evolving" Final 15.

⁵²³ "At the last Mission Board Development Group meeting the Primus owned that Keith was beyond management but that he had no doubt that good work was being done" Final 15.

⁵²⁴ "its heyday was in the 1990s when it benefited from the SEC's urban priority scheme.

At that time the ministry was carried out by the Rev Gregor Macgregor and his wife Elisabeth but after he was made Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness the church started to decline...

The Episcopal Church put an injection of cash into urban priority areas in the 1990s, Wester Hailes being one of these. St Luke's Centre was created at 24/1 Wester Hailes Park, with Rev Gregor MacGregor and his wife Elisabeth setting up and running the centre. At last St Luke's had its own

However, neither phase showed an agenda being driven by the poor and the wider community. That requirement is a vital part of a praxis emerging from the "Option for the Poor". While there can be no doubt that this is an area of great disadvantage it cannot be argued that the project, at any point, lived out all the aspects of an "Option for the Poor".

Pilton

Pilton is part of the large area of deprivation in North Edinburgh that also includes Muirhouse and Drylaw. This project was not based on one worshipping community but on working ecumenically to bring the members of a number of worshipping communities together. The aim was to get Christians within a very localised area together to share and thus develop wider trust within the community. They would meet as a house group to read the bible and pray; or perhaps to meet for social events as the group saw fit, and thus get to know each other, thereby breaking down boundaries within the local community.⁵²⁵

beautiful chapel. The MacGregors lived over the Church flat and St Luke's acquired the flat at 24/2 for social activities" Anon, "Sadness as St Luke's holds last service" *Scottish Episcopalian*, May 2002

⁵²⁵ The proposal presented to the MBDG read: "Within the Greater Pilton area many do not know their neighbours. The churches have worked together locally for many years to develop trust between them. The aim of this project is to take that trust into the community to help neighbours trust one another. Often neighbours are unaware that they are fellow Christians who just worship in different places on a Sunday. This project aims to tackle the problem by putting Christians in touch with each other on a very localised basis so that mutual trust can develop...The basic model being used here is based on the paradigm of the salt and the leaven and not the traditional sheep and shepherd approach" MBDG Report 3 June 1993, See also Robert Whiteman, "Meet the neighbours" Ibid. 1994

The idea had first been mooted in a letter from the Rev J Wynn Evans to the Rt Rev R Holloway in December 1990. He recognised that the SEC could have little impact in the Muirhouse area but asked "Could we provide a worker who would have no axe to grind and who would not be expected to try to persuade people to come to one of our churches but who would have the advantage of not coming from either side of the great divide ["Prots and Papes"] whose task was to draw together the christians in one stair, block or street. The basic model would be the house group and its task, apart from sharing/caring would be to pray and read the bible together so that they might draw in other neighbours. The aim would be to build up a series of 'cells'.

This may sound a bit too much like the red brigades in China. I would hope to find out more about 'base communities' in Brazil as a model." James Wynn-Evans, Letter to Richard Holloway, 27 December 1990.

The Rev M Ross⁵²⁶ was appointed as the West Pilton Churches Networking Officer and started on 1 January 1994 on 10 hours per week with a remit to bring the various groups into existence. He got membership lists from the SEC, Church of Scotland and Roman Catholics, plotted them to find hotspots of Christians and held a number of meetings for prayer and Bible study. However, at this point it became clear that the Roman Catholic list was far from complete and that the priest had only passed on those names that he thought would be interested. At this point the trust that had underlain the remarkable sharing of the lists was lost and the project closed on 30 June 1994.⁵²⁷

While it is safe to say that this never really got going it should still be viewed through the matrix. The idea was to bring Christians together to develop a stronger sense of community. Thus it could be argued to be both theocentric and prophetic but the fact that one priest could so easily stymie the project shows that the praxis was far from a reflection of the "Option for the Poor".

James (Jim) Wynn-Evans was born in 1934. Educated at Oxford and Lincoln Theological College he was ordained deacon in 1959 and priest in 1960. Having served in Yorkshire he moved to Edinburgh in 1967 and served in a number of charges round the city. He retired in 1999.

The proposal was taken to the MBDG following several visits by the Rev J Wynn-Evans and the Development Officer to the local clergy fraternal in the autumn of 1992 where the idea was discussed and all churches represented agreed to get involved with the SEC providing the funding.

⁵²⁶ Mathias Ross was born in 1954. Educated at Nagercoil and United Theological College, Bangalore, India; he was ordained in the Church of North India and served at St Paul's in Pune prior to coming to Edinburgh to study for a PhD on Paul Tillich. He now teaches at Bishop's College, Kolkata.

The rest of the Edinburgh Projects - Gorgie and Stenhouse

The Diocese ran two other short term projects within its allocated budgets. The employment of the Rev C Upton⁵²⁸ as a curate of St Martin of Tours,⁵²⁹ Gorgie to work at Balgreen and Harmeny Schools with children with behavioural problems, following some earlier pilot work done from St Martin's⁵³⁰ was sharply criticised by the Review as the work was not in an Urban Priority Area.⁵³¹ Thus it was not permissible within the Million for Mission programme and the funding was moved to Stenhouse.⁵³²

St Salvador's⁵³³ was an established congregation serving Stenhouse, a recognised urban priority area on the edge of Wester Hailes. The Rev G Hart⁵³⁴ was employed from 1 June 1995 as part of a team with his wife, Margaret and Ms Sylvia Mackenzie, to develop the congregation and, particularly its work with young people.⁵³⁵ This work came to an abrupt halt later in that year when Margaret and Sylvia moved out and set up house together, leaving the Rev G Hart to embark on a period of further theological study.⁵³⁶

⁵²⁷ MBDG Report 1 December 1994; Final 12.

⁵²⁸ Caroline Upton (Carrie) was born in 1967. Following a music degree she studied theology in Edinburgh and was ordained deacon in 1994, priest in 1995. She served her title at Dalry and now works as the Chaplain at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh.

⁵²⁹ St Martin of Tours was founded as a Mission from St Mary's Cathedral in 1883 and moved to a building in Gorgie Road in 1897, moving to the Dalry Road in 1982.

⁵³⁰ MBDG Report 7 December 1993.

⁵³¹ Review 44-45; MBDG mins 1 December 1994; Final 11.

⁵³² MBDG mins 1 December 1994; MBDG Report and mins 30 May 1995.

⁵³³ St Salvador's started as a mission from St Martin's (see f529) in 1934, the building being opened in 1938.

⁵³⁴ Geoff Hart was born in 1949. He worked as a piano tuner prior to being involved in community work. He was ordained deacon in 1995 and priest in 1996 having done some studying at the Theological College in Edinburgh. He has continued to serve at a number of charges in Edinburgh while returning to work as a piano tuner.

⁵³⁵ Diocese 15.

⁵³⁶ MBDG Report and mins 30 November 1995.

In light of the very limited lifespan of these projects it is not possible to hold them up to the matrix to assess how they reflect an "Option for the Poor".

Glasgow

The Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway had the largest number of areas of special need of any diocese⁵³⁷ and thus, it was not surprising that there were a large number of Million for Mission projects in the diocese, though some of them received little direct funding.

Possilpark

St Matthew's has long been deeply involved in its community and been seen as a symbol of successful SEC work in poorer areas.⁵³⁸ It is based in the large area of

⁵³⁷ "Nationally there are 161 enumeration districts within the worst 1%, of these 108 are in Glasgow City. If this is broadened to Strathclyde Region 142 of the worst 1% are included. 77% of the worst 10% of enumeration districts in Scotland are in Strathclyde Region." Whiteman, "Million for Mission: An Update," 65.

"Examination of those enumeration districts with the very highest deprivation scores, falling in the worst 1% in Scotland, shows a much greater concentration in Strathclyde Region (88% of the national total) and Glasgow District (67% of the national total)." George Duguid and Richard Grant, *Areas of Special Need in Scotland* (Scottish Office Central Research Unit, 1984), 5.

⁵³⁸ Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century*, 76; Review 18.

This section is supported by a lecture that I gave at St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden in 1999. In a week long conference on "The Future of Anglicanism", held following the disastrous Lambeth Conference of 1998, I spoke on "Resourcing the Future". I used St Matthew's as a case study. "St Matthew's in Possilpark was started as a Mission from the Cathedral in Glasgow in 1893 with the current building holding its first Eucharist on Sunday 14 February 1937. It is not an attractive building and was originally just a huge barn. Greater Possil, as it is now known, has never been a rich area and the last census showed it to be one of the largest and most disadvantaged areas of special need in Scotland. It has become something of a sacred cow of urban ministry for the SEC. This is due to the fact that a number of influential clergy within the SEC have served there, it has always had a relatively healthy congregation for an Episcopal Church in such an area and the current Primus was born locally and baptised in St Matthew's. It becomes of specific interest to us from 1984 onwards when the on-site Rectory was converted to form The Place, a short-term detoxification centre for drug addicts. Much of the impetus behind this was provided by the Rev Kenny Macaulay. At the same time Kenny encouraged the congregation to do some capital works so that the main barn was split in half by a partition and the back half filled on two levels with a kitchen, toilets meeting and office facilities. The funding for this came from the Province, the diocese and all the reserves which St Matthew's possessed. Indeed certain aspects of the funding process of these works raise questions that are still unanswered and unanswerable today.

Over the next few years tensions developed between the small worshipping congregation, many of whom came from outside the immediate area, and those who were using the Old Rectory and, after the conversions, the Church building itself. Kenny left in 1987 and the work went through a fallow period.

deprivation known as Glasgow North. It has an established presence in its community and a continuity of both worship and ministry. Million for Mission money was only ever used to pay for some small security works and for a caretaker to increase the use of the facilities at St Matthew's but the involvement was far greater.⁵³⁹

The Place itself developed a reputation for being the place to get drugs rather than the place to come off them. It was shut and has since become PARC [Place After Care and Recovery Centre]. For those matters with which we are concerned the next important date is March 1991. At this point the latent tension between the increasing number of weekday users of the congregation and the Sunday worshippers was addressed in the establishment of the St Matthew's Centre. This is an arms length body from the Church that manages the building. The Church remains a powerful player within the Centre but it relinquishes overall control. The Rector of St Matthew's is the ex-officio chair of the management committee, the Diocese has a nominee and the vestry likewise. The rest of the Committee was made up of representatives of all the user groups of the Centre. The building remains the property of the diocese. This may look an unimportant step but in terms of resourcing the project, particularly in terms of money, it was vital. It makes a statement about the openness of the work, its inclusivity and purpose. It also reassures potential funders that the money will not be used for purely evangelistic purposes - as shown before this is an important sub text within Scotland. I also feel that this is an important principle for the Church. It should not expect that people outside the Church will pay for it to carry out its evangelistic purpose. There are some campaigns emerging which seek to get others to pay for the core features of the Church and its payment of its own priests etc. I do not think that such a position is defensible.

The Centre was formally constituted on 25 October 1993. The constitution states the formal purposes as being "to promote the benefit of the inhabitants of Possilpark and its environs without distinction of political, religious or other opinions by associating the Local Authorities, Voluntary Organisations and inhabitants thereof in a common effort to advance education; and to provide, or assist in the provision of, facilities in the interests of social welfare for recreation and leisure time occupation with the object of improving the conditions of life for the said inhabitants" Robert Whiteman, "The Future of Anglicanism - Resourcing the Church," in *The Future of Anglicanism* (St Deiniol's Library: 1999), 4-5. The quotation is from the Constitution of the St Matthew's Centre 1.

⁵³⁹ The original Glasgow bid for funding was:

"The diocese, in creating its action plan, formulated two main objectives:

- 1 That the major thrust of the plan should be directed to furthering local initiatives.
- 2 That certain strategic functions should be carried out to enable the development of work within UPAs throughout the diocese, and to ensure the most efficient use of resources.

The **local initiatives** which the diocese has prioritised in the plan are:

- 1 **St. Matthew's Possilpark:** The development of the church premises for community use, and the employment of a part time caretaker.
- 2 **Drumchapel:** The employment of a Church Army Officer with community development skills; the provision of some maintenance and security for the present building, which is being used by community groups.
- 3 **The East End of Glasgow:** Extending the work of the Church to embrace social responsibility and communal development, and delivering that ministry in new localities. This proposal involves the employment of a team priest and a church community worker (part time) as well as provision of a minibus and part time caretaker.
- 4 **The continuation of the ARO project:** At present operating in Maryhill, Baillieston and Shettleston.

The **strategic functions** to be carried out at diocesan level are:

- 1 Income generation: From local authority, governmental and possibly European sources, as well as trusts and charities. This will involve the employment of a part time income generation officer, under the aegis of the Administration Board.
- 2 Community/project development: Working with projects listed above and to develop work in other UPAs. Involves creating post of Social Responsibility Assistant, within the Social Responsibility Unit.

The small level of funding meant that the work at St Matthew's was included in the Review. This recognised that the work at St Matthew's was successful in integrating the church with the community and that this led to extensive use of the buildings.⁵⁴⁰ However, the Review also pointed out that the building was in need of remedial work and the Development Officer was brought in to marry that maintenance work with building to further increase the use of the Centre.⁵⁴¹ The redeveloped building proved to be highly successful so that it became clear that caretakers were not sufficient and a Centre Co-ordinator was appointed whose purpose was "The development of the use of the St Matthew's Centre, within the life of the local community and its needs".⁵⁴² By this time the priest with responsibility for St Matthew's was the Rev M Oxley⁵⁴³ and he saw the Centre and the Co-ordinator's post as "important and exciting work,

3 Administrative support: This is required for these two functions as well as being available for the support of local initiatives."

General Synod - Administration Board and Mission Board, "Good News - How?" 8 ARO stands for Areas of Regeneration and Opportunity

After the bids were scaled back to meet the money available the Income Generation post was shelved and the Diocese looked to the Development Officer to fulfil that function.

⁵⁴⁰ "it is very evident that Simon Holland brought in his own singular gifts and vision to pick up the project (following a difficult interlude). Within (one senses) a coherent theological and community development strategy, he has carried the concept forward to such an extent that there is a genuine confluence of church and community concerns expressed in and through the buildings... which is unusual and cheering!" Review 20.

Simon Holland was born in 1956. Educated at London and Cambridge he was ordained deacon in 1981 and priest in 1982. He served in Sussex before moving to St Matthew's in 1991 and then the East End of Glasgow from 1995 – 6 when he returned to Sussex.

⁵⁴¹ A second floor was added to the hall and all other facilities were extensively upgraded.

The costs of £230,000 were met by a number of trust funds as well as Scottish Office and Local Authority funding. The Church only paid for the work on areas that were exclusively used by the Church.

"The bulk of the funding came from Community Education, regionally and centrally. They were more than happy to support the work of the Centre and had been pressing for such work for some time. They saw the Church as perfect partners in such an enterprise owing to its place within society. It represents a middle ground – it is not the police or the social and is acceptable to almost all. It does not have a hidden agenda and is perfectly open as to its motives, or at least should be." Whiteman, "The Future of Anglicanism - Resourcing the Church," 6.

See also Robert Whiteman, "Prayers and support needed for work in disadvantaged area" *Scottish Episcopalian*, November 1994, Robert Whiteman, "Future promising for centre as cash pours in from Trusts" *Scottish Episcopalian*, March 1995 and Robert Whiteman, "Work finally begins on church as TSB cheque arrives" *Scottish Episcopalian*, March 1996.

⁵⁴² The post was funded by £75,000 over 3 years from the National Lottery with Million for Mission being involved in the use of the Development Officer's time to prepare the application. The quotation is from the job description.

not just for its own sake but for what it says about the church's commitment to staying and being in this community."⁵⁴⁴

The Centre is still running with a co-ordinator and is an example of how a church can make a significant contribution in its community by making its buildings available for community use. The worshipping congregation is not huge and is now but one user among many but the whole enterprise acts as a witness for the Church.⁵⁴⁵

When the matrix is brought to bear on this project it is best to look at all the work at St Matthew's first. The worshipping congregation is just one part of a wider witness and that wider witness is theocentric in nature. The quotations from Oxley and the purpose of the Co-ordinator show that there is also a prophetic edge to the work that is focused on the wider community. This is an example where the praxis does reflect the "Option for the Poor", at least to some extent. The structure of management shows the church, as an institution, relinquishing some power to let the community, the poor, drive the work. However, when we look at this within the context of "Million for Mission" it is a very small project and the contribution from the Province cannot be truly seen to reflect a "Option for the Poor"; that lies in the wider and longer standing work.

Drumchapel

The Million for Mission work in Drumchapel centred on the employment of a Youth and Community Worker with a remit centred on developing the existing youth work

⁵⁴³ Martin Oxley was born in 1965. Educated at Birmingham he worked in Housing Associations for a time before studying theology in Edinburgh. Ordained deacon in 1995 and priest in 1996 his first ministry was at St Matthew's. He moved to Shetland in 2000 but left the ministry in 2006.

⁵⁴⁴ Anon, "Churches win cash from lottery" *Scottish Episcopalian*, September 1996.

based in a scout hut and developing partnerships with other local bodies. The main difference in this project from the rest of "Million for Mission" was its evangelical outlook.⁵⁴⁶

Drumchapel was built in the 1950s on the edge of Glasgow to help with the housing shortage but without local amenities. Initially it had high employment but with the decline of traditional industries the opposite was true by the time of Million for Mission. The SEC involvement in the area had been patchy⁵⁴⁷ but a fresh start was made with joint funding from the Mothers' Union.⁵⁴⁸ The first worker was Ms P Burns⁵⁴⁹ and, encouraged by the Rev P Fletcher,⁵⁵⁰ a large number of groups for mothers and children were set up so that by September 1993 it was estimated that 170 people were using the hall each week.⁵⁵¹ Miss N Taylor⁵⁵² succeeded to the post and expanded the work, particularly with teenage children.

⁵⁴⁵ See Final 21.

⁵⁴⁶ The Job Description objectives included "Through working and living in the area to form relationships which draw others into an awareness of God's Love." Another description of aims of the Project was "To draw forth the love of God in unchurched people's hearts, and so equip them to become devoted followers of Christ" Liz Farrow, "Drumchapel Mission Project," (Undated), 1.

In Robert Whiteman, "Scout hut in Drumchapel is centre of work with mothers, children and unemployed" *Scottish Episcopalian*, October 1994 the worker sees "two main ways of seeing change in Drumchapel: "To see local people enter the Kingdom of God and to see them taking responsibility for bringing change in their own lives".

In addition to the generic youth work done from the hall a number of specifically Christian groups were run from the worker's own flat and young people taken away on a number of camps. The worker was also deeply involved in leading Sunday worship in the hall. Nicky Taylor and Simon Peyton Jones, "Drumchapel Episcopal Church: Youth and Community Worker," (1995), 2.

⁵⁴⁷ A Mission from Holy Cross, Knightswood was established in 1955 as the estate was being built with services being held in a local school, by 1958 these were just Sunday School classes and even they had ceased by 1964. It was re-established in 1982 when a former Scout hall was purchased in Invercanny Drive and dedicated as a Mission Hall, still served by Holy Cross.

⁵⁴⁸ The Mothers' Union was established in 1876 with a vision of a circle of prayer upholding family life. It is now a worldwide Anglican organisation in 77 countries with 3.6 million members seeking to support family life in its broadest sense. The Million for Mission funding only ever paid for the rental of the flat where the worker lived. The bulk of the funding came from the Mothers' Union.

⁵⁴⁹ Pat Burns had a background as a Community nurse. She arrived in March 1992 and left at Christmas 1993 to work for Spurgeon's Child Care in London. I have not managed to trace her further.

⁵⁵⁰ Paul Fletcher was born in 1961. Educated at Glenalmond College he studied theology in St Andrews and Edinburgh before being ordained deacon in 1986 and priest in 1987. His ministry in Glasgow was interrupted by several periods of illness and he left the ministry in 2007.

⁵⁵¹ Review 30, Final 16.

In common with SEC clergy, both workers lived in the area in which they worked. This was different to the other professionals working in the area, including other church workers, so that "the fact that she shares the environment with the local community gives her a different quality of relationship with them, and a degree of credibility that cannot be purchased."⁵⁵³ This was a central factor in one of the more interesting and important pieces of Taylor's work – her involvement in the setting up of the Invercanny Action Group.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵² Nicky Taylor was born in 1967. She has a degree in Sociology and Social Work and worked in London for a children's home and the Frontier Youth Trust before moving to Drumchapel on 1 January 1994. She left in 1997 and is now based in the Borders.

⁵⁵³ Taylor and Peyton Jones, "Drumchapel Episcopal Church: Youth and Community Worker," 2 also Nicky Taylor, Simon Peyton Jones, and Liz Farrow, "Drumchapel Episcopal Church," (1996), 2 These two reports were annual reports on the work.

⁵⁵⁴ The flat was in Invercanny Drive. Final noted "The flat and Nicky's own personality have been the key reason for her acceptance in the community and the success of her work. Drumchapel was reputed to have the highest number of social workers per head in Europe, very few of them resident. None of the Church of Scotland ministers are resident and this has made Nicky's work stand out. In the summer of 1995 Invercanny Drive had the highest crime rate for a street in the whole of Strathclyde. It is a testament to Nicky's place in the community that she has never been burgled. The crime rate prompted the Council to find grounds to evict most of the residents. As they are all on housing benefit non-payment of arrears was not an option so failure to maintain the gardens was the presenting reason. Nicky played a part in establishing the Invercanny Action Group to fight the process" Final 16-17. This work is covered in detail in also Taylor, Peyton Jones, and Farrow, "Drumchapel Episcopal Church," 2-3.

"Perhaps the most exciting development of Nicky's work has come about in an unexpected way and as a direct result of her living as part of the local community. In February of this year the Housing Department decided to tackle some of the difficulties in Invercanny Drive. It chose to target the state of the gardens. In signing the Missive, tenants agree to maintain their gardens and the council can take legal action to enforce this. Every tenant received a letter informing them that they had fourteen days to tidy up their gardens, and that failure to do so would result in court action, eventually leading to eviction proceedings. The fact that Nicky received the same letter as everybody else, and was treated in the same derogatory way at a subsequent public meeting, has helped to reinforce for residents that Nicky is very much part of their community, it has also helped her to associate with their feeling of worthlessness and hopelessness.

Some of the local residents wanted to challenge this attitude of the Housing department, i.e. that of tackling the surface problem without addressing the issues beneath, and asked Nicky to arrange and chair a public meeting for the residents. From this came the wish to form their own residents group, to look at the particular needs and problems of the street. Nicky was elected chair of the steering group and then of the subsequent Residents Association.

This has proved to be a positive opportunity for bringing people together and also of enabling local people to develop their potential and to bring change in their local community, questioning attitudes and actions of council departments but also looking at their responsibility for the future.

The residents group for the wider area predicted that it would be impossible to establish a residents group for Invercanny:

"Invercanny residents deserve all they get; you don't want people like that on your committee".

After Taylor left she was briefly replaced but the project soon folded and the work has reverted to a very low level mission from richer areas.

When the theological matrix is brought to bear on this project it becomes apparent that the most effective work, the Invercanny Action Group, was neither theocentric nor prophetic but it was driven by the needs of the poor and the poor themselves. Here the solidarity of living in the community, rather than Taylor's faith, was vital. Though it must be recognised that her living in the community was driven by her faith. The drive to pass the leadership of the group to others within the community is further evidence of a genuine response. As an expression of the "Option for the Poor", however, the work is incomplete as it is only theocentric in Taylor's motivation and is not prophetic as would be required of a true manifestation of the "Option", despite the authenticity of praxis.

East End

The history of the SEC in the East End of Glasgow is one of great ministries and subsequent post-war decline as the population was re-housed.⁵⁵⁵ By the time of

However the new group is enthusiastic, realistic about the difficulties they face yet keen to play their part, and beginning to take on the responsibility for some of the day to day tasks. One of the aims is to develop indigenous leadership of the group so that Nicky can hand over her leadership position, and take on a more supportive role. The group, only set up in June of this year, is clearly able to function effectively, contrary to predictions. The council departments such as the police, housing and education have recognised the value of this group, and have been willing to listen to the ideas and concerns of the members and to discuss the future with them. This work has opened up many new relationships for Nicky, and also provides opportunities to share Christian values."

⁵⁵⁵ Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000*, 585 "In 1920 there were twenty-six congregations within the city of Glasgow alone. Although new charges were formed subsequently, post-Second World War urban charges, including inner city slum clearances and relocation of people to new towns, led to closures of many churches and today there are only fifteen congregations within Glasgow."

The most famous of the East End charges was Christ Church, Bridgeton. At one point it had 4 clergy and 6 lay workers based in a 16 bedroom house in the East End. It shut in 1978. For discussion of the history of developments in the East End of Glasgow see Luscombe, *The Scottish Episcopal Church in*

Million for Mission there were three charges and a community of Brothers in the East End serving a population about the size of Perth. The Million for Mission project here was the most expensive of all the projects but also worked in the largest area of special need covered.

The funds were mainly used to cover salaries. Ms C Green was appointed as a Community Worker in Easterhouse - then the largest housing estate in Europe.⁵⁵⁶ She had previously been working in Shettleston but resigned in December 1992 and was not replaced.

The Rev K Macaulay⁵⁵⁷ was appointed as a Community Priest⁵⁵⁸ to be based at St Serf's.⁵⁵⁹ In preparation for this the ancillary buildings at St Serf's were made wind

the Twentieth Century, 66, White, *The Scottish Episcopal Church: A New History*, 53-54; Martin Axford, "A Church For The Well-Heeled?" *Scottish Episcopal Church Review* 7, no. 2 (1998/9), 21-29.

⁵⁵⁶ The remit was:

"a to encourage the Scottish Episcopal Church including (but not only) its local lay people and clergy to think creatively about their vocation in the community, and to foster real mutual engagement; ie, not just a Community Worker who happens to be paid by the Church.

b to survey and encourage the Church, especially local laity, to discover a faith-motivated local ministry within the community

c as soon as possible to develop a Scottish Episcopal Church centre in Easterhouse for worship and for community use; eg, a flat (cf Wester Hailes, Edinburgh)

d to encourage worship locally using both local leadership and members of the East End Team to ensure integration, and to maintain an active involvement with the worshipping community and likewise

e to maintain a relationship with other community groups" MBDG Report 13 April 1992.

⁵⁵⁷ Kenneth (Kenny) Macaulay was born in 1955. He studied theology in Edinburgh and was ordained deacon in 1978, priest in 1979. Having served his title in Glasgow he was Priest-in-charge at St Matthew's, Possilpark from 1980-87. After a brief period in Glenrothes he returned to St Serf's in the East End. Since Million for Mission he has served at St Oswald's, Glasgow and St Augustine's, Dumbarton.

⁵⁵⁸ The job description had these main tasks:

"a to develop the variety of worship at St Serf's; and specifically to develop a 'Sunday School'/Young Church provision;

b to pastorally care for communicants and adherents in the East End canonical area; and specifically to be available for occasional offices eg baptisms, weddings, funerals;

c to support developing groupwork within and extending beyond the existing congregation;

d to supervise the adaptation of St Serf's into a multi-functional building, liaising wherever possible with local agencies (including other churches);

e to extend ministry into local institutions eg Eastbank Academy and feeder primaries; the John Wheatley FE College; Parkhead Hospital; Lightburn Hospital; etc?

and watertight for offices and other functions. In fulfilment of his remit Macaulay then oversaw the internal reordering of the main part of the building to make it fully usable for community activities. The St Serf's building was offered to enable the Church to be included as a satellite site for an Urban Aid application by a local school to provide after school care for children of single parents so that they could get access to employment and training. It emerged that the school required a lot of work on its buildings so the church became the base for the application.⁵⁶⁰ The application failed but was reworked and resubmitted successfully as TICTACS (To Invest in Children To Assist the Community in Shettleston).⁵⁶¹

At this point the Review was conducted and this threw up a number of issues that led to Macaulay leaving St Serf's; at the same time the Rev D Reid left St John's, Baillieston for another post.⁵⁶² This meant that the whole team had left within a short period and gave the opportunity for a full rethink. The Review also noted that

The person appointed will be one who views ministry not only as involving the care of the existing membership but also as working in and with the local community."

⁵⁵⁹ St Serf's was established as a mission from St John's Baillieston in 1899. It met in a number of buildings, including a skating rink, until it got its own building in 1917. The current building was built in 1934 (see f497). It has always received oversight from elsewhere, usually St John's, Baillieston or Christ Church, Bridgeton. By this time it was regarded as part of the East End Team, headed by the Rector of St John's, Baillieston.

St John's, Baillieston was first met in 1850 and immediately built a building that was consecrated in 1851.

⁵⁶⁰ MBDG Report 2 December 1992 The outline of the project is presented in Kenneth Macaulay, "Million for Mission" *Scottish Episcopalian*, February 1994.

⁵⁶¹ This followed the work that had been done on the ARO Report see f126. The success of the bid is reported in Anon, "Shettleston wins grant for children's care scheme" *Ibid.*, July. The total awarded was £330,000. This included funds to finish all the work on the building including making it fully wind and watertight.

The project opened on 14 December 1995 and provided an out of school care service for 24 children aged 4-12. It is still running with a capacity of 32 children.

⁵⁶² MBDG Report 1 December 1994: "The Review has been part of a process that has led to some major changes here. The Diocesan Administration Board has carried out an audit of the finances of St Serf's and has been instrumental in getting these back into some semblance of order. As a result of this audit and other matters of concern the Rev K Macaulay has left St Serf's."

Donald Reid was born in 1958. He studied Law at Glasgow, Management at Oxford and Theology in Edinburgh prior to being ordained deacon in 1985, priest in 1986. He served his title in Greenock before moving to St John's, Baillieston in 1988, becoming Rector in 1991. In 1995 he moved to be

Macaulay had been involved in a large number of community groups but was unable to reach a view on the effectiveness owing to the lack of clear management structures and accountability; the team had failed to function successfully.⁵⁶³

The outlook of the East End Ministry remained the same but its structure was again reviewed with a view to guaranteeing ongoing full time ministry.⁵⁶⁴ The Rev S Holland⁵⁶⁵ was installed as Team Rector, with the Rev J McLuckie⁵⁶⁶ as Team Priest. The work was again hampered when Holland left in the summer of 1996. Financial concerns arose again and one of the houses was sold. Following Million for Mission there is still a team in the East End but it consists of one priest, occasionally there have been two but usually one of them has held a second post that brings further funding with it.

Anglican Chaplain at the Glasgow Universities. He has since worked for Civic Forum and is now Associate Rector at St John's, Edinburgh.

⁵⁶³ After Macaulay had left and the next steps were being considered Reid wrote "I feel that we should simply advertise for two team priests to cover the whole area, and build into their job description the community ministry remit. And avoid attaching anyone to any particular place. Thus each person should relate to all three charges, and vice versa, avoiding the territory problem. This is the way it should have been done before, in my view, but I was persuaded by others to go for a 'Community Priest base at St Serf's', which would normally not have mattered perhaps but for the personality involved. Spilt milk ... but let's not spill more, especially as the restructuring will involve three charges." Donald Reid, Letter to Robert Whiteman, 22 September 1994.

⁵⁶⁴ The Mission Board to the Diocesan Synod of 1995 reads "The year has seen a significant move in the East End. One of the aims of Million for Mission in the Diocese has been to make the case for two full-time priests in the East End. The case has been made and the Mission Board of the Diocese and the Province is determined that two priests remain after the end of Million for Mission.

M for M has enabled the infrastructure for two priests to be put in place. Money from St Kentigern's and Million for Mission is to be used to buy a house for the Team Rector in the Dennistoun area. The house will be large enough for a family and also have a room that is suitable for meetings / worship. This move helps to secure the future of the St Kentigern's congregation and their full integration into the East End team. The second priest will be housed further East, ideally between St Serf's and St John's. The work of the East End Team will include prison chaplaincy and hospital chaplaincy as well as the nurture and support of the three congregations and the development of community ministry in the East End. This is achievable during the period of Million for Mission and should be seen as an obligation on the Scottish Episcopal Church after the period of M for M funding has ceased" Diocesan Synod Papers 1995 16.

⁵⁶⁵ See f540. Holland moved at the start of 1995.

⁵⁶⁶ John McLuckie was born in 1967. He studied Theology at St Andrews and Edinburgh before being ordained deacon in 1991, Priest in 1992. After serving his title at Perth Cathedral he became Chaplain of King's College, Cambridge. He moved to the East End in April 1996 and left in 2000. After his time in the East End was Associate Rector at St John's, Edinburgh until he left the stipendiary ministry for secular employment.

This was the largest Million for Mission project in terms of expenditure but it was hampered by continual changes in personnel. The TICTACS project was set up to meet a recognised need in the local community and continues to run successfully despite the initial problems in setting it up.

The application of the matrix to the range of work in the East End does not reveal a true "Option for the Poor". The continual changes in personnel meant that a true presence was never established, rather the congregations were maintained. Thus this was not a prophetic witness and limited as to its truly theocentric nature. The establishment of TICTACS represents a genuine response to the needs of the poorest but was predominantly managed by professionals working in the community but living outside. Thus it is not emerging from the poor. The project cannot be seen as a true embodiment of the "Option for the Poor".

Social Responsibility Assistant (SRA)

This post was created and funded solely as a result of Million for Mission. It arose from a review of the work of the Social Responsibility Unit (SRU) in the Diocese.⁵⁶⁷ Ms K MacLeod⁵⁶⁸ took up the post in May 1992 with a remit "To assist in social responsibility work aimed at improving individual family or community functioning." The original Diocesan Action Plan contained some strategic functions. One of these was:

⁵⁶⁷ The Social Responsibility Unit was set up in 1987 but was part of a tradition of Social Responsibility work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway going back to the 1950s and beyond as outlined in Marshall, *Nasturtiums and nettles: forty years of social work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway*. See also Robert Whiteman, "What Katy did and will do next" *Scottish Episcopalian*, May 1994.

⁵⁶⁸ Katy MacLeod could not be traced.

"Community/project development: Working with projects listed above and to develop work in other UPAs. Involves creating post of Social Responsibility Assistant, within the Social Responsibility Unit."⁵⁶⁹

In order to fulfil the Million for Mission resolution it was agreed that the post-holder should spend their 37.5 hours per week working in UPAs within Glasgow.⁵⁷⁰ There is a tension between the two parts of this task as Macleod herself noted: "my exact role is still not clarified, in that I have a dual function – as a support worker for the Million for Mission projects and as an assistant to the SRU."⁵⁷¹

The job description emphasised Macleod's role as assistant to the Social Responsibility Officer, Mrs G Macdonald.⁵⁷² For the first few months of the post the Unit was not based in the SRU Office as this was being overhauled and that set the pattern for disrupted relationships throughout the project. In the following year Macdonald was off work for considerable period of time⁵⁷³ so that most of the work of the Unit⁵⁷⁴ fell on Macleod. By the time that Macdonald returned a vital opportunity to develop a good working relationship between the two had been lost.

⁵⁶⁹ General Synod - Administration Board and Mission Board, "Good News - How?" 8 This did not form part of the job description of the SRA but was understood to be the role that the post holder was filling.

⁵⁷⁰ As f537 shows such a requirement is not restrictive in Glasgow.

⁵⁷¹ Macleod wrote a number of reports for the Diocesan Social Responsibility Committee, the managers of the SRU, that form part of their records. These will be recorded as SRA Report with the appropriate date. This quotation is from SRA Report 26 October 1992.

⁵⁷² Georgina (Georgie) Macdonald was employed as Social Responsibility Officer in 1987 having been involved with work at Braendam since 1983. She left in the late 1990s.

⁵⁷³ MBDG Report 2 December 1992 and 3 June 1993.

⁵⁷⁴ "Georgie was unwell for much of the first year of Katy's work and she inevitably was drawn in to the day to day hands on work which formed the bulk of the Unit's action: provision of furniture and clothing donated by other people, taking clients to court or to visit relatives in inaccessible hospitals or prisons and advising clients who are unsure of their benefit entitlements." Final 22

Further clarification of the work of the SRU comes from Marshall, *Nasturtiums and nettles: forty years of social work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway*, 25 "Georgie tells us "I consider what we do in the Unit as a very practical expression of the Church's caring role in today's society. All aspects of social responsibility are the concern of unit staff – people living in abject poverty, the needs of the elderly, the homeless, those isolated because of mental health problems, single parents – the list is endless."

The Review highlighted the tensions between the work of the Unit and the community development role, as well as between the two workers.⁵⁷⁵ This was further underlined by the publication of an article in the *Scottish Episcopalian*.⁵⁷⁶ The result was a change in title, location and management structure for the post as well as a clarification of intent. The post was renamed Social Responsibility Project Worker with an office established in Clydebank, where she had previously been involved with the congregation, community surveys and local voluntary groups.⁵⁷⁷ The aim of the move was to focus the work more closely on "assistance and support of charges engaged in Mission Audit using a community development approach."⁵⁷⁸ This was not a successful move and Macleod's contract ended on 31 May 1995, not to be renewed.

The two periods of work of the SRA look different when viewed using the matrix. The first period in the Unit office was only theocentric to the extent that it was inspired by the sense of christian witness and presence that the Unit sought to embody. As crisis intervention work it cannot be seen as being prophetic. It simply patches up rather than seeking to point to long term solutions. The second period at

⁵⁷⁵ "Much of Katy's time was inevitably spent on the unit's fairly traditional crisis intervention work, it taking some time for her to be used in community development work" Review 26.

"It is inevitable in a job such as this (indeed inherent in the original Job description) that there should be a blurring of responsibilities and priorities as between the Social Responsibility Unit's crisis intervention work and the other type of community development and consultancy work required for areas of mission in the Diocese. This had become something of a problem at the time of our interview, and discussion as to its proper solution is still ongoing." Review 28

⁵⁷⁶ Whiteman, "What Katy did and will do next" The tension inherent in the role was also rehearsed in Marshall, *Nasturtiums and nettles: forty years of social work in the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway*, 28 in quotations from Macleod:

"The most vital aspect of my work was to try to communicate a vision of "Community Ministry" as the way forward for the church. I was supposed to be a resource for charges to engage in a more meaningful ministry which involved the local community in the locality of the church"

"Katy has found it helpful to collaborate with other agencies, for example **Barnardo's Faith and Community Project** where she has carried out a community survey and put together resource packs on different issues. But for her it is important to work alongside real people, homeless folk, those mentally ill. "This is what authenticates the work of the Unit and the church."

⁵⁷⁷ These are listed in most of the SRA Reports as well as Review 27.

Clydebank was more prophetic in seeking to work to focus on community development. However, when we look at what was actually achieved in true praxis, the answer is little, and thus this cannot be seen as a successful embodiment of an "Option for the Poor".

Govan

St Gabriel's⁵⁷⁹ building was irreparably damaged in a storm in 1993. The congregation was both small and gathered so that they were able to move to a side chapel of Govan Old, Church of Scotland, church. By the end of 1993 a funding package had been put together for a three year feasibility study for a Community Priest for the area.⁵⁸⁰ The model hoped for a ministry shared with the Church of Scotland in a shared building. Interviews were held and one outstanding candidate offered the post. He turned it down noting that the congregation, diocese and Church of Scotland minister appeared to have different visions for the post.⁵⁸¹ The post was never re-advertised and the charge closed in 1996. Million for Mission paid for the interview costs.

There is too little here for an application of the matrix to be worthwhile.

⁵⁷⁸ Whiteman, "What Katy did and will do next"

⁵⁷⁹ St Gabriel's congregation was established in 1891 as a mission from another SEC charge in the area that closed in 1963. A building was dedicated in 1893, rebuilt in 1901 and consecrated in 1913. It became the Mission Chapel of the Missions to Seamen in 1969 with their Chaplains acting as parish priest until 1993. The charge closed in 1996.

⁵⁸⁰ MBDG Report and Mins 7 December 1993. Million for Mission would have provided roughly 50% of the cost.

⁵⁸¹ Review 32.

St Andrews

The Project for the Diocese of St Andrew's, Dunkeld and Dunblane was the employment of a Community Priest at St Finnian's,⁵⁸² Lochgelly.⁵⁸³ The Rev K Nicholson⁵⁸⁴ was installed prior to the start of Million for Mission, in anticipation of it. Nicholson produced a number of papers as to how he saw the role. In one of these he cited a version of the Diocesan Action Plan produced in 1990:

To think theologically about the commitment of the Episcopal Church and to ask in what way it is able to bring good news both to the people of the area and to those who work in the caring professions...being both a care for the worshipping community of St Finnian's and an attempt to penetrate the community of Lochgelly.⁵⁸⁵

Nicholson saw his role as being to carry this statement from the Bishop through and that formed the whole of the project; Million for Mission money being used to pay half of his stipend. His final reflections on that work started from an explanation of his approach:

⁵⁸² St Finnian's started in 1896 as a Mission from Cowdenbeath and had its own tin building by 1897. The present church was consecrated in 1938 (see f497) Having been a Mission of several charges it became an Incumbency in 1952. It became part of the West Fife Team Ministry in 1986 and was moved to the Central Fife Team Ministry in 1995.

⁵⁸³ St Finnian's is in Lochgelly and was not in a UPA area but had responsibility for a string of former mining villages – Crosshill, Glencraig, Lochore and Ballingry – that are collectively known as Benarty so as to qualify, in size, as an area of special need. MBDG Report 13 April 1992; Review 13; Final 24; Robert Whiteman, "Church is more than just a Sunday Club in former mining area" *Scottish Episcopalian*, June 1995

⁵⁸⁴ Keith Nicholson was born in 1947. After a career in Social Work he studied Theology in Edinburgh and was ordained deacon in 1991, priest in 1992 and immediately started work in Lochgelly. He moved to Kinross in 1995 and retired owing to ill-health in 2003.

⁵⁸⁵ This quotation appeared in a number of papers that attempted to set out the vision for the work in Lochgelly. These papers never received any formal status but two versions produced in June 1992 show some of the differing theological perspectives on the work in hand. A draft produced by Nicholson has, as its first aim, "To help the worshipping community of St Finnian's to come to an understanding of the church's commitment to the poor in society; for them this meaning very specific areas in Lochgelly." This was rewritten by David Redwood, the leader of the West Fife Team Ministry, as "To provide pastoral care and leadership to the congregation of St Finnian's."

Much time was spent simply establishing and nurturing relationships outwith the worshipping community of St Finnian's...being with people in all facets of life just as Jesus was.

This apparently simple, practical strategy, gradually over a period of months and years, enabled many of us at St Finnian's and in the community of Lochgelly to begin to understand that "growing together in unity and love" was more than a pipe dream restricted to a specifically chosen few in a particular church. Rather it was a reality, a reality we ourselves could relate to. We could see it for ourselves in the way more people were becoming involved and giving of themselves, both in Sunday worship and in their daily living; it was seen by the fact that more faces were appearing at church – some for the very first time; it was seen in the way that more church members were becoming involved in community groups; it was seen in the hospitality and love shown to strangers and the growing confidence to tackle new ideas; it was seen in the faces of people who knew they were of worth and accepted as themselves.⁵⁸⁶

To deliver on this vision Nicholson involved himself in a wide range of community groups⁵⁸⁷ and came to see the schools as the centre of the community as they were the only place where the various villages came together. He worked on a number of programmes within schools and was co-opted onto the High School Board.⁵⁸⁸ At the

⁵⁸⁶ Robert Whiteman, "At the coalface" *Scottish Episcopalian*, February 1997.

⁵⁸⁷ The Project had a Support Group drawn from the local community including the local Communist Councillor, Willie Clark. In his report to that group on 3 September 1992 Nicholson listed 9 groups across the area that he was already involved with. Most of this involvement was short term capacity building work that was taken on by others eg a local Youth Group was built up to form the Lochgelly West Youth Project (Review 15, MBDG Report 2 December 1992, 7 December 1993).

He wrote a large report on his work for the MBDG Report 30 May 1995.

⁵⁸⁸ MBDG Report 3 June 1993, 1 December 1994. Nicholson wrote up the various projects in schools and some of them were added to the curriculum in schools. This is extensively covered in the Review 14 – 15 as well as Final 25 and Whiteman, "Church is more than just a Sunday Club in former mining area"

same time he became aware that the immediate area around the church, although not technically an area of special need, had problems of its own. He worked with a group of local mothers who had approached him as they were concerned by the lack of local provision. He supported them in the development of a scheme and the local community helped to upgrade the church hall to meet registration guidelines. By 1995 Totstop was meeting for three mornings and afternoons each week and had a further sub-group for toddlers on two afternoons, a toy and a clothes library.⁵⁸⁹

Nicholson was unwell and hospitalised for several months in early 1995 and moved to Kinross in November 1995. The work was moved to a Central Fife Team, though without a priest dedicated solely to St Finnian's. Under this new arrangement Nicholson's approach was not carried forward, though the use of the building continued for some time.

When the matrix is applied to this work it is easy to see in the quotations from Nicholson an attempt to put God at the centre of the work, both in the congregation and the wider community. The establishment of a number of community groups and the involvement in the community generally and the school, specifically, were attempts to work in a prophetic manner; to deliver a genuine praxis. This was led by an appreciation of the needs of the poorest in the community and some attempt to bring them into the management of the work. Standing against this the effects were very short lived and so, while the aspirations might have been strong, it is difficult to see this as a fully developed "Option for the Poor".

⁵⁸⁹ Final 24.

This chapter has looked at all the Million for Mission projects individually and given a brief outline of them. It has particularly focussed on what the intentions of the projects were. The theological matrix summarising a true embodiment of the "Option for the Poor" that was developed from the work of Gutiérrez in Chapter Two has been applied to the projects in order to assess the extent to which those projects embodied the "Option". The next chapter will look at the aspects of Million for Mission beyond the projects themselves as well as the criticisms of it within the SEC.

Chapter Six - The Wider Million for Mission

The last chapter looked at the individual projects within Million for Mission. In addition to what went on in the projects there was a Project Workers meeting that produced a number of statements and initiatives within the SEC. This chapter will look at these more corporate manifestations of Million for Mission as well as the criticisms that were made of Million for Mission within the SEC.

Project Workers Group

The aim of the Project Workers Group was "to get the workers together to share information and concerns."⁵⁹⁰ At an early meeting a statement of intent was produced:

Million for Mission" is a learning process for the Church. It is a gamble which the Scottish Episcopal Church must take if it is to address itself fully to the modern world. It is a chance for the Scottish Episcopal Church to examine its whole idea of mission in the light of what the poor have to say. It will help us to see mission not just as a method of delivering the gospel to the poor but as a way of being evangelised ourselves by what they have to say. We are all paupers in need of God's grace and must therefore affirm all people as valuable in God's sight. The Scottish Episcopal Church can learn much from a policy of positive discrimination towards the disadvantaged. Many of the challenges faced by our churches in poor areas are forced upon them by their situation, but the same challenges must be met by other churches if they are to continue to witness to God's care for all. The "Million for Mission" enterprise will help the whole church by helping it to listen to the least, last and lost of society.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹⁰ Final 26.

⁵⁹¹ This statement was distributed widely: e.g. MBDG Report 2 December 1992 as well as General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "10th Annual Report," (General Synod of the Scottish

Overall the Project Workers Group met 11 times across Scotland. The first meeting was held in the General Synod Office and was an "at home" designed to give the Bishops the opportunity to meet all the workers as the projects got under way. Further meetings were held on the sites of the projects at Lochgelly in November 1993, Shettleston in February, Craigmillar in May and Mastrick in September 1994. These meetings mainly shared news and experience between the projects but also tried to develop a wider model for the SEC.

A number of the workers had the word 'Community' in their job description so an early meeting looked at "Engagement with the Community" with the help of Ann Morisy.⁵⁹² This was shared at a Community Ministry Conference held at Bonskeid House from 11 - 12 October 1994. Ann Morisy and the Bishop of Aberdeen were the key speakers but the intention was to draw together those of shared interest with a view to developing wider momentum in the SEC.⁵⁹³

Episcopal Church, 1993), 44 it was put together at the Project Workers meeting of 29 June 1992, the first meeting of the group on its own.

⁵⁹² See previous chapter f494 for Ann Morisy. For the meeting MBDG Report 2 December 1992 and Robert Whiteman, "Chilly Weather for Millport Meeting" *Scottish Episcopalian*, February 1993.

⁵⁹³ The Conference flier read:

"The Million for Mission Project Workers Support Group has recognised that it does not have a monopoly of community centred ministry within the church.

It has realised that such ministries are being exercised in all types of communities - rich and poor, urban and rural.

The aim, therefore, of this conference is to gather together practitioners of this style of ministry, to share their experience, reflect upon its foundation and relevance and look at the wider picture within the Scottish Episcopal Church and examine how this can be taken forward.

One possibility would be the formation of a network or body within the Church which would promote the fundamental model of ministry found within Million for Mission and elsewhere to the broader church congregation. Thus Million for Mission can be seen in a broader context of the future of the whole Church.

During the conference we hope to consider the basic theological background and framework to this type of ministry and why it is important. We also plan to look at how we can go forward within the Scottish Episcopal Church and with others in the light of what we hear and learn." Final 27.

It was argued that "The work of Million for Mission and the theology behind it is not a radical innovation within the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Many have sought to turn their work out into the wider community from within the Church while still retaining the Christian faith as an underpinning to their work. The innovation of Million for Mission

After the Bonskeid Conference the wider group was maintained for all meetings as a means of building on the momentum of that Conference and taking the ideas of Million for Mission out in the wider church.⁵⁹⁴ The Conference delegates met again on 3 March 1995 for a workshop led by John Bell of the Wild Goose Workshop, an offshoot of the Iona Community, on worship in marginalised areas. The wider group met with the College of Bishops in September 1995 and a final meeting was held under the Million for Mission banner on 16 November 1995. Joan Conlin of the Brechin Project made a presentation to this meeting on Debt Counselling.

Doctrine Committee

The MBDG made reports to the General Synod every year. These reports concentrated on the practicalities of what had been done but could not address wider issues. In 1995 a joint paper was presented by the Doctrine Committee with the Project Workers Group. This was a logical step in view of the role of *Blessed are the Poor?* in the development of "Million for Mission" and came about as a result of the papers from the Bonskeid Community Ministry Conference being sent to the Doctrine Committee. This paper is attached as Appendix Two. The paper is a clear reflection of the internal politics of the SEC at the time but also tries to elucidate some wider

was a structural one in devolving resources to a definite focus on work in the most deprived areas of Scotland as a response to the imperatives of the faith...

The conference recognised that such a form of ministry was not confined to Million for Mission projects but was being exercised in all types of communities – rich and poor, urban and rural. It sought to gather practitioners of such a style of ministry together in order that they could share experiences and understanding to progress the developments of such ministries within the Scottish Episcopal Church...

Its success was built around an open sharing by all participants and a genuine desire to see this form of ministry grow within the Church. Million for Mission has provided an impetus for this but is neither the beginning nor the end" Robert Whiteman, "Million for Mission" *Ibid.*, December 1994, Robert Whiteman, "Million for Mission" *Scottish Episcopalian*, November 1994.

⁵⁹⁴ MBDG Report 1 December 1994 "The conference was very well received by those who attended and there has been a desire from those who attended that the Project Workers Support Group now be extended to include those who want to participate in the light of the discussion at the conference."

Furthermore separate networks were set up in the dioceses of Edinburgh and Glasgow and were successful for a while.

principles that can be seen to be drawn from Liberation Theology. The extent to which these are a true reflection will be considered in the next chapter as part of the review of the overall thesis of this work. The paper was accompanied by a resolution⁵⁹⁵ that sought to encourage thought on the future of the work. The motion and paper were presented by John Riches and seconded by Nicky Taylor,⁵⁹⁶ speaking respectively on behalf of the Doctrine Committee and Million for Mission. It was unanimously approved.⁵⁹⁷

Final Reports from the Dioceses

One of the responses to that General Synod resolution was *Final Reports from the Dioceses* – a report that collected together reflections from the dioceses that had run Million for Mission projects on their work with a Prologue from Richard Holloway and an Epilogue by John Riches. It was presented to the General Synod of 1996. The Prologue prefigures much of the question of this thesis:

With the General Synod of 1996 we effectively come to the end of one of the most daring and imaginative initiatives in the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The background to the decision to make £1M available for work in areas of urban deprivation is complex. Scholars would probably trace one of the sources to a report from the Doctrine Committee applying the principles of what is called Liberation Theology to the poor of Scotland. A punchy version of this theology was expressed in a video called *Glasnost in Glasgow*. It had an

⁵⁹⁵ "This Synod, recognising the fundamental theological importance of Million for Mission for the development of the life and witness of our church, asks the Mission Board Development Group in consultation with the Doctrine Committee and Million for Mission to present to the General Synod of 1996 plans for the continuation of Million for Mission beyond the 5 year term and to consider the implications for church structures, finances and liturgy." General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "General Synod Agenda and Papers," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1995), 50.

⁵⁹⁶ These speeches are attached in Appendix Two.

energising as well as an irritating effect on people. Central to my own thinking has been an anxiety lest the Scottish Episcopal Church become a suburban captive, present only in areas that can provide the money to sustain a full-time ministry. All of these elements came together and provoked the Million for Mission initiative. We have now come to the end of this phase of the programme. We have not come to the end of the work that we initiated. Each diocese is developing strategies to maintain the work that has begun.

We should take an appropriate pride in what we have begun. We should also try to understand it theologically. There is, perhaps, a tendency to see Million for Mission as something *we* have done for *them*. It is not like that. I remember years ago John Harvey, then leader of the Iona Community, asking how we could move from being a Church *for* the poor to being a church *of* the poor. In a sense Million for Mission has moved us into the *for* mode. The church is for the poor as well as for the better off. More difficult is learning how to be a church *of* the poor. That is a theological and spiritual challenge. We are all poor before God, though it is easy for the confident and successful to forget that. Our Million for Mission parishes can teach us more about this kind of spiritual poverty than we can teach them. That is where their poverty can enrich us, if we'll have the humility to listen. This is not, after all, about money: it is about being the Church. We're a wee bit closer to that mystery, five years on from Million for Mission, than we used to be.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷ General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, "General Synod Agenda and Papers," (General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 1996), 104.

⁵⁹⁸ Diocese 1. This was reproduced in *Ibid.*, 67.

The bulk of the report is accounts of what had happened in the projects, sometimes written by the workers themselves. The major exception is the report on Glasgow, written by the Very Rev Peter Francis.⁵⁹⁹ He put the initiative in an historical and theological context;⁶⁰⁰ outlined the work of the projects; looked at their future; put forward some questions that they raised and then posed a direct challenge to the Church in a section "But above all..."⁶⁰¹ This challenge re-replaces the "Option for the Poor" directly before the Church. The Epilogue, which one might expect to do this, fails to do so, in fact it does not mention the "Option" directly.

⁵⁹⁹ Peter Francis was born in 1953. He read Theology at St Andrews University. Ordained Deacon in 1978 and Priest in 1979 he served in England for the early part of his career before moving to Ay in 1987. He was Provost of Glasgow Cathedral from 1992-1996 as well as being Convener of the Diocesan Mission Board and member of the MBDG. Since 1997 he has been Warden and Librarian of St Deiniol's Library in Wales.

⁶⁰⁰ 7 factors are listed as the initial impetus to act:

- "The influence of Liberation Theology and other contextual theologies on clergy
- The impact of faith in the City on the Church of England
- The withdrawal of ministry from Urban Priority Areas in Glasgow since 1950s and the failure of the Church to move into new areas of urban deprivation
- The failure of the church to understand or respond to poor congregations
- Glasnost in Glasgow
- The ARO project
- The inappropriateness of Contemporary Liturgy / Spirituality" Diocese 16-17.

⁶⁰¹ "The movements within the Diocese and the rest of the Church that led to Million for Mission were based on an agreed understanding that God has a 'bias to the poor' and that the poor are the first priority of the Church in its mission. Is it still possible to make that case? Is that the prevalent fashion? There is a need to revisit the document 'Blessed are the poor' and to popularise it and make it available for discussion and debate within the SEC. Without that theological background it is unlikely that a sustained mission to UPA can be effectively maintained.

Is there any real will amongst UPA congregations for community ministry? The diocesan projects are housed in congregations that are elderly and see the function of the church in very different ways. We should be more honest about this. Nevertheless if the church is to remain within UPAs it has to be based on an appropriate understanding of mission and willing to experiment with new forms of ministry and explore urban spirituality more vigorously.

Finally, ministry in UPAs is often promoted and applauded by claiming that the rest of the Church receives so much from them. *They are not a drain on resources, they contribute more than they receive etc.etc* What is this? Do we need to be more honest in assessing their present contribution? This is not meant to be a sour note to finish on but a genuine question raised by the Glasgow Community Ministry Network. A plea for rather more realism. Policy and mission should be based on realism rather than anything else. It is a wise person who builds their house on rock in this climate" Diocese 24-25.

Final Report

The last Provincial act with relation to Million for Mission was the commissioning and production of a confidential report for the Mission Board by the Development Officer. This briefly rehearsed what had been done, presented accounts and closed with a brief reflection. This reflection recognised the methodology of Million for Mission and it closed with a call to the SEC:

Put simply it offers a vision of the future. The Church accepts the gospel challenge and offers itself. Million for Mission has shown this will not be rejected but gratefully shared to the benefit of all. If the Episcopal Church wants a future for its buildings and its congregations then the answer must lie in this direction. If we turn in to hoard resources and make sure that none get away, the future is all too stark. The lesson is clear - others value the Church and its contribution and are willing to support that in all ways - they may not join us (some will) but they want to work with us if we are prepared to let them. The outside world accepts that we have beliefs, we must not run away from them but act upon them.⁶⁰²

It is telling that the Mission Board received but did not discuss the report.⁶⁰³

Critiques within the SEC

While the General Synod regularly expressed its support for Million for Mission there were a small number of critiques of the enterprise from within the SEC. The most

⁶⁰² Final 30.

⁶⁰³ Mission Board minutes 3 march 1997 Item 6 reads "Million for Mission – Development Officer's Final Report: This had been circulated and would be discussed at the next meeting." It does not appear in the minutes of the next meeting.

interesting came from Martin Axford.⁶⁰⁴ He looked at the financial and social assumptions in the canonical structure of the SEC. The introduction states

far from being "a church of the poor" or even "a church for the poor" as *A Million for Mission* [sic] proposed, unless there are radical changes in the way it organises itself the Scottish Episcopal Church can be no more than a church for those with plenty of money.⁶⁰⁵

The only clear critique discovered from the Million for Mission period was brought from a financial angle following the appointment of a new Secretary General in 1993. Possibly due to his background as an accountant he raised concerns about expenditure in the SEC and sought to limit it. "Million for Mission" was one the specific targets.⁶⁰⁶ The response of the MBDG was both swift and firm and no such challenge to "Million for Mission" was mounted again.⁶⁰⁷

If the theological matrix developed from the work of Gutiérrez is applied to the wider Million for Mission interesting results emerge. The Project Workers Group statement of intent can be seen as theocentric in that it recognises the need for God in all and that the care for all comes from God. The statement is also clearly prophetic; the use of such terms as 'learning process', 'gamble', 'chance' and others demonstrates this. Finally it also looks to the poor leading the action of the Church. It calls for the SEC

⁶⁰⁴ Martin Axford was formerly one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Education and this included work in areas of deprivation. Upon retrial he joined the Board of John Wheatley College serving Shettleston, Baillieston and Easterhouse in Glasgow. He has been a member of the General Synod of the SEC.

⁶⁰⁵ This was the third draft of the introduction. It was amended in the final published article but it remains the best explanation of the thrust of the article and its portrayal of a different church to that envisaged by Million for Mission. Axford, "A Church For The Well-Heeled?"

⁶⁰⁶ One example of this would be the memorandum of 29 November 1993 from the Primus, Convener of the Standing Committee and Convener of the Administration Board on behalf of the Standing Committee. This was followed by the Budget Working Party Report of 1994.

to be 'evangelised' by the poor, for 'positive discrimination towards the disadvantaged', the whole church being helped by listening to the 'least, last and lost' and thus for the praxis of the SEC to be shaped by the "Option for the Poor". The statement was produced by the workers themselves and shows whatever the realities of the projects on the ground they had a vision that demonstrated the "Option" to at least some recognisable extent.

When the theological matrix is applied to the work of the Doctrine Committee the results are not positive. *Blessed are the Poor?* starts with a section on "The Option for the Poor" that does not put God at the heart but presents Liberation Theology as a political movement or "social programme". The document is only theocentric in that it mentions God, in terms of its critique it sees Liberation Theology as much more focused on the Church than God and is thus ecclesiocentric. The spiritual dimension that Gutiérrez stresses in his writings⁶⁰⁸ is almost entirely absent from *Blessed are the Poor?* In the second section 'The Analysis of Society' Liberation Theology is described as "Following Marx" and through the following sections of the document the emphasis is political and social.

The key sections in *Blessed are the Poor?* that refer to this are Nos 1 and 2 on "The Option for the Poor" and "The Analysis of Society".⁶⁰⁹ These show a limited understanding of the mature "Option" as they stress the political dimension that *LN* and *LC* had discerned but which had been rejected by Liberation Theologians themselves and which refutation had come to be accepted by the Vatican. The rest of

⁶⁰⁷ MBDG mins 7 December 1993 Items 2.6 and "3. Closing Remarks The Primus stated that the SEC was fully committed to the Million for Mission project. It had received a clear mandate from the General Synod and was protected for the full 5 years."

⁶⁰⁸ See f247.

Blessed are the Poor? looks very briefly at the use of the Bible and 'base communities', among other matters, before offering some reflections on *Faith in the City*. It is a short document that tries, but fails, to present Liberation Theology to the General Synod. Its presentation of Liberation Theology presents the criticism by some in the late 1970s, but which had been discredited by the late 1980s, as its view of Liberation Theology and thus underplays the role of the "Option for the Poor" and the place of spirituality that had come to the fore in Liberation Theology by this time.

Blessed are the Poor? is not a prophetic document, indeed it does not portray Liberation Theology as prophetic but as political. In the section on 'Ecclesiology' it even shies away from the use of prophetic, preferring the more arcane and restricted proleptic. In terms of praxis the questions for discussion at the front do lay out an agenda of sorts but this is an ecclesiocentric and process agenda rather than a theocentric and prophetic one. Analysed through the theological matrix it is not possible to see *Blessed are the Poor?* as a true expression of the "Option for the Poor", and thus of Liberation Theology.

This brief chapter has tied up the loose ends of *Million for Mission* outside the projects themselves. It has also looked at the questions raised about *Million for Mission* within the SEC. The final chapter will look at the overall thesis of this work in reflecting on how successfully the SEC took on the "Option for the Poor" in its work.

⁶⁰⁹ See Appendix One.

Chapter Seven – Conclusions

This thesis has looked at the development of the "Option for the Poor" as part of the development of Liberation Theology and in the writings of its foremost writer, Gustavo Gutiérrez, as well as the critiques made of those writings from within his context. It then proceeded to look at how this "Option" had been taken forward in the British Churches before focussing on the SEC and its 'Million for Mission' Initiative.

This final chapter will look at the coherence of that process. It will start by looking at *Blessed are the Poor?*, the document on which the SEC General Synod built its discussion of Liberation Theology. It will ask whether that document was a true and fair reflection of Liberation Theology, particularly as seen in the "Option". It will then look at how that document was carried forward in the SEC and particularly in the 'Million for Mission' resolution and projects. This consideration will include the presentations made to the General Synod in both written and verbal form and will look to whether the SEC took the "Option for the Poor" on board in its practice. This will include a survey of the views of those who were directly involved in the SEC work. It will conclude with a general reflection on the SEC and the "Option for the Poor".

The "Option for the Poor"

Chapter Two reviewed the development of the "Option" in the work of Gutiérrez and saw the Revised Introduction to *A Theology for Liberation* produced in February 1988 as the classic exposition of the "Option". This was produced just before *Blessed are the Poor?* though it should be noted that *Blessed are the Poor?* does not refer to

Gutiérrez in the paper or in its bibliography – a serious omission. *A Theology for Liberation* includes the definition of the "Option" that was used as the basis for the development of the typological matrix in Chapter Two. The matrix has been applied to the various projects in Chapter Four. It is also necessary to apply it to the other parts of the SEC journey. Thus in looking at the SEC and the "Option for the Poor" it is necessary to look not just for evidence of concern for the poor but clear preference, recognition that they have a prior place in the eyes of God that should be reflected in the life of the Church. The responsibility lies with the Church to conform to the realities of the poor rather than vice versa. The "Option" is theocentric, prophetic and forms the basis of the praxis of the Church.

Blessed are the Poor?

Blessed are the Poor? was examined using the theological matrix in the previous chapter. As part of this research a questionnaire was circulated.⁶¹⁰ The view of those involved on *Blessed are the Poor?* was that its main effect had been to provide a catalyst for wider thinking⁶¹¹ and while some saw it as a good synopsis of Liberation Theology, most of those expressing an opinion saw it as a flawed method of tackling the subject.⁶¹²

⁶¹⁰ The questionnaire was circulated to those key players in Million for Mission who could still be contacted and were worth contacting. 20 were sent out, 12 responses received, though not always in the questionnaire format. In the letter seeking information anonymity was assured so the responses will be quoted without reference.

⁶¹¹ "Undoubtedly, *Blessed are the Poor* influenced the thinking of the Church, as did the broad background of liberation theology, but you don't need sophisticated theology to read the NT and it's commitment to the poor."

"I don't think I felt, even then, that *Blessed are the Poor* was any more than a catalyst that prompted Synod to act as it did."

"It was a very valuable contribution to what already was a debate within the wider church (the CofE *Faith in the City* had come out a year or so before this) about how it should respond to areas of urban deprivation." This response also points to Cwti Green's work.

⁶¹² "A good synopsis. Can lead someone into a further exploration of the subject...It would have been better to introduce LT in the way it describes itself – as a process of reflection over a period of time – not as an objective lesson, by questions and answers. The method of presentation and introduction is not helpful."

"Million for Mission"

The speeches made to the General Synods that considered *Blessed are the Poor?*, the subsequent *Good News for Whom?* and the Million for Mission resolutions are not extant and the resolution itself is purely financial. The minutes of the Synods are very sparse and give no idea as to the style of speeches made. The responses received from those involved suggest that the debate centred on the perceived dichotomy between mission and finance and express both surprise and pleasure that the motions were passed.⁶¹³ However, there is one response from one of the workers that paints a different story in that he was not at the various Synods as "being brought up in a Glasgow Housing scheme, in relative poverty – my ministry (28 years) has always been in parishes with the poor and marginalised." Thus "I'm not invited to these sort of august upper middle class gatherings." It is probably safe to say that a significant understanding of Liberation Theology or the "Option for the Poor" was not central to the discussion or the decision and, while it may have been part of the reasoning in the speeches, it is difficult to see how such information could have been made accessible

"It was a big ask to distil liberation theology into a page of A4. Unfortunately liberation theology, like many renewal movements within the church, is a change of perception, a renewal of the mind, and not an academic proposition up for debate. The Charismatics, the Methodists etc going back through history all had a major impact on hearts and minds, but fared badly when translated into the academic style of presentation which the Church favours. It is further ironical [sic] that LT and Option for the Poor is all about throwing the Church doors open to the 'other' and more particularly the very people to whom such a presentation is incomprehensible."

"Liberation Theology is felt not argued, it is a conviction of the heart not a topic for a paper."

⁶¹³ "All I remember of the debates at the General Synods was the argument between those who wanted the SEC to "take risks" and release a million pounds from its capital to this project, and the more cautious who were fearful of the consequences to Quota etc. So as can be the case at Synods once the "Mission" and "Theology" sides had been presented, the practical financial issues took centre stage. What was significant is that the "take risks" argument won!"

"I recall the discomfort of people when they were made to confront that any change involved loss for those with power. This could be from a loss of symbols to being required to accept that they were part of the problem of poverty."

"I remember at the time how surprised we all were that we actually did something so crazy, but we did, and the administrators helped us find the means. Whether we used the money well is another issue, but the fact that we made the gesture made me proud of the Episcopal Church."

"There was an awareness of a vision beyond the self satisfied and comfortable habits of much of the SEC."

to those making the decisions. In terms of the matrix it is difficult to say much without firm evidence but there is no evidence of a clear theocentric or prophetic edge to the debate even if its outcome looked to shape the praxis of the church.

Million for Mission Projects

The matrix has previously been applied to each project in the discussion of them. It is necessary to note the reflections of those involved. When asked whether they thought the projects embodied the ideas in *Blessed are the Poor?* and/or Liberation Theology two responses saw some positive aspects⁶¹⁴ but most were critical.⁶¹⁵ It is difficult to see beyond the views of those most directly involved in the work; it cannot be argued that the Million for Mission projects themselves embodied the "Option for the Poor".

⁶¹⁴ "Yes – to an extent. Where it was allowed / encouraged the voice and decision making of people in UPAs was an accurate mirror of Liberation Theology. There was always the danger of "father knows best." The same response points to the Shettleston and Craigmillar projects as examples of the SEC embodying the ideas of Liberation Theology.

"Strengths

- it was inclusive.
- it tried to help people make a journey
- it was bold and gave a strong message outside of the SEC.
- +Richard's leadership was a strength and a weakness...

Weaknesses

- it allowed the rural areas to feel not involved"

These questionnaires were completed by MBDG members rather than a local project workers.

⁶¹⁵ "I think it was a wonderful one off gesture which helped the guilty feel a little better about themselves."

"In some ways, but it was not an exercise in LT. It was only the beginning of a process, for me of learning and listening. We were not in the position of doing LT – we were making the first steps at seeing and hearing about the effects / injustice of poverty."

"The short answer is 'no' but those involved on the ground may well have called on LT values as one source of 'food for thought' in their work."

"I suppose the answer is that some did and some didn't. All set out with high ideals but it did depend on each diocese not only creating a support framework for the five years but also having a policy for sustaining any project beyond that five years, and that did not always happen. Points which I think are worth noting

1. Most projects were set up to breathe new life and new ministry into existing congregations. Five years could only initiate that process and financial pressure and lack of a sustaining ministry has seen in the last ten years some of these projects decline

2. There were a few projects, Diocese of Brechin for example, that attempted an innovative project in partnership with the Social Work Department. The problem I sense was that the theological thinking which in many ways was clearly articulated by Bishop and Diocese was not always shared or understood by those undertaking the project."

The Wider SEC

The presentations made by the MBDG and the Doctrine Committee to the various Synods were one mechanism to try to influence the wider SEC while the projects were running. The main example is the joint presentation at the 1995 General Synod outlined in the previous chapter and included as Appendix 2. Neither the paper nor the presentations embody a true "Option for the Poor". They all reflect the tension within the SEC as to whether it is a church that is focused on its members or on the wider community.⁶¹⁶ The emphasis is towards the poor; a desire to be alongside and engage with the poor⁶¹⁷ but it does not appear to recognise a preferential "Option for the

⁶¹⁶ The Statement includes "The current trend for a privatised understanding of the gospel, as of all religion, assumes that there is a clear separation between people's concerns, economic, political and social, and their faith, piety and personal salvation. On the one hand lie the jobs people do or are denied access to, and the things they consume or lack the means to consume, and on the other lie their relationship with God, and their hope of knowing him and serving him more fully. And the two are not expected to meet."

"A privatised gospel promotes a view of the Church as made up of separate and introverted congregational fellowships – separate from society and separate from one another. From that standpoint Million for Mission can make little sense. It does not find its goal in inwardly focused Church activities, and in drawing more and more people into them."

John Riches speech includes "The work of the Church is, and always has been communal. It is not just about saving individuals, bringing them into the safe haven of the Church, it is about being caught up in God's love for the world, being instruments of his righteousness says St. Paul, as God restores and heals and brings life to communities which are broken and dispirited and divided. That is nothing new - though the Church is constantly in danger of forgetting it and falling back into a kind of desperate congregationalism which sees the health and wealth of St. Etheldreda's as more important than the mission of the church catholic."

⁶¹⁷ The Statement includes: "In being alongside the poor we have a real chance of grasping Christ's message afresh, since among the poor and marginalised there is a sharp vision of the radical nature of the gospel: its engagement with the raw, abrasive aspects of life, its real promise to those in real need. This calls for a serious reappraisal on the Church's part of its attitude to the poor. They are not 'over there', waiting for us to send them either wisdom or money. They call us to recognise our own poverty and need, since it is only in that recognition that we will achieve solidarity with them. The Church, as part of the historic structure of the status quo, cannot use the poor as an instrument to become authentic in gospel terms. It needs the poor and marginalised to lead it into taking some of the risks of faith in action." and "Yet the Church would not be a Church if it did not commission people to these tasks – if it did not recognise its own need to be among the poor." and "Million for Mission has been a way in which the potential separation of local congregations has been overcome, as the whole church has shared a common commitment to being with the poor."

John Riches speech: "Million for Mission enables the Church, contributes to enabling the Church to live out that fundamental Christian insight in our very divided society.... It is essential that we as a Church are present in those areas [ghettos of the poor] if we are to fulfil our calling. Without such presence our church would be in danger of losing its catholicity. It is not just that we won't cover the map anymore, we will cease to be the church. Because we fail to enter fully into the suffering and the grief of God's world. We shall fail to be the Church because not fully entering into that grief and suffering, we shall fail to discover the power of the gospel, transforming, redeeming and blessing the poor."

Poor". There are two small sections of the statement⁶¹⁸ that hint at the idea that the poor lead rather than have things done with and/or for them as one might expect of such an option but these are far from conclusive. It must be concluded that the wider statements do not reflect the "Option" but the wider context of the SEC.

The more important question is whether the SEC, as a whole, was able to embody these ideas in its ongoing life. Here the answer from the questionnaires is clearer - while there were some short term results and benefits the long term effects were minimal or non existent.⁶¹⁹

Overall, in looking at the SEC it is clear that while *Blessed are the Poor?* attempted to present Liberation Theology and the "Option for the Poor" to the SEC it was limited in its success; that the carrying forward of that "Option" was further reduced in the

Nicky Taylor's: "In Million for Mission projects we are seeking to follow that same example of Jesus. Much of His earthly ministry was amongst people on the fringes of society and He proclaimed the advent of the Kingdom of God in which individual lives, communities and the whole of society is transformed. Million for Mission projects work alongside broken and hurting individuals in a community in areas of deprivation." and "we are also greatly blessed and enriched by God and by the privilege of working with local people who open their lives up to us and let us share in their struggles."⁶¹⁸ "The Church, as part of the historic structure of the status quo, cannot use the poor as an instrument to become authentic in gospel terms. It needs the poor and marginalised to lead it into taking some of the risks of faith in action." and "It is necessary for the Church to discover God's presence among the marginalised rather than to impose a spirituality upon them. Certainly the language of religion and of faith is distinctive, and worship cannot be conducted in the impoverished speech of a world that has lost sight of God, but we need to learn how our inherited Christian language and ritual can be enlarged to express the spirituality of the poor."

⁶¹⁹ "I think Blessed are the Poor and Million for Mission was an exciting time of debate in the Church. It gave SEC a high profile with other traditions. I think the C of S was inspired – maybe just at individual level – by M4M. It was an example in dark times of the Church tackling big issues of poverty in people's spirits."

"Where today do we see the effects of M4M? Its gone! Where was our long term commitment? Perhaps it raised awareness of poverty issues for a year or two at best.

It was something which, initially gave me hope for the SEC.

That hope has long since gone – it might as well never have happened."

"Nevertheless I believe the Church grew in its commitment to and understanding of its mission to the poor through these initiatives.

Like any Church it has both succeeded and failed as it has tried to contextualise its theology. ...we still remain on the edges of many poorer areas of Scotland; and sadly have had to pull out of some of them for lack of resources."

implementation of the projects and in the wider discussion in the Church and that its long term impact has been minimal. Thus the answer to the question 'did the SEC incorporate Liberation Theology and the "Option for the Poor" into its life and work in the "Million for Mission" process?' is no. The application of the matrix throughout this thesis backs up such a conclusion.

There is, however, a previous question. Could the SEC have fully incorporated the "Option for the Poor" into its work? Here it is necessary to consider the critiques of Liberation theology and the "Option for the Poor" outlined in Chapter 3 and Martin Axford's in Chapter Six. He wrote:

"far from being "a church of the poor" or even "a church for the poor" as *A Million for Mission* proposed, unless there are radical changes in the way it organises itself the Scottish Episcopal Church can be no more than a church for those with plenty of money."⁶²⁰

In the period of Million for Mission and since then such changes have not occurred, indeed the status quo has been entrenched. The only parts of Million for Mission that have continued are those that found ways to fund themselves and these funds were to support the buildings or more usually paid ministry of the SEC.⁶²¹ The SEC is simply not able to incorporate the "Option" by virtue of the way that it is set up.

⁶²⁰ This was the third draft of the introduction. It was amended in the final published article but it remains the best explanation of the thrust of the article and its portrayal of a different church to that envisaged by Million for Mission. Axford, "A Church For The Well-Heeled?"

⁶²¹ E.g. Mastrick in Aberdeen raises enough money from its hall rental to continue to afford a priest and TICTACS in Shettleston is a business that uses the Church buildings that arose from the Million for Mission project.

The critiques that emerge from the context of Gutiérrez, as outlined in Chapter Three, raise wide questions of churches in general. Pablo Richard and Hugo Assmann see a church that has sided with the oppressors, that stands with the colonial powers and the power structures that they leave. Both writers reject that approach to the faith as a false interpretation, Richard calls it Christendom and the same term can be found in Assmann. They call on Christians to be part of a wider movement of liberation and thus to reject much of the institutional church, siding instead for active change.

In answer to the fundamental question can any church, including the SEC, properly incorporate the "Option for the Poor" into its life and work? The answer must again be no. The gospel is so fundamentally about the poor that as soon as money is brought into the equation and offered as the solution you no longer have the gospel. The "Option for the Poor" insists that the poor are central to the gospel; were a church to embody that that would also need to be true for that church i.e. the poor would have to be central to the church. The theological matrix has genuine praxis as one of its central features. Genuine expressions of Liberation Theology seek to change practice and lifestyle rather than placing the onus for change on the poor. The poor are the agents of change rather than those who are expected to change to conform to the wider system. Thus Liberation Theology was misinterpreted by the SEC in seeking to make the poor parts of the church like the rest of it or, more fully, not attempted as the second act of reflection on the first act of action by the poor. Such a theological emphasis was not understood within the SEC in the documents and action that has been documented. Such an emphasis is antithetical to the structures of Churches. As soon as someone got up at the General Synod to propose "Million for Mission" it was

dead in the water as a true expression of the gospel, because the gospel can never be found in such places but in the face of Christ and that is among the poor.

Appendix One

Blessed are the Poor? Liberation Theology, "Faith in the City" and the Scottish Episcopal Church

The Convener of the Doctrine Committee writes:

It was at the request of the Faith & Order Board that the Doctrine Committee redrafted the original questions and Recommendations it had drawn up as a guide to promote discussion of its Report, 'BLESSED ARE THE POOR'. The changes were made to provide suitable topics for Discussion Groups during the meeting of the General Synod. We were disappointed that at the Synod neither the report itself received adequate discussion nor were its suggested topics for discussion put to groups during the Synod.

The members of the Doctrine Committee regret that the sharpness of the original Questions and Recommendations was lost in the re-drafting, but offer them now as an addendum. It was our aim to direct these questions to the power structures of our Church, its Boards and Committees as well as the Regional and Area Councils and congregations and vestries in the Dioceses.

JOHN FARRANT

The last few years have seen two developments in theology that raise important questions both about the engagement of the church in practical and social issues and about the fitness of present church structures. The first is a broad theological movement: Latin American liberation theology. The second is a specific document from England: the 1985 report 'Faith in the City'.

Below is a list of questions for discussion that arise out of this material. Each general question is followed by some more specific ones designed to tease out the thrust of the inquiry. There is appended a very brief account of liberation theology, and some reflections on 'Faith in the City', both with bibliographies for further reading.

Questions for Discussion

1. To what extent do our church's structures, order, liturgy and general life fit it to be the agent of the Kingdom of God in the World?
 - (a) Is our church too interested in its own life, to the neglect of the world outside, or does it have the balance approximately right?
 - (b) Can you think of any specific changes in the church's structure or order that would enhance its task of mission?
2. How is power exercised in our church, and by whom? To what extent does this pattern of the exercise of power benefit those who are the least powerful among us?

- (a) If you are in a position of authority in the church, how do you go about checking that those beneath you in the power-structure find your exercise of power life-enhancing?
 - (b) Consider the following groups in the church (you may be able to add to the list, it is not exhaustive): bishops, other clergy, vestries, women, laity, synods, the Theological College, central administration, the well off, the poor. Which groups do you think should have proportionately more or less power, and why?
3. To what extent does our church welcome the poor and inarticulate, consider their needs, recognise and use their talents, and support their legitimate aspirations?
- (a) Do we really listen to the poor, or do we tend to assume that we know what is best for them without asking their opinion?
 - (b) Consider the "class structure" of your congregation, and of any church groups and committees of which you are a member. How well do these reflect the social structure of the general population?
4. Do we need an "option for the poor"? If so, what would this mean in practice in both a national and an international context?
- (a) Should we give extra assistance to those who are willing to minister in Urban Priority Areas, and adapt our funding system so that a greater proportion of clergy can be concentrated there?
 - (b) In what ways should we be trying to assist the churches in third world countries in their struggle for economic and political justice?

Liberation Theology

Liberation Theology (LT) is an approach to the Christian faith that has its deepest roots in Latin American Catholicism. It has the support of a significant proportion of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, of its theologians, and of its people. Its significance is widely recognised to extend beyond the boundaries of Latin America. There is considerable diversity of belief among the exponents of liberation theology, but the following common emphases add up to a distinctive approach to Christian life and thought in the late 20th century.

1. **THE OPTION FOR THE POOR:** LT's argue that, at least since Constantine in the 4th century, the Church has usually sided - implicitly or explicitly with the rich and the powerful in society, so as to assist in the maintenance of an unjust 'status quo'. A key event was the Medellin (Columbia) meeting of the Latin American bishops in 1968, which adopted as official policy the "preferential option for the poor". Reaffirmed at Puebla (Mexico) in 1979, this recognised the need for the Church to take sides in the endemic class conflicts in society, and to take part of the underdog therein. LT's trace this "taking sides" in social conflict to Jesus himself, to the OT prophets, and to the foundational event of Yahweh's liberation of the people of Israel from slavery (sic) in Egypt. They take literally as God's social programme the

words of the Magnificat: "He has put down the mighty from their thrones, and exalted those of low degree; he has fulfilled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty away." (Luke 1:52f, compare 6:20-26). They reject both an exclusive concentration without radical social change, as betrayals of the gospel. They see both as leaving injustice in place while salving the consciences of the rich and numbing the awareness of the poor: crying Peace, Peace where there is no peace.

2. **THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY:** LT's make use of the thought of Marx in mounting their critique of their own societies. It should be borne in mind that they frequently operate in societies with both (a) massive discrepancies in personal wealth and income, and (b) repressive military and "police state" regimes. They condemn the alliance of rich landowners, multinational companies and military dictators that oppress the poor, marginalised and terrorised. Following Marx, they see the abolition of private "property", (ie private ownership of land/factories by a few wealthy families) as a necessary prelude to the establishment of a truly human society. Such a society, they argue, is not coterminous with, but would be a partial embodiment of, the Kingdom of God which Jesus preached. Liberation theologians do not (as is often thought) neglect the personal dimension of sin: greed, lust and the rest.

But they refused to restrict sin to this personal dimension. They stress the social dimension of sin (its presence in dehumanising structures) as what they see as a necessary corrective to the traditional preoccupations of Christianity since the 4th century.

3. **HERMENEUTICS:** South American catholicism has rediscovered the Bible, and found it a powerful critical tool. LT's reading of the Bible depends upon two main axioms: (a) the meaning of the texts depends upon the (social) setting of the one who reads it, and (b) the Bible is written from the poor to the poor. The first axiom has led to a reading of the Bible that is self-consciously "from below", or perhaps better "from the periphery". LT's encourage the poor to respond to the text themselves, and to find in it suggestions to meet their own situation rather than to rely upon interpretations from the western theologian or the Roman Curia. The second axiom is used to criticise the readings of the text produced by the establishment - ecclesiastical, theological, economic or political.

4. **ECCLESIOLOGY:** LT exhibits two main features in this area. Firstly it rejects the concept of the Church as an ark of salvation from the wicked world - an in-turned version of the Church preoccupied with its own order, liturgy, life and self-preservation. The Church, they argue, is the agent of the kingdom: its mission is to establish that kingdom in the world, in which it is to some extent a proleptic manifestation of God's reign. Secondly, it is critical of hierarchical forms of Church order that impose doctrine and life "from above". Their vision is of a grass roots church of the people - exemplified in the "base communities". The unction of bishops and priests is to serve this church not to impose themselves upon it. The emphasis is thus on small area groups centred around the eucharist and Bible, drawing inspiration from these for mutual love and transformatory social action. This is a declericalised vision of the church, which nevertheless retains a role for the clergy.

5. **FOUNDATIONS:** LT tends to look for its inspiration to the Jewish Jesus of history - "read" in his social and political setting - rather than to the Greek Christ of

Nicaea and Chalcedon. This in turn means that it concentrates upon the synoptic gospels and the prophets, rather than upon John and Paul, as the primary sources for Christian reflection. LT has a sceptical reading of the doctrinal development of the first few centuries AD, and stresses the social and political factors involved in this development.

6. **ESCHATOLOGY:** LT plays down interest in the beyond for interest in his life and its transformation. It draws the dimension of 'hope' from life after death to change in this life. It rejects the idea that original sin precludes fundamental transformation in social and individual human life.

Bibliography

P Berryman, 'The Religious Roots of Rebellion', SCM 1984, provides a useful and readable historical account of the development of liberation theology. A "sampler" edited by R Gibellini, 'Frontiers of Theology in Latin America', SCM 1980, is a good way of getting the feel of the wide range of the key authors. On the issue of church structures, L Boff, 'Church: Charism and Power', SCM 1985, is a key book for which, incidentally this Brazilian Priest was recently silenced by the Vatican. E Cardenal's 'Love in Practice: the Gospel in Solentiname', Search 1977, gives some examples of how bible studies are conducted in "base communities", while a current film, 'Salvador', gives a flavour of the social setting. For more bibliography see 'The Modern Churchman' 1986 No 4.

'Faith in the City': some thoughts on its theology

The recently published report 'Faith in the City' draws attention to issues which are as pressing here as in England; it also raises broader questions about the nature of theology and Christian social action.

By virtue of the enormous effort of information gathering, local visits and listening to people in UPA's, FIC has succeeded in drawing the church's attention to the fact that our society has created a whole class of people who are excluded from the mainstream of national life, who are poor and who are stigmatised by the rest. Here is a state of affairs which requires urgent action by church and society alike. It requires not least a substantial stocktaking by the church to see whether it is setting the right priorities in its budgeting, training programmes, allocation of personnel etc. The relevance of all this to Scotland can hardly be doubted, though we should be careful not to overlook the important differences that may exist in the history and nature of urban deprivation in Scotland.

Asking that the church give a high priority to its ministry to areas of urban deprivation demands some further theological reflection and underpinning, which the report gives in its chapter 'Theological Priorities'. There is an obvious Christian duty to care for the poor but how should that care be exercised? Should it be confined to "personal charity, service and evangelism directed towards individuals", or can it legitimately take the form of social and political action, aimed at altering the circumstances which appear to cause poverty and distress?

Here we should recall that Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God "had from the start profound social and political implications", which is not of course to deny that is "proclamation nevertheless took place in the context of an intensely personal concern for individuals, families and local communities". The privatisation of religion is a recent phenomenon which can be attributed to a Cartesian distinction of body and soul which is already repudiated by modern philosophy; as it is repugnant to Christian notions of the resurrection of the body and the doctrine of the incarnation which stresses the coinherence of body and soul.

Nevertheless the privatisation of religion has had its effect. We have to recognise how far main stream Christianity has become divorced from such issues and to recognise our lack of experience in dealing with them. In attempting to recover our social and political bearings an important way to start would be by drawing on our understanding of community. For here we may have important insights to offer to those who work in areas where a sense of community is lacking and deeply needed. Thus the report considers the kinds of community work required in city areas and the contributions the church might be expected to make; as it considers the questions raised in relation to other faiths and certain wider theological issues.

It is, the report argues, the task of theology not only to draw attention to the plight of the poor but to "find ways of discerning and receiving the gifts of those who have worked out a genuine Christian discipleship under circumstance of multiple deprivation". The failure of the church today is not just a failure to respond to need; it is - perhaps still more - a failure to attend to the voices, the experience and spiritual riches of the "poor" in its midst. In this respect theology may need to become less academic and to adopt narrative styles, rather than academic and deductive ones. It must allow the "poor" to set the agenda for theology and break the strangle-hold which middle-class academics have on it. (cf Liberation Theology). And the report then offers a rather heady vision of theology done in an urban context which might provide an authentic basis for a Christian critique of contemporary society.

This is no place to offer a detailed critique or discussion of FIC. Perhaps one might note some points which seem to arise out of it.

1 There needs to be more discussion of the way the Christian Gospel contributed towards social and political change in the Mediterranean world. We need to understand more about the role of prophetic, liminal figures like Jesus in such situations and the ways in which the church even when virtually powerless was able to develop into such a vital social force.

2 We need a greater awareness of the way in which certain understandings of religion have served the interests of certain groups within Western Christianity. This privatisation of religion is not just to be attributed to Descartes; it also served very well the interests of those who had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. This means an engagement, as the report acknowledges, with some of the insights of Liberation Theology, not least in their use of sociology of knowledge.

3 There is, strangely, little about the social dimension of sin. If we find that in certain areas of the country crime rates are enormously higher than elsewhere, what

are we to say of notions of culpability, of original sin? How would such changes in our understanding of sin affect our understanding of ministry?

4 The call to the churches to engage in the struggle for social justice raises important questions about our understanding of salvation and the church. Do we see the church as the ark of salvation into which the saved are to be gathered or as God's agent striving to set his world to rights? Will either of these models by itself provide an adequate understanding of the church and salvation?

If we were to move right away from an understanding of the church as the ark, what implications might that have for the organisation and structure of the church?

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Questions and Recommendations

1 Is ours a church primarily concerned with its own order, liturgy, life and self-maintenance, or a church acting as the agent of the kingdom of God in the world?

RECOMMENDATION: That the membership at large, ordained and lay, consider to what extent their actual practice fits with whatever answer they give to this question.

2 Is ours a grass roots church, or one imposed from above? Does ecclesiastical power in our church always serve the legitimate aspirations of those under it, or does it sometimes constrict them?

RECOMMENDATION: That those in authority in the church should always check their self-perceptions of how that authority is exercised by consultation with grass roots, especially the poor and inarticulate sections thereof.

3 Do our church structures empower the poor and/or inarticulate so that they may be heeded in our decision making? Do we let these sections of our community speak for themselves, or do we assume the right to speak for them?

RECOMMENDATION: That the various decision-making bodies of the church review their membership policies to see how far they permit the voices of the poor and inarticulate in church and society to be heeded in their deliberations.

4 Ours is a church with its (financial) power-base in relatively affluent middle class Scotland. Do we need an "option for the poor"? What would this mean in practice?

RECOMMENDATIONS:

a That the bodies responsible for the allocation of funds in Dioceses and Province set the needs of the UPAs high on their list of priorities.

b That structure and conditions of employment be amended so that those willing and able to minister in UPAs should not be prevented from doing so, or penalised as a result of their decision, but rather be provided with extra back-up and support.

c That forms of training and support for congregations in UPAs be developed.

d That special consideration be given in clergy training to the situation and problems of UPAs.

e That ways of effective lobbying on behalf of the poor be investigated in conjunction with leaders of other churches and faiths.

5 Our church is also located in the rich North as opposed to the largely poor South of the planet. What are the implications of this for our relations with churches overseas?

RECOMMENDATIONS:

a That greater emphasis be given to raising awareness of the economic, social and political circumstances in which our overseas partners live, and of the extent to which their poverty is attributable to the policies of the richer nations.

b That support be given to the struggle of the churches overseas for economic and political justice in their countries.

c That the SEC should continue to review its own investment policies.

d That the SEC should seek ways of joining with other churches to press HM government to work for greater justice in the relations between North and South.

Appendix Two

MILLION FOR MISSION

A STATEMENT FROM THE DOCTRINE COMMITTEE

The Doctrine Committee paper, Blessed are the Poor, was one of the factors which led to Million for Mission, so it is appropriate that the Committee should sustain its interest by reflecting theologically on the way the initiative has developed. To do this we have to hear what those who are actually engaged in this task of Mission are saying about the faith of the Church.

Million for Mission projects (see Annual Report p.23-4) reflect a diversity of practice but the workers have been led, partly through direct engagement with the task, and partly through consultation among themselves, to identify certain common features in the approaches that they are adopting. These together make up an approach sometimes called Community Ministry.

In many respects there is nothing new about this. It builds on the old principle that the Church serves the community, not merely certain individuals within it. It has been said that the test of the ministry of a communal church is the quality of life of the community as a whole. That includes the way people relate to one another, outside and around the Church as well as within it. This idea does not change since all communities suffer from brokenness, but it is thrown into a fresh perspective, when its people are poor, depressed, trapped, and denied access to many of the sources of power in society as a whole. In this perspective, concern for the community means taking steps to overcome fear and depression, and enabling people to enter afresh into their own destiny. Church and community work together to better the quality of their common life. The task is to draw out of the community what is potential within it, by the gift of God, not merely to import into it something it lacks.

This emphasis is on the Christian's involvement in the transformation and healing of broken communities is deeply rooted in the Bible. Jesus announces the rule of God's over the world and calls people to be his disciples. In Matthew's Gospel blessing is promised to the poor, to the peacemakers, to those who hunger and thirst after righteousness. Paul proclaims God's righteousness as a gift which empowers us to become its instruments (Rom 6.13). Of course, if we ask what God has created human beings for, the answer cannot be given entirely in this-worldly terms. Nevertheless, God's rule is to be established over this world as well as holding sway in the next and our acceptance of his rule calls us to confront the enemies of life and peace here and now. Poverty kills.

The vision God gives us is one of human society transformed, not of an alternative community within it. Even at its most distinctive, when its values are most clearly different from those of society, the church's engagement is with society and not apart from it. A Church which prays, not merely for itself but also for peace and justice for all, must find ways to practise what it prays for. That means that private faith must learn to reach out into public action and so become public itself.

The current trend for a privatised understanding of the gospel, as of all religion, assumes that there is a clear separation between people's concerns, economic, political and social, and their faith, piety and personal salvation. On the one hand lie the jobs people do or are denied access to, and the things they consume or lack the means to consume, and on the other lie their relationship with God, and their hope of knowing him and serving him more fully. And the two are not expected to meet.

Of course the Church alone is not responsible for this trend. It operates powerfully, too, in the secularised culture in which we live. But the same secularised culture, which so radically reduces the scope of faith, often also oppresses the poor and tells them that they alone are responsible for their oppressed condition. The plight of the poor is not, therefore, merely a challenge to the human sense of justice; it is a challenge to the gospel itself, and in seeking to engage with the poor and their aspirations, faith emerges from the private realms and makes its rightful claim to a public hearing.

In being alongside the poor we have a real chance of grasping Christ's message afresh, since among the poor and marginalised there is a sharp vision of the radical nature of the gospel: its engagement with the raw, abrasive aspects of life, its real promise to those in real need. This calls for a serious reappraisal on the Church's part of its attitude to the poor. They are not 'over there', waiting for us to send them either wisdom or money. They call us to recognise our own poverty and need, since it is only in that recognition that we will achieve solidarity with them. The Church, as part of the historic structure of the status quo, cannot use the poor as an instrument to become authentic in gospel terms. It needs the poor and marginalised to lead it into taking some of the risks of faith in action.

If we falsely separate faith and the gospel from social and economic life, and nevertheless want the Church to be involved in that life, then we may come to see the Church's work there as merely a form of social work. But this, too, is a one-sided distortion. The Church cannot ignore or neglect the social and economic life of people, but it must not emphasize this to the exclusion of the other, and fundamental parts of the gospel of Christ, nor of the distinctive hopes which that gospel brings. The worshipping community empowers people to 'go out' as a yeast, into the community of which they are already a part; so the worshipping community is a focus, and a root, of their wider lives. And they 'go out' in a spirit of service and witness, not merely aiming to increase the membership of an elite club.

A privatised gospel promotes a view of the Church as made up of separate and introverted congregational fellowships – separate from society and separate from one another. From that standpoint Million for Mission can make little sense. It does not find its goal in inwardly focused Church activities, and in drawing more and more people into them. If Million for Mission's success is judged on such criteria, then it will be found a dismal failure. A 'kingdom' ministry does not seek to draw people out of the community. It does not aim to work 'on' the community, but to work in it and with its people.

Worship is the Church's acknowledgement of God's reign. It is the bedrock of all we do. But, if we hope to draw deprived communities into Christian worship, that calls for a much more complete self-emptying on the part of the Church. Many people are

culturally alienated from worship as the Episcopal Church knows it, and a first task is to overcome that alienation which has its roots not in them but in us. It is necessary for the Church to discover God's presence among the marginalised rather than to impose a spirituality upon them. Certainly the language of religion and of faith is distinctive, and worship cannot be conducted in the impoverished speech of a world that has lost sight of God, but we need to learn how our inherited Christian language and ritual can be enlarged to express the spirituality of the poor.

In speaking of risk as speak of sober truth, though also gospel truth, since the same risk is evident in the way of Christ in the world. Those who follow this way will often be faced with the question whether their solidarity with the poor has led them away from the Church which commissioned them. They have to be open to the discovery of words and actions which speak of God, but in accents unknown to the system as it is. Yet the Church would not be a Church if it did not commission people to these tasks – if it did not recognise its own need to be among the poor. The great Scottish theologian, Donald Mackinnon, spoke of the first priority of Christian ministry as "effective presence to the desperate". Our faith in Christ crucified calls us to be effectively present where crucifixion is happening now.

Certainly, the work of Million for Mission cannot be justified in terms of the cash dividend on cash spent. We are glad to note that the Budget Working Party, in its report to this Synod, recognises this. While perceiving a general connection between a programme of growth and increased financial income, they also say 'it is essential to be absolutely clear about the purpose of wanting growth. It is to share our Christian faith and extend God's Kingdom – not to raise funds in order to keep the institution afloat. We believe it is essential to focus on the Kingdom and not simply to beat a retreat to those areas of Scotland where our Church has traditionally enjoyed a strong level of support. Being a Church (rather than a sect which merely looks after its own) means we cannot simply support the strong in Episcopalian enclaves: we have a far more difficult calling.' Million for Mission has been a way in which the potential separation of local congregations has been overcome, as the whole church has shared a common commitment to being with the poor. As the initial five-year period draws near its end we have to ask seriously how we are all to engage with one another in continuing this task, uniting rich and poor in common witness and in building one another up in the gospel.

Million for Mission presents a model of a servant church where there can be a redistribution of gifts. The Church community is wider than each individual worshipping congregation and that carries with it responsibilities and duties to make the gospel accessible and available to all unconditionally if we are to remain true to the message which that very gospel carries. Million for Mission has shown some methods for doing this but the ongoing support of the whole Church is necessary if such a true and valuable witness is to continue in the longer term.

The Rev. Prof. John Riches - speech to General Synod, 9 June 1995

Why, you might ask, is the Doctrine Committee getting mixed up in Million for Mission rather than attending to its proper business of expounding the doctrine of the Church?

And I raise this as a serious question, not simply to answer it by saying "Well, our report on *Blessed are the Poor* was responsible in a measure, in some small measure for Million for Mission", but really asking what doctrine and theology is about. And it seems to me very important that the task of doctrine and theology is to discern that reality and the action of God in the world now.

It is not just about expounding the deposit of the faith which we were once given and we have to preserve as pure as we can; it is about seeing where God is leading us, where God is active and how he is encouraging our church to grow into the truth and to do that, we as a Doctrine Committee, can certainly not sit at the top of the General Synod building looking out over the Pentland Hills knowing all truth but it has been important for us to meet with those in the Church and who are engaged in the "cutting edge" or "at the cutting edge" but who are engaged in the work of the Church among the poor and disadvantaged communities and to learn from them. So the paper you have is the result of meeting with Million for Mission workers, it is itself a very much reworked draft of a paper by Rob Whiteman and Ken Mason and it comes out of our engagement with Million for Mission. In the Resolution, which we shall come to, we talk about the fundamental theological importance of Million for Mission. Why? The work of the Church is, and always has been communal. It is not just about saving individuals, bringing them into the safe haven of the Church, it is about being caught up in God's love for the world, being instruments of his righteousness says St. Paul, as God restores and heals and brings life to communities which are broken and dispirited and divided. That is nothing new - though the Church is constantly in danger of forgetting it and falling back into a kind of desperate congregationalism which sees the health and wealth of St. Etheldreda's as more important than the mission of the church catholic. Worse in a sense, I think, we are in danger of kind of constructing a world of virtual reality for ourselves which excludes the real pain and hurt and suffering of our society, and if we do that we shall cease to have anything to say of importance.

When I was ordained, if I may be permitted, as he would have said a fragment an autobiography, Donald MacKinnon wrote to me and three days later when I had managed to discern what it was he had written to me, I discovered that he had said that if he has had any contribution to make to the realm of pastoral theology it would be to identify priorities for Christian ministry and the prime among them would be effective presence to the desperate in their extremity. And those who knew Donald would know that that was the world he lived in.

Million for Mission enables the Church, contributes to enabling the Church to live out that fundamental Christian insight in our very divided society. We have created ghettos of the poor in our cities and in different ways, in our countryside. We have created a level of poverty which is literally death dealing. Some of you will have seen the Panorama programme this year where Drumchapel and Bearsden were contrasted and the mortality rates of those two areas, that close together, you get ten years less in Drumchapel. It is essential that we as a Church are present in those areas if we are to fulfil our calling. Without such presence our church would be in danger of losing its catholicity. It is not just that we won't cover the map anymore, we will cease to be the church. Because we fail to enter fully into the suffering and the grief of God's world. We shall fail to be the Church because not fully entering into that grief and suffering, we shall fail to discover the power of the gospel, transforming, redeeming and

blessing the poor. Million for Mission as Nicky will now tell us is caught up in the difficult process of discovering and witnessing to the God of Life in those areas of deprivation and poverty, witnessing to the work of the Spirit, the Father of the poor.

Ms Nicky Taylor - speech to General Synod, 9 June 1995

Primus, members of Synod, I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to speak here on behalf of Million for Mission and also to the Doctrine Committee for the opportunity to work with them. I think it is so important that within our church our theology and our world are brought together, that our theology is applied.

I have just come from a consultation with Church Missionary Society in which 37 countries in our world - parts of the Anglican Communion - were represented and this is not the time to share some of their stories but I would like to bring you their greeting from countries like Afghanistan and Sudan, from countries in Africa as well as countries in Europe.

We talked a lot at that consultation, and that consultation was about reaching the unreached and we talked a lot about the need to bring together social action and the proclamation of the gospel. We see evidence of both in Jesus's Ministry. I would like to start by reading to you very briefly from Luke Chapter 4 where Jesus was in the Temple and he read from the scroll of the prophet a prophesy for himself.

The spirit of the Lord is on me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor he has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind to release the oppressed to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour.

Whilst I was at the consultation we heard many stories of countries where it is very difficult to proclaim the gospel openly. Many challenging stories that for me put our struggle in this country in some sort of perspective.

In Million for Mission projects we are seeking to follow that same example of Jesus. Much of His earthly ministry was amongst people on the fringes of society and He proclaimed the advent of the Kingdom of God in which individual lives, communities and the whole of society is transformed. Million for Mission projects work alongside broken and hurting individuals in a community in areas of deprivation. You may not work or live in an area of deprivation but I am sure you have experience of other people's - or maybe your own - broken lives. We seek to share God's love and healing through prayer, proclamation and through incarnation. Seeking to work alongside individuals and communities who are often too hurt or too de-skilled to work for change by themselves and in sharing with them their brokenness and pain we have the privilege of helping them to bring change in their lives and to meet with Jesus. I have been asked to speak for Million for Mission but I actually feel much more strongly that I am here to speak on behalf of those people.

I work myself in Drumchapel, which was already mentioned to you. I am a Youth and Community Worker employed by the Church and I have deep concern in my heart that having offered so much to these people in God's name, that we do not turn away from them. I have experienced some of their deprivation, living as part of that community as many Million for Mission workers have.

Drumchapel is well recognised as an area of deprivation. There are so many statistics like the one comparing mortality rates with Bearsden and it has had a huge amount of government money poured in to it and yet despite that I have heard many community leaders recently observing how the heart has gone out of that community and that after such a long struggle, people are ceasing to fight and I would agree. I would say that whilst the government money is important it is not actually touching the heart of people's brokenness, only Jesus can do that. And so as Million for Mission project worker, as someone living in and working in Drumchapel, it is my privilege, my joy, my struggle to share in the life of that community. Valuing people in God's name when many feel that in the eyes of society they have no value - helping them to work for change in their own communities and most importantly, introducing them to Jesus who can bring the peace, love and healing into their lives. That calls for the Church to take risks - for individuals - but also it is the mission of the whole Church that calls for us here, representing the Episcopal Church of Scotland, to be prepared to take risks. It is a struggle, and sometimes we fail; sometimes I am aware of failure in our ministry in Drumchapel but we are also greatly blessed and enriched by God and by the privilege of working with local people who open their lives up to us and let us share in their struggles. It is hard to evaluate such worthy work, as is already mentioned in the report before you, but it is harder still, I believe, to offer people with broken lives and communities hope, and then to take it away.

As a church we have a responsibility for these communities. I agree with what was said earlier that we cannot just try to meet every need that we are presented with but that through Million for Mission we have offered hope to communities that are broken, to communities that are hurting and so I do believe we have a responsibility, having offered that hope in God's name, not to turn our backs on these people. And this is my prayer - that this Synod will support the Resolution and next year will find a way of continuing this work. I moved up here because of the job, because I was challenged, encouraged by a church that was prepared not just to count numbers in pews, a church that was prepared to take risks and on behalf of the people that we work amongst, I would encourage you to take the report to your hearts, to read it, to plough through it and to support the continuation of work in areas like Drumchapel.

Thank you.

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