

DS 33 - THEOLOGIES OF MISSION

Fall 1984

This doctoral seminar will center on theologies of mission with special emphasis on twentieth century trends in Conciliar (mainline) Protestantism, Evangelical (conservative or independent) Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism. A research subject will be assigned to each student, open to negotiation, for preparation and presentation to the seminar for discussion led by the student. In the light of the discussion the paper may be amended before the end of the term.

The seminars will explore the theologies of the Councils from New York 1900 to Vancouver 1982 of the IMC, the WCC; the evangelical conferences from Chicago 1960 to ^{the Inter-Councils 1983} Pattaya 1980; and the papal encyclicals on missions and Roman Catholic pronouncements on mission from Vatican II 1965, Medellin 1966 and Puebla 1979 with some attention to recent Vatican reactions to liberation theology. Recommended preliminary reading: Rodger C. Bassham, Mission Theology: 1948-1975.. Ecumenical, Evangelical and Roman Catholic.

A parallel line of inquiry should be selective studies of representative theologians, such as, to name a few:

Conciliar Protestant--Speer, Hocking, Bavinck, Kraemer, Hoekendijk, Blauw, Newbigin, Warren and Mott.

Evangelical Protestant - Conn, Glasser, McGavran, Lindsell, Wagner, Strachan, Sider and Stott.

Roman Catholic - Comblin, Gutierrez, Schmidlin, Rahner, Vicedom, Congar, Seumois, Buhlmann...

Of equal importance are the contributions to missiology of such third world voices as M.M. Thomas, Raymond Panikkar, Orlando Costas, D.T. Niles, C.S. Song, S.J. Samartha, Byung Kato, John Mbiti, Toyohiko Kagawa and Kosuke Koyama...

Any of the above would be suitable subjects for research and presentation. Or suggest others. Special care should be taken in preparation of a bibliography.

Attendance at the three Student Missions Lectures by Prof. Hulmes, October 1 and 2 is required in lieu of that week's seminar period. Attendance at at least two of Prof. A.L. Bashan's lectures Nov. 27 and 29 is also required on the same basis.

Recommended general reading on mission theology:

G.H. Anderson, The Theology of the Christian Mission. 1961

Wilhelm Anderson, Towards a Theology of Mission. 1955

G.H. Anderson & T. Stransky, Mission Trends #3: Third World Theologies. 1976

D. Senior & Carroll Stuhlmueeller, The Biblical Foundations for Mission. 1983

A. Glasser & D. McGavran, Contemporary Theologies of Mission. 1983

Bibliographical reference: G.H. Anderson, Bibliography of the Theology of Missions in the Twentieth Century, 3rd. ed., N.Y. 1966.



PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

June 19, 1984

Speer Library
Reserve Librarian

From: Sam Moffett for EC 70

Please place on reserve, if possible, the following books for EC 70 MISSION THEOLOGY AND STRATEGIES, which is also a Doctoral Seminar: (some may not be available)

- G.H. Anderson, Bibliography of the Theology of Missions in the 20th Century, 3rd. ed.. NY: Missionary Research Libr., 1966
- G.H. Anderson, The Theology of the Christian Mission. NY: McGraw Hill, 1961
- Wilhelm Anderson, Towards a Theology of Mission (IMC Research Pamphlet #2) London: SCM, 1955
- Rodger C. Bassham. Mission Theology: 1948-75...Ecumenical, Evangelical and Roman Catholic. Pasadena: Wm. Carey, 1979
- John Hick, Truth & Dialogue: The Relationship Between World Religions. London: Sheldon Press, 1974.
- Hendrick Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World. NY: Harper, 1961
- Karl Rahner, "Die Anonymen Christen", Schriften zur Theologie VI. Einsiedeln: Benzinger, 1964

On Strategies.

- C.A. Clark, The Nevius Plan of Mission Work in Korea. Seoul: YMCA, 1934
- Edw. R. Dayton & D.A. Fraser, Planning Strategies for World Evangelization. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980
- Donald McGavran, The Bridges of God. N.Y.: Friendship Press, 1955
- Wilbert R. Shenk, Henry Venn--Missionary Statesman. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983
- J.H. Bavinck, An Introduction to the Science of Missions. Phila.: Presbyterian and Reformed Publ., 1960

Edinburgh 1910

(BASSHAM -

Theology

I. Evangelism. "The primary understanding of mission as evangelism - Bassham, p. 16
Its spokesman - John B. Mott.

- ① The mission of world evangelism is the task of the whole church. *Ibid*, p. 17
- ② The scope of missionary evangelism is the whole world - "there is no Church that is not a Church in the mission field" WMC, 1910, vol. II, p. 4.

II. Relation to Other Faiths. I. S. Cairns, Robt. E. Speer, Gustav Warneck, *Con. Scriptures + Syncretism* vol. II, p. 435f

- ① All religions without exception disclose elemental needs of the human soul .., and.. in their higher forms they plainly manifest the working of the Spirit of God. *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 267.
So "the true attitude of the Christian missionary to the non-Christian religions should be one of true understanding and, as far as possible, sympathy.. "Take them at their best," said Speer. (Gardner, p. 138)
- ② BUT - Christianity is absolute. "We hold to the truth of the absoluteness of Xty," cried Robt. E. Speer (Gardner, Edinburgh 1910, p. 138).

Warneck on Animism - the theological parts of Xty are those best ^{suggested} understood by animists: distracted by multiplicity of demons, he grasps for One God; intellectually seeking escape + deliverance, he finds a Saviour + Deliverer; bound by the spirits of the dead, his ancestors, he rejoices at word of the Resurrection of the Saviour of men. (*Ibid*, p. 140).

"The very failures of these non-Xn religions reveal to the Christian church what she has in Christ." (*Ibid*, 148)

- ③ Christianity as the fulfillment of the non-Xn religions. - *Ibid* p. 144
 - a. Confucianism - Tung Tsun-er "shined.. how completely the Xn ethic, if lived, fulfills and satisfies the Confucianist at every point of personal, domestic or social life.
 - b. Buddhism - Xty fulfills "the Buddhist demand for purity, for sainthood, for separation, by separating from sin while crowning the fatal Buddhist distrust of life itself" (p. 144)
 - c. Hinduism - Hindu pantheism "for all its spirituality [is] paralyzing to effort and joy to social beatitude and the spirit of sense.. to all that stands for life." It considers physical reality a delusion. Only Xn spirituality relates the reality of the universe to the One real Spirit. (*Ibid*, p. 148).
 - d. Islam - its ^{living} faith in a ^{personal} living God created Islam - Xty must ~~show~~ live its own faith to point Islam to the true + living God.

III. ④ Christianity as more than individual salvation - WMC 1910, vol II, p. 35

"Who can measure the possibilities for the Xn church of identifying itself freely and largely with all genuine + noble national aspirations? Xty must show ^{that it} has a message of salvation not merely for isolated individuals but for the nation as a whole; that it has greater ethical power than the non-Xn religions and yet is not antipathetic to any truth that these systems contain; that it can adapt itself to the people whom it seeks to save, and that it does not deem it essential, for even desirable, that the advanced life of the Xn community in Asia + Africa should follow in every respect the lines of European and American Xty..." - p. 35.



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Wed. 12 2pm.

David Cairns, An Autobiography .. with a Memor by D. M. Baillie
Lndon: SCM., 1950.

David Smith Cairns 1862-1946 Theology of the Kgd. of God [from the Baillie Memor, below]

2 profound rel. crises ① While still a boy in school, he was "delivered" .. "from great misery and gloom" .. "by reading a simple little book of evangelical outlash which brought home to him the unchanging love of God even for those who neither love Him nor believe in Him." (p. 10, David Cairns, Autobiography - Memor by D.M. Baillie)

② In 32nd year of Univ - overcome by complete doubt - "a long dark tunnel of my life from which I only gradually emerged." Health broke down; left Univ. for 3 yrs.

At U. of Marburg, influenced by Ritschlian theologian, Wilhelm Herrmann. (p. 11)

Prof. of Dogmatics + Apologetics in United Free Ch. College, Aberdeen - and later Principal.

1910 - chm. of Commission on the Missionary Message. Had always been interested in missions - and had stayed with "excellent missionaries" in Egypt when recovering from univ. breakdown. "He had always been attracted by missionary biographies, finding them far more congenial than mystical and devotional literature of an introverted kind" - p. 16.

Theological tenor of his Report (vol. IV), acc. to Baillie: - "the tendency to interpret Christian faith, not as a spirit of acceptance and resignation, but as a spirit of rebellion against evil, importunate confidence in God and inconquerable hope of the victory of His Kingdom here on earth where the evils have to be fought..." lent itself to missionary slogan "evils of the world in this generation" - (p. 16 f.)

Optimistic about "Victory in this World" (ERM, 1942). Points out that the great missionary hymns are full of hope: "from shore to shore" Xt shall reign. Rejects a theology which expects only 'a day-dry battle all the way with the good becoming better & the bad worse until the end comes.' As regards the non-Xn religions - he expects continuing missionary advance "to the conquest of the 5 great religions of the modern world. (vol. IV, Ed. Conf., p.)

The Reasonableness of the Christian Faith (1915). Despite wars + doubts - "Cairns was increasingly certain that Christianity possessed the final and sufficient answer." (p. 20).

The Faith that Rebels (1925). Not satisfied with "Ritschlian idea of a purely moral and spiritual Kingdom or with the purely eschatological and apocalyptic interpretations associated with .. Jhn. Weiss + Albert Schweitzer (just as .. later .. he was not satisfied with the .. 'realized eschatology' of Dr. C. H. Dodd). In Cairns' conception, the campaign of the Kgd. of God was a campaign against all the enemies of God and man, not only against moral + spiritual but also against physical evils, not only against sin but against disease and pain + death, and with a victory lying not only beyond history in another world but also within history and in this world. .. True faith is "the faith that rebels" against all evils and uses God's power to drive them out of human life. - p. 23 f.

The summary - "For the first time in history there appeared on earth one who absolutely trusted the Unseen, who had utter confidence that Love was at the heart of all things, utter confidence also in the Absolute Power of that Absolute Love and in the liberty of that Love to help him." - (p. 25, quoting Cairns). And "Somehow in the last resort you can't have justice without love, and you can't have love without justice." (p. 36)

Absolute confidence, therefore, in the resurrection of the dead, and that he would have "a rich and happy reunion with her (his wife who died in 1910) in the life beyond." - p. 25. quoting Cairns

Rejected Protestant tradition that age of miracles passed - when concrete proof was no longer needed for the faith - and also Modernist denial of the facts of the miracles. To Cairns - miracles "are part of the ~~character~~ content of the charter and thus belong to the intrinsic + permanent blessings of the Kgd. of God." He believed firmly in the power of prayer, and even in faith-healing. Absolute faith, he taught, brings complete victory - that only Christ's faith was absolute. (p. 26). Baillie compares his theology with Gustaf Aulen (Christian Victor), and Karl Heim, on "Supernatural Healing".

Lectured in China + Japan. "Science + Religion"; "Why I Believe in a Personal God". (p. 28). 1927 - Talks on Kinsippō Lake's "The Rel. of Yesterday + Tomorrow" - after one night's reading, tells a group of Chinese humanists "When he (Lale) deals with N.T. I am prepared to consider what he says with the utmost respect. When he deals with modern physics, all I can say is that his physics are 25 yrs. out of date" - p. 29.

The Riddle of the World (1931). Realizes influence of 2 new intellectual forces - American materialism and Russian Marxism. - the "attempt to have religion without anything like an objectively real and personal God, a religion which put science in the place of revelation and human ideals or ideal humanity in the place of God" (Baillie). - p. 31. A thoroughly Biblical apologist - refusing to separate the OT from the NT, says Baillie - p. 32 "How that man knows the Bible and understands it!", says Baillie.

"Only if there is an element of the sacred in ~~the~~ human personality can society get enough oxygen to breathe" - p. 36 (Cairns).

David^s Cairns. A System of Christian Doctrine, Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1979

Resurrection Quotes Demsey with approval, "if we cannot speak of a bodily resurrection we should not of a resurrection at all" (Demsey, Jesus & the Gospels, Lond. 1908, p. 113). - p. 203

Christ He was a man... "But the more we study [him].. the more does it become clear that he was something greater." (p. 81). A prophet. But "something far greater than a ~~prophet~~ prophet, for [he was] 'God manifest in the flesh'." (p. 83)

The "deep central content of the NT writing, [leads inevitably] into the Trinitarian conception of God". (p. 83).

His critique of "liberal Xty". p. 84 ff.

- ① It treats the evidence of the NT with violence.
- ② It impoverishes the spiritual content of the revelation.

His theology - highly Biblical, not abstract. p. 89. On Christological controversies, the two natures, divine + human, he asks - How reconcile this with the Xty. of the gospels (synoptic). What is a nature as distinct from a personality? That leads to "a world of pure abstraction". p. 89.

On destiny of unbelievers. ① Rejects eternal torment (God can not rest content with the presence of evil forever).
② Rejects universal restoration (contrary to recorded teaching of the Lord; and ^{the fact of human freedom to persist in evil}).
③ Accepts conditional immortality.
(- pp. 182-194)

In the course of this discussion I would like to present two views on mission which represent the generally recognized polarizations between "liberal" and "evangelical". Aside from the matter of intellectual integrity, it is important to give each position a fair review, as each has contributed to make in perhaps to varying degrees of ^dextremisms of the other. These two are, by no means, the only views. But the dichotomy is illustrative of major points of contention in any consideration of mission.

George Webber, in his book Today's Church, adopts a theology of mission rooted in the concepts of Christian Identity and Vocation.¹ These two foundations for mission he considers ^adesirable and yet, in today's world, "often in tension." Drawing from the book of Jeremiah, Webber views the Christian as an "exile standing in judgment of our contemporary Babylon." The Christian is called to a critical role in speaking out against the evil perpetrated and perpetuated by the "superficial systems of mankind." As a Christian, one is called to give the charge to establish the Kingdom of God, not to evade them; to be obedient to the Holy Spirit in fulfilling Christ's ministry.

Vocation is seen in terms of a Christian mandate to be free of institutional constraints, to enable one to pursue the will of God and the Spirit to lead. Flexibility and confidence in the future are the key points here.

Webber sets forth two fundamental axioms for the full and proper engagement in mission.² First, he enjoins us to be iconoclastic regarding ecclesiastical structures. His thinly veiled exasperation with institutional mission is expressed in his call for constant and comprehensive revision of church patterns. The presumption is made that any program ^sdevised by a church for use in mission will, in a matter of years, be at

best, obsolete and ineffective.⁴ We must marshal all the creative capacities at our disposal to meet the demands of not only a diverse mission field, but a rapidly changing one as well.

Along side this institutional iconoclasm, Webber advocates an agnosticism about doctrine.⁵ Just as programs are revised continually, so too each generation must consider its theology anew, in the light of societal and cultural change:

What a pilgrim faith calls for is the risk of hard thinking and the willingness to live without absolute certainty precisely because we are not God and must always be venturing into situations where we operate with confidence in God, but without the assurance of our own righteousness.

Within the societal context of social justice in the United States, Webber decries the concentric circles of church structure radiating outward from the pastor in categories of progressively less involvement. Though providing a necessary sense of ordinality and stability, this traditional scheme effectively excludes active participation by those not formally committed to the "Christian faith." This view, again, reflects the great importance attached to the effort to realize Christ's kingdom on earth. Justice and peace are attainable goals through an ongoing process of "human-resource management". The fact of conversion or not is secondary. All human beings can and are agents of God's purposes, as is recurrent throughout the Biblical narrative.

Rejecting that long tradition of the hand-tying fatalism of the evangelical churches, Webber maintains that our commitment to Jesus Christ must be expressed in seeking the welfare of society, or we have an identity without vocation.⁶ Regardless of seeming futility in the face of great odds, we are commissioned to extend the witness of the Incarnation to all humanity. This task encompasses three elements of church involvement:

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social welfare, prophetic action, and public involvement with "principalities and powers".⁹ However, though all this talk of renovating institutions and engineering justice may smack of human presumptuousness, Webber does not even question the centrality of the working of God through the Holy Spirit. He declares that the complexity and ambiguity of today's social ills continually point to the support of the Christian community and illumination of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰

In accepting the challenge to mission, George Webber outlines a few crucial areas of reformulation of faith and understanding.¹¹ Following his consistent theme of "doing theology", the author essentially draws the battlelines between "evangelical" and "liberal" as he very pointedly reacts against prevalent conservative views and practices. His first point involves a distinction between "taking Christ to the world" and "joining Him".¹² Webber denounces the assumption that God is somehow neatly packaged within the church organization, a prized possession to be dispensed in charity. Rather, God is at work in the hands of many--be they Christian, atheists, Jews, or simply confused but loving people. Webber strikes a universalist chord as he repudiates the notion that salvation is attainable only through the church. Precisely his understanding of salvation--whether it holds any kind of eschatological meaning--is unclear. Webber was selected as epitomizing an extreme liberal view of mission. His obvious disaffection with institutional religion is carried to such a degree as to call into question the very significance of confessing Christ as Savior. The tag "Christian" connotes an imperative to earthly mission, much as a set of bylaws provides a code of conduct and declaration of purpose for a secret society. The judgemental side of our God, forever in tension with His supreme love, is hardly recognizable in this liberal social-action oriented theology.

Webber's second point of reformulation involves our understanding of witness. The major thrust of his criticism is that, too often, the church in its pre-occupation with numbers of adherents, devalues the meaning of the commitment for the sake of the commitment. To combat this tendency, Webber maintains that "demonstration precedes proclamation".¹³ The most authentic witness is doing that Christ calls us to do. In our genuine efforts to bring about justice, peace, and well-being we provide poignant signs of Christ, here and now. With such honest attempts we may confidently place considerations of church growth behind us.

Finally, George Webber speaks to the matter of Christian Status as opposed to Christian Vocation. Reiterating his insistence on the intransferability of identity and vocation, Webber stresses the implications of conversion to Christ. As he says it, we are not called to a special "salvation status". Israel was not chosen because of her peculiar goodness or merit. Rather, she was called to a vocation, as the agent of Yahweh's divine purpose. Conversion is seen as a sort of personal inauguration of the Kingdom of God, signifying the inauguration which Christ effected during his earthly ministry.

In summary, we find in the theology of George Webber a fervent affirmation of the promise of human endeavors toward realizing the Kingdom of God, a call to liberation from the shackles of established religion, and a demand for an ever new and creative assessment of our Christian mission, in its broadest sense.

The conservative view of mission I found to be well embodied in a book published under the auspices of the Assemblies of God and written by Dr. Melvin L. Hodges. As was the case with George Webber's work, A Theology of the Church and Its Mission had a distinctly apologetic flavor and pulled

NOTES

¹George W. Webber, Today's Church (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), p. 10.

²Ibid., p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 19ff.

⁴Ibid., p. 21.

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., p. 21.

⁷Ibid., p. 50.

⁸Ibid., p. 87.

⁹Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 109.

¹¹Ibid., p. 26.

¹²Ibid., p. 27.

¹³Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴Melvin L. Hodges, A Theology of the Church and Its Mission (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1977), p. 77.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 18.

Your outline of Webber's liberalism is better than your treatment of Hodges's conservatism but the comparative contrast is well chosen and well-written, though your conclusion is rather vague. Sharper comments on the accomplishments, not just the theories of each side, would have helped. Why is Hodges's denomination the fastest growing in the USA? A beautiful introduction.
Bibliography sparse.

(B+)

Anderson, Gerald H. and Thomas F. Stransky, eds. Mission Trends No. 1; Crucial Issues in Mission Today. New York: Paulist / Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974. 276pp.

Although some view the "crisis" in mission as a setback, Stransky and Anderson see it as a sign of "ferment and vitality.": This volume presents a number of critical essays, from diverse viewpoints, discussing crucial issues in mission. The predominant question is not "What is the Church?" but "What is the Church to do?"

In the first section, entitled "Rethinking Mission," the first article juxtaposes two different views of what mission is. Then Johannes Aargaard suggests missiones Dei is more appropriate theologically than missio Dei because it acknowledges the plurality of ways God is working while maintaining a unity of purpose. The older missionary concept of the church as a sanctuary was "severely limited in scope and impact, says William B. Frazier; the Church as a sign "contributes to a broader saving venture." Jose Miguez-Bonino calls the church to repentance "because the alliance of missions and Western capitalistic expansion has distorted the Gospel beyond recognition, and that evangelism, prayer, worship, and personal devotions have been held captive to individualistic, otherworldly, success-crazy, legalistic destruction of the Gospel." Hans Jochen Margull's opinion "is that one of our tasks is to accept a plurality of forms of missionary activity, provided they can be broadly justified." The Orthodox reaction to recent trends, as presented by John Meyendorff, is that mission cannot be carried on by a divided church or an organization of divided churches, and he objects to the "secularist" interpretation of mission.

In the second section, "The Message and Goals of Mission," Charles W. Forman feels the missionary does have a message; but Gregory Baum feels the missionary message should enable people to "cling more faithfully to the best of their religious tradition." Yoshinobu Kumazawa calls for integration of all the understandings of salvation. For Hans Kung, the Christian message is that we are able to be truly human "in the light and power of Jesus . . . in the world today."

Thirdly, in "The Missionary," Pope Paul VI, in an address, encourages local participation in evangelization and Federico Pagura says to the missionary, either identify fully with the people or go home. For Koshuke Koyama, the missionary lives in the complexity of life, is increasingly unifying message and messenger, and has a "crucified mind not a crusading mind." Gerald Anderson says a moratorium on missionaries is not in general in the best interests of the churches and suggests "a mature relationship between churches by sharing resources in a common task." Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania, says the church must be involved in social revolution or become irrelevant.

Fifth, "Churches in Mission" begins with an article by Emilio Castro who says that the search for more adequate structures should be guided by four convictions: "mission belongs to God," "we are a servant people, a pilgrim people, never settled in one place," "priority must be given to the local church," and "we live in an age of ecumenism." In a review of two books, one by Donald A. McGavran and one by Stephen G. Mackie, James A Schere concludes that church growth should be measured by the ability of the church to respond to a number of needs rather than numbers alone. C. Eric Lincoln notes that the black church is "the mother of black experience in America," but must redefine its role if it is to continue to serve blacks. Manas Buthelezi, a South African black, calls

for liberation. Similarly, John Schumacher complains of church historians ignorance of the Third World, especially since the Third World is becoming the center of Christianity.

Finally, M. M. Thomas elucidates the genesis of such controversial ideas as "a Christ-centered fellowship of faith and ethics in the Hindu religious community." Bishop Newbigin feels such ideas are "sociologically unrealistic. One of the main reasons evangelicals and the WCC have not seen eye to eye is the evangelical fear that talk of mission as humanization of the social order reveals an apostasy from the heart of the Christian faith. S. J. Samartha advocates dialogue as continuing Christ's involvement with people of all faiths, both learning about our own faith by listening and our listening can be a form of proclamation in the quest of truth. Donald E MacInnis is concerned that missionaries not be naive, but realize that God may have worked through the revolution in China.

Mission Trends No. 1 is an amazing compendium of a world of diverse views, geographically, ethnically, denominationally and theologically. Although any number of comments could be made about any of the articles alone., a few comments apply to the whole work. While Anderson and Stransky's opinion that the present crisis is a "sign of ferment and vitality" is appealing for its optimism, the book, and especially articles like William Frazier's, run the risk of glib progressivism reminiscent of the older liberalism. With the exception of Meyendorff and Beyeraus, no critique of possible sin in present trends is offered, of consideration of the real positive contributions of the older missionaries. Jose Miquez Bonino advocates fundamental change in mission but gives no hint of what a new missionary would look like. He also has a functionalist view of truth so can discard anything he feels is "other-worldly" and has functioned for oppression, even though those other-worldly elements may be true even if they have functioned oppressively. Nevertheless, this volume is an interesting and helpful selection of pertinent articles on crucial issues in mission.

*Good synopsis and
helpful critique*

A

OFFICIAL ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW OF MISSIONS: An Overview

Where is it found? The Roman Catholic theology of missions was authoritatively set forth in 1965 by Vatican II in "The Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church," sometimes referred to as Ad gentes. It represents the official position of the Roman Catholic Church and is binding on all bishops, priests, and lay members. It was forged in response to a call for cultural identification, indigenous theology and Christian reunion. It sums up what the contemporary Roman Catholic Church, after careful deliberation, has declared mission to be. It has not been superceded or significantly changed by subsequent writings of individual Catholic missiologists of later years.

What is the Roman Catholic view of Missions? "Missions" is the term given to those particular undertakings by which the heralds of the Gospel are sent out by the Church and go forth into the whole world to carry out the task of preaching the gospel and planting the church among peoples or groups who do not yet believe in Christ. These undertakings are brought to completion by missionary activity. The specific purpose of this missionary activity is evangelization and the planting of the church among those people and groups where she has not yet taken root. Thus from the seed of the Word of God, particular churches can be adequately established and flourish the world over, endowed with their own vitality and maturity and can make their contribution to the good of the church universal. The chief means of this implantation is the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Missionary activity is an enormous and important ongoing task of the church.

What theological principles constitute the Roman Catholic view? A) World evangelization is an activity which flows out of the very nature of God who ordains, requires, and sustains it; B) The mission of the church is Christ at work through the church calling people in all countries and cultures to believe in Him and find eternal life; C) Since Christ sent the Holy Spirit to carry out the divine mission, all mission from that time to this is in a definitive way the work of the Holy Spirit, who impels the church toward her proper expansion; D) Christ Himself, the Lord of the Church, the risen and reigning King in all times and places sends out men and women who answer his perpetually issued call to disciple the multitudinous peoples of Planet Earth; E) Since the human race exists in distinct cultural and linguistic groupings, each group must be approached in a way congenial to it with its cultural characteristics, religious traditions, historical and geographical circumstances; F) Since the Holy Spirit through baptism and incorporations into the church transforms all believers into the people of God, all missionaries should raise up self-supporting congregations deeply rooted in their own culture; G) In regard to essentials, each is part of the universal church; but in regard to practice, each is unique; H) While all Christians have the duty and privilege of helping to spread the faith, yet God calls some in a special way to the high calling of missionaries of the gospel; I) There is a great need for united or cooperative planning in the missionary activity of the church.

What are its deficiencies? It is based on the understanding of the nature of the church set forth in Lumen gentium, another Vatican II document, a comprehensive statement of the nature of the church which claims to follow in the footsteps of the Council of Trent (which invoked curses on Protestants), gives a significant role to Mary, teaches that the eucharist to be authentic and effective must be celebrated only by a properly ordained priest in obedient relationship to his bishop and therefore to the Pope, weights too heavily the revelational value of tradition in relationship to Scripture.

What is its value? A) It attempts to define the missionary task of the church in accord with the Scripture; B) It stresses the overriding essentials of the Christian mission; C) It reflects the thinking of the worldwide Roman Catholic Church; D) While giving serious consideration to the changes brought about by the modern world, it insists on unchanging verities.

CONCILIAR THEOLOGY OF MISSION: An Overview

What is it? It is the theology of mission expressed and taught by the World Council of Churches and promoted and carried out by denominations affiliated with it.

How did it develop? Its roots go back to the 1920's and 1930's. The current theology took definitive shape only in the mid-1960s, when through the influence of J.C. Hoekendijk, God's action in the world became the focus of mission. Christians, especially the laity, were called to discern and participate in that mission, usually by sharing in secular movements for liberation and humanization. At the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Uppsala, 1968) mission was defined as the "humanization of society." This stance, refined at Bangkok (1973) and Melbourne (1980), and reaffirmed at Nairobi (1975), apparently has been modified in a recent document, "Mission and Evangelism--An Ecumenical Affirmation", received from the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism and approved by the central committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1982.

What are its general tenets? A) While we are called to accept a personal decision that Jesus Christ is Lord, at the same time we are called to conversion as nations, groups and families, since our witness cannot be limited to a private area of life; B) Unity in the church is essential, hard as it may be to achieve; C) It is at the heart of Christian mission to foster the multiplication of local congregations in every human community; D) The proclamation of the gospel among the poor is a major criterion by which to evaluate the validity of today's missionary engagement; E) As evangelism and solidarity go together, Christian solidarity requires the sharing of the good news with the world's poor; F) If we want to be credible in world-wide Christian mission, our words must be authenticated by serious missionary engagement in our own countries; G) Witness to persons of other living faiths and ideologies has to be a two-way process in which Christians listen as well as talk and can be profoundly understanding of the deepest convictions of others.

What are its deficiencies? The chief critique of the conciliar theology is an apparent reductionism: A) Mission is seen as everything God is seeking to do in the world; B) Doing justice is the essence of the church's mission today; C) Since God is at work among men and women of all religions, mission is a dialogue among equals; D) Evangelism is defined as changing evil social structures; E) The church's emphasis on the things which unite the human race muffle the call to conversion; F) Socio-economic liberation today is emphasized at the expense of eternal salvation; G) Conversion is defined as turning from all that limits life to all that ennobles life rather than turning from sin to Christ; H) Horizontal relationships are viewed as more important than vertical; I) In regard to evangelization and mission the supreme authority in each country is the church in that land.

What is its value? A) It takes seriously the unity of the church given by Christ; B) It does not ignore the crying social problems of the world and the biblical demand for justice; C) It recognizes that mission takes place on all six continents; D) It seeks to safeguard the administrative and cultural integrity of the younger national churches.

CONTEMPORARY EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY OF MISSION: An Overview

Where is it found? A widely representative contemporary evangelical theology of mission is found in the Wheaton Declaration (1966), the Frankfurt Declaration (1970) and, especially, the Lausanne Covenant (1974).

What is the Evangelical view of Mission? Mission is evangelism and service across cultural barriers intended to bring men and women to a knowledge of the Saviour and to persuade them to believe on Him and become His followers in the fellowship of the Church. Today's supreme task is the multiplication of the congregations among all the people groups on Planet Earth.

What does it teach? A) The Glory of God, the ultimate personal reality, as the chief end of humans; B) the uniqueness and universality of the Lord Jesus Christ; C) the inspiration, truthfulness and normative authority of the Scriptures; D) the ultimate eschatological reality of sin, salvation, and eternal punishment; E) the personal ministry of the Holy Spirit; F) the prioritization of evangelization over socio-political involvement; G) the church as Christ's Body, the Household of God.

What are its deficiencies? A) Weak ecclesiology due to excessive individualism; B) polarization between evangelism and social action; C) Until recently, a lack of emphasis on the Kingdom as a key theological category; D) eschatological fragmentation.

What are its values? A) Historic continuity with the theological position which gave birth to and sustained the modern missionary movements for 200 years; B) A commitment to the whole of Scripture; C) Clarity of terminology.

THEOLOGIES OF LIBERATION: An Overview

Where did it come from? Latin American Liberation Theologies arose among predominantly Roman Catholic Latin American pastors and theologians dissatisfied with the traditional posture of the Church in the light of the exploitation, poverty, and repression which characterized the underdeveloped nations of that area. It represents a critical reflection on the commitment of Christians to the struggles of justice for the oppressed in the light of Scripture and the teachings of the Church. It draws upon, but moves beyond the stance of the Roman Catholic Church adopted in Vatican II, European Political Theologies and the Theology of Hope as well as utilizing the social sciences in a Marxist framework as a working hypothesis. It reached fruition at the conference of Latin American Bishops in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. It has since spread throughout Latin America and into the rest of the Third World. It constitutes the stance of a significant minority within the Roman Catholic Church and is becoming the controlling theological posture within the World Council of Churches. I personally believe it will constitute of the major challenge to evangelical theology for the remainder of the 20th century.

Who are its leading proponents? PROPHET: Rubem Alvez; HISTORIAN: Enrique Dussel; THEOLOGIAN: Gustavo Gutierrez; APOLOGIST: Hugo Assman. Other key Roman Catholic leaders include Juan Luis Segundo (hermeneutics and theology); Jose Miranda (hermeneutics); Segundo Galilea (pastoral theology); Leonard Boff (Christology); Jon Sobrino (Christology) and Rafael Avila (Biblical Studies). Key Protestant contributors include Jose Miguez Bonino, Emilio Castro, and Mortimer Arias. All are Methodist World Statesmen from Latin America's southern cone. They have evangelical backgrounds and were trained in the early 1950's at the Buenos Aires Graduate School of Theology. Other leading figures are Julio Santa Ana, Sergio Croatto, and Federico Pugura.

What are the distinguishing features?

- A. Robert McAfee Brown states that "We can distinguish at least six overlapping emphases that characterize 'the view from below' and differentiate it from the theology with which most of us have been familiar:" 1) a different starting point: the poor; 2) a different interlocutor: the nonperson, 3) a different set of tools: the social sciences, 4) a different analysis: the reality of conflict, 5) a different mode of engagement: praxis, 6) a different theology: the second act.
- B. Harvie Conn describes the emerging consensus as: 1) Theology's orientation: the liberation of the oppressed, 2) Theology's domain: the concrete situation as context, 3) Theology's method: reflection on praxis, 4) Theology's new partner: the social sciences, 5) Theology's mission: the hermeneutic of suspicion and hope.

What are its deficiencies? A) The immanence of God swallows up his transcendence, B) A divinizing of humanity through a misreading of Matthew 25, C) A shallow, extrinsic view of human sin at the personal level, D) A blurring of the line between Church and World, E) A too uncritical alliance with Marxism, F) A tendency toward universalism, G) A waffling on Biblical Authority coupled with a situational hermeneutic, H) A neglect of the Holy Spirit.

What is its value? A) It challenges us to unite orthodoxy with orthopraxy, B) It unmasks ideological commitments which color our reading of Scripture, C) It exposes the insipidness of neutrality, D) It draws attention to neglected themes in Scripture, i.e. oppression of the poor, E) It faces squarely the issues of hurting people, F) It challenges us to contextualize theology, G) It reminds us of multiplied impact of sin through unjust social structures, H) It affirms the positive relationship between God's Kingdom and man's historical undertaking.

In short, we must have the courage to stand with the theologians of liberation in those times which are faithful to Biblical revelation and congruent with the vision of a just and humane society while at the same time opposing any truncation or reductionism of the faith which would divert the church from the centrality of its mission to disciple the nations.

The Chinese Church and Theology:

A Discussion

Dr. Moffitt
from the author

From: EAST ASIA JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, (1984) By Samuel H. Chao*
2:1, pp.82-94.

This is a modest attempt to interact with T. C. Chao's article, "The Possibility of Development of Christian Theology in China for the Next Forty Years." A subtitle for Chao's article could be: "Why China Did Not Produce any Theologians from 1910 to 1950". Chao is a very modest person himself, by saying in so many words that in the forty year period, no real indigenous Chinese theologian came into being. He, along with Y. T. Wu (吳耀宗), C. Y. Cheng (成靜怡), and other of his contemporaries were among the first group of Chinese theologians to come out of China after the May Fourth era. Of course, none of them really joined the May Fourth, or were responsible for it. They were the product of "missionary" education and Western education, trained primarily in the U. S. and England.

The article under discussion is one of the last theological treatises from the productive pen of T. C. Chao. It is interesting to note that all of his writings after this article became political or non-theological in character. This represented his last chance to speak for Christianity before his "confession" in 1956, when he more or less renounced his Christian faith. Chao, of course, wrote in a difficult time. His style of writing certainly changed from that of his younger days, and more importantly, his theology also went through several contours.

In Part I, I will discuss the life and work of Chao, together with some criticisms. In Part II, I have translated his essay. This is not a complete translation; some Buddhist terms and illustrations have been left out as well as some pro-socialist and communist slogans.

Part I. The Life and Work of T. C. Chao (1888-1979)

In a last letter to Winfried Gluer, dated July 25, 1979, four months before his death — the late T. C. Chao wrote: "I have not been a true theologian ... I have not been (able to) bear the burden that should be mine." In the same letter, however, he pointed out that at least he had known the responsibility entrusted to him, and that while he was wrestling with his task, he had "touched" upon the basic questions that determine human life. But the problem remained unsolved. After many years of isolation from a Christian congregation and the long difficult period of the Cultural Revolution, Chao had turned away from Christianity.¹

Just prior to his death, he was elected an honorary member of the executive committee of the newly formed Chinese Association for the Study of Relig-

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¹ *Nanking Seminary Review*, xxvi, No. 1, 2 (Nov. 1950): 14-21.

1. W. Gluer, "T. C. Chao and the Quest for Life and Meaning," *China Notes* 18; (1980), 129. Hereafter cited as Gluer-T. C. Chao

ion (1979). He had served in the Protestant Three-Self Patriotic Movement and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of Municipal Peking. For many years Dr. Chao was Dean of the School of Religion at Yenching University (1928-1952). At the peak of his Protestant influence, he was elected one of the six vice-presidents of the World Council of Churches which met in 1948, in Amsterdam. One month after the death of Mrs. Chao in 1978, he told friends that in death we are "truly free."²

Our author was a Chekiang man, and was born in the town of Te ch'ing. As his family were devout Buddhists, Chao had once considered becoming a monk. He later described his childhood as a world of spirits and apparitions. As a boy, he saw himself as physically weak and timid, though in later years he was quite tall physically and was known for his self-assurance. His religious conversion occurred in two stages. The first contact with Christianity was made during childhood when his grandmother took him to attend a worship service in a nearby church. However, it was not until he became a student at Soochow University in 1908 that he faced stronger religious pressures through contact with missionary personalities and student converts. At Soochow University students were required to attend services on Sundays, and memorize scriptural passages without a mistake. Chao, a native of Chekiang, found this exercise particularly irritating because it had to be done in the Soochow dialect. The students were constantly lectured on "heaven, hell, the church, spiritual salvation, Jesus' precious blood, and other doctrines." The teaching however struck home. Chao's "heart burned like fire" and he sought release through conversion. He returned home and with the zealotry of a new convert, trampled on the ancestral tablets and Buddhist idols, being stopped only by his mother's weeping. A close friend took him and urged him to reconsider his decision.³

For a while he stayed out of Soochow University and began to lose his newfound faith and became anti-religious. His absence, however, was short-lived in the face of economic difficulties at home and the trials of working out an arranged marriage. Despite his overt hostility, the teachers of the college, notably its president, D. L. Anderson, took special interest in him. This, Chao later claimed, began his second conversion. John R. Mott was on Soochow campus during Chao's personal crisis and gave a series of lectures which deeply impressed him. He returned to reading the Bible and regular worship and asked for baptism. This second conversion lifted him out of despair, and he joined in the popular Christian activities on campus. At the same time, his classmate and lifelong friend, Lu Chih-wei (陸志韦), later chancellor and then president of Yenching — was also converted. Chao prayed fervently, and threw himself into every available form of Christian work. He was the first president of the campus YMCA. In 1913, before graduating from Soochow, he had converted his wife and mother from Buddhism. Upon graduation he began teaching at the University.

In 1914, T. C. Chao was sent as a lay delegate of the China Mission Conference to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oklahoma City, OK. This marked the beginning of many international conferences and meetings at which Chao was later to make appearances. That fall he entered graduate school at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he earned his M.A. in religion in 1916, and B. D. in 1917.

2. Gluer-T.C. Chao, p. 105.

3. Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1919-1952* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) p. 72.

Returning to China via Europe, England, Middle East, he returned to Soochow University in 1917 as a Christian educator to teach sociology and religion and became the first Chinese dean of the college in 1922. Invited by Dr. J. Leighton Stuart to Yenching University in 1925, Chao left Soochow for Yenching in 1926 to teach philosophy. Two years later, in 1928, he was made the dean of Yenching's School of Religion, succeeding Timothy T. Lew (刘廷芳). Except for brief trips to the U. S. and Europe, including a year's study in Oxford in 1932, Chao continued to head the School of Religion and to teach Philosophy of Religion at Yenching for more than twenty years. At Yenching, he was one of the five most influential Chinese Christian professors who tried to balance Christianity and scholarship. He was to become one of China's great theologians.

From his "second conversion," he began his work on a long career as a vigorous and persuasive interpreter of the Christian view of life. His goal was simple but broad: the adaptation of Christianity to the special environment and needs of modern China, and the construction of the foundations for an indigenous Chinese Christian church. Due to his "liberal" theological background at Vanderbilt — which was at the height of its social gospel days — Chao's thought swung back and forth between evangelism and social action. From 1917, the year he graduated at the top of his class, he struggled for forty years with the issues of conservatism, liberalism, indigenization, ecumenicity, and lastly communism and death. Chao was a "liberal theologian." The Gospel which he preached was always toned with "social gospel," and he never concealed this spirit throughout his long and distinguished career. Neither did he apologetically disavow his liberal disposition. During a later period, in which he appeared to come close to certain tenets of the theology of Karl Barth, he wrote a treatise on the theology of Barth in 1939. Chao's liberalism made it possible for him to proceed onward to new domains after he realized that his "conservative" interpretation of the faith did not prove conclusive in the experience of the Chinese Revolution. Basic to his character was his openness to new insights, and over the years this openness resulted in a continuous adjustment of his thought and life.⁴

During all phases of his theological work, Chao was striving for a harmonious relationship between Christian theology and Chinese cultural mentality. He pursued this topic from the twenties in the midst of a total reorganization of life in the "New China," attempting to tackle the task of relating Christian theology to Buddhist and Taoist thought.⁵

T.C. Chao began as a liberal theologian. Though his liberalism seemed to appear Western from the outside, it was very closely syncretized into the Confucian Chinese thinking and predisposition. Chao's interpretation of salvation centered for a long time on human self-realization according to the example of Christ. His self-giving love was to kindle the fire of love and of self-sacrifice of all Christians and the whole church for the sake of China. The hard reality of the 1930s brought an end to this expectation. Chao began to feel with growing disappointment that human self-realization for which he had hoped was rarely achieved among Christians. The confidence he had proudly put in man was

4. West, p. 74; Gluer T.C. Chao, p. 131.

5. T.C. Chao, "The Possibility of Development of Chinese Theology in China for the next Forty Years," *Nanking Seminary Review* XXVI, No. 1, 2 (Nov. 1950) p. 14, 17. In the Chinese language.

shattered. In consequence, he turned away from liberal theology to a new understanding of revelation, grace and salvation.

The section I have translated is among the last theological treatises of Chao's writing career. This period, from 1948–1956 involved the first eight years of the "New China." Though it is hard to establish what Chao's thinking was like after 1950, we know that he failed in his attempt to meet the challenge of the Chinese revolution with a corresponding Christian realization of the idea of a new society. Before this, Chao became more thoroughly acquainted with the phenomenon of Marxism, and the Chinese Communist Party, although it had existed in the 1920s. Chao realized in 1948 that the church should remain free from the political system and make up the remaining deficit of democracy.⁷ His concern was with the threat to freedom, culture, and the attack on the church, as well as on Christians. And yet it seems that Chao thought at the same time about the way in which Communism and Christianity could find a common ground and mutual understanding. Chao emerged with new enthusiasm, optimistic that the possibility of solving together the problems of the Chinese people still existed. As Gluer points out, his lack of insight into the Communist ideology has serious consequences later on — (did Billy Graham go through the same thing in Russia?).⁸

So, Chao began immediately to do his best to ensure a positive relationship between Church and State. This he did by trying to strengthen the independence of the Chinese Church from the West according to the "Three-Self" principle, by maintaining and strengthening international ties through the W.C.C., and by voicing his positive evaluation of the new government.⁹ Then, in May 1950, Chao was one of those who met (along with Y. T. Wu) Chou En-lai, and signed the "Christian Manifesto." He was appointed City Counselor for Peking, and was a representative for religion in the Political Consultative Conference in Peking in 1949, which worked out new guidelines for the educational system in China.

From then on, Chao became more and more politically involved. During the Korean War, he resigned from the W.C.C. post, after the W.C.C. endorsed American participation in the war. The resulting Anti-American campaign and politics in Yenching eventually led to his downfall from the deanship of the School of Religion in 1951.

How did Chao attempt to find a synthesis between Christianity and Marxism? As in the earlier years, Chao had no difficulty in pointing out the weaknesses of the Church. He also found it easy to accept the challenge of "renewal of the Chinese people".¹⁰

However, it did not take long for him to realize that time was running out for the Church as an organization participating in practical matters. In 1952, the Church was closed. One reads of Chao speaking in concern of the church's suffering. This, he felt, would find the people flocking into the churches in a ten to thirty year period. This did happen, but the kind of churches that are flourish-

6. Gluer-T.C. Chao, p. 131.

7. Winfried Gluer, *Christliche Theologie in China, T.C. Chao, 1918–1956*. (Gutersloh: G. Mohn, W. Germany, 1979) p. 248.

8. R.R. Deutsch, "Review Article: Winfried Gluer: *Christliche in China, T.C. Chao, 1918–1956*," *Chung Feng* 25, No. 4 (1981) 249.

9. T.C. Chao, pp. 19–21.

10. Deutsch, p. 249.

ing today are not the kind of church that Chao spoke of in 1950. The new churches are being transformed by the power of the Holy Spirit in people's hearts. The Chinese churches have not diminished as Chao imagined (1950), but have grown to a proportion that Dr. Chao would not have believed. The church that Chao served and worked for is dead; no longer preaching the Gospel. Yet the development of the "house church movement" in China today is one of the most exciting events in the Christianity of this century, in spite of 30 years' Chao's thesis, "Christian Faith as a Guide to Human Self-Realization" theologically speaking is so weak that Chao himself finally revoked it.¹¹

Theologically, Chao also came to realize one great difficulty: Christianity as a religion with a transcendental dimension cannot be reconciled with Marxist ideology.¹² However, Chao did not stop at that point. Instead, pushing aside the truth, he embraced socialist government as though it were from God. Chao accepted the genuineness and the integrity of Chinese socialism, and the aims of the Chinese Communist Party therefore, matched for Chao with the practical realization of the Christian faith. Chao's overt optimism failed him as much as his expectations of the Church and the Communist Party disappointed him, and he himself experienced the limitation of "inner spirituality" after 1950. His liberalism and socialism did not help the church to grow or stay alive. This experience led to Chao's increasing frustration with his faith. T. C. Chao died a broken man, with a broken faith and a broken church that did not exist.

Part II. The Possibility of Development of Christian (Doctrine) Theology in China for the Next Forty Years*

By T. C. Chao 赵紫宸
Translated from the Chinese by Samuel H. Chao

In the last forty years (1910-1950), there is nothing in Chinese Christian theology that deserves special note. In the areas of cultural exchange, education, medicine, social and welfare services, the Chinese Church in general, contributed quite significantly, and deserves our careful attention. But, in the areas of exegesis and Christian theology, let alone apologetics, there is hardly a single case deserving our attention. So called "Chinese Theology" is nothing more than imported Western theology, spelled out by the Western missionaries and completely digested by the Chinese Christians. There is no contribution on the part of the Chinese themselves. The problem is with the Western theological orientation to China — with all its attached denominationalism, Western sponsorship and direction, and lack of any Chinese interpretation. On top of it all, it is unsystematically done at best. During the late Ch'ing (广学会), the China Christian Literature Society had some contributions, but they too were without much planning, system, organizational management, structure, or long term planning. The Chinese Christian intellectuals were hopelessly unequipped when it came to the areas of reference books, tools and aids with reference to their Christian faith, let alone the development of Christian theology. Looking back on these forty years, the Chinese Christians have been simple observers; just watching the liberal and fundamentalist debates. On either

11 Deutsch, p. 244

12. T.C. Chao, p. 20.

* Footnotes to the text are found at the end of the text for technical and clarity purposes.

side, there have been no heroes, as they fight and accuse each other of follies they committed. Until this every day, the scars of the battle remain among the Christians who do not know theology. They still remember and talk about the past. As a result, no religious or academic foundations have been laid for the development of Chinese theology. The final word is usually, "I am saved, you are not."

Why is it there has not been a great theologian among the Chinese in these last forty years? Is it because we Chinese are not capable of doing theology or philosophy? Some think this way, but I disagree. Anyone who has read 逍遥齐物 (庄子著) two great pieces of literature by Chung Tze, dealing with man's conquest of the body in setting himself free from the world within and without, knows that the Chinese possess sharp, thorough, philosophical minds. Those who know the writings of Hsueh Shih (惠施) and Kung Sung-Lung (惠施, 公孙龙), (contemporaries of Confucius) know that they possess great insight in logic and philosophy. In the area of religion, the Chinese Buddhism produced great thinkers like: Shen Ch'ang (玄奘) and Che Ch'ang (吉藏) during the Tang dynasty. In Buddhism you have Lung Shang (龙象), the great learner. Why, then, is there no comparable stature among Christians? In my view, I don't think that the Chinese Christian intellectuals are not interested in theology per se, but rather they never heard a thorough, clear, concise, well-grounded Christian theology presented, nor discussed before themselves. When the Westerners are at the front (blocking the thinking among the Chinese) who can roar like a lion behind? When the poetic writings of Tsui Hao (崔颢)¹ were clearly visible on the walls, Li Pai (李白)² had to drop his pen. Likewise, those Chinese with great intellectual capacity had no place to turn when it came to the question of theology.

That the Chinese Church cannot produce a learned theologian is largely due to the fact that they over stress the so-called "anti-doctrinal" sentiment among themselves. This has influenced the thinking of both the liberals and conservatives, and its source is humanism. Much work has been done in the areas of education, medicine, and social relief work in order to promote the work of Christianity. But where the Christian body has grown in these areas, its head knowledge has shrunk, almost to the point that they have forgotten the essential nature of Protestantism.

1. Tsui Hao, Tang dynasty poet, wrote the famous poem named "Poems of Hwang Ho Low" (The Chamber of the Yellow Cranes), while he was drunk.

崔颢唐朝人作「黄鹤楼」一诗
「昔人已乘黄鹤去，此地空余黄鹤楼。
黄鹤一去不复返，白云千载空悠悠。
晴川历历汉阳树，芳草萋萋鹦鹉洲。
日暮乡关何处是？烟波江上使人愁。」

Tsui described the coming and going to people like birds (cranes). He felt that the birds once gone will not return. Then white clouds, blue skies lasting forever; when the sun sets, and the lonely lagoons stood still too. "How lonely am I when the sun shines upon the waves, as the evening dawns on me?" said Tsui.

2. Li Pai, also of Tang dynasty, one of the greatest poets of China was a contemporary of Tsui. When he saw the famous poems on the walls of Hwang Ho, said Li Pai, "Before my eyes are the great and best ways, and poems, of Tsui what else can I write?" Apparently he was also drunk, but could not produce anything like Tsui did.

唐诗人李白读后，叹曰：「眼前有景道不得，崔颢题诗在上头。」

Up to now, the weakest part of Chinese Christianity has been the Church, and its weakest spot has been Christian theology. Strangely, the original means of the Church to accomplish its mission have been through education, medicine, and literature. As tools to propagate Christian faith — they have been well-developed, but at the expense of a weakened theological emphasis. The first class thinkers of the Church were all utilized to develop in missions, while the second class thinkers were all left to the pastorate and the church leadership. (次等人才) We are not saying that this policy was bad, but rather it was one-sided. Both the Church and church related services require first class thinkers. Those who have engaged in Church development get better salaries, and lighter responsibilities. Local church pastors and evangelists who have engaged in "superman" duties (超人) get lesser salaries. When one has become a pastor, even if he is quite gifted, (let alone the ordinary pastor), he ceases to become a theologian. Even today, most Christians in most denominations cannot answer as to what they believe. Many pastors cannot answer the simplest theological questions posed to them. So, today few people in the Church think about the importance of scholarship or learning. As a result, the Chinese Church is forty years behind time.

The second reason for not having produced Chinese theologians is because of the Westerners' dominance and control. Under Western eyes, there is only one common denominator: one dead formula. If one is to get benefits, one must conform to their system. But, if one wants to be independent, and worship and serve the people in his own way, he does not have the opportunities and the funds. The greatest and most common downfall of training methods used by Western missionaries is that they do not allow the national leader to get enough training and experience to surpass themselves. This is not to say that the missionary standard of education or experience is low; but, by and large, most Westerners are strong willed, over self-confident. They desire flattering words, despise the uneducated (卑鄙) and are unwilling to receive advice from the Chinese. Those Chinese who are self-esteemed and with more insight know well that under Missionary control, there is no room for future intellectual development. Pastors are to sever themselves from scholarship and learning. Although there have been quite a few mature Chinese Christians among the missionaries, the missionaries have seldom understood Chinese customs and theological foundations. How can they then motivate the Chinese to engage in theological enterprise? All missionaries have wanted was results and numbers of converts. With all their idiosyncracies, money and power, where would they find time to develop those with talents? Over the past thirty years or so, not a single Chinese theologian contributed to the controversy generated by the science and humanism debate.³ During the anti-Christian movements, no bold

3. Chao is referring to the defense of Christian faith over against the attacks of science, and humanism (democracy) — two of the hottest debates in China just before and after the May Fourth Movement. Chao lamented the silence and impotence of the Christian writers in answering the accusations and slanders made against Christianity by the secular writers. For Chao's reply see "Christian and Non-Christian Reply to the Anti-Christian Movement," *Chinese Recorder* 53 (1922): 743-748.

For a recent treatment on the subject see Wing-hung Lam, "The Emergence of a Protestant Christian Apologetic in the Chinese Church During the Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920's." Princeton: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation Princeton Seminary, 1978. The latest work on the "Chinese Christian Renaissance" is by Samuel D. Ling, "The Other Chinese Renaissance in China." Philadelphia: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1981. Both are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA.

answers were given by the Chinese Christians. With this situation in mind, and now thirty years after the May Fourth Movement, the Chinese Church is still without a "theologian."

The development of the Chinese theological seminary is only a beginning. Nanking Theological Seminary, although it appears forty years old on paper, in actuality is only fifteen years old when you think of its own indigenous character and development. The Yenching University's Department of Religion appears to be ancient and old, but in terms of its proper name, School of Religion, it is only some twenty years old. Among the faculty members, Western professors are more educated and numerous than the Chinese. Uptil now, only a few Chinese can be compared to the Western teachers at Yenching. And yet, between these two schools, they have not produced one first class Chinese theologian during the past twenty years. Among the graduates, there are a few who appear to be promising, but who knows how long it will take for them to become great spiritual giants (成龍). It is hard to predict the outcome of a seminary which is only ten years old, even with proper foundation. In addition, we are in the midst of uncertainties. If there be a future, we ought to examine the past and look into the future, and come up with a plan for the next forty years.

From henceforth, the development of Chinese Christian theology must first of all, be developed by the Chinese themselves in order to discover the treasure of Christian faith that has been hidden for 2,000 years. The treasure is hidden in earthen vessels. Westerners have dug up many of these already. There are already enough hints and signs for us to dig them up for ourselves. Now the hidden treasure is the Old and New Testaments. When the Western missionaries took up the Book of Treasure and attempted to apply it to the Chinese context, who could understand it? It is in the understanding of this (Treasure) that lies the secret of life and Gospel.

Along with the discovery of hidden treasure, is the work of special introduction to theology and translation and its essence. Those who take up the task of introducing things of a theological nature must possess real gifts in this area. For example, for the work of Augustine, the one who does the introduction must first of all read the works of Augustine himself. Then the work done by other scholars on Augustine must be read and consulted before he can do the real work of introduction. There are many discrepancies in Augustine himself. If one does not read and do careful research, how is he going to detect these contradictions, mistakes and misunderstandings? Likewise, it is with equal difficulty when one tries to do the same to other church fathers and theologians alike. Essential translation is not very easy. One must know the original works, for if one only does the translation's translation, he is likely to commit errors and misunderstandings. Essential translation is a selective translation, in which important items are translated first, and secondary matters later. On this score, we already have guidance from our Western friends. Now is our opportunity to do it, and we no longer can push this responsibility on to others. We are to do this work for the sake of the theological foundation in our Chinese Church as well as for the purpose of serving our people and civilization. Even though the Chinese People's government is atheistic, they too, I am sure, want to have a part in historical preservation of records.

The next item is that a theoretical foundation is needed for our Christian theology. What is the boundary between science and religion? What are their limitations? These are some of the very important issues and questions today. Unless we resolve them, science and religion will never harmonize with each

other. These questions relate to the relationship between knowledge and revelation, or the question of religious epistemology.

Christian faith and belief is beyond that with which science can deal. Science cannot derive ultimate truth that is found in religion. Neither can it reach the individual self and search for truth. Religion must first affirm and accept revelation and truth in space and in time. Then one can use knowledge and theory to explain those areas. A physicist cannot find soul in his research. Neither can a biologist find ultimate purpose in his research. He cannot find freedom in nature, nor can he find God in general revelation. Why? Because these things are not objectively obtainable by their very nature. Therefore, religion must tell science to stay in its limits and not touch boundaries it is incapable of crossing. Religion can adequately explain its claims to science. But, such things as a standard of truth, a foundation of ethics, human values, truth in human nature, or the existence of God, science cannot touch upon. We will not be able to answer them here, but simply point out that Christian theology must have a theoretical foundation and proof for its claims. Throughout history there were many controversies because of this very same thing. Many theologians tried to prove the existence of God with their own theories. We must put more emphasis on the relationship between philosophy and religion. Only then will we stop philosophy at the door of theology.

The work of theology requires a lot of cooperation. This is a big problem in China. But, though our goals are far away, we don't think there are too many obstacles before us. Our theology must be built on God's revelation, and propagated as such. Our teaching and learning must also be built on biblical and historical theology. God's special revelation is recorded in the Bible, and the Bible is the historical foundation for the Church. Only when we concentrate our efforts in the areas of biblical and historical theology, can we really develop our theology in a short time.

The Chinese Church today needs a "self-dependent" (自立) Christian theology. The task of the Chinese theological labor lies in the study of Confucian Chinese (Ju-Chia, 儒家) thinking, as well as Tao (道) and Buddhist thinking. We need to make a comparative study of the former three with Christianity. We need to discover the areas of similarities and dissimilarities; the areas where dialogue could prove profitable, and where it would not. The Confucian teaching on human ethics (道德论) ought to be stimulant to Christian theology. Conversely, Christian theology can point out the unstable characteristics of Ju-Chia and Tao-Chia's teachings on human nature. The Tao and Te (德) in the teaching of Tao-Chia can reveal some truth about the Incarnation; while the doctrine of the Incarnation can influence Lao-Tzu's teaching on *KWAN-FU* 观复⁴ (to watch 德 returning to 道), as well as reveal the weakness of Chuang Tzu's 逍遥 (free-wheeling, feeling at ease) for not meeting needs of human quest. Meanwhile, Christian teaching on God's absolute revelation in space/time, truth can be a basis for criticizing Buddhism's teaching on the "我法皆空" all emptiness in human nature and its opposing forces." Christianity is a religion of faith and life. Whenever it encounters a civilization, it ought to utilize the philosophy of its culture to explain Christianity itself. In

⁴ This is Lao-Tzu's teaching on returning to nature, as opposed to Buddhism's teaching on the soul being reincarnated to another form after death. Lao-Tzu is more interested in Nature over men, while Chuang Tzu is just concerned with the transcendental bliss of men's free wheeling with his body not being concerned at all about his soul or nature.

the second century, the early Christian fathers often used Greek philosophy to explain Christianity. People like Origen, Tertullian, Augustine (4th century) used Platonic and Aristotelian terms to explain Christianity within its environment and time, though they went overboard to the extent that the essence of Christianity disappeared.

Christianity is only about 150 years old in China. The Chinese Christian development in doctrine is still in its embryonic stage. Therefore, if Chinese theological development is to have its own course, it must experience what Christianity did through the Greek and Latin routes — except that now it must be through the Buddhist and Confucian filters. In doing this, there are several advantages. The first is that Christianity becomes a Chinese religion. With a constitution of freedom of religion and laws, we can certainly believe Christianity as our religion. But, the kind of Christianity that was spread by the Western Imperialists is the kind of Christianity we Chinese do not welcome to our land. If we are to be free from suspicion as underdogs of the Westerners, we ought to shape Christianity within the frame work of Chinese thought forms, terminologies and characteristics, so that it becomes a Chinese Christian religion. The second advantage is that this kind of Chinese Christianity can have a full and rich (表现) exemplification or appearance before the people. Here, Christianity rightly can make use of Buddhist and Confucian terminologies to express its truth. Christianity is a treasure in itself; so is the Chinese civilization. How much better if we make use of its best gems for the propagation of our faith?

Christian theology is an interpretative tool of the Church. It came out of the Church, and should serve as a "weapon" for the Church. Theology is not philosophy, much less a philosophy of religion. The task of theology is to speak to the area of faith and the life message it poses. Is our theology consistent with the revelation of God? Theology cannot separate itself from the Church, and vice versa. Theologians are themselves members of churches. The Church is the theologians' place of spiritual rest and preparation. It precedes theology. When the Church splits here and there, theological divisions also occur. When there are varieties of theological splits, Church unity suffers greatly. This is a serious matter. Over the past forty years or so, however, the Protestant church world wide has revived greatly as theologians have worked on a "universal theology."

Since the present Chinese form of Christianity has its origin from the West, she too has many denominations in China. Some denominations have joined together to form the Chinese Christian Church. Other churches too, have united under one name. Similar to the U.S., British, and Australian Anglican unions, the China Episcopal Church has been formed. The Methodist bodies also have formed their own Methodist Churches of China. With all those church unions, systematic barriers have been formed between themselves, and they are evident in theological issues and differences. Consequently, it is hard to have a Chinese Christian theology for all Chinese Christians. Theoretically, it is impossible to have such theology unless all Christian churches in China are unified. For us the present task is to seek reform and unification of all Protestant churches. The present situation is right and conducive to achieving our goal. Already many Western missionaries have left us, and many "self-supporting" and "self-propagating" churches have taken steps to sever themselves from Western control and financial dominance. The future of church union is bright, and its obstacles have already diminished greatly. Practically speaking, with an open future before us, China can have its own theologians to lay its own

theological foundations from the inception. No one can stop them, now that Western denominationalism has diminished. However, the pitiful thing is that since they are without denominations, their concept of church is quite shallow. Therefore, you cannot have a good Christian theology without the two. Furthermore, effective Christian theology has all come out of the Christian church.

The kind of theologians that are to be produced in China need not be seminary graduates. They should be the product of theory and practice. The future ministers of China should have theological training before and after their ordinations. This way, the theology produced is in touch with faith and life. They need not divorce each other. The only thing we have to worry about is the future of our seminaries. This worry does not necessarily mean there is no freedom of religion per se. The primary concern is that there is no seminary run by the Chinese themselves. All that we have now are Western controlled seminaries, schools and their related organizations. And what's more, Western funds could now dry up imminently. When this happens, all seminaries will cease to function. This deserves our attention. Does this mean that we will not have any seminaries? When the dead end street is met head on, we should find life in the midst of death. We ought to depend on the Lord and stand up strong.

I feel that Christian theology is something *seine quo non* in the Church as an interpretive tool for its mission. Theology must come out of the Church which was born out of testing and suffering as a sign of salvation. Future theologians must also be tried by fire through the "suffering of valley of death and hell." Present Chinese theologians and workers, the present writer included, are not well-learned people, nor do we have adequate experience. For the last forty years we have not gone through a life of suffering either in personal life or in Church life. Now the Lord of life is judging us by putting us on a scale of "heavenly justice" to give us a chance. It is like the story of Gideon, who with 300 men tried to overthrow the whole kingdom of Baal. In God's eyes, they were sufficient enough to do the job. The Chinese pastors will go through training and sufferings for the purpose of evangelism and mission. That is to say, they must produce rice and bread when there is none, and they must build up seminaries without foreign funds — empty handed. They must once more rely on the Lord's miracle of feeding the 5,000 with the two fishes and five loaves of bread.

What is the relationship between Christian theology and what we have portrayed of the life of the Chinese Church? I believe whole heartedly that there is a close relationship. For if the Church does not awaken itself in the religious and essential principal consciousness, then there is no hope for a development of theology. Chinese Augustines, Tertullians, Origenes must come out of churches through long and hard sufferings. These will be our seminaries and will produce our theological students. Life, faith, and experience can give interpretation to faith and life. Then we will really have something to write about. The Christian theology and the new "theological seminary model" we are speaking about is making headway and being built at the same time. In our survey we have looked back forty years, but in this transformational age of ours, the past forty years is incomparable to the next forty years. We have learned many lessons in the past, but a new metamorphosis is just coming. We cannot put broken pieces back together anymore. The eternal revelation requires our own interpretation. In the progress of history, any great transformation can occur in the next forty years. In the next twenty years there will no longer be obvious competition between religions. All nations of the world will be going on the road toward socialism, and all will be transformed for good.

The Church, of course, must be changed and transformed. In thirty years there will be much more knowledge about science and technology to help us to criticize philosophy and its limits. By that time, the Chinese theology will be in full bloom and its fruits will be followed. If we want to know the most important issue in the future, — it is the interpretation of the fundamentals of our faith, which is also Christian theology. Forty years from today, the Chinese Church will be narrowed in scope with its abundant experiences. Its yeast like effect will certainly draw many to the cross of Jesus Christ. I am sure that it will provide the standard of truth for which people will want to search. The Church will provide the moral foundations, security of values, selfhood, meaning of life and sense of belonging to which we are all drawn. Those things which government or science can never provide, religion can. It is free, readily available, reserved for us. The Lord sees 1,000 years as but one day; surely the next forty years are nothing but to demonstrate the wonder and power and authority of God (上帝). The stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; this is the work of God, and it became a miracle in our eyes (眼中石为奇命).

Written in a Little House, 11 July 1950, Peking.

Author's Preface:

It is my privilege to contribute this essay in honour of Nanking Theological Seminary's 40th anniversary. It was meant to give an historical perspective on the institution, but being busy at work, I have not had time to do historical research, and have had to change my topic. My article, while keeping in mind celebration of the Nanking occasion, is actually looking forward the forty years, not looking back. I am weak internally and short of strength externally. But as our lives are like the grass that withers, I beg our readers to give me the benefit of their advice and forgiveness while reading this article.

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In the last pages of her own text Handelman writes movingly of this rabbinical tradition as the effort of a broken people "trying somehow to make the facts of their historical catastrophe agree with the exalted promises of their Sacred Book. And this can be accomplished only through feats of subtle interpretive reversal" (p. 223). For the major critics whom she treats as heirs of this tradition, "there is no end of exile for Bloom—or for Derrida—or for Freud." Thus, "in reaction to a Scripture that endlessly promises but never fulfills, and a God whose absence must suffice for presence, they will make of their exile an antithetical promised land, a 'Criticism in the Wilderness,' to use Geoffrey Hartman's term" (p. 222).

Because for the Jews "divinity is located in language, not person," Handelman sees it as the eminently Jewish stance that "instead of Incarnation is Interpretation" (pp. 89, 140). In direct contrast, "Christianity replaces the endless discourses of Rabbinic interpretation with the decisive act of presence: incarnation" (p. 193). That last sentence goes straight to the heart of the tragic division between these two peoples of the Book, but when she attempts to move from that point into the development and ramification of traditional Christian hermeneutics she is less well prepared and thus less perceptive.

As an organizing device, she early refers to the opposition between rabbinic interpretation and Patristic thought-systems (pp. xv, xix). Unfortunately, her citations of the Church Fathers (often scanty, and at several removes) and her discussions with them evidence only minimal contact. Her presentations of Christian doctrine are so poorly informed that they sometimes appear indistinguishable from two early and mortal heresies: Marcion's rejection of the whole Old Testament, and Docetism's insistence upon a "spiritual" and unhistorical incarnation. As for the "Greek" influence on the early church, her primary attention is upon Aristotle, with only a few side glances at Plato. But even that oversimplification is less damaging than her apparent unawareness of the actual shape of the classical *paideia* of late Hellenic and Roman culture in the generations between Paul and Augustine, which was heavily religious, poetical, and (in the early sense) rhetorical. Because of weaknesses such as these, she is unable to speak effectively about the crucially divergent developments of Jewish and Christian interpretation. To claim to interpret a polarity in which she is only marginally fa-

miliar with one pole can only be viewed as a mistake, but it is not a fatal one, because the strength of this book is its treatment of rabbinical developments and influences.

Despite my obvious reservations, I find Handelman's book one of the most stimulating and informative treatments of literary theory which I have read in many years, and I strongly recommend it.

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Palma, Robert J. *Karl Barth's Theology of Culture: The Freedom of Culture for the Praise of God*. Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1983. Pp. x + 122. \$10.00.

The idea of a "theology of culture" is frequently associated in America with the work of Paul Tillich. It is commonly understood as the attempt to bring to light the depth dimension or the religious element in all cultural activity. So conceived, the project of a theology of culture and the theology of Karl Barth seem utterly incompatible.

Robert J. Palma, professor of religion at Hope College, argues that Barth does indeed offer a theology of culture although it is quite different from Tillich's and does not neatly fit into any of the conventional types of a theology of culture as presented, for example, in H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture*.

Palma thinks it is possible to discern a descriptive, a critical, and a constructive theology of culture in Barth's writings. He traces the development of Barth's views from the early period of dialectic to the period of Christocentric concentration in which the *analogia fidei* and the *analogia relationis* play an increasingly decisive role.

"Game" and "play" are Barth's persistent metaphors for culture. In an early essay he writes: "Art and science, business and politics, techniques and education are really a game—a serious game, but a game, and game means an imitative and ultimately ineffectual activity—the significance of which lies not in its attainable goals but in what it signifies. And the game [may] actually be played better and more successfully, the more it [is] recognized as a game."

In a much later essay, Barth describes culture as simply the endeavor of human beings

to be human, to honor and to make use of the freedom and responsibility which are God's gifts. Barth finds the foundation of culture in the free grace of God, and he sees the humanity of Christ as the critical and constructive norm of what Palma calls "the freedom of culture for the praise of God." Culture can, of course, be perverted and even put to monstrous ends, but the cultural drive in humanity is by no means inherently evil. To be sure, culture for Barth is never a way of salvation nor an avenue of revelation alongside the Word of God. Still, at its finest—Barth's favorite paradigm of free culture was the music of Mozart—culture is the expression of the freedom, creativity, and playfulness of humanity, and it may offer signs, parables, or analogies of the Kingdom of God decisively revealed in Jesus Christ.

Palma's assessment of Barth's *suu generis* theology of culture is sympathetic but not uncritical. A Reformed theologian himself, he is in general agreement with those reservations about Barth's theology articulated by Dutch Reformed theologians such as G. C. Berkouwer. Palma contends that, in the final analysis, Barth failed to take with sufficient seriousness both the intrinsic value of culture and its evil potential. He also claims that Barth's attempt to move by way of Christocentric analogy from the light of the gospel to directives for Christian witness in the social and political spheres is simplistic and needs to be refined by the construction of "middle axioms" which mediate between the gospel and the concrete human situation in different times and places.

While brief and compactly written, Palma's work is a helpful orientation to a large, insufficiently explored, and frequently misunderstood topic in Barth's theology. However, this reviewer's appreciation is coupled with several questions. First, Palma underestimates the very positive and liberating meaning of Barth's metaphors of game and play for culture seen in the light of the gospel. As a result, Palma proposes that we speak instead of the "mandate" of Christian culture. In this significant shift of metaphors, he unintentionally obscures Barth's insistence that gospel precedes law, that God's gift (*Gabe*) is the presupposition of the task (*Aufgabe*) of culture.

Moreover, Palma asserts rather than argues that the elaboration of "middle axioms" in social and political ethics is less susceptible to the charges of arbitrariness and suppressed presuppositions often leveled against Barth's

use of analogies grounded in the central message of the Bible. If Barth's political reasoning was as unreliable and culture-bound as his critics imply, one might at least pause to wonder why he stood in the vanguard of the criticism of Nazism, the dark side of advanced capitalism, the ugly expressions of Western as well as Eastern imperialism, and the deadly logic of militarism, whereas some of his fellow theologians who considered his approach to culture—and to politics in particular—naïve in the extreme, lagged behind.

Finally, Palma's work is surprisingly silent about Barth's theology of man and woman. If culture has to do not only with arts and sciences but also with patterns of social relationship, the relation of man and woman is surely an important aspect of any theology of culture. Unfortunately, this is an area in which Barth's use of analogy is indeed seriously flawed.

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Barth, Karl. *The Theology of Schleiermacher: Lectures at Göttingen*. Edited by Dietrich Ritschl. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982. \$13.95.

This text offers to English readers Karl Barth's Göttingen lectures of 1923/24 on the theology of nineteenth century theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. Barth began these lectures "prepared for something bad" and concluded by telling his thirty-some students that he found Schleiermacher an even more foreboding "distortion of Protestant theology" than he anticipated. In the Schleiermacher he portrays in these lectures, Barth perceives a wrathful judgment of God on Protestantism. He sees little remedy except for "a theological revolution, a basic No to the whole of Schleiermacher's doctrine of religion and Christianity" (pp. 259-260).

As readers of Barth know, however, Barth's relation to Schleiermacher is rife with more ambiguity than his thunderous *Nein!* advises. This text is ample testimony to the respect and even awe which Barth always held for Schleiermacher. In his youth, he "knew how to swear no higher than by the man, Daniel Ernst Friedrich Schleiermacher" (p. 261). In his later years, Barth could still cultivate a tentative spirit, asking, "Could he not perhaps

민중 Theol.

Strengths - prophetic recognition + protest against injustice.
 - experience of suffering accepted for Christ's sake. - more personal than sociological.
 - reaction of bitter resentment, but this is not allowed to condone violence.

Weaknesses - experiential theology is emotionally subjective - not quite accurate historically, not
 - an ex-patriate, ~~it is not~~ theology, even in Korea 민중 theology is not the theology of the 민중.
 - has failed to develop an adequate Biblical base -
 - anthropocentric - not Christocentric.

asm

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be. This takes some time. Then one can decide—perhaps in consultation with colleagues who are close enough to be able to give honest opinions—whether the paper should be submitted elsewhere, kept on file for future revision, or discarded altogether.

NOTES

- ¹ "And I Don't Care What It Is": The Tradition-History of a Civil Religion Proof Text," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49 (1981), 35-49.
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ADVISING THE YOUNG COLLEAGUE: STRATEGIES AND PROSPECTS FOR PUBLISHING

Charles Grench, Religion Editor, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT 06520

As anyone who has ever published with a university press will know, subtitles are vitally important: they tell what the book is really about. I could regale you with amusing examples from our "manuscripts submitted" list, but I'll refrain and simply exercise editorial prerogative by changing the subtitle of my portion of this session to *How to Get Published by a University Press*. In doing so, I realize that I'm presuming to speak for my colleagues from other university presses. Nonetheless, since university press editors are, with some exceptions, amazingly congenial sharers of information, expertise, anxieties, and dreams, I'm sure they will forgive my making them accessories-after-the-fact to this talk.

We university press editors are at this meeting of the American Academy of Religion and Society of Biblical Literature for two reasons. The primary reason is to contact authors or potential authors; the secondary reason is to take orders and answer questions about the books on display, those we have published. But mainly we are on the hunt for authors: the writer of a literary work (as a book); or, in Webster's perhaps more apt second definition: one that originates or gives existence. We are looking for senior scholars or their younger colleagues who have written, are writing, or plan to write booklength works that fit our publishing lists and appeal to our tastes.

Strategies

If the editor/author relationship is like a marriage, then scholarly meetings are the singles bars of the academy. But how do you attract a prospective mate? Most editors are glad to hear about books-in-progress or publishing ideas at any time in their gestation. We can react, politely, gloomily, or enthusiastically, as the idea strikes us. Advise younger colleagues attending annual meetings to meet the editors of presses that publish in their fields—for example, Yale publishes few books in Asian religion, but the University of Chicago Press publishes many. Get to know the publishing programs of presses and chat with editors on a regular basis, as we are constantly adjusting our programs depending on needs, commitments, or opportunities.

Almost all university presses have publication committees that control the imprint. They decide to publish based on peer review, in-house editorial review and finances. In practical terms, I will present our publications committee with a dossier containing a memo by me (why I want to publish the manuscript), one or two (rarely more) readers' reports (attesting to the scholarly merits of the manuscript), and a table of contents or introduction (to give a taste of the work). They will accept, reject, or defer based on those materials. Note that there is no financial material presented to the committee. That crucial part of the decision to publish is a management matter that is (usually) hashed out in house prior to the publications commit-

tee meeting. We are unlikely to present a project to the committee if we don't have, or plan to raise, the resources to publish it.

We bring both manuscripts and proposals to our committee. That is, we contract for completed and uncompleted work. The circumstances for contracting for the latter can be that they are particularly attractive scholarly ventures, or that the author wishes to make a firm early commitment to a publisher. In short, we operate just as many commercial publishers do—offering advance contracts, at times paying advances against royalties. Ultimately, however, the completed manuscript must be subjected to peer review and, in order not to be embarrassed, we must be careful not to be too speculative.

So, a prospective author is always welcome to contact the editor. Talk is cheap, however. What can the author do to persuade me to want his manuscript? I like to see a proposal of three to five pages. It should demonstrate superior conceptual, writing, and organizational skills. Clarity, enthusiasm, and conviction should exude from the proposal. It should have—like a book—a beginning, middle, and end. It should let me know how long the manuscript will be, if it needs illustrations, tables, or other non-textual matter, and what stage the work is in right now. A tentative table of contents can be helpful. A current curriculum vitae is vital. In sum, I need to get a handle on what the project is and who is doing it. I can then, if I'm interested, ask for chapters, the whole manuscript, or whatever. Please tell younger colleagues to be courteous (and clever) enough to submit a typewritten letter addressed to the editor, editor-in-chief, or director by name. The letter, proposal, and c.v. should be legible (no dot matrix printers, please) and error free. Mimeographed letters, illegible, or illiterate material go into the round file—I value my eyesight.

It is acceptable to contact several publishers at once, but do send a fresh covering letter to each editor and check the envelopes, since a letter addressed to me as editor at Oxford is likely to elicit a tart response. I should stress that the prospective author should have studied a press list enough to have at least a hope that his or her proposal will interest an editor. A recent article accused presses of looking backward, and in some measure that's true: we like to take on new books that are similar to successful books we have already published. They give us the illusion of being able to predict success.

Once a positive response has been received from a press, the author should either submit to his or her first choice exclusively or tell all the presses that the work is under simultaneous submission. On some books we are willing to compete. On more specialized titles, attractive as scholarship but not as commercial products, we probably would not invest time or money in a manuscript that may go elsewhere. By knowing the press lists, press policies, and the editors, an author can usually

conclusive, solution to it is one most likely to pass reviewers' screening. Sometimes one can get lucky and find that something has been passed on in the literature without ever having been critically investigated, so that the first person who thinks of investigating it comes up with a nice, clear contribution to the discussion. By way of example, I can mention two articles, neither of which deals with a matter of great moment, but both of which manage to correct an unclarity or error that had persisted in the literature because no one had thought to investigate it. One is Patrick Henry's study of Dwight Eisenhower's statement about the government of the United States as one that "makes no sense unless it is founded on a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is."¹ To find out, if possible, exactly what Eisenhower had said and meant turned out to be a much more difficult task than one would have expected from the frequency with which the statement is quoted in the literature on civil religion, and Henry's effort to track it down produced a delightful and useful piece on a question of itself rather minute (and of perhaps no great consequence for the understanding of American religious history). A second example, similar in kind, is Wilfried Härle's investigation of the statement by Karl Barth, frequently quoted, about Barth's shock at seeing the names of almost all his theological teachers on a manifesto of 93 German intellectuals declaring their support for the war policies of Kaiser Wilhelm II.² This was a case in which a bit of history needed correction and could be decisively corrected, so that there is no longer any basis for passing on that particular remark of Barth's as though it reflected fact rather than a transfigured memory. As both authors would no doubt admit, these two topics resulted from good luck as much as from ingenuity. But one does not need to wait for strokes of luck before writing articles and learning how to see what has escaped attention in the literature.

Obviously, not all published articles are of this type; nor—I should think—can they be, even though they are the easiest to judge and the least chancy because their value to other scholars is the clearest. A learned journal is also interested in articles that provoke thought—articles that make one think about things differently or about different things from the usual—as well as in analytical or primarily informative articles. The thought-provoking ones, it seems to me, are difficult to write at the early part of an academic career, and I am not sure that junior colleagues should be encouraged to try such at all, at least not for publication, because the response is likely to be discouraging. At the same time, one hesitates to propose that only fixed-formula articles be written since they may tend to stifle genuine creativity and lead to the conclusion that scholarship has to be tedious and dull.

The articles that, as a kind, seem to be of least interest to a journal's editors are those that do nothing more than repeat what is already patently available to anyone who reads the literature. Even when they are written well, such essays seem deficient because their authors are not saying anything on their own. An article which, for example, recounts M's views on subject Z may be quite correct in all it reports; it may also be the first one to give a report on this theme; and yet it may be unacceptable because the author does not address the reader through the presentation. Such articles do, of course, get published; and, in a certain sense, they serve the purpose of general

orientation for those (the most) of us who cannot read everything we should read. But they are usually given such low priority that their chances of being accepted are not good in journals that can publish less than one out of five submitted manuscripts.

On a different side of matters, one might ask about the mechanics of submission. Where to submit an article can probably be determined most easily by seeing which journals publish that type of material: indications can be found either in a general statement in the journal or through a quick review of articles published in the last several years. Even then the question might be asked whether multiple submissions are to be encouraged (or are allowed). Is it permissible or advisable to submit an article to several journals at the same time? Is it even legal to do so? Strictly speaking, I suppose the answer to such questions is No. A journal's editors would like to think that the article they are considering is one to which they would have the rights of publication if they decide to accept it; and submitting it implies it is available if acceptable. Moreover, although I have not taken a poll of editors, I would presume that most of them would affirm this as their policy, despite the fact that, in these days of copy machines and word processors, the policy may be less often honored than an editor might wish it to be. My own view is somewhat different. Considering the amount of time that is normally involved in having a submitted article read by reviewers and the additional amount of time needed before it is actually printed, plus the fact that I think authors and editors have a common interest which makes their relation different from that of sellers and buyers, I have not had objections if an article submitted to the *Journal of the AAR* has also been submitted simultaneously to other journals. My hope has been that if it is clearly a superior piece our editorial board will be able to accept it more promptly than others. If we do not succeed in doing so, the major consideration would still seem to me to be that it becomes available through publication and not where it does so. To authors who want to be a bit more scrupulous (but not entirely so) one might propose a compromise between multiple and single submissions: send the article to only one journal initially and, if after three months no decision has been made, send it to another one.

If an article is rejected, one need not conclude that it is unpublishable, just as one need not conclude that the editors and reviewers are prejudiced or incapable of detecting talent. What a rejection does mean should be decipherable from the reviewers' reports, or extracts and summaries thereof, that are usually sent to the author of an article that has been given serious consideration. I use the word "decipherable" deliberately, for I think it is difficult for reviewers to state reasons for a rejection in such a way that they are immediately illuminating to an author. This is particularly so when what is involved is a judgment about the general quality and not a discovery of specific deficiencies. It is also true that the soundness of a reviewer's judgment may bear no direct relation to his or her ability to give clear reasons for that judgment. Hence, the reports of some reviewers will be much less helpful to an author than those of others. Similarly, efforts of editors to explain or interpret reviewers' remarks may confuse rather than clarify the real reasons involved in the decision. In view of all these possibilities, it seems to me that an author whose article has been rejected is best advised to try to read behind the explicit statements in the reports in order to see what their basis might

determine the most likely publisher in advance: homework is essential.

University presses are non-profit publishers. But many of them are also non-loss publishers. It requires as much business sense to break even or target your loss as it does to run a surplus. Yale gets no money from the University, so we run our operation to break even each year. Some university press parent institutions contribute to make up a deficit, so these presses try to meet a budgeted loss. Any surplus is reinvested in publishing more scholarly books, since that is our mission. The mixture of culture and commerce is exhilarating, if sometimes anxiety-provoking.

We do take economics into account in our publishing decisions, and it is fair to say that the smaller the market or the larger the investment, the better the book must be. Books that will never repay their investment make up a significant percentage of our list each season (based on my own acquisitions over the last few years, I'd estimate 25 per cent). For those books, subsidies are crucial and may mean the difference between acceptance or rejection, since we are offered many more publishable works than we can take on and must pick and choose among them. It is always worth mentioning if a subsidy is available when approaching a publisher. Universities, especially those without presses, should consider raising money to endow a faculty publications fund that may be tapped for subsidy if needed. Yale has one for its junior faculty and it has made a difference to us in deciding whether or not to take on a work.

Prospects

Compared to other humanistic disciplines, the prospects for books in religious studies seem to me to be relatively good. But

it depends on the book. Specialized monographs have a smaller and smaller sale. Some of them clearly travel to many publishers before coming to a house that can manage them. Major books and books written by scholars for a general readership continue to do well, but sales to libraries are way down and we anticipate further erosion. Now that libraries are forming consortia to pool resources, it means that general collections don't buy as broadly: the monograph suffers.

Since the prospects are mixed, especially for younger scholars, you can do them a good turn: by helping them choose topics for research that are fresh, by aiding them in writing a lucid and engaging manuscript, and by friendly but pointed criticism before the manuscript is submitted to a press. Given our print saturation, short books sell better, are more often read, and have wider impact. You can perform a vital service by encouraging pithiness and snap, and discouraging the pedantic and the opaque. You might also institute, if you haven't already, an absolute page limit on dissertations, many of which become the first books of younger colleagues. If they can't demonstrate competence in 350 pages, they aren't likely to do so in 600.

Conclusion

Perhaps a useful way to conclude this talk is to say what I foresee publishing in the future. I'm looking for good, needed reference works; I'm open to textbooks that are too innovative or specialized for traditional textbook houses; I want to publish the path-breaking work that sets the standards in a field; and I want to foster the best of the next generation of scholars of religious studies. This means that I foresee publishing a wide spectrum of books, which is what any discipline needs in order to prosper. It's a tall order. It should be fun.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES BULLETIN

Religious Studies Bulletin had "a new beginning" with the first issue of 1984, its fourth year of publication. This international journal endeavors to inform a broad category of readers on scholarly work done at present and in the past toward defining the nature of religion and explaining the various forms in which this is expressed. Some articles do more than report on the ongoing debate about current issues; they reflect their authors' own research, for example, Ninian Smart's study in the January issue. *RSB* publishes three issues of 60 pages annually. The subscription price is \$9.00 a year. New subscribers can obtain all the back issues at a bargain price. A free sample copy can be obtained from *Religious Studies Bulletin*, University of Sudbury, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada P3E 2C6.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR AN EXAMINATION IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES: TRANSLATION AND ORAL PARAPHRASE OF A FRAGMENT

Marvin C. Shaw, Montana State University, Bozeman, MT 59717

<p>Hear me, O my people, And give attendance upon my words.</p> <p>Yet a second time I make known unto you the word of judgment, Yea, even the instrument of your reckoning.</p> <p>Behold these words and make response unto them, That your fate may be known, Your judgment pronounced. For a reckoning shall be made, Whether my words have been known unto you, And the words of the books, if they be written within your hearts.</p> <p>Lo, I have seen that within a week, even seven days hence, Thy judgment shall be accomplished, And the words of thy heart made known in the market place. The plumb-line of truth shall be strung be- side thy words To see if they be truthful And to reckon if they be straight.</p> <p>Within this very hour, or perchance by rea- son of mercy a space half again as much, All thy words shall be gathered up And taken in bushels to the threshing- floor of justice. Therefore, take care that thy tongue falters not, Neither let thy hand slip. For perhaps wrath shall be staid against the falseness of thy words If thy page be not blotted, And the form of thy words comely.</p>	<p>Attention, please.</p> <p>This is the second examination.</p> <p>Write answers to the following questions based on the reading and the lectures.</p> <p>Exams will be graded by next Tuesday, and grades will be posted on the depart- ment bulletin board.</p> <p>Write for about an hour and a half, allowing time for proof-reading.</p>	<p>Place the mark of thy hand beside thy words, Even the name thy father gave unto thee, The first word thy mother spoke at thy birth. That the reckoning may be just, And the account of thy words placed against thy name In the book of judgment.</p> <p>Lo, I saw a basket of summer fruit, The produce of the orchard and the vine, Late in season and rotting. Woe unto you liars, hypocrites! Those who steal the words of thy breth- ren, And for chance of gain make bold to seize that which is not their own making. Those who peek and pry within their garments seeking hidden words, And defile their bodies with inscription of letters Your name is known and your deeds of guile cannot be hidden. The scales of justice are not moved by cunning deeds of men, And double-reckoning shall be made against you.</p> <p>May strength be in the words of thy mouth, truth in all thy utterance; Straightness in thy meditations, and soundness in the contrivance of thy heart. For even a remnant shall survive the reckoning, A truthful portion of the flock shall live.</p>	<p>Remember to write your name on your paper.</p> <p>And of course, do not refer to notes or to the papers of other students.</p> <p>Good luck. I'll see you next semester.</p>
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THE SOCIETIES

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**AMERICAN SOCIETY
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1985 CALL FOR PAPERS

The 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History will be held in New York, NY, December 27-30, 1985. The program committee welcomes proposals for entire sessions, individual papers, or panels. Papers may be on any aspect of the history of Christianity. Each proposal must include an abstract that summarizes its thesis, method, and significance, together with a curriculum vitae for each participant. Please send proposals to David C. Steinmetz, The Divinity School, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706. The deadline for submission is January 15, 1985.

NEW BYLAWS

A draft of the new Bylaws was printed in the February 1984 issue of the *CSR Bulletin*. Members were asked to submit revisions to Kent Richards. Were any major revisions suggested it was indicated that a second draft would be printed. The suggestions have been helpful but do not warrant another printing. However, if you do have suggestions please communicate them to Kent Harold Richards, Executive Secretary, Society of Biblical Literature, 2201 South University Blvd., Denver, CO 80210. It is anticipated that a vote will be taken at the 1984 Annual Business Meeting.

EC 70

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Share with M.M. Thomas -

Sweener -

Moffett

Victor -

① Assign readings

②

③ Student readings + papers - 10 p. papers.

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May 7, 1984

EC 50

Dr. Moffett

The Problem of
Hindu Syncretism
For the Christian

by

Douglas Blaikie

in the future. Out of His infinite compassion, from time to time God sends bondages and sufferings. Through the divine authority of their exemplary lives and teachings, they have the ability to completely transform human lives.

As incarnations of God the major responsibility of Jesus and Ramakrishna, according to Satrakashananda, is to, "turn people's minds from the transitory to the eternal."⁷ In other words to lead humankind into a state of "atma" thus leaving behind the illusionary state of "maya."

At this point the question must now be asked if it is possible for the Christian to accept this framework of inclusiveness and work within it? Could not the Christian concede the affirmation that all roads lead to God and be content to do his or her missionary activity among those who decide for the road of Christianity? Would this not break down the barrier? It is this paper's contention that that type of "accomodation" cannot be accepted by the Christian engaged in a cross-cultural encounter with Hinduism. We, as Christians, can't forget the statement of our Lord in John 14:6, that Jesus is, "the way, the truth, and the life" and that no one can come to the Father, "but through Me (Jesus)." Eddy Asirvatham argues that because of Hinduism's all-inclusive faith it is in danger of losing any uniqueness that it might have had. He warns Christians against falling into this type of thought. Asirvatham claims that the "keynote" of Hinduism is "comprehensiveness" while that of the Christian has to be "commitment" to Jesus Christ only.⁸

Even though Hinduism claims to be all-inclusive of other faiths, yet in fact it claims for itself the position of being by far the best way in which to reach God, to enter into a state of "atma." This conviction is based upon two foundations: the centuries of

tradition that make Hinduism, and the Hindu nationalism that evolved during the British colonial period and culminated in Indian independence. Steven Neill traces the development of this feeling of Hindu superiority through the lives of three prominent figures of recent Indian history. These three were Swami Vivekananda, M. K. Gandhi, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.⁹ Vivekananda the disciple of Ramakrishna was, as has been already stated, believed to be an incarnation of the divine. Ramakrishna was a great believer in the equality of all religion. Vivekananda carried this message of equality to the West. He made an appearance at the Parliament of Religions in 1893, at Chicago. To claim equality for a religion that was the faith for a people that were under colonial domination was a bold affirmation against Western Culture and the Christian faith. Neill sums up and condenses Vivekananda's argument:

Following out the conviction of his master Ramakrishna that all religions are in essence one, Vivekananda proclaimed a doctrine of enlightenment and goodwill free from any sectarian bias. Thus he disclaimed any intention of making converts: "Do I wish that the Christian would become Hindu? God forbid! Do I wish that the Hindu or Buddhist would become Christian? God forbid! Each religion must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet preserve its individuality and grow according to its own laws of growth."¹⁰

Neill argues that while Vivekananda "lighted the spiritual flame" of this development, Gandhi interpreted it into practical activity.¹¹ Believing that all faiths were equal, he was influenced by many. His belief in non-violence was based upon the Sermon on the Mount and influenced by Tolstoy. Yet even though he claimed to believe in the oneness of all religions, in fact and in practice he stood for Hindu superiority. He found deeper truth in the Bhagvadgita than in the Bible. It must be remembered that above

all else, Mr. Gandhi was a Hindu. Neill puts it in this manner:

Mr. Gandhi never pretended to be anything but a Hindu. His kindly remarks about other religions, and the evident parallels between some of his teachings and those of the Gospel, sometimes led his friends and admirers to think otherwise. But they were mistaken. Mr. Gandhi was a Hindu, and was in fact the real architect of the new Hinduism.¹²

This "new Hinduism" was based upon a conviction that the Hindu was superior to the Christian. Thus Gandhi goes one step further than Vivekananda. Hinduism is now no longer just equal to other religions, it is superior. Neill says in this regard:

Nevertheless, what Mr. Gandhi gave to India, and this was his greatest legacy of all, was a sense of moral superiority to the West. So the Gandhian doctrine runs, Asia has at last come to the rescue with a new principle of political action through which all the problems of men can be worked out to a peaceful solution.¹³

Mr. Gandhi gave his new nation and his fellow Hindus a sense of pride and superiority.

According to Neill, the third person whom he names, Dr. S. Radakrishnan, is perhaps the most important. It was his contribution to restate this emerging "new Hinduism," formulated by Vivekananda and Gandhi, in a way that gave intellectual validity.¹⁴ He carries the message of Hindu superiority over the West beyond Gandhi. Western Christianity, to him, was mired in exclusivity, confusion of piety, and patriarchy. Conversely, Hinduism was free from all of the above defects. Radakrishnan proclaimed a message that one should respect all other faiths, but acknowledge the fact that Hinduism is superior and, in the final analysis, the religion of "universal significance."¹⁵ Radakrishnan went on to classify religions in a descending scale of validity. At the top of course is Hinduism. Next on the scale are those who need a

personal God or object of worship. Islam and Judaism are found within this category. The next level are those who need to believe in personal incarnations of God. People who are on this level cannot apprehend deity itself. Therefore they need the help of a human figure (an incarnation) to guide them. Christianity with its doctrine of the incarnation is included on this level. The lowest level are those who are dependent upon idols and spirits. This scale is based upon the help one needs in order to worship God. The person who needs no mental image of God is at the top. The person who needs a visible image is at the bottom.¹⁶ One can see how this would appeal, not only to the Hindu, but to the world at large. All religions can lead one to truth. Yet the highest, the best way in which to achieve this truth is through Hinduism. This reaction is prevalent in India today, both within the Government and among the people.

How then can the Christian react effectively to this very formidable "barrier" to the Christian faith? It has already been stated that a position of "opposition" is not effective. And although "accomodation" may seem a logical solution to the problem, it is in reality a surrender in which one must give up vital tenets of the Christian faith. "Accomodation" is nothing more than a capitulation to Hindu superiority. What then are the "bridges" within the culture that will help to communicate the Gospel in a successful way?

The first "bridge" over which this "barrier" may start to be crossed is actually within the framework of the Hindu's syncretism. It is quite easy for the Hindu to acknowledge that Jesus Christ was a great teacher, even an Incarnation. In this partial acceptance

the Christian has the opportunity to enter into dialogue with the Hindu. In this dialogue the common humanity of both can be rediscovered. With this rediscovery the Hindu and the Christian can enter into a type of partnership with each other, and work together for the benefit of Asian and Indian society. In this manner the Christian will gain respect in the Hindu's eyes and so will the Gospel. M. M. Thomas realized the importance of this partnership. In his book, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, he says:

One thing is absolutely clear. Participation in the struggle of Asian peoples for a fuller human life in state, society and culture, in a real partnership with men of other faiths and no faith, is the only context for realizing the true being of the Church exercising the Church's ministry and mission.

Within this partnership, not only does the Christian gain new respect in the presentation of the Gospel, but it also gives the Christian the right to criticize some of the wrongs in Hinduism. One of these wrongs is syncretism and assimilation of faiths. In the context of partnership, the Christian can endeavor to make the Hindu realize this and give him or herself the opportunity to show that Jesus Christ is the fulfillment of all truth. M. M. Thomas puts it in this way:

Nevertheless I would add here that the Christian answer to the Hindu attempt to assimilate Jesus into his fundamental faith is not merely a rejection of it, but an attempt on the Christian's part to assimilate what is true of the Vedanta metaphysics and mysticism within the framework of the Christian faith, thus showing that the truths of Hinduism do cohere and find judgment and fulfillment in Jesus Christ.

Yet there is a danger in this partnership. It would be in this situation quite easy for the Christian to turn towards a

belief in syncretism. Thomas warns against this when he says:

The rediscovery of our common humanity and our emphasis on partnership and dialogue between Christians and non-Christians should not be understood as in any sense minimizing the fundamental differences between the Christian¹⁹ faith and other religious and secular faiths.

Even though we might enter into dialogue and even into a type of partnership with the Hindu we can never forget that Jesus is the only core and pillar of our faith. Christianity is nothing less than a conviction that Christ is the only way unto salvation.

In the dialogue between the Christian and the Hindu one can see that, besides differences, there are some similarities between the two faiths. One of these similarities offers another "bridge" over which the Christian can communicate the unique truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Hindu faith has a practice within it called, "Bhakti." This term means a loving devotion to a personal God. The Hindu practices "bhakti" when he or she chooses one of the gods in the Hindu pantheon and worships that God personally. In return for this devotion it is hoped that the God worshipped will grant forgiveness and grace. There is some evidence that this traditional form of worship in Hinduism had its base in the early Christian tradition in India.²⁰ Asirvatham believes that the tradition of "bhakti" can be a very effective "bridge" for the Christian involved in mission among the Hindus. He claims:

The "bhakti" type of thinking in Hinduism stresses God's grace and forgiveness; to this extent the Christian finds a kindred spirit in the Hindu "bhakta" (a devotee of "bhakti"). Bhakti thinkers such as Kabir, Tulsi Das, and Tukaram have poured forth their love and adoration for a personal God in inimitable forms. The Christian church in India can and should make more use of such literature by way of illustrating and strengthening the Christian

conception of God, avoiding at the same time the undue emotionalism and other excesses of "bhakti" to²¹ which some Hindu thinkers have called attention.

One of the most basic of the Christian claims is that Jesus Christ is the supreme example of God's forgiveness and grace to all human-kind. For the "bhakta" who is striving for love and forgiveness with a personal God, Jesus Christ is the ultimate answer, and in fact the only one. The Christian doctrine teaches that God loves every person and wants to save every person through his grace. "Bhakti" is a perfect "bridge" to communicate this truth and will serve as an inroad in overcoming the inherent syncretism in the Hindu faith.

These two "bridges" are by no means a total solution to the problem of Hindu syncretism. At best all they can provide is the ability to present the Gospel message in a positive way that can be understood by the Hindu. Just because you have the ability to open into dialogue and partnership with the Hindu does not mean that he or she will automatically accept the Gospel. It is quite possible that he or she might reject it and continue to stand behind the century old traditions of Hinduism. Likewise, even though it is possible to convince the Hindu that the Christian God is the highest example of love and forgiveness, and thus the most worthy of "bhakti," yet it won't in all cases convince the Hindu to give up his belief that there are many roads to God. The ultimate choice of acceptance or rejection lies with the individual. This is where the person involved in cross-cultural mission must rely on the power of the Holy Spirit. Yet it is the Christian's responsibility to present the Gospel in a way which the

Footnotes

¹Richard Niebuhr, Christ & Culture, (NY: Harper Torch Books, 1951), pp. 40-41. The term "Accomodation" also is Niebuhr's terminology.

²Jack C. Winslow, The Christian Approach to the Hindu, (London: Edinbrough House Press, 1958), p. 14.

³Lesslie Newbigin, A South Indian Diary, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1951), pp. 27-28.

⁴Ibid., p. 115.

⁵Winslow, op. cit., p. 21.

⁶Ananda Satprakash, Hinduism and Christianity, (St. Louis: Vedanta Society, 1975), p. 46.

⁷Ibid., p. 67.

⁸Eddy Asirvatham, Christianity in the Indian Crucible, (Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1957), pp. 119-120.

⁹Stephen Neill, Christian Faiths and Other Faiths, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 76.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 77.

¹¹Ibid., p. 76.

¹²Neill, p. 80.

¹³Neill, p. 80.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁵Neill, p. 83.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 83-85.

¹⁷M. M. Thomas, The Christian Response to the Asian Revolution, (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1966), p. 104.

¹⁸Thomas, p. 120.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 115.

²⁰Winslow, op. cit., p. 22.

²¹Asirvatham, op. cit., p. 124.

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good bibliography.

MISSION THEOLOGY. DS 33.

There is no question that both in theory (theory) and in practice (policies and strategies), a sea-change, a revolution, a sharp turn ~~change~~ in tone and direction differentiates 19th-c. missions from missions in the 20th century. There are continuities, of course, and some missions (with a stubborn resistance that baffles their best friends, never change, while other forms of Christian mission change so much that they cease to be Christian. - But change is the order ^{of the day} ~~today~~, and it will be our task in this seminar to discover and define, if we can, the major trends of change in the theological basis of Christian missions that ^{have} produced the obvious changes in mission practice which distinguish missions today from Christian missions yesterday.

Doctrinal seminars need no texts - but I'm going to

suggest one anyway: Mission Theology: 1948-1975, Years of Worldwide Creative Tension

It is by an Australian, Rodger Borgham, a lecturer in Theology at the Ramapo Res. Coll. of the United Ch. of Papua New Guinea. It is the 3rd largest chick denom. in a country 96% km. (RC 600,000; Lu. 1365,000; United Ch. (210,000) - out of 3 million)

Ecumenical, Evangelical and Roman Catholic. (Pasadena: Wm. Carey, 1979). I chose it

not because its theological insight is so profound, - it is essentially more historical than theological - but because it gives the best background frame of reference for our discussions, an overall, systematic description of major theological trends in the ~~two~~ three principal segments of organized world Christian mission in the 20th century. I come at ~~with~~ ecclesiastical labels - but there is no way of avoiding them - and you will at least recognize ^{in general} what sectors of missionary thinking Bassham analyzes when he calls them; however infelicitously: Ecumenical, Evangelical and Roman Catholic.

1. Ecumenical. Use your own labels, if you prefer, but let's agree in our discussion that "ecumenical" generally means "Conciliar" (i.e. related to the World Council of Churches), or "Mainline", (that is, related to the historic denominations), or "Protestant church-centered".
2. Evangelical. This is the most debatable of the labels. But Bassham uses it to describe the "conservative evangelical" mission structures, whether "denominational but not WCC-related," or "voluntary mission societies", as distinct from church-centered agencies, or simply "independent" (see p. 174)
"Theologically, conservative evangelicals," he

writes, p. 174) "are characterized by a strong emphasis on personal Christian experience ^[strict adherence to a doctrinal position...] ~~but not in the sense~~ ^(though Walter Rordale is working on this and when he parts it this way each takes mission out of it, saying -) Walter Rordale ~~found~~ it - "In America, our faith has always been intensely personal. It is between the individual and God, between families and their churches and synagogues, with no room for politicians in between" - N.Y.T., 9/3/54, p. 1 ~~and a strict adherence to a doctrinal position..~~ Barnham uses the term in a narrow sense doctrinally. He lists six doctrines as "usually" included: ¹⁾ verbal inerrancy of Scripture, the ²⁾ deity of Christ, ³⁾ the virgin birth, ⁴⁾ a substitutionary theory of the atonement, and the ⁵⁾ physical resurrection & ⁶⁾ bodily return of Christ. (p. 174). Others would describe ^{at least} some of this list as fundamentalist more than evangelical theology. Gallup polls define "evangelical" in terms of ¹⁾ personal experience ²⁾ authority of Scripture, and ³⁾ deity of Christ, and ⁴⁾ final judgment.

The problem is that the two terms "ecumenical" and "evangelical" are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As Barnham notes - a large segment of "ecumenical" or "mainline" Protestantism is also evangelical in the broader sense of Gallup's use of the term.

Roman Catholic. The third sector, of course, is Roman Catholic.

A word about Basham's methodology - first methodology of history, + second, theological methodology.

I. Historically, he arranges each of his three sectors - Ecumenical,

Evangelical and Roman Catholic - ^(a) chronologically, and by ^(b) official church or annual pronouncements.

A. ECUMENICAL

his survey of the ecumenical scene

He begins, with an analysis of the ecumenical missionary councils,

beginning ^{with} ~~Edinburgh~~ Edinburgh 1910, and ending his first chronological

section with the integration of the International Missionary Council + the World

Council of Churches in 1961 at the New Delhi Assembly. He calls this

period "Seeking a Theological Basis for Mission 1910-1961". (pp. 15-54)

The second part of his treatment of ecumenical theology of mission, still centering on the pronouncements of the Councils or Assemblies,

takes him from 1961 to 1975. In this period, he ^{argues that} ~~states~~ mission theology

"took a decisive turn" from church-centric mission to "the work of God in

the world as the starting point for mission." (p. 60). (pp. 60-121)

in his 3rd chapter.

Then, ~~At this point, 1975~~, he ^{chronologically returns in} ~~reverts~~ his study of mission trends back to

the late 1940s to note the role of regional, geographic mission structures and conferences in Asia, Africa & Latin America. These have influenced the shape of mission theology at two points in particular: ① the relation of Christian mission to social, economic and political issues; and ② the relation of Christianity to other faiths. That is the "ecumenical" segment of his survey.

B. Evangelical.

His survey of Evangelical missionary theology begins, somewhat arbitrarily with 1917, because he has so narrowly defined "evangelical" in terms of the emergence of fundamentalism between 1910 and 1920 in the U.S.A.

His first section, treating the years 1917-1966 he titles "Evangelicals Seek an Identity". He analyzes it historically in terms of the organization of ~~the~~ two independent, conservative missionary Councils. - the ^{Reprint,} Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) ^{was} formed in Princeton in 1917 to ~~coordinate~~ promote fellowship and

Cooperation among the voluntary societies for mission, ^{- the faith missions -} that were the main structure

for Protestant missions in the 19th century. ^{(But the IFMA (Interdenom. Pro. Miss. Assn.) placed independent, non-denominational)} ~~but~~ its emphasis was more on evangelism

Its mission theology: ① obedience to the Great Commission, ^{So} "saving lost souls" (p. 178) and theological purity [↑] than on unity and cooperation. [↑] To stress the need

for greater unity in ~~the~~ evangelical missions, another organization was formed by the

Natl. Assoc. of Evangelicals in 1945 - called the ~~National~~ Evangelical Foreign Missions ^{the largest N.A.M. missionary assoc.}

Association. ^{EFMA.} Unlike the IFMA, the EFMA includes denominational as well as independent mission agencies, including ~~Protestant~~ ^{Protestants.} [↑] Basham largely analyzes the trends in missionary theology among

evangelicals in terms of the constitutions and pronouncements of these two associations of mission agencies - ^{each} ~~both~~ of which, incidentally, has more missionaries in service than the NCE related Div. of Overseas Miss. (Div. 4, 51; EFMA 9, 74; IFMA 6, 5; indep. 32, 0)

So before you complain about a whole section of Basham's study dealing

with agencies almost unknown in denominational circles, let me remind you that

these are the mission agencies that have virtually taken over the world Christian mission

in terms of missionary personnel, ~~church growth~~ and mission finance - and to a

lesser extent in church growth in the third world. The statistics are

overwhelming. As Ralph Winter pointed out in the International Review of

"Ghana: Preparation for Marriage"

Missions, back in 1976, by 1957 only 42% of American missionaries were related to the ecumenical sector, the Nat. Council of Christi. Chs., USA. By 1962 the ecumenical percentage had dropped from 42% to 28%, and "in 1975 only 14% of American Protestant missionaries were related to the NCCUSA, and only 7% came from the member denominations." (citing the 11th ed. of Missions Handbook: N.A. Prot. Ministries Overseas, pp. 389-436). And "for the first time in more than a century of US history, the number of missionaries functioning under denominationally related boards or societies (whether or not those denominations were related to the NCCUSA) was less than 50% of the total." It would be ~~in~~ a course on missions, even in academically dishonest for an ecumenical, mainline seminary like this, any longer to ignore the influence of the ^{"evangelical"} independent sector of the world missionary movement.

But to continue the chronological framework. Just as the 1960s marked a "turning point" in ecumenical mission theology (from church-centric to world-centric mission) - so also the 1960s saw a

change ⁱⁿ evangelical theological trends in mission, say Barrham. The watershed for both, in a way was 1966. ^(A) In ecumenical circles ~~that~~ 1966 was the year [1966] ^{of} the ^{World} General Conference on Church and Society - which set out to alter ^{the format of} ^{the} churches speaking to the world, ^{about the gospel,} to one in which the church listens to ^{the} world, ^{and allows the world to set} ~~setting~~ the agenda for mission. ^(B) The evangelical turning point in 1966 was a double one: the Wheaton Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission, organized by the IFMA and the EFMA; and the Berlin World Congress on Evangelism sponsored by Christianity Today & the Billy Graham Assoc.. The latter was "the first large meeting of evangelicals" world-wide. "in the 20th century". Out of these congresses grew an important sense of evangelical identity, centering as before on the authority of Scripture and the primacy of evangelism, but now beginning to grapple ~~with~~ with the wider theological issues of social involvement in ^{the} missionary movement.

A third chapter in this section deals with regional evangelical mission structures & conference patterns in Asia, Africa & Latin America.

C. Roman Catholic Missions.

~~Historically~~ Bascham's sections on Roman Catholic mission

Theology follows the same framework as the other two. Interestingly enough, here too "the revolution", as he calls it, occurred in the 1960s. —

with the promulgation on Dec. 7, 1965 by ^{Pope Paul VI} the Second Vatican Council's ~~of~~
(Ad Gentes.)

its "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity". The decree, of course,

takes its theological context from the whole thrust of Vatican II. Chapter I

of the decree, ~~sets~~ on Doctrinal Principles, sets forth in summary the theological base —

but was only added after the remainder of the decree had been ~~settled~~ ^{set}. (IRM, July '67, p. 281)

So much for the historical methodology of Bascham's Mission

Theology. ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~admirable~~ ~~summary~~ ~~of~~ ~~official~~ ~~church~~ ~~and~~ ~~council~~

pronouncements, but ~~is~~ rather short on Theological analysis of the writings of the

major missiological Theologians of the 20th-c. ^{Nevertheless} ~~But~~ it gives us the papers on which to hang our further investigations and discussions.

II. A brief word about his Theological methodology.

Here, as he states in his introduction, he analyses the development of mission theology by a focus on "five key issues", each of which gathers around it a cluster of related ideas: — The five key issues he addresses are: — (p. 8 f.)

a. Theological basis of the understanding of mission.

b. Church-Mission Relations: the Theological principles determining this relationship.

c. Evangelism and Social Action.

d. Christianity and Other Faiths.

e. Mission and Unity.

We will be discussing whether or not this is an adequate theological framework for our own analyses.

For our first seminar discussion — you should have read Bassham, pp. xiii-xvii; 1-20.

and anything you have time to find on Edinburgh, 1910. Our first ~~three~~^{four} seminars,

~~Oct. 2~~, Oct. 9, — Oct 16, — Nov. 6 will deal with Ecumenical Mission Theology.

I will begin with a review of the World Missions Conference at Edinburgh 1910.

I would suggest you also use Barham as a starting point for the bibliographical search which will be an important part of your assigned work in this seminar - ~~just~~ ^{almost} as important as what you produce in the paper you will be expected to write based on the bibliography. Barham has 12 pages of basic primary sources on eccl. and concil. pronouncements (Ecum., Evang. + R.C.) arranged in chronological order, so you can follow the progression of official theological trends. And he has another 28 pages of secondary sources (books + articles) arranged by author, [→] alphabetically.

You will find further bibliographical help in

G. H. Anderson - Bible & the Theology of Missions in the 20th c. (2nd ed. 1966).

J. Verkuyl, Contemporary Missiology, 1978. Valuable bibl. at end of each chapter.

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN A NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD, by Hendrik Kraemer

Dr. Kraemer's fundamental thesis that "the radical religious realism of Biblical revelation" as the standard of Christian faith and practice necessitates a re-orientation of the mission enterprise is a clear repudiation of the liberalism of the last decennia (cf. Rethinking Missions).

In the light of this Biblical realism, the church has an "apostolic obligation towards God and the world"; and the missionary obligation is humble, loving witness to the gift and grace of God. Further, the unique and absolute nature of Christianity makes the only valid motive and purpose of missions "to call men and peoples to confront themselves with God's acts of revelation and salvation for men and the world...and to build up a community of those who have surrendered themselves to faith in and living service of Jesus Chr." The whole mission program is a "pointer to God's revelation."

Kraemer's suggestions as to the missionary approach recognizes the fact that the only true point of contact is the missionary himself. Secondary considerations of approach involve the necessity of seeing the totalitarian character of the religions of the world. His analysis of Christian methods shows an open-mindedness to every fruitful approach, but exposes the fallacies of (1) permeation of

society with Christianity, (2) wistful belief in the decay of the non-Christian religions, (3) the attempt to identify Christianity and Western civilization, and (4) the theory that non-Christian religions are preparations for the gospel. Of the problem of adaptation he says that Christianity cannot be adapted to pagan thought, but that its real nature must be penetrated and expressed in native ways.

Dr. Kraemer's penetrating analyses of non-Christian religions may be summarized: all these, except the religions of revelation (Islam Judaism) actually reduce to some form of naturalistic monism with a materialistic core which the primitive apprehensions of existence do not contradict and the 'higher' systems condescendingly justify and sanction. Even the soteriological aspects are anthropocentric, whereas Christian soteriology is entirely theocentric.

Missions today, he says, need three things: (1) deepening and vitalizing of Christian religious and theological background; (2) determined effort to build strong indigenous churches, fellowships of believers; and (3) a genuine evangelistic or apostolic spirit.

He distinguishes three types of missions: (1) evangelistically-minded, (2) church-minded, and (3) culturally-minded. The ideal would be a purification of the first two.

Weakness - infallibility of Scriptures.

TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF MISSION

- SAMUEL H. MOFFETT

Most Christian theologies, with the all-important exception of that of the early church, have been self-centered, not outreaching. They have been church-minded, not mission-minded. They have been doctrinal, not evangelistic. This, at least, is how a church historian has criticized theologians. Wilhelm Pauck writes, "...with the possible exception of the early church, whose theology was decisively shaped by the missionary spirit, no part of Christendom has produced major theological responsibility and creativeness in connection with evangelistic endeavors." ("Theology in the Life of Contemporary American Protestantism", in Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich, ed. ... Leibrecht. N.Y., Harper, 1959, p. 278; quoted in G. Anderson, The Theology of the Christian Mission, London, SCM Press, 1961, p. 4).

It is no wonder then that too often the study of the history of theology has concerned itself only with endless analyses of theological confrontations, heresies and church splits. This is not all wrong. There must always be unremitting concern for definition of the truth, the purity of the faith, and the inter-relation of differing Christian viewpoints. But unless such an inward-turned theology is balanced and challenged and enlarged by the bold thrusts of a theology that looks outward, not inward, they will ultimately be neither Biblical nor Christian. The twentieth century, like the first century, demands a theology that looks outward for mission, not inward for self-diagnosis. Its concern must be not only for those already Christian, but for the whole world, which is patently not Christian. In other words, it must be ecumenical, which means "world-wide".

My thesis in this paper is that in the twentieth century, at last, as in the first, just such an outward-looking, mission-minded theology is in the process of formation. It has developed out of the modern missionary movement. It has been forged in the great ecumenical missionary conferences of the twentieth century.

The analogy to the development of doctrine in the early church is striking. Any seminary student of the history of doctrine knows, for example, how the church's theology of Christ, its Christology, grew out of a background of controversy and debate, but how the church was led by the Spirit to work its way out of its disagreements into a theological consensus through the great Ecumenical Councils. The first, Nicaea in 325 A.D., reached agreement that Christ is God. The second, Constantinople in 381, added that Christ is also human. The third, Ephesus 431, declared that Christ is one in his person. The fourth, Chalcedon 451, added that Christ is two in his nature--human and divine.

I do not think it is pressing church history too far to suggest that in much the same way, though not so definitively, the Spirit has been leading the Church through four great modern ecumenical conferences, out of controversy and debate toward a new consensus, a vital new theology of mission. The four councils to which I will refer are Edinburgh in 1910, Jerusalem 1928, Madras 1938 and Whitby 1947. Each of them has contributed in its own indispensable way to an emerging pattern of theology of mission for our time.

I. Edinburgh 1910, and the Evangelical Consensus.

The first world-wide, interdenominational missionary conference met at Edinburgh in 1910. It has been called the "beginning of the ecumenical movement". Its theology was the great 19th century Protestant consensus which rested squarely on the authority of the Bible, and was troubled with no doubts about the inadequacy of the pagan religions, or about its own mission to "evangelize the world in this generation".

~~esting to note how solidly evangelical, indeed almost revivalistic, are these early roots of the ecumenical movement.~~

Some Recent writers, ^{tend to} ~~in fact~~, criticize the theology of that first ecumenical conference, ~~Edinburgh 1910~~, as being too Biblically simplistic. Gerald Anderson, in his book The Theology of the Christian Mission writes that "most participants (at Edinburgh) seemed to take for granted that the Great Commission of Christ was the only basis needed for the missionary enterprise." (London, SCM, 1961. p. 9). It is, ~~difficult today, but~~ quite inaccurate, to oversimplify in such a patronizing way the evangelical Protestant consensus of the last century. The misunderstanding perhaps arises from a ~~confusion~~ tendency in modern writers to confuse that consensus with the later fundamentalist movement. Edinburgh was evangelical, not fundamentalist. Its theology of mission was built on more than Biblical proof-texts. It was the end-product of more than three hundred years of highly sophisticated Reformed theology, stimulated and broadened, but not diluted, by the currents of revival and mission.

The theology of Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., can be considered typical of Edinburgh, for he played a leading role at the conference. His theology of mission, which he carried with him to Edinburgh had been set forth in 1902 in his Missionary Principles and Practice. In it he explicitly repudiates the very kind of over-simplified Biblicism which has been wrongly labelled as typical of Edinburgh. "The last command of Christ," wrote Speer, "is often set forth as alike the primary and conclusive argument for missions... But the work of missions is our duty, not chiefly because of the command of Christ's lips, but because of the desire of his heart. He bade His Church evangelize the world because he wanted it evangelized, and he wanted it evangelized because He knew that it needed to be evangelized. Our duty in the matter is determined, not primarily by His command, but by the facts and conditions of life which underlie it... The essential thing in the missionary enterprise, accordingly, is not the simple repetition of the last command of Christ and the earnest affirmation: 'These are the Church's marching orders, and that's an end of it.' That is not the end of it." The real root of mission, he goes on to say, is the "fundamental place missions hold in Christianity", and the warm response of the heart to "the essential principles of the spirit of Christ". (R. E. Speer, Missionary Principles and Practice, N.Y., Revell, 1902, pp. 9,11) italics mine). Such a statement sounds remarkably realistic and modern, and is anything but simplistic.

The same distinction must be made between the evangelical consensus and fundamentalism simplicism in any analysis of the theology of mission of the early missionaries to Korea. Their theology was not fundamentalism. Fundamentalism came into Korea later, and was very influential. But the pioneers were pro-fundamentalist. They belonged rather to the main stream of the Protestant evangelical consensus in which they had been nurtured.

For example, the theology of mission which my father, Samuel A. Moffett, took with him to Edinburgh 1910, where he was a delegate from Korea, was no simple, proof-text obedience to the Great Commission. In 1906 he wrote for the Chinese Recorder on "Policy and Methods for the Evangelization of Korea", and does not even mention the Great Commission until his last paragraph. To him the theological roots of mission were comprised the whole broad spectrum of Christian truth: "the Divine reality of the Gospel message", "the reality of sin.. the awfulness of its punishment, the wrath of God; the reality of the

repentance, and the absolute remission of sin to the truly penitent, the reality of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit, of faith in Christ as the one and only way of salvation... the conviction that this Gospel is the power of God into salvation and that God is able and willing to save any and all who come unto Him..." These, he says, are "the basal principles or convictions which underlie the work of evangelization and from which it obtains its vitality." (Sa A. Moffett, in The Chinese Recorder, May, 1906).

These are also, to a degree, some of the "fundamentals" of fundamentalism, but the 19th century evangelical Protestantism which proclaimed these truths with passion and conviction was as different from the later rigid fundamentalism as Calvin was different from the Calvinism of the scholastics who followed him.

At the risk of being called theologically reactionary, therefore, may I respectfully suggest that a theology of mission for tomorrow would do well to root itself solidly in the abiding Biblical insights of the great evangelical consensus that gave birth to modern missions. Truth is truth, whether it was spoken eighty years ago or today. "Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, today and forever." A theology of mission, which for the sake of novelty and contemporary appeal, tries to bypass the ~~great~~ basic Christian facts of man's sin, and God's salvation, and the finality of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit, is no real theology at all, as the next generation was about to discover. ~~Sumner's was a failure at Edinburgh and Edinburgh was the beginning of the modern theological movement.~~

ii. Jerusalem, 1928, and the rise of the New Theology.

The great evangelical consensus did not last. As any student of theology knows, after Edinburgh, in 1910, came the time of "the shaking of the foundations," to use a phrase from Paul Tillich. The fundamentals were denied. The Bible itself came under attack. Science questioned its conclusions, literary criticism denied its unity, comparative religion threw doubt on its uniqueness, and a new breed of theologians denied its authority. The old certainties were clouded in controversy. The church split angrily into two warring camps, fundamentalists against modernists, and for at least two decades, the wave of the theological future seemed to be moving in the direction, ~~of~~ not of the conservatives, but of the liberals.

The contrast between the first great missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and the second great international missionary conference at Jerusalem in 1928, highlights a basic shift of emphasis in the prevailing theology of mission. The theological certainties of Edinburgh were gone. ~~One~~ An Anglican bishop at Jerusalem remarked rather sadly that "there used to be a thing called 'theology' which was Greek, meaning 'thinking about God', which had become very unpopular, and there was now a thing called 'philosophy of religion' which meant thinking about our own nice feelings, and it had become very popular." (The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, N.Y. IMC, 1928, vol. 1, p. 809).

Edinburgh emphasized missionary witness and evangelism. Jerusalem discovered the social gospel. At Edinburgh Korea was presented as a field white for the evangelical harvest. The Jerusalem Report's major

notice of Korea is an 84-page professional sociological survey of "Rural Korea: A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social and Religious Conditions". (Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 84-172). At Edinburgh the delegate from Korea spoke of evangelism and the gospel. At Jerusalem, Hugh Cynn, one of the Korean delegates spoke of economics and industry. He asked for an emphasis on rural and industrial work, for relief from Korea's economic depression. "It is emphatically urgent," he told the Conference, "that Korean farmers be helped to make a decent living..." (Ibid. vol. 3, p. 186)

Much more shocking than the social gospel, however, to evangelicals in the Edinburgh mission tradition, was Jerusalem's tolerance of the values of other religions, a tolerance that bordered on syncretism. W. E. Hocking persuasively argued for "a new alignment of religious forces, a recognition of alliance with whatever is of the true substance of religion everywhere... a world religion... not detached globules.. (but a merging) in the universal human faith in the Divine Being". (Ibid. vol. 1, p. 302) When, after the Jerusalem Conference, Dr. Hocking was made chairman of a wide-ranging, highly influential Laymen's Missionary Inquiry which took as its purpose a thorough re-thinking of traditional missionary goals and presuppositions, it became apparent that a "new theology" of social action and religious inclusivism had replaced Edinburgh's evangelical consensus as Protestantism's dominant theology of mission. (See W. E. Hocking, Rethinking Missions. N.Y., Harper & Bros., 1932).

Perhaps the pendulum had swung too far from Edinburgh. If to the liberal, Edinburgh seemed too fundamentalist, now the new theologians themselves came under criticism. Hocking went too far. Even so ecumenical a theologian as Bishop Stephen Neill of the World Council of Churches has criticized the Jerusalem Conference as possibly "the nadir of the modern missionary movement.. (the) moment at which liberal theology exercised its most fatal influence on missionary thinking, the lowest valley out of which ever since the missionary movement has been trying to make its way." (Stephen Neill, The Unfinished Task. Lond. Lutterworth, 1957, p. 152; quoted in E. S. Fife and A. F. Glasser, Mission in Crisis, Chicago, Inter-Varsity Press, 1961, p. 120).

But I am not ready to write off Jerusalem's theology ~~as a mistake~~ as all loss. I am convinced that a theology of mission for today must have its roots not only in Edinburgh, but also in Jerusalem. It must have the depth of Edinburgh's great evangelical truths, but it also needs the breadth of Jerusalem's sweeping human compassion and concern. The delegates from Korea at Edinburgh and at Jerusalem ~~both were both~~ were both right. My father was not wrong when he said the world needs the good news of God's salvation. And Hugh Cynn was equally right in saying that Korea's farmers must be helped to make a decent living...

"Our fathers were impressed with the horror that men should die without Christ," says the Jerusalem statement. "We share that horror. We are impressed also with the horror that men should live without Christ." A complete theology of mission must maintain that balance. No theology so obsessed with life in heaven that it neglects man's life on earth will do. Witness cannot be separated from service. Preaching and good works belong together. If your theology of mission is simply preaching the gospel, and mine is simply doing good or demanding justice, we are both wrong. Jesus did both. He "came preaching" says Mark (Mk. 1:14); and he "went about doing good" adds Luke (Acts 10:38). Both emphases are in the Bible.

If the church's theology of mission has nothing to say about the consuming hunger of two-thirds of the world's people, about poverty, and about social justice; if it has no relevance to the felt needs of the world's peoples, it is not the theology of Jesus Christ who fed the multitudes. The Christian can no longer say, "Our mission is to witness, not to feed." Nicholas Berdyaev answers for the whole church when he says, "bread for myself is a physical problem, but bread for my neighbor, for everyone--is a spiritual problem."

Today's theology of mission will need more than evangelical, doctrinal depth. It will need social passion and concern.

III. Madras, 1938, and the Neo-Orthodox Reaction.

By the 1930s the liberal gospel of human concern and religious tolerance reigned supreme. In missions, it stepped up the tempo of social action, which was all to the good. But on the debit side it almost cut the nerve of evangelistic zeal. If theology is so inclusive, as in the Hocking report, men began to ask, "Why convert the heathen? There are so many good pagans, and so many bad Christians?"

And then, as quickly as it had arisen, the shallow optimism of the liberal's world view was rudely shattered. Wars and depressions and concentration camps smacked more of man's original sin than of his infinite perfectibility. Theologically, Karl Barth and the continental theology of crisis slashed at the very foundations of the naive liberalism of the 20s. Neo-orthodoxy found the key to human history not in man's long progress to God, but in the judgment of a righteous God upon sinful man in every age. It did not deny the importance of a social gospel. But it reminded the social activists that a religion which begins with man will never reach God. (Karl Barth, The Word of God and the Word of Man, tr. 1928) <

Comparable to Barth in the general field of theology, was the equally explosive impact of another crisis theologian, Hendrik Kraemer, in the more specialized field of theology of mission. Kraemer was a former missionary to Indonesia, like Barth a reformed theologian, and the distinguished professor of the History of Religions at the University of Leyden. His book, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (N.Y., Harper & Bros., 1938) was a point-blank reversal of almost everything Hocking had declared at Jerusalem. Where Hocking genially called for co-existence with other faiths, Kraemer was almost harsh in his insistence that Christianity must "radically displace" the other world religions. We cannot pick the good and discard the bad in these religions, he wrote. They are "all-inclusive systems and theories of life rooted in a religious basis", and must be either accepted or rejected as a totality. (Kraemer, op. cit. pp. 102, 112f.)

The third International Missionary Conference in Madras, 1938, reversed the emphases of Jerusalem almost as completely as Kraemer reversed Hocking. In fact, Kraemer's book, which is probably the most important single work in the field of theology of mission written in the twentieth century, was prepared at the request of the ecumenical organizers of ~~that~~ the Madras Conference. (ibid. p. v.) The theology of Madras centers around Kraemer's theology of "radical displacement". It is not quite so radical as Kraemer, and in places is nearer to Brunner than to Barth, but it bears the marks of what Kraemer called "Biblical realism".

Its basic theology of mission is summarized in the Madras "Message": "that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself... His full revelation (is) in Jesus Christ, His Son our Lord.. He alone is adequate for the world's need.. We see and raddily recognize in (non-Christian)religions).. values of deep religious experiences and great moral achievements. Yet we are bold enough to call men out from them to the feet of Christ... We see glimpses of God's light in the world of religions.. Yet we belleve that all religious insights and experience have to be fully tested beffre God in Christ; and we see that this is true within as well as outside the Christian Church.." (The Madras Series, Authority of the Faith. vol. 1, pp. 184-185)

What then do we learn from Madras? We learn that a theology of mission for the world of today cannot afford to be too tolerant and uncritical of the cultures and religions of the world. Madras is realistic. It knew a world of demonic disharmony, and man's sin and God's judgment on untruth. But it also knew humility. It confessed that the judgment of God falls on the Christian too, and the church. The ;whole world stands before the judgment seat of Christ.

IV. Whitby, 1947. and Partnership in Mission.

After Madras 1938 came Whitby 1947, the fourth great ecumenical missionary conference. Its mood was very different from Madras. Madras met in the shadow of impending war, and distrusted man and his culture. It declared with neo-orthodoxy that God alone will judge and save. But Whitby was expectant and confident. The war was over. The younger churches had come of age. Christianity was no longer Western and limited. It was world-wide, and east and west together, surely, could reach the world for Christ. This new mood of hope and expectation found expression in the Whitby slogan, "Partnership in Obedience", which meant "Partnership in Mission".

A theological corollary of the new partnership was that theology could no longer remain Western. It must indigenize in the East, as it had in the West. But this new thrust in the theology of mission has set off a lively debate which is still raging. Is there really such a thing as a "Japanese theology", or a "Chinese native-colored theology", or an "original Korean theology". In general European theologians, and evangelical conservatives, and the neo-orthodox have said "No". But Asiatic and American theologians and liberals have said, "Yes". Actually the division is much more complex.

Chinese theological circles, for example, have produced three general positions on the subject. (See Jonathan Tien-En Chao, "Some Ideas on the Direction of Chinese Theological Development" in Occasional Bulletin of the Missionary Research Library, XX, no. 6, Jul-Aug. 1969). There is the radical synergism of Wu Hwai-Chin and others who suggest that there is not really much difference between the Chinese and Christian idea of God and ethics, and who therefore suggests expressing Christianity in Chinese religious thought forms as the best way to make China Christian. To which conservative theologians like Charles Chao retort that instead of making China Christian this

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will more likely make Christianity Confucian, and that there need be no difference between Eastern and Western theology if both are based on the Bible. (Ibid, quoting Chao, Charles H., "Discussing 'Chinese Theological Thought' with Mr. Wu Hwai-chan," The Reformed Faith and Life, XVIII, Jan-Mar. 1967, pp. 1-6). And there is also the more moderate position of theologians like Shoki (Hwang) Coe with his "text and context" theology (Coe, Shoke, "Text and Context", Northeast Asia Journal of Theology, I, vol. 1 (Mar. 1968, pp. 126-131), and Song Choan-Seng of Tainan Theological College with his "theology of incarnation". As Jesus came to earth in human form, he suggests, so the gospel must come to China "incarnated" in the Chinese context, ~~but~~ but the difference between Christianity and other religions remains absolute, not relative. (Song, Choan-seng, "Inaugural Address", T'ien Ch'iao, Oct. 10, 1965; and "Obedience of Theology in Asia" in Southeast Asia Journal of Theology, II, vol. 2 Oct. 1960, pp. 7-15; and "The Witness to Christ in the World of Religions", SEAJTh II vol. 3, Jan. 1961, pp. 20-25).

European reactions to Asiatic indigenization attempts have been highly critical. Herwig Wagner's book Erstgestalten einer einheimischen Theologie in Sudindien (H. Wagner, Erstgestalten einer einheimischen Theologie in Sudindien; Ein Kapitel indischer Theologiegeschichte als kritischer Beitrag zur Definition von 'Einheimischer Theologie'. Munich, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1963) is the first serious Western appraisal of indigenous Indian theology, but it is also a slashing neo-orthodox critique of three Indian theologians--A. J. Appasamy, P. Chenchiah and V. Chakkerai--for attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable. He finds fault with Appasamy for unsuccessfully combining God's revelation in Christ with a bhakti-type mysticism of human response. He criticizes Chenchiah for confusing Christianity and yoga. And he is not satisfied with Chakkarai's efforts to reconcile mystic liberalism and dialectical, Biblical theology.

But Asiatic theologians, in turn, have not been afraid to argue back, even in Japan where for so many years neo-orthodoxy reigned supreme. Kazo Kitamori, for example, whose "theology of pain" is the most original and most Japanese theology yet to appear crosses swords both with liberals and Barthians. With liberals because they took the pain out of love and falsified the gospel. With Barthians because they transcendentalized the "pain of God" and isolated it in the Trinity. This "neglects something very important that Luther and Paul saw in the love of God, namely, the pain caused by God's care for the sinner", says Michalson in his summary of Kitamori's theology. (Carl Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology, Phila. Westminster, 1960, p. 77). Equally important, to Kitamori neo-orthodoxy, with its principle of discontinuity, fails to appreciate the importance of pain as a link between man and God, particularly between man in Japan and God. For Kitamori's theology of pain was forged in the pain and anguish of Japan's humiliating defeat. His is a theology of mission. Its purpose is to make Christianity real and relevant in contemporary Japan.

Another important Japanese theology of mission is the "theology of meaning" of Masatoshi Doi. He sees the restoration of meaning as the catalytic evangelistic principle which can make Christianity real to Japan; for modern Japan, he says, has lost its sense of meaning. "The Christian Mission," he writes, "has its roots in the ultimately meaningful event of Jesus as the Christ." (Masatoshi Doi, "Introduction to a Theology of Mission" in

Mrs. Vitale - typewriter. Fri. ~~8³⁰~~ 8³⁰ - 9⁰⁰.

Jacques Rossel in *The Ecumenical Review* summarizes Barth's influence on the theology of mission. In the first place, his understanding of revelation had 2 important consequences for mission: 1. Mission simply preaches the Gospel, and leaves it to God to create faith. It is not propaganda. 2. Mission is simply the Gospel, not Christian culture. In the second place his understanding of eschatology renewed the concept of a world (and a church) under judgment. In the third place Barth's understanding of faith added a new note of humility to mission. It is not in our power to bring forth Christ. This is the work of the Spirit. ("From a Theology of Crisis to a Theology of Revolution: Karl Barth, Mission and Missions". *The Ecumenical Review*, vol. XXI, No 3, July 1969, pp. 204-208). His radical criticism of culture & religion as "man-made metaphysics" was widely opposed by esp. by Asian Theologians - but it decisively shaped the ~~Barth's radical critic~~ ^{Barth's radical critic} of mission for decades. ("From a Theol.

Studies in the Christian Religion, Doshisha U. Kyoto, XXXIII, no. 4, March 1965, pp. 1-5; and Eni no Shingaku (Theology of Meaning), Tokyo, Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppanbu, 1963)

There are voices raised in criticism of the new emphasis on indigenization. One of the most thought-provoking is Arend Th. van Leeuwen, in his Christianity in World History (London, Edinburgh House Press, 1964). Instead of apologizing for Western cultural elements in Christianity, van Leeuwen replies that there is no turning back of history and that actually its westernization strengthened rather than weakened the faith. As for recent attempts to indigenize theology, he warns, "There is a real danger that a Church beset with too tender a conscience about her foreign origin and character may waste her energies in adapting herself to aspects of an indigenous culture already consigned to the past and doomed to become out of date."

I would agree that there is no particular need for an "Eastern theology" to be set against and contrasted with "Western theology". But I submit that the case made at Whitby for "partnership in mission" is still valid. Today's theology of mission needs both East and West. It will be a theology to which all parts of the world have contributed their insights, a theology, moreover, accomodating itself to special presentation and adaptation to different cultures in different areas, even as the Bible itself must be translated into the differing languages of the world.

Conclusion. In closing, therefore, let me say again that I believe the abiding pattern of the theology of mission for our day will be a woven pattern, not made of one thin thread only selected from a single theologian's theories, nor from one church alone. It will be ecumenical, drawing its major strengthening strands from the four greatest missionary councils of our century, composed of men from all countries and all churches, but led by one Spirit.

From Whitby 1947 will come a partnership in mission and theology, with the East learning from the West, and the West listening to the East, and both together witnessing to the whole world. From Madras 1938 will come the reminder that partnership is not enough. The mission is God's, not ours, and East and West must listen first to God, not to each other, for all are under judgment. Jerusalem 1928 will quickly add that God is love, not doom; and that man has his duty to his neighbor as well as to his God. And first, last and always, Edinburgh 1910 will insist that the pattern is not for us to make to our own fancy, but that God's pattern of mission for tomorrow will not be false to his revelation already given in Jesus Christ as revealed in Scripture.

In a word: Whitby stands for partnership; and Madras for God. Jerusalem adds compassion and social action; and Edinburgh stands for the eternal gospel and the good news of salvation. These are the great and enduring strands out of which our theology of mission for today must be woven.

Samuel Hugh Moffett
Seoul
October 17, 1969

J. T. Miller

"To speak of a missionary is to speak of the world; to speak of a paternal worker is to speak in terms of the Church." - Upon The Earth. p. 264

"There is a tendency in missionary agencies to be concerned exclusively with the Church in the missionary land rather than with the land itself."
- That They May Have Life. p. 15

"A missionary is primarily a person sent to a world and not to a church... not so much a person sent by a church as by its Lord." Upon the Earth p. 266

UTE N.Y.; McGraw Hill 1962

ITMHL N.Y. Harper & Row, 1951

Theology for Mission

A ~~mission~~ missiologist from a small Mennonite group once told me that after a world ~~trip~~ he had taken to survey his own church's mission, he had come to the conclusion that the strongest single strand in Protestant missions, ~~was~~ despite some current ~~problems~~ appearances to the contrary, was still the ^{global spread of} Reformed + Presbyterian mission ~~and missionary~~ outreach. ~~We talked~~ He wondered why. I told him one reason was Reformed Theology. Because Reformed Theology is a missionary Theology.

Our statements base is Reformed Theology:

1. In the first place, it is a Biblical Theology, and biblical Theology is missionary Theology. ~~It begins with~~ To Calvin the Scriptures were absolutely central in any understanding of God's ^{to Christian mission} purposes for the church and the world. Any other approach is either ^{self-centered} navel-gazing, or wishful thinking, ^{wishful thinking} either intrumented, ^{navel-gazing} ~~and self-centered~~, or outward-oriented but shallow. ~~We~~ believe, therefore, that ~~any~~ any mission design for a Presbyterian church must be ~~based~~ rooted in a ~~solid~~ solid Biblical view of the mission task of the people of God. Not ^{message} ~~proof-texted~~ ^{tracts,} but a ~~Biblical~~ ^{whole} ~~gospel~~ ^{gospel} for the whole world - proclamation, compassion, justice, reconciliation, healing and "opening the eyes of the blind", education.

2. In the second place, ~~a~~ Reformed mission Theology is Christ-centered. ~~It received its mission from Christ, and its mission, as the Book of Order states~~ ^{It is committed to the Good News of Jesus Christ, according to the Scriptures.} We whole heartedly endorse the Book of Order's (ch. III) statement on Mission - "The church is called to present the claims of Jesus Christ, leading persons to repentance, ~~and~~ acceptance of him as Son of God and Lord, a new life as disciples..." This makes, as a great Presb. ~~state~~ statesman once said, the starting point of a commitment to mission is belief in "The Finality of Christ" - and as Visser 't-Hooft condensed it into a single Biblical phrase - "There is no other name..."

3. In the third place, Reformed mission Theology is Trinitarian. It is not unitarian, in the classic sense - ~~but~~ and neither is it Christologically unitarian.

Theology of Mission

1. It must be a ^{theology} biblical. ~~for~~ Jesus is lord - and we are bound by the Sp. to His authority. Salvation is in Christ alone.
2. It must be ~~an~~ a Reformed Theology. The Sovereignty of God
The mission is His
3. It must be ecumenical. ~~Its for the~~ We're all in it together. Cooperation
The World
But each has its part.

I. It must be a biblical Theology. Christ-centered. [The] call comes

1. It is Christ who sends his people into mission. "We are
2. It is Christ who is Head of the Church -
"We are ~~called into being as a people~~
1. The call, says our life + Mission Statement, "comes to us in Scripture" - (A 18)
2. Its authority is from Christ. "Jesus is lord" and we are "bound by the Spirit to Christ's authority" (4)
3. It is Christ who announces the Kingdom.
3. It is Christ who sends his people into mission - "to carry God's message to all the world" 26.
"to announce the coming of the King."
1. It is Christ alone who saves. "No other Name" - Vuxen + Hoft

(1)

statement about the church's
Any ~~Theology of missions~~ mission has a Theology behind

it, or it will be very shallow. You will want to ask about the Theology

underlying the statement on Presbyterian cross-cultural mission (the Tomson statement)

which is in your hands. Its Theology is Reformed - and Presbyterian, affirms

both our Confessions, and the Book of Order's position on church and mission in Ch. 3.

And ~~that~~ in brief, its base is Reformed Theology because Reformed Theology is a

missionary Theology: it is Biblical, Christ-centered, Trinitarian, church-based, and ecumenical, in the basic meaning of that word which is not church-centered but oriented to the whole inhabited earth.

1. Biblical. To Calvin and the Reformed tradition, the Scriptures are absolutely

central in any authoritative understanding of God's purposes for the church and

the world. Any other approach is either subjective and usually selfish, or

outwardly oriented, but shallow wishful thinking. This Biblical base is not patched

together out of proof texts. It is the whole gospel for the whole world - proclamation,

compassion, justice, reconciliation, healing and "opening the eyes of the blind," education.

There are many missions in the Biblical mission - There is nothing quite so compelling to both evangelism and social action as to confine them in definition, or to separate them in practice.

3

primarily a person sent to a world, not to a church... not so much sent by a church as by its Lord." (Upon the Earth. p. 266)

MISSION FOCUS



A Theology of Cross-Cultural Mission

HUBERT SCHWARTZENTRUBER

A saintly gentleman once told me that some people in his congregation always talked about evangelism but became impatient with other members who saw evangelism from a different perspective. They finally separated themselves from the congregation, forming a splinter group in order to do evangelism. My brother who told the story had denture problems. Every time he spoke the word "evangelism" the word "vandalism" came out. I began to wonder if there is a danger of our evangelism becoming vandalism. Let me attempt, then, to raise a few issues regarding cross-cultural mission which may keep our evangelism from becoming vandalism.

The process of developing a theology

Our theology must always be shaped by who we are. To borrow a theology that is incongruent with our history is like buying a pair of shoes that do not fit. Although in style, they may be neither comfortable nor functional. We may feel out of place and embarrassed. They could also cause corns on our toes.

To develop a theology we need to be students of history, observing how God has worked out divine will and purpose in the past. Our theology is built on the stories of our life experiences.

A scientist will spend hours in the lab doing costly experiments until a theory is proven. Our development of a theology must grow out of our own cross-cultural experiences. It must be tried and tested in cross-cultural settings. The lab is the street, and the textbooks are people whose cultural and ethnic backgrounds differ from ours.

We cannot appreciate the richness of another culture until we have learned to appreciate our own. As long as I attempt to reject who I am, I will also reject other cultures. I have long ago stopped apologizing for being an Amishman.

Yet appreciation for my own culture dare never be a license for arrogance. It is coming to terms with who I am in order to free me to absorb the values and beauty of Latin-American, Native American, Chinese, Caribbean, and many other cultures. In our zeal to build cross-cultural relationships we must, however, guard against attempting to be something we can never be.

When I was a pastor of a black congregation I remained

white, even though I recall being introduced by a black man to a black congregation as "the blackest man I know." A common bond in the human experience superimposes all our cultural differences. I worked hard at learning as much as I could about the heritage of black people. I learned some from books, but most insights came in people's living rooms as I ate at their tables or as we traveled together. As relationships developed we had no need to make each other over into our own experience. We found strength, beauty, and cultural nourishment in one another's heritage.

I recall with warmth a recent meeting in Adolpho and Betty Puricelli's living room in Toronto with some twenty Latin-American friends. We talked for two hours on an issue that concerned all of us. I could not speak Spanish and most could not speak English, so we needed a translator. I left that meeting feeling as though we did communicate very well. I sensed a bond developing which cultural differences could not effectively block or deny.

Cross-cultural realities of our society

Perhaps no other country in the world provides opportunity for cross-cultural experiences such as does Canada. The city of Toronto, for example, is home for people of more than eighty-five nationalities. Some schools have more than fifty nationalities represented among their student bodies. On the street where we live our ten closest neighbors are Italian, Greek, South African, Lebanese, Japanese, Caribbean, and Austrian; three families have roots for more than two generations in Canada.

Though immigration laws are becoming more restrictive, we will likely continue to have opportunity to welcome new neighbors. A cutting edge for ministry for Canadian Mennonites might have to do with immigration issues.

Canadian foreign policy of the past has placed Canadians in a position of influence and respect among the nations of the world. For that reason Mennonites should consider carefully the urgency and expectations that are placed upon us.

Cross-cultural realities of the church

The Mennonite church is no longer made up of whites with European ancestry. Whites are now becoming a minority in the world population of Mennonites. Missionaries from Argentina are now coming to Canada. Central and South America, Africa, and Asia are where the Anabaptist vision is being shaped for the twenty-first century. The Anabaptist flames are being fueled in the native communities in the north of Canada.

In the Chinese church in Toronto we see modeled authentic

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church growth. In Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver, churches of former Latin Americans are growing more rapidly than are white churches. On a Sunday morning we could hear a sermon from a Mennonite pulpit in at least ten languages in Canada.

The disconcerting facts are that the white church in Canada is still the body that controls power of both wealth and decision-making. Unless we white Canadian Mennonites find an acceptable way to relinquish control of decision-making and economic power and share equally with non-white congregations, we will be a diminishing denomination in Canada. The growing edge for us is likely in non-white communities.

The non-white and non-ethnic Mennonites are a special gift from God to the church. In these integrated communities the Mennonite church will receive its mandate and keep alive a vision such as the early Anabaptists experienced.

Mennonite resources for cross-cultural mission

The Mennonite church does have resources to work faithfully at cross-cultural mission. We are also "aliens in a foreign land." We are far enough removed from the pain of being uprooted and settled in a new land so as not to be immobilized, but we are still close enough to understand and support those now going through that pain.

The Mennonite church has financial resources and educational institutions to equip us for whatever ministry God calls us to do. The Mennonite response to African famine has been overwhelming. The response of non-Mennonites to Mennonite Central Committee in the task is also encouraging. The Mennonite church has gained respect and credibility.

Many Mennonite young people, and older as well, have gained a wealth of experience in another country among people of another culture through mission and service involvement. These experiences now stand us in good stead in being authentic missionaries here in Canada.

Creating a vision for cross-cultural mission

Given the conviction that we indeed can develop cross-cultural congregations, how can we shape our vision? Who are the dreamers among us? Who helps us to interpret the dreams? What will keep our dreams from becoming nightmares?

Dreams will become reality as we search for an obedience and faithfulness to God's will. Our vision and dream must be based on biblical authority. The event of Christ on the cross broke down walls and barriers. New Testament writers affirm that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek. The coming of the Holy Spirit was experienced by people from many nations and tribes as they were gathered to celebrate the day of Pentecost. The apostles took quick action when there was discrimination between the Hebrews and the Hellenists. Peter was dramatically taught how wrong it is to consider one's race more important than another. The images of heaven are images of people gathered from many nations giving praise to God. Jesus once prayed, "Let thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

There may be reason because of language that some language groups may want and need their own congregations. Our overall strategy must, however, include a philosophy that all people in all social and economic classes are welcome in the worship assembly and part of the body of Christ which ministers to its community.

A congregation has no room for one dominant ethnic group to impose its values and customs on another. It is, however, appropriate for one ethnic group to share its values and customs with others in the congregation for the enrichment of all. As each ethnic group values its own culture, strength can be gained to value another which may be different. Racial ar-

rogance and racial pride which lead to destructive prejudice have no room in a Christian assembly. The offenders usually are the majority group. The minority group may well have to declare clearly their own self-worth so as not to be destroyed by the majority.

The "black is beautiful" movement of the 1960s was a constructive movement. "White is beautiful" emphasis among the powerful majority would be most inappropriate. Nationalism of a small and powerless country becomes an instrument of survival, while nationalism of a rich and powerful country becomes an instrument of oppression. Racism on the part of the powerful majority is an action. Racism on the part of a minority is a reaction.

Within the church the new way of *shalom* is taught, modeled, and experienced. Whenever no opportunity for cross-cultural relationships exist, then there is great danger that our culture which we value becomes our prison. To become captives to only our way of thinking, our values, our culture, and our lifestyle is to become totally insensitive to what God is all

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about in Christ and the church in reconciling the world.

The church never stands idly by while a person or group is being reduced to something less than God intended for all of creation. The mission of the church is to experience forgiveness of sin. The call to wholeness is also to question and confront that which creates fragmentation. A congregation therefore becomes actively involved to bring *shalom* where there is no *shalom*. In a cross-cultural congregation there will likely be much more sensitivity to *shalom* and justice needs.

The Mennonite church would be a much healthier church if in our attempt to share the gospel with native people, as an example, we would have tried a little harder to learn some deep theological, social, and environmental insights from them. If our vision is to become a reality, then we must consciously plan for that to happen. A few good things happen by accident. Most are a result of careful planning. Let me suggest several areas where long-range planning might begin.

1. We need to train leaders. How can our schools begin to tool up to provide skills training for people with leadership potential? The schools themselves will need to reflect a cross-cultural faculty and staff if we expect to have a cross-cultural student body.

2. Our cross-cultural congregations need Christian educational materials to help them in the process of growing in biblical knowledge.

3. We need to provide money for meeting places and other congregational needs. In our major cities the potential for growth exists. Also in our major cities property values and cost of living are high and the income of many non-Canadian-born people is low.

4. Our church boards and committees need to reflect a cross-cultural component. The majority cannot decide what is in the best interest of the minority. They need to decide together what is best for everyone. Church staff should be sought who can best relate to people whose experiences are familiar and trusted.

The vision must always draw us to reflect theologically on what we as God's people are all about. The task of developing a theology for cross-cultural mission will take us the rest of our lives to develop. When we are convinced that we have finally come to a conclusion it is only a signal that we need to start over again. Each generation brings us new insights and experiences which shape us for tomorrow.

Leaving Family for the Kingdom's Sake

JOHN REGEHR

Something in me bristles when I hear Jesus say, "Unless you hate father, mother, wife, child, you cannot be my disciple" (Lk. 14:26). And yet, I want to be utterly obedient. After all, Jesus is Lord.

Something in me turns remorseful when I remember how that hard saying of Jesus made it easy for me to ditch my marital and parental obligations and go off on two-month summer school ventures feeling supremely saintly. After all, family duties dare not obstruct the calling of God to Christian ministry. In my mind the call to ministry and the easy access to summer school at Winona Lake, Indiana, were far too easily fused. How could an opportunity so convenient be anything but providential?

No, I want never to eviscerate any of Jesus' sayings, even the hard ones. But neither do I want to misapply them in destructive ways. To interpret Jesus' requirement for discipleship so as to call for the discarding of family responsibilities may well be to use as a cop-out what we label a sacrifice.

Three Gospel messages

A choice of loyalties

Luke recorded Jesus as requiring us to hate parents and spouse and children if we wish to be his disciples (Lk. 14:26). Certainly Jesus could not mean that we are to wish them ill while we seek to promote his cause. After all, Jesus was unambiguous in his demand that we love even our enemies. Surely

he will not absolve us of loving our family members. And most certainly the hate Jesus spoke of is not the hate that leads to divorce.

Jesus' instruction about trying to serve two masters is helpful here (Lk. 16:13). We cannot, he assured us, live for long under two equal and divergent authorities, both of whom claim full obedience. Our loyalties will tilt toward the one or the other, and eventually we will have to make a clear choice. To break the one master's claim to absolute authority over me is a violent act. To hate him, as Jesus spoke of it, describes well the emotional intensity of that choice.

Jesus talked graphically about that intensity. His final instructions to the twelve, as he sent them on a mission to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," were in effect warnings that their message about the kingdom will act as a sword (Mt. 10:1f.). Some will reject and resist the message and will oppose even those of their own family who want to accept it. Thus some who want to accept the message will have to choose to follow Jesus in the face of strong opposition. Members of their own family will threaten them with violence and disinheritance. Hating one's family, then, is letting them go in order to choose Christ. And, since the family is the life source and life context, it is in effect the losing of one's life for the sake of Christ. Indeed, some families have held funeral services for those of their number who chose to follow Jesus. And some have delivered up even their children to death (Lk. 21:16-17). This is a hate unlike the hate Jesus calls us to.

"Love me more."

Matthew heard Jesus use the comparative of love to say essentially the same thing: "He who loves father or mother . . . [or] son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" (Mt.

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MISSION THEOLOGY

1948-1975 Years of Worldwide Creative Tension

Ecumenical, Evangelical, and Roman Catholic

by Rodger C. Bassham

William Carey Library, Pasadena, California, 1979.

- A. " The term 'theology of mission' in this book refers to those theological presuppositions, statements, and principles which critically reflect upon and explicate God's purpose for the church in relation to the world ".(p.7)

In order to illustrate the above definition, the writer divides the book into four parts, Part I deals with the Ecumenical Mission Theology; Part II with Evangelical Mission Theology; Part III with Roman Catholic Mission Theology, and Part IV with the Theological Analysis of Developments and Tensions in Mission Theology. The book ends up with a conclusion.

In Part I the writer makes a study on the reports of the WCC Assemblies from its origin of Edinburgh 1910 to the recent one of Nairobi 1975, and highlights what have been the debates on the question of the Theology of Mission. There has been a development which has gone through two stages. First stage from 1948 - 1961, in which there was an 'internal struggle for self-understanding by those involved in the missionary enterprise'. The churches were struggling to 'drawing closer together in unity'. The second stage, from 1961 - 1975 in which there has been a movement 'from internal understanding and organization of mission in the churches of the ecumenical movement to the world and its problems as the arena for mission'. So these two stages deal with unity among the churches and mission into the world as essential elements of the theology of mission. The writer also studies the ideas developed in the regional Council of Churches.

In Part II, the writer makes the same study on the Evangelical Mission Theology by means of statements and decisions of various congresses and meetings of evangelical international and regional organizations, such as the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association, the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, the World Evangelical Fellowship, the Urbana group, and other regional organizations.

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The writer then points out that there has been a development of evangelical mission theology 'from a narrow concern for evangelism, often developed in a polemical manner, to a broader emphasis on mission with a particular interest in evangelism,....' (p.291)

This development has taken several decades, in which two main stages are evident. First, from 1917 - 1966, in which various organizations were looking for common ways to work together. In the mid 1950's the IFMA and the EFMA began to work together. The Church Growth, initiated by Donald McGavran in 1960 was 'one of the most influential developments in evangelical mission theology in the post-war period'. Since 1965 it has been a part of Fuller Theological Seminary.

Second, from 1966 - 1975, the writer sees the 'growing maturity of evangelical organizations, and of their deepening interest in and concern for mission theology...'. These growing maturity came in 1966 with Wheaton and Berlin Congresses. The Wheaton Congress on the Church' Worldwide Mission, sponsored by the IFMA and EFMA, analysed and responded to 'the crucial issues in the church and the world from an evangelical perspective'. The Berlin Congress on Evangelism, sponsored by Christinit
Today with the assistance of Billy Graham, saw evangelism as the particular focus on world mission, although 'many other questions and issues were addressed in the numerous panel discussions'.

The activities on regional level were brought forward to the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization in 1974. Lausanne Covenant shows that 'the evangelicals have developed a mature, positive, and well-rounded theology of mission'. Authority of the Bible, Discipleship and Church renewal are key elements in the total mission of the church.

In Part III, the writer discusses the development of the Roman Catholic Mission Theology in three stages. First, the Pre-Vatican II understood mission as relates 'to preaching the gospel among all people, especially those in non-Christian countries, in order to accomplish the establishment or planting of the church throughout the world' (p.300).

The primary concern was the planting of the church in places where it previously had not existed. Second, the Vatican II, 'had two main dimensions: first, an internal renewal of the church in order to be increasingly faithful to the gospel of Christ and the Scriptures; and, secondly, a revitalization of the church's approach to the modern world with the aim of making the church more effective in its mission to the people' (p.302).

So the Vatican II added 'some new dimensions to the Roman Catholic understanding of the mission based on a new theological understanding of the church and its relationship to the world'(p.319).

The third is the Synod Bishops of 1974(the Third General Conference) on the issue of 'evangelization' in which the document says,

'For the Church, evangelizing means bringing the Good News into all the strata of humanity, and through its influence transforming humanity from within and making it new: "Now I am making the whole of creation new" '(p.307).

The activities on regional level are also discussed by the writer, but limited to that in Latin America and Asia (cf.pp.313 - 319), with the Medellin and Liberation Theology (Latin America), and the Indian Encounter Theology (Asia).

In Part IV, the writer discovers 'a new consensus(?)' which derives from the above discussion.

1. The Theological basis of Mission from 1948 to 1975 has been the change from 'a church-centric to a trinitarian understanding of the nature of the missionary enterprise'(p.331).
2. The Church-Mission relations is described as, 'It is now widely accepted that the missionary nature of the church flows from the purpose and will of God, and that mission is the basic duty of the people of God. The theological integration of church and mission is widely completed. Mission is part of the work of the whole church in which all participate in some way if the church is to be faithful to its essential nature'(p.337).
3. Evangelism and social action are 'both essential elements in the mission of the church, although distinctive differences remain in the way evangelicals and ecumenists have arrived at this common conclusion 'Evangelism and social action have been viewed as integral elements in a comprehensive Christian witness to God's love and concern for the whole person and the whole society'(p.342).
4. Christianity and other Faiths is still a debatable question. The issue of universalism and syncretism, and the question of the purpose and aim of dialogue remain to be discussed.
5. Mission and unity. The concern for unity and its close link with mission is 'shared by each of the traditions under discussion'. But as with other issues, 'understanding of the theological nature of the point in question varies considerably((p.355)).

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B. The book is very 'rich' in its material and thoughts. The writer does not deal with only one particular tradition, but three namely, Ecumenical Movement, Evangelical Movement, and the Roman Catholic. Each of the views on theology of mission is put forward, discussed, and concluded. On what points they share the same notion and on what points they differ are very carefully discussed by means of quoting the documents of their congresses, conferences, meetings, and ideas of their distinguished leaders and theologians. Part IV would be the most recommendable part since it draws the conclusion of what have been struggled in each of the traditions in terms of their similarities and differences and questions remain to be discussed further.

I would recommend this book to students of Missiology. However, this book is rather difficult for those who are not very familiar with the activities of the WCC, IFMA, EFMA, Vatican II, and other international or regional missionary fellowships. There are many quotations from the documents to clarify the discussion, but at the same time they make it difficult for the reader to read this 359 page book.

*A very thorough review.
Good work.*

A

International Bulletin

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Mission since Vatican Council II

In the history of twentieth-century Christianity, Vatican Council II stands out as a landmark that is radically affecting the course of the Christian world mission—for all Christians. It is now twenty years since the close of the council and the promulgation of the "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity" (*Ad Gentes*, Dec. 7, 1965), and ten years since Paul VI issued his apostolic exhortation on evangelization in the modern world, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (Dec. 8, 1975). In this period since the council there has been more change in Roman Catholic mission theology and practice than in the hundred years prior to the council, and there will be more ferment in the remaining years of this century.

The articles in this issue seek to assess the council event and its continuing influence on world mission outlook and strategy. W. Richey Hogg takes a retrospective view of *Ad Gentes*, the basic mission document of the council, along with its sequel, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*. Equally important was *Nostra Aetate*, the council's "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions." Thomas F. Stransky, who was involved in drafting *Nostra Aetate*, discusses some of the concerns that went into shaping it, and Eugene J. Fisher traces its influence since the council, especially regarding Jewish-Christian relations. From an evangelical Protestant perspective, Paul E. Pierson expresses appreciation for the missiological thrust of the council, along with reservations about recent trends and developments in Catholic missions.

An illustration or case study of how Vatican II has resulted in a crisis for Catholic missions is seen in the study prepared by William B. Frazier for Maryknoll, which is the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. Responses to Frazier's analysis are given by Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and evangelical Protestant mission leaders.

For convenience of reference and research, we include the text of *Nostra Aetate* from Vatican II, and the very important 1984 statement on dialogue and mission from the Vatican's Secretariat for Non-Christians, "The Attitude of the Church towards the Followers of Other Religions."

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conclusion, in the development of terminology from *Nostra Aetate's* normative, but negatively phrased biblical hermeneutic that "the Jews should not be represented as rejected by God or accursed, as if this followed from Holy Scripture," to the distinction in the 1975 "Guidelines" that the biblical promises were "fulfilled" in Christ, but "we await their perfect fulfillment in his glorious return at the end of time," to the virtual reservation by "The Attitude of the Church Towards the Followers of Other Religions" of the term "fulfillment" to the eschaton and its refusal to reduce fulfillment (i.e., the unity of all humanity under the one God) to formal conversion to the church.

25. Tommaso Federici, "Study Outline on the Mission and Witness of the Church," *SIDIC* 11, no. 3 (1978): 34.
26. Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church," *Origins: NC Documentary Service* (July 4, 1985, vol. 15, no. 7) pp. 102-107.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
28. *Ibid.*, para. 2, citing Pope John Paul II's address in Rome of March 6, 1982.

Roman Catholic Missions since Vatican II: An Evangelical Assessment

Paul E. Pierson

With its central focus on the proclamation of the gospel and the planting of the church, *Ad Gentes* (AG), Vatican II's "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity," apparently laid down clear guidelines for Roman Catholic missions in subsequent decades. The introduction states, "The apostles . . . following the footsteps of Christ, 'preached the word of truth and begot churches.' It is the duty of their successors to carry on this work 'so that the Word of God may run' and . . . the Kingdom of God [be] proclaimed and renewed throughout the whole world."¹ The purpose of this missionary activity is "the evangelization and the implanting of the Church among peoples or groups in which it has not yet taken root. . . . The principal instrument in this work of implanting the Church is the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . Missionary work among the nations differs from the pastoral care of the faithful . . ." (AG, no. 6). "The reason for missionary activity lies in the will of God, 'who wishes all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.' . . . Everyone, therefore ought to be converted to Christ, . . . and incorporated into him, and into the Church . . ." (AG, no. 7). ". . . all have need of Christ who is the model, master, liberator, saviour, and giver of life" (AG, no. 8).

The document recognizes that to carry out the mission, the Holy Spirit implants a special missionary vocation in the hearts of certain individuals and raises up to take on the duty of cross-cultural evangelization. Those who are called to be missionaries "must be prepared to remain faithful to [their] vocation for life . . ." (AG, no. 24). Still it is clearly the task of the whole church, and "All bishops . . . are consecrated not for one diocese alone, but for the salvation of the whole world. The command of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature (Mk. 16:15) applies primarily and immediately to them . . ." (AG, no. 38). Thus bishops are to promote missions, as are local priests and university and seminary professors.

There is a minor emphasis on contextualization. In the process of evangelization, the faith should be "explained in terms of the philosophy and wisdom of the people, and . . . their customs, concept of life and social structures . . ." (AG, no. 22).

Nostra Aetate (NA) the "Declaration on the Relation of the

Church to Non-Christian Religions," states that while the church recognizes that other religions "often reflect a ray of that truth which enlightens all," yet it proclaims "Christ as 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life,' . . . in whom men and women may find the fullness of religious life, and in whom God has reconciled all things to himself," (NA, no. 2).

Most evangelical missiologists would agree with *Ad Gentes* at several key points: first, in its emphasis on reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ as the greatest need of every person; second, in its focus on evangelization and church planting among non-Christian peoples as the primary thrust of mission today; third, that cross-cultural mission to the two-thirds of humanity that has not yet heard the gospel in any meaningful way must always be the priority of the church, which necessitates recognition and encouragement of the special missionary vocation that has played a primary role in Christian expansion throughout history; fourth, (although it is a minor note in *Ad Gentes*), that Western missionaries must exhibit a much more positive attitude toward non-Western cultures and incorporate their values and concerns into indigenous expressions of the Christian life.

The Decrease in Vocations

What has been the effect of Vatican II on Catholic missions during the last two decades? It is clear that the apparent goal of increasing church planting missionary activity among non-Christian peoples has not been achieved. Instead there has been a sharp decline. If we assume that the statistics on United States overseas Catholic missionaries are representative of the whole, we discover an alarming situation. Their number rose from 5,126 in 1956 to 7,146 in 1962, to a post-Vatican II high of 9,655 in 1968. This included diocesan and religious priests, religious brothers and sisters, seminarians, and lay persons. However, by 1984 the total had dropped over 36 percent, to 6,134. There was a marked decrease in all categories. Diocesan priests involved in overseas mission had dropped from a high of 373 in 1970 to 187 in 1984, while religious priests had decreased in number from 3,731 in 1966 to 2,603 in 1984. The most marked drop was among seminarians involved in mission, from 208 in 1968 to 40 in 1984. Furthermore, 2,753 of the total, nearly 45 percent, were working in nominally Roman Catholic countries, primarily in Latin America.² This indicates that after an initial spurt of missionary interest and new vocations following Vatican II, there has been a significant and continuing decrease.

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The Theological Debate

One major reason for this drop has been the debate over the theology and practice of Catholic missions during the last two decades. Daniel Bloomquist has suggested that Catholic mission thought during this period has been set not so much by *Ad Gentes*, but "much more by what has been perceived to be the spirit of Vatican II."³ No sooner was the ink dry on the documents than the growing divergence between official statements, on one hand, and the thought and activity of many theologians and missionaries, on the other, became evident.

The openness of Vatican II to the spirit of the times rightly called into question the older view of an aggressive, triumphalist church. But for many this created doubt about the traditional thrust of mission, which sought conversion to Christ and the church. Some went even further. Edward Shorter expressed a common view when he wrote that "the words missions and missionary have become almost synonymous for bigotry, detachment, and self-interest."⁴ That perception, however unfair it might be, could hardly be a motivation to missionary vocations.

Along with such a portrayal of missions in the past, two related shifts in mission theology, both departing sharply from *Ad Gentes*, contributed to the decline. The first brought a change in focus from church planting to development and then liberation. Theologians at a conference as early as 1967 advocated a position sharply different from that of *Ad Gentes*. Avery Dulles spoke of two groups, which he called "spiritualists" and "secularists." The former "maintained that mission is primarily witness which calls for faith . . . a consciously affirmed response to the gracious initiatives of God," while secularists argued that the radical new situation prohibited the separation from the world implied in such spiritualization of the church's role. Dulles, advocating the latter view, stressed the church as servant, "helping to build up a stronger human community in this world."⁵ At the same conference, Ronan Hoffman reacted to a statement advocating "a missionary duty of converting all men," calling it a misology of the past. Instead, he spoke of "religionless Christianity," and "service in the development of the world."⁶

The following year, 1968, saw the meeting of the Latin American bishops in Medellín, which lifted up the concept of liberation. The result was an even stronger shift away from church planting to the focus on justice and freedom from oppression. (This was understandable in Latin America, where although the church had long since been planted in the traditional sense, little positive impact on social, political, and economic structures could be seen. Unquestionably a new understanding of the church and the Christian life was needed!)

Continuing divergence from *Ad Gentes* can be seen in a recent article by the executive secretary of Jesuit missions. It told of a 1981 meeting designed to create a contemporary Catholic misology. Participants agreed that the basic and comprehensive goal of mission was "to promote and serve the unification and healing of our divided, wounded humanity . . . with full respect for humanity's invincible cultural pluralism"; a corollary was that "missionaries will go out to discover the seeds of the kingdom (not to bring Christ) in another place of people or culture and will themselves participate in the growth toward the kingdom that is already underway there."⁷

Implied in the foregoing was a second major shift: the changing view of other religions and the necessity of belief in Christ and incorporation into the church. Here contemporary Catholic writers have moved far beyond *Nostra Aetate*. Karl Rahner's concept of anonymous Christians has become a point of departure. Some have suggested that "perhaps it is not God's will that all

peoples enter the Christian fold; perhaps 'religious pluralism is the will of God for humanity.' This implies that other religions and Christianity may be parallel paths to salvation . . . this recognition of the independent validity of other religions, together with the continued affirmation of Christ/Christianity's normativeness, makes up . . . a growing common opinion among Catholic theologians."⁸

The fact that many theologians espousing such views came from the orders that have contributed the greatest number of Catholic missionaries in the past, makes the shift even more critical. At the same time, official church documents have continued to insist on the centrality of evangelization. The Synod of Bishops in 1974 confirmed anew that "the mandate to evangelize all men constitutes the essential mission of the church."⁹ Pope Paul VI stated (1975) that "there is no new humanity if there are not first of all new persons renewed by baptism and by lives lived according to the gospel."¹⁰ The Puebla Conference's Final Document (1979) agreed that "to evangelize is the mission of the whole People of God. It is their primordial vocation."¹¹

The question is, which voices will be heard most loudly in the church, especially in those circles from which missionary vocations historically have come?

Contextualization

Although it was a minor note in *Ad Gentes*, to what extent have Catholic missions taken seriously the need to relate the faith to the customs, concepts of life, and social structures of peoples? The continued insistence on the celibacy of the clergy, for instance, seems to be an obstacle to genuinely indigenous church leadership.

The question of Emmanuel Milingo, former archbishop of Lusaka, Zambia, indicates the need for Western missionaries (Catholic and Protestant) to look much more positively on receptor cultures. Milingo, in his attempt to take African spirituality seriously, was led, almost against his will, into a ministry of healing apparently consistent both with the New Testament and with African culture. He knew that because the Western church had rejected so much of deeper concerns of the people, most African Christians departed from the church in times of personal difficulty. He wrote that "most of our baptized Christians had two religions."¹² Even though he remained loyal to Catholicism and refused to form an independent church, Milingo's healing ministry led to conflict with more rationalistic European priests and to his eventual removal from office. The problem symbolized by this case and the lessons to be learned may yet prove to be more crucial than any other issue for the growth and health of the church in many cultures.

Concluding Questions

It is not surprising that the ferment in mission theology since Vatican II has led to a retreat in Catholic missionary activity. Samuel Rayan's statement, made in 1970, is even more true today. The new thinking about missions, he wrote, "has caused scandal, upset missionaries, unsettled bishops, and brought about a crisis in missionary vocations, motivation, and action . . . the problem now is whether the mission should exist at all, and if it should, why?"¹³

We must ask if this is only a temporary setback while Catholic missions regroup, or the beginning of a long decline. In my judgment the answer will depend on two primary factors.

First, will the church call forth and stimulate those within its ranks to whom God has given the missionary vocation, those who

will adopt as their own the Pauline agenda that the "panta ta' ethne" might come to faith and obedience" (Rom. 16:26)? History teaches us that new mission breakthroughs have normally come from movements led by small committed communities. Will the church encourage the new ventures in spirituality and lifestyle that can give birth to renewed mission?

Second, when the dust settles in its theological debate, will the church come to a theological consensus that can serve as the basis for mission? While recognizing the need to dialogue with those of other religions and to hear their concerns, will the church recognize as an essential element in mission theology the apostles' statement, "for of all the names in the world given to men, this is the one by which we can be saved" (Acts. 4:12)?

An equally important element, where this writer perceives exciting and challenging movement, is a clear theology of the relationship between evangelism and social concern, but which does not substitute one for the other. As an evangelical who has lived in Latin America, I can only rejoice in (and learn from) the increasing identification of the Catholic Church with the poor. The base ecclesial communities are perhaps the most viable model in expressing such concerns. It may be that the growth of these

communities in Latin America and elsewhere, if encouraged, will lead to new church structures more related to poor, more lay-oriented, and more evangelical. We know the study of Scripture in context to be a powerful instrument of the Holy Spirit. Such a new style of church life might include much more lay leadership along with a strong balance between the good news of reconciliation with God and reconciliation between persons; personal liberation from sin and death, and liberation from the manifestations of sin and death in human societies. If so, both traditional Protestantism and Catholicism may be challenged to renewal by such groups. There is some evidence that Brazil, where the shortage of priests has been acute for centuries, is experiencing a resurgence of vocations as the church is perceived to be closer to the social and political concerns of the majority of people.¹⁴

However, if theological balance and apostolic passion are not restored, it appears that Roman Catholic missions will follow the declining path of conciliar Protestants. Such a development would leave the growing edge of the Christian movement primarily to Pentecostals and other evangelical Protestants who are going out increasingly from North America and Europe, but still more, from the rapidly growing third-world missionary movement.

Notes

1. *Ad Gentes*, quotations are from Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., *Vatican Council II* (Boston, Mass.: St. Paul Editions, Daughters of St. Paul, 1975).
2. *Mission Handbook, 1984-85* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Mission Association), pp. 23-25.
3. Daniel Bloomquist, "The Pattern of Post Vatican II Roman Catholic Theology of Mission," unpublished paper, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, p. 40.
4. Edward Shorter, *Theology of Mission* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Publishers, 1972), p. 13.
5. Avery Dulles, "Christian Missions in Transition," *The Word in the Third World*, ed. James Cotter, (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1968), p. 265; cited in Bloomquist, p. 12.
6. Ronan Hoffman, in *The Word in the Third World*, p. 29; cited in Bloomquist, p. 12.
7. S. E. Smith, S.J. "Toward a New Missiology for the Church," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 6, no. 2 (April 1982): p. 72.
8. Paul F. Knitter, "Roman Catholic Approaches to Other Religions: Developments and Tensions," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 8, no. 2 (April 1984): p. 51.
9. "Evangelization of the Modern World," Synod of Bishops, Third General Assembly, 1974, par. 4.
10. Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, no. 18 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1976).
11. The Puebla Final Document, no. 348 in *Puebla and Beyond*, ed. John Eagleson and Philip Scharper (Maryknoll, N.Y. Orbis Books, 1979).
12. Emmanuel Milingo, *The World in Between* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984) p. 8.
13. Samuel Rayan, S.J. "Missions after Vatican II, Problems and Positions," *International Review of Mission*, October 1970, pp. 50-51.
14. "A Nova Safra dos Seminários," Istoé, Rio de Janeiro, April 11, 1984, p. 32.

Noteworthy

Simon Barrington-Ward, General Secretary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, will be consecrated in Westminster Abbey on November 1st as Bishop of Coventry, and will be enthroned in Coventry Cathedral on January 4, 1986.

Martin Conway, formerly on the staff of the World Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches, will succeed John Ferguson when he retires as President of Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, in the summer of 1986.

W. A. Visser 't Hooft, who led the World Council of Churches as its General Secretary from its formation in 1948 until 1966, died in Geneva on July 4. He was 84 years old.

Eugene Carson Blake, the second General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, 1966-72, died July 31, at age 78 in Stamford, Conn. His call in 1960 for a church that is "truly reformed, truly catholic, and truly evangelical" led to the establishment of the Consultation on Church Union (COCU) in the United States.

Mission Theology Revisited: Keeping Up with the Crises

William B. Frazier, M.M.

Prefatory Note

Maryknoll, the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, holds its General Chapter, or assembly, every six years. This is a gathering of leaders and delegates, representing Maryknoll Missioners from around the world, to reflect on the affairs and concerns of the society. The General Chapter provides a prime occasion for reflecting on missional principles and reassessing priorities. In preparation for the most recent chapter, held in late 1984, Father William B. Frazier, M.M., Professor of Systematic Theology at Maryknoll School of Theology, Maryknoll, New York, prepared a painstaking and comprehensive study entitled "Mission Theology Revisited." Although this was prepared as an "in-house" document to help fellow Maryknollers clarify their thinking about fundamental issues Maryknoll has been confronting in recent years, the society and Father Frazier have kindly agreed to share the study with the readers of the *International Bulletin*.

Two decades ago Frazier captured the attention of missiologists when, in the aftermath of Vatican Council II, he published "Guidelines for a New Theology of

Mission" (*Worldmission* 18, No. 4, Winter 1967-68; reprinted in Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, eds., *Mission Trends* No. 1 [1974]). In the current study, he analyzes the tension—and the implications for mission theory and practice—between those missioners who retain a more or less traditional focus on the evangelization of persons and those who wish to emphasize the "evangelization" of societal institutions and systemic structures. Although lengthy and at times occupied with developments particular to Maryknoll, Frazier's study, we believe, makes a major contribution toward explicating the current missiological debate and ferment. Few, if any, of today's mission agencies—Protestant or Catholic—can hope to remain aloof from the dynamics of the issues he discusses. Testimony to the seriousness of the situation and the debate is found in the reflections of three mission leaders invited by the editors to respond to Father Frazier's study. Their responses appear following Frazier's article below.

Introduction

Missionaries today have another crisis of identity on their hands. For a second time in less than two decades a controversy of major proportions is troubling the waters of missiological reflection.

The earlier debate, which I shall call Crisis I, developed in the wake of Vatican Council II. It emerged from a difference of opinion on the locus of God's saving presence. Missionary personnel took sides on whether that presence was to be conceived more or less exclusively in terms of the Christian community, or whether the saving God is available, in the first instance, in and through the human mystery as such. This translated into a corresponding disagreement on the tasks and priorities of mission. Although the debate is still very much alive, it is accompanied today by the new controversy mentioned above, which can now be named Crisis II. Here the contending parties are the so-called progressives of Crisis I. Those who affirmed together the primacy of human mediation in the mystery of salvation are now disputing among themselves, not about the centrality of human mediation as such, but about what is to be included and emphasized under this heading. It is one thing to agree that God saves us in and through our humanness, and that the mission of the church serves this unfolding process. It is quite another to sort out the pressure points in and around the human mystery where the struggle between sin and salvation is underway. Disagreement in this area is the nucleus of Crisis II.

Although these crises are developing simultaneously at the present time, they are not equally well anchored in missionary consciousness. Today it would be difficult to imagine a Christian missionary who is not conversant with the fundamental alternatives of Crisis I. The same cannot be said for Crisis II. There is a general sense that a new source of controversy is at large in the missionary world, but little effort has gone into isolating and naming its components. Opposing camps can be identified, but the battle lines are fluid. Attempts at dialogue break down because the only differences we are sure of rarely touch the underlying issues. The progressives of Crisis II feel they have made an advance in their approach to mission, but have yet to identify clearly what they have left behind. Their conservative counterparts, on the

other hand, have confusions of their own. They have trouble giving anything but superficial expression to the novelty they wish to oppose. In a word, people know they have taken sides while hardly knowing the sides they have taken. What makes this a serious situation is that the day-to-day setting of missionary policies and priorities proceeds as usual. Alternatives are being embraced, excluded, or compromised with little more than a surface reading of what the alternatives are. These circumstances make it imperative to set forth as clearly as possible the components of Crisis II. The point is not to do away with the crisis itself, but to alleviate the main source of its destructive potential, its anonymity. There is something normal and healthy about debating clearly defined points of conflict. The only crises we should fear are those whose competing alternatives have never reached the full light of day.

Near the end of the 1960s I had occasion to develop some guidelines for a theology of mission consistent with the theological trajectories of Vatican II.¹ Behind the scenes of that presentation is what I have referred to here as Crisis I. After a brief review of this controversy in the wider Catholic community and Maryknoll, I shall attempt a similar description of Crisis II. This will bring us to the heart of our study: the identification and comparison of the opposing concerns that account for the very existence of this new missiological challenge.

Crisis I

Because mission is in service of salvation, missiology reacts sympathetically to soteriological tremors. This occurred notably during Vatican Council II. Along with the overall tone of the council, which did not apologize for spending what seemed to some an inordinate amount of time probing the human mystery, what did most to stimulate a new approach to mission was its almost casual affirmation of the availability of salvation not only beyond the borders of Christianity, but even beyond the sphere of explicitly religious consciousness.² This can mean only that in the first instance the saving presence of God in Jesus is mediated to non-

Christian and nonreligious people through the raw components of humanity itself. Simply to be a man or a woman is to have all that is necessary to qualify for the gift of saving grace. Whatever role religion in general and Christianity in particular have to play in the unfolding of God's saving plan, it is not to provide such people with a primordial opportunity for deliverance. That opportunity is available within the human mystery itself. Here too the council was both consistent and helpful. It provided us with a working model of church that took full account of a deliverance mediated by ordinary human existence.

The church of Vatican II is a community whose task is not to dispense the grace of salvation to an otherwise impoverished world, but to give concrete expression to the divine riches already operative in those who have been faithful to their humanity. The council never refers to the church as an entity confining salvation within itself, delivering sinners from the graceless chaos of the wider world. It prefers the positive, respectful imagery of sign and sacrament. The church can be its proper self only by lending historical flesh to the subtle, sometimes misunderstood, incursions of the Savior God into the deep levels of our humanness. Although the council did not make the point explicitly, there is no reason to assume that its view of salvation mediated humanly applies only to those who have not as yet embraced a religious or Christian way of life. There is, in fact, every reason to assume that the human avenue through which God first approaches those without faith continues to be the privileged locus of his dealing with them once they have made a conscious commitment to Christianity or to some other religious community. The role of religion, and of Christianity in particular, is not to supplant our human quest, but to correct and deepen it.

There seems to be no way around the conclusion that the theological trajectories of Vatican II lead from a church-centered to a human-centered view of salvation. Because the God of Jesus has offered himself to us primarily in the context of our human condition, human beings, including those who call themselves Christians, can achieve God-centeredness only in a human-centered way. This amounts to a major shift in the way Christians understand the locus of salvation, a shift of such magnitude that the term "Copernican" is sometimes used to describe it. It amounts to a revolution in soteriological consciousness comparable in style and importance to that which radically revised human thinking about the relative positioning of earth and sun. After centuries of assuming that the world revolved around the church, we are led by Vatican II to the awareness that the church itself is, and always has been, in orbit around the soteriological riches of the human sphere. The God of Jesus calls us to himself by calling us to human fullness.

Needless to say, this way of conceiving salvation has everything to do with how we think about mission. The world to which the Christian community is sent is not, in principle, devoid of the saving presence of God. It is not, by definition, deprived of the opportunity for deliverance. On the contrary, it is a world embraced and challenged by the same saving grace on which Christians were once thought to have a monopoly. What the non-Christian does lack, and what a Christian presence is meant to supply, is a kind of blueprint for making sense of and appropriately celebrating the graced existence in which all who are faithful to their humanity find themselves. All religious traditions may contribute to this process of articulation in some fashion or other, but only in Jesus has the final word been spoken. Such is the genius of Christianity: to monitor with the gospel message the ongoing attempt of human beings to come to terms with the massive involvement of God in human life and history.

As Christians, then, we have only the gospel itself at our disposal, not the realities to which the gospel points. For a world

already graced with the melody of salvation, Christianity and other religious traditions supply the lyrics. This is not to do away with the need and urgency of mission, but to think of them in a different way. As long as missionaries looked upon those to whom they preached as a multitude deprived of any previous contact with the saving God, the focus of their concern had to be the absence of grace and the measures necessary to supply it. What was wrong was that the God of Jesus was not present to these people, inviting them to respond to his saving love, except in a rather nebulous and marginal sense unworthy of comparison with the saving gift available in the church. Now the situation is different. Missionaries imbued with the soteriological trajectories of Vatican II do not find preaching the gospel necessary and urgent for lack of God's saving presence in the non-Christian world. The newly conceived predicament is not the absence but the presence of the saving gift of God. Without the witness of Christianity, God's saving gift to all human beings could occasion greater harm than good. The reason is that the grace of salvation is offered to us on the deepest level

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of our being. In itself, and in the massive excavation of the human spirit required to receive it, the saving invitation of God, for all its riches, can severely aggravate the restlessness and anxiety that seem to be the price we pay for the privilege of conscious selfhood. Unfamiliar as this may sound, it harkens back to a venerable Scholastic axiom: the worst corruption is the corruption of what is best. If people are unable to make genuinely religious and Christian sense of the endless longings that stir within them, some form of idolatry is likely to fill the breach. The destructive potential of such behavior needs little commentary.

Crisis I in Maryknoll

If Vatican Council II can be called the ecclesial event responsible for the emergence of Crisis I, the corresponding event in the Maryknoll Society was its Fifth General Chapter. The year was 1966. A large majority of chapter delegates responded positively to the broadly human mediation of salvation described above, including its implications for missionary theory and practice. Once this response had been expressed in the chapter documents and disseminated to the membership of the society, it became evident that all did not agree with the theological direction taken by the chapter. Some Maryknollers found it impossible to abandon more familiar soteriological and missiological principles:

1. While God has his own ways of saving those who have never heard the gospel message, these are extraordinary arrangements, not to be seen as normative for situations where the acceptance of Christianity is a viable option.
2. Ordinarily, the grace of salvation is available only within the Christian community. The so-called human mystery partakes of this grace only as it becomes explicitly Christianized.
3. The role of mission in the church is to provide not only a message about salvation, but salvation itself through belief in Jesus and the acceptance of baptism.

When this way of thinking collided with that of the chapter doc-

uments, Crisis I, already germinating in the postconciliar church, took root in the Maryknoll Society.

Painful as this tension was, and continues to be, some genuine benefits can be seen. Honest differences between Maryknollers were brought to the surface. Those on either side of the debate were challenged to refine and sometimes adjust their thinking in response to reactions from the other side. In spite of some continuing evidence of hard feelings and divisiveness, my own estimate of Crisis I, as a Maryknoll phenomenon, is more in terms of growth than decline. One of the main reasons for this is that from its very inception, the crisis itself was an open book.

The Maryknoll version of Crisis I, whatever its complications in terms of solution, has always been accessible in terms of the issues at stake. Society members have been taking sides on alternatives that are reasonably clear. Either humanity as such or the community of Christians is the foundational instrument through which the God of Jesus has determined to share his life with us. Our soteriological universe is either church-centered or human-centered. The primordial mediation of our deliverance is either ecclesiological or anthropological. Alternatives for the theory and practice of mission are equally well defined. The church in which salvation is centered will fulfill its missionary task as a *sanctuary*, gathering into its confines those whose salvational status would otherwise have been precarious at best. The church that ministers to salvation centered in the human mystery, on the other hand, will see its mission as a *sign* and *sacrament*, bodying forth the gift of grace already at work in the world, serving thereby the building up of the kingdom among all peoples, including those who may never appropriate the Christian name.

"Ministry in third-world countries is an ongoing lesson on the impact of social institutions on human possibilities."

Crisis I will likely remain with the church and Maryknoll for some time to come. Interested parties will know which side they are on and precisely what is wrong with the position they reject. They will continue to have at their disposal the key words and categories needed to sustain serious dialogue on the issues involved. This should keep competing alternatives honest and lead in time to a genuine and lasting development of missiological science. The situation is quite different with Crisis II, which we are now ready to examine in greater detail.

Crisis II

Not long after the development of Crisis I, the seeds of a second missiological emergency were sown in the Roman Catholic community. It happened in the city of Medellín in Colombia in 1968, when the Latin American Episcopal Council gave its blessing to the main lines of what is widely known today as liberation theology. What had been regarded in professional circles as a highly creative experiment in theological reflection now became the quasi-official theology of the Latin American hierarchy. The prestige and influence of liberation theology increased accordingly, not only in Latin America itself, but throughout the Catholic world. While

lending support to a human-centered view of salvation, with its corresponding implications for mission, liberation theologians make it clear that the human center they have in mind is, in the first instance, a concrete reality arrived at through the praxis of the poor. The grace of salvation is mediated through human beings living together in history, relentlessly conditioned by economic, social, and political institutions of their own making. The quality of these institutions is directly related to the quality of human life in general, both here and hereafter. This analysis of the human mystery made sense to many Catholic missionaries who had already moved to the human-centered alternative of Crisis I. Ministry in third-world countries is an ongoing lesson on the impact of social institutions on human possibilities.

At the same time, some of these missionaries, especially those outside Latin America, began to wonder if the truth about the massive influence of human environment is the whole truth. It is my understanding that liberation theologians themselves would say it is not. There are important dimensions to our humanness that are not adequately accounted for by what we have come to call structural analysis. If, at times, liberation theology seems to ignore them, the urgent need of addressing social ills in Latin America today may explain why. There is also the fact that theological developments can lose a certain breadth of vision in the process of popularization. Disciples are not always as discriminating as their masters. Whatever the reasons, liberation theology comes through to some heavily weighted in the direction of what I shall call environmental anthropology. If some missionary personnel find themselves uneasy with this development, others have already proceeded to reinterpret their soteriological and missiological worlds in its light.

Crisis II, therefore, is a crisis within a crisis. Missionaries who embraced together the human-centered alternative of Crisis I are parting company as they probe more concretely what human mediation entails. The issue is clearly anthropological, in the broad sense of the term, with direct implications for soteriology and missiology. In a word, the theological tensions of Crisis II have anthropological roots.

Crisis II in Maryknoll

As in Crisis I, there is a Maryknoll counterpart to the event that ushered Crisis II into the wider missionary world. I refer to the society's Seventh General Chapter in 1978. Here, for the first time, ministry to social structures or environments as such enters substantially into Maryknoll's missionary identity and apostolate. A brief glance at the process and statements of the chapter should make this clear.

The main lines of the theology of mission of the Seventh General Chapter were gathered in a short document entitled: "Statements of the Mission Vision of Maryknoll, 1978, and the Society Objectives." While appropriating the human-centered soteriology of the two previous chapters,³ this document stresses the impact of environment on what it means to be human. The history of this new direction is easy enough to trace.

Long before the Seventh General Chapter convened, environment had become a working category for self-scrutiny within the Maryknoll Society. For instance, an analysis of the several environments within which Maryknoll works was the first order of business in the four Inter-Chapter Society assemblies held between 1972 and 1978. In each case, an environmental study provided the basis for refining the society's mission vision. That is, a particular way of reading the human condition, an environmentally focused way, was placing its stamp on a developing theology of mission.⁴ The same procedure was followed in the

pre-chapter area meetings held in Hong Kong and Lima in the spring of 1978, and in the final prechapter meeting at Hingham later that same year. By the time formal chapter deliberations began on October 4 the importance of environmental analysis had been well established. It is no surprise, therefore, to find this methodology carried over into the chapter itself. This is clearly stated in the introduction to the *Chronicle of the Seventh General Chapter*: "The Chapter Process began with a look at the world and at the people among whom we do mission today. This was our *Environment*. We then drew upon our common faith experience and the challenges presented by the world environment to elaborate for ourselves a vision or ideal of mission for the Society at this time in our history."⁵

In correlation with "our common faith experience," the analysis of "world environment" led organically to the chapter's mission vision. While not the sole contributor to this vision, therefore, human environment does seem to dominate the vision's working anthropology. This is borne out by the content of the "Mission Vision" itself.

The environmental or structural focus of this document is unmistakable. From a view of church "as the full people of God rather than primarily as structures,"⁶ the text moves to the need of inviting laypeople and ethnic minorities to become part of Maryknoll's response to mission "by calling into question any structures of church or society which impede the active participation of these groups in mission."⁷ Out of solidarity with the poor, Maryknollers are to do away with elements of their own societal structure that foster dominance and privilege.⁸ As for the missionary apostolate of Maryknoll, it must give "special emphasis to the evangelization of the poor, of cultures, and of structures,"⁹ for the kingdom of God is mysteriously at work "in cultures, religions, the structures and organizations of societies."¹⁰ As Maryknollers, we are to "make known the presence of God in these situations through a process of systematically studying them, using the tools of social sciences to help us to understand, dialogue and, wherever possible, collaborate with them. . . ."¹¹ Such, we are reminded, was the focus of the Synod of Bishops in 1971, affirming the bond between "action on behalf of justice" and "liberation from every oppressive situation."¹² These principles call Maryknollers to the service of the poor, the perennial victims of structural or environmental oppression.¹³ In practice, this requires a careful analysis of the oppression itself. "In its response to the poor and oppressed, therefore, each region, area, or unit must determine for itself, by a study of its own environment, the greatest need, and should carry out a systematic analysis of the causes and perpetuating factors involved in the poverty that does exist."¹⁴

The missionary labors of the Maryknoll Society are directed, not to abstractions, but "to peoples in concrete historical situations":¹⁵

We have seen that the lives of men and women today are controlled by the socio-economic and political structures of society, some of which are hostile even to the work of evangelization. As part of our task of mission, we would consider it particularly important today to devote ourselves, together with the people we serve and with other [persons] of good will to identifying, critiquing and, wherever possible, transforming these forces for the benefit of authentic human development.¹⁶

As for the future, Maryknoll's mission vision will continue to unfold out of the principles from which it came:

Maryknoll's vision of its mission is always in process: a process which involves a continual clarifying, reshaping and evaluation of the concrete expressions of our apostolate in the light of the mission

of Jesus, whose challenging and life-giving presence we discern constantly in the signs of the times. This process is directed by our on-going analysis of the environment in which we live and work. It must be refined by and for each region, area or unit so that our vision and ideal for mission challenge the creative talents and energies of all Maryknollers, be they overseas or in the U.S., young or old, active or retired.¹⁷

Although everything intended by the term "environment" cannot be determined from the "Mission Vision" itself, it is clear from other chapter materials that the specific environments considered were social, political, economic, cultural, religious, and ideological.

Demonstrating the environmental or structural orientation of Maryknoll's Seventh General Chapter is one thing. Showing where it came from is another. While several sources can be distinguished, the main channel through which they came together and made their impact seems to have been the current planning procedure of the society. Reaching back as far as the Fifth General Chapter in 1966, and the establishment of the Maryknoll Overseas Extension Service that same year, Maryknoll's interest in planning gave rise to the Mission Department in 1968. Four years later, with the recommendations of the Sixth General Chapter, the process went into high gear. The Mission Department now became the Mission Research and Planning Department (MRPD), and the consulting firm of Rohrer, Hibler and Replogle was retained to lend professional assistance to initiatives already underway. As for the planning process itself, the focus was clearly on environmental analysis, a careful scrutiny of the contexts or settings within which Maryknoll carries out its mandate to preach the gospel. All of this was in place by 1977, when the MRPD began to conduct intensive planning workshops in the Maryknoll Regions in preparation for the Seventh General Chapter scheduled to convene the following year.

With these data as background, we can now trace the strong environmental concerns of the Seventh General Chapter back to several distinct though related sources:

1. There is, of course, an obvious bond between planning and environmental analysis based on the fact that environment can work either for or against the realization of human goals. This bit of pragmatism may explain as well as anything why the steps proposed by the consulting firm began with environmental analysis. While this procedure was formally incorporated into Maryknoll's own planning system in 1973, experience demonstrated that it was easier to accept in principle than to carry out. Environment needed to be analyzed, but the kind of analysis best suited to the task had not yet been determined, even in the offices of the MRPD. What eventually became a solution to this problem brings us a step closer to the roots of the environmental focus of the Seventh General Chapter.

2. In ample time to accommodate the regional planning workshops of 1977, the leadership of the MRPD proposed that the most effective way for the Maryknoll Regions to study their environments would be through the already well-established procedures of social or structural analysis. This approach would help to concretize and systemize regional initiatives already directed at the manifold problems of human environment. But it would have to be more than a mere sociological exercise. To make social analysis acceptable and effective as a Maryknoll enterprise, it would have to be built upon the solid foundation of gospel values. Since the director of the MRPD, Father Clarence Engler, had discovered a good example of such an approach already at work in the Philippines, he contacted Father Edward Gerlock and arranged for him to present the Philippine pattern of social analysis at the regional planning workshops in 1977. The material of these presentations became the framework of the MRPD's policy on envi-

ronmental analysis. This in turn found its way into the mindset of the Seventh General Chapter via the pre-chapter planning workshops already mentioned.¹⁸

3. A third source of influence can be called "magisterial." Well before the Seventh General Chapter convened, papal and episcopal teaching had alerted Roman Catholics to the special ways in which social, political, and economic structures either facilitate or complicate the lives and destinies of those whom Christians are called to serve. As early as 1961, John XXIII insisted so strongly on the bond between the dignity of the worker and his environment that "if the whole structure and organization of an economic system is such as to compromise human dignity, to lessen a man's sense of responsibility or rob him of opportunity for exercising personal initiative, then such a system, we maintain, is altogether unjust—no matter how much wealth it produces, or how justly and equitably such wealth is distributed."¹⁹

Ten years later, in its statement on "Justice in the World," the Second Synod of Bishops expressed its own concern for those whose lives have been violated by environmental oppression.

Listening to the cry of those who suffer violence and are oppressed by unjust systems and structures, and hearing the appeal of a world that by its perversity contradicts the plan of its Creator, we have shared our awareness of the Church's vocation to be present in the heart of the world by proclaiming the good news to the poor, freedom to the oppressed, and joy to the afflicted.²⁰

Finally, we have the words spoken by John Paul II during his visit to the United States in 1979. Although the Seventh General Chapter had long since adjourned, its attention to environmental concerns undoubtedly germinated in soil similar to that which inspired the Holy Father:

Social thinking and social practice inspired by the Gospel must always be marked by a special sensitivity towards those who are most in distress, those who are extremely poor, those suffering from all the physical, mental and moral ills that afflict humanity, including hunger, neglect, unemployment and despair.

. . . you will also want to seek out the structural reasons which foster or cause the different forms of poverty in the world . . . so that you can apply the proper remedies.²¹

Whatever may still need to be said about Maryknoll's current stress on human environment, the magisterial credentials of the theme itself can hardly be questioned.

4. Latin American liberation theology may be the most influential source of all. Although the evidence is mainly circumstantial, there can be little doubt that Gustavo Gutiérrez and his associates played an important role in the society's environmental turn in 1978. The quasi-official approbation of liberation theology at the Medellín Conference had all of ten years to work its way into the chapter delegates who gathered at Maryknoll in 1978, especially those from Latin America. The latter came with firsthand experience of unjust social conditions, and of creative Christian efforts to challenge and replace them. Since liberation theology, for its own reasons, is as thoroughly committed to environmental analysis as are the planning principles that Maryknoll had embraced prior to the chapter, it is safe to assume that these lines of thought worked together to give the resulting "Mission Vision" its characteristic shape.

5. The fifth and final source of the environmental anthropology of the Seventh General Chapter lies implicit in two sources already mentioned. The structural analysis of Edward Gerlock and of the Latin American liberation theologians can never be entirely divorced from the influence of Karl Marx. Nor should it be. Without his pioneering efforts, contemporary social consciousness and cri-

tique, even that which calls itself Christian and Catholic, could never be fully explained. This dependence is openly expressed by the two writers who had most to do with the versions of structural analysis operative in the chapter: François Houtart in the case of Edward Gerlock, and Gustavo Gutiérrez in the case of liberation theology.²² In his apostolic letter celebrating the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, Paul VI, after noting certain dangers associated with Marxist analysis, recognizes its potential value for discriminating Christians.²³ The principle at work here is as old as the "spoils of Egypt" idea elaborated by the fathers of the church: whatever enhances the truth, no matter where it comes from, belongs by right to Christians.

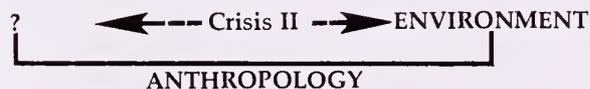
However close these sources may come to explaining Maryknoll's current emphasis on environment, the emphasis itself is beyond dispute. As of 1978, the society officially recognized the massive import of social structures in the human centering of salvation, and the difference this should make for the setting of missionary priorities. While this development was enthusiastically welcomed in some quarters of the community, in others we find a spectrum of resistance, ranging from vague feelings that something is out of balance, to outright criticism of the Office of Justice and Peace, the Department of Social Communications, and its subsidiary, Orbis Books. This disagreement is the general locale of Maryknoll's Crisis II. Here, as in the earlier controversy, voices are being raised against the alteration of familiar missiological terrain. If I read the mood correctly, it is a fear of reducing missionaries to the status of social workers or political agitators, albeit in the name of Christ. Although the Seventh General Chapter's preoccupation with environment could be carried in this direction, there is nothing to indicate that the chapter itself had anything like this in mind. On the other hand, those who misinterpret the intention of the chapter are sometimes misinterpreted themselves. For the most part their reaction is not against the evangelization of cultures and structures as such, but only against extreme and exclusive expressions of this concern.

My own reading of this controversy is that there are legitimate concerns on both sides. The environmental or structural factors that surfaced at the chapter have a valid claim to inclusion within Maryknoll's missionary agenda. But so does the caution that the work of evangelization not be reduced to the transformation of sociopolitical institutions. I believe that the protagonists of Maryknoll's Crisis II would have little difficulty reaching agreement on general principles of this kind. Why then the continuing crisis? As already indicated, I think it is because the ground floor of the problem is still vague enough seriously to complicate constructive exchange. More specifically, I am not so sure that those who protest the onesidedness of the current environmental turn of the society really know what a more balanced approach would look like. They know something is wrong but not with the kind of detail needed to specify what is right.

Those on the other side of the debate suffer from the same ambiguity. In their attempts to avoid reductionism, they too seem unsure as to what it is beyond the transformation of social structures that must be included in the task of mission. The result is a frustrating series of encounters with the "other side" with little hope of identifying the real issues, much less resolving them. Indeed, the really distressing thing about the present controversy is not the new surge of missiological unrest in the Maryknoll Society, but the context of confusion in which it is taking place. This is why the most urgent need at the moment is less that of taking sides than of taking stock of what the sides really are. Until we can gain a better understanding of the alternatives that compete in its depths, Crisis II, both in Maryknoll and in the wider missionary world, will function more as an obstacle than an aid to what missionaries are supposed to be doing in behalf of the gospel.

Naming the Alternatives

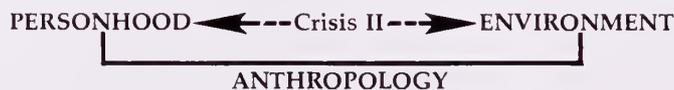
We have already taken two steps toward resolving the anonymity of Crisis II. I have suggested that, at bottom, the debate is a matter of *anthropology* and that within this framework some missionaries have taken sides on the relative importance of *environment* in mediating God's deliverance. But this leaves us one term short in our attempt to grasp the alternatives of Crisis II. We still don't have a name for the other sector of the human mystery that, all will agree, cannot be reduced to environment. The problem can be easily diagrammed:



A good illustration of this predicament is to be found in the following paragraph of Maryknoll's "Mission Vision" of 1978:

We have seen that the lives of men and women today are controlled by the socio-economic and political structures of society, some of which are hostile even to the work of evangelization. *As part of our task of mission*, we would consider it particularly important today to devote ourselves, together with the people we serve and with other [persons] of good will to identifying, critiquing and, whenever possible, transforming these forces for the benefit of authentic human development.²⁴

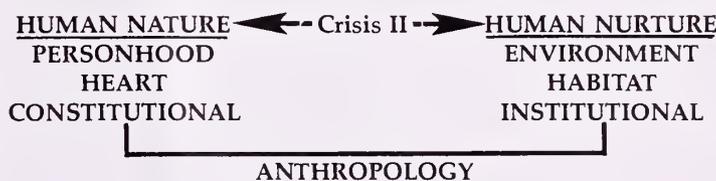
The words I have italicized show the document's awareness that the missionary enterprise is not to be reduced to the evangelization of the social order. As important as this activity may be, it is only part of the comprehensive task of mission. But this is as far as "Mission Vision" goes. It clearly recognizes that something other than our humanly created environment needs the ministry of the gospel, but we are never told directly what it is. In order to discover it we have to rely on an earlier paragraph of the same document dealing with what it means to be poor and powerless. In the third example of this condition we are referred to: "those who are enslaved by sin of either a personal or structural nature."²⁵ In this juxtaposing of the structural with the personal, we are as close as "Mission Vision" ever brings us to what missionary activity addresses in addition to social and political concerns. The sphere of the personal poses its own pathological problems clearly distinct from though not unrelated to the societal structures within which they emerge. Ministry to the human person, therefore, is what must be added to the transformation of human systems and societies if we are to think of mission in comprehensive terms. This advance can now be included in our diagram:



Here, for the first time in this study, we have both ends of the tension that constitutes Crisis II.

There are, however, several other ways of naming the anthropological realities we have called "personhood" and "environment." The basic idea is captured, for instance, in the distinction between the heart and the habitat, or the constitutional and the institutional. But the most useful designation of all, and the one I shall rely on for the most part in the remainder of this study, is the classic distinction between human nature and human nurture. These terms, with their long and venerable history in the behavioral sciences, remind us not only that our own debate has a counterpart in the public forum, but that a wealth of empirical

data have already been gathered in its name. With these considerations in mind, we can add the finishing touches to our diagram:



Deprived of their anonymity, the competing alternatives of Crisis II are one step closer to the possibility of constructive debate. The remaining step is to determine with greater clarity and detail the content of the terminology we have assembled and thereby the realities they represent.

The Distinction in General

What is it about human existence that gives rise to the distinction between nature and nurture and the other terms in our diagram? The surest, if not the most scientifically nuanced, answer I have found is attributed to T. S. Eliot. He spoke of the two types of problems we face in life and of our ways of dealing with them. "In one case, the appropriate question is, what are we going to do about it? In the other case, the only fitting question is, how do we behave toward it?"²⁶ This distinction between the aspects of human existence that control us and those that, for better or worse, are controlled by us is behind the scenes of almost everything else that can be said about the borderline between nature and nurture.

Human Nature

Human nature, then, is what we experience, both individually and collectively, as the given or built-in aspects of our lives, the biologically and ontologically inherited things that apply universally to humankind, things we never had a chance to vote on before they became part of what it means to be human. At the center of this endowment, which we can accept or resist but never be rid of, is a relentless collision of opposites. Which is to say, we are at one and the same time paradoxical combinations of freedom and limitation, power and weakness, vitality and mortality. Human nature, in this sense, has received classic expression in the words of Shakespeare:

What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust?²⁷

In our own day similar expressions can be found. According to Aelred Squire, "it is of the essence of the human situation that man exists between the naturally limited and limiting world of the body at the physical end of the human scale and the naturally unlimited world of the spirit at the opposite pole,"²⁸ or, in a phrase attributed to Abraham Maslow, "we are simultaneously worms and gods."²⁹

Human nature means all of this and more, for we have yet to explain what gives rise to the opposites that collide within us. To do this we must return to the question of personhood. It is only insofar as human nature is at once within and beyond its borders that the borders themselves can be distinguished from what is beyond them, and that human nature itself can take account of the fact. In other words, the paradoxical shape of human

existence and our awareness of it is the product of inner energies that ceaselessly transcend their own being to the point of folding back upon themselves in reflective consciousness. This, however, is the work we normally attribute to the dynamics of the human self, which is the very stuff of personhood.

The final thing that must be said about human nature is implicit in what we have already considered. My use of words like "collision" and "paradox" has already pointed to the turbulence that inevitably accompanies our day-to-day striving between freedom and limitation. The reach that continually exceeds our grasp is no formula for tranquillity. Herodotus knew this in the fifth century before Christ, when he commented that nothing in human life is more to be lamented, that a wise man should have so little influence. Simply to live is to know agitation, as we are told by a philosopher of our own day, Ernst Cassirer:

Wherever we encounter man, we find him not as a complete and harmonious being but as a being divided against himself and burdened with the most profound contradictions. These contradictions are the stigma of human nature. As soon as he attempts to understand his position in the cosmos, man finds himself caught between the infinite and nothingness; in the presence of both, he is incapable of belonging to either one of them alone. Elevated above all other beings, he is also degraded below all; man is sublime and abject, great and wretched, strong and powerless, all in one. His consciousness always places before him a goal he can never reach, and his existence is torn between his incessant striving beyond himself and his constant relapses beneath himself. We cannot escape this conflict which we find in every single phenomenon of human nature. . . .³⁰

The best designation I have found for the experience these writers have in mind is "anxiety." A nervous, nagging disruption of consciousness that is perhaps the most demanding price we have to pay for the privilege of being human. It is exacted at every moment of every day despite some ingenious efforts to convince ourselves of the contrary. One such effort is the illusion that this anxiety is like a case of measles which one may never contract in the first place, and, even if one does, can be overcome with proper care. Although some fears and anxieties may come and go in this fashion, what we are talking about here is neither occasional nor abnormal. The anxiousness we feel at the simultaneous freedom and limitation of our existence is as native to the human spirit as blood pressure and breathing are to the body. Indeed, the more normal we are, the more likely we are to experience the depths of this malaise. To avoid it altogether, on the other hand, would be to abandon life itself.

In sum, human nature has to do with those dimensions of our existence that are necessary and irreversible. But this is a volatile endowment. It combines at its very center what would seem to be irreconcilable elements: an endless hunger for the infinite shackled by an ever present burden of finitude. The resulting anxiety is deep and pervasive, but it is also the badge of our humanness. What remains to be said about human nature is that it does not exist in a vacuum. And this brings us to our next concern.

Human Nurture

In contrast with human nature, the nurture dimension of our existence refers not to the contours of our being as such, but to the whole range of humanly created systems and structures that condition everything we are and do from the very beginning. Be it noted that the reference is not to nurture as such, but to human nurture. We are dealing with the several environments that derive from human initiative, not with the manifold physical environ-

ments of the world. Human nurture has to do with the institutions of so-called civilized society and not with the other nurturing entities of the cosmos.

The brevity of this description simply indicates that human nurture is the easier category to understand. How it is to be evaluated in comparison with human nature brings us to the next section of our study.

Weighing the Alternatives

Discovering the names and meanings of the alternatives of Crisis II gives us new access to the missiological turmoil of our day. We are no longer condemned to debating in the dark. Dealing with our differences in terms of nature and nurture makes it clear from the beginning that we are struggling with different views of what it means for the human mystery to mediate salvation. The task still ahead is to refine and compare the views themselves in light of the truth that has taken flesh in Jesus.

The wider controversy about nature and nurture centers mainly around the analysis of human behavior. It asks whether the borderline between our creativity and our destructiveness passes, in the first instance, through the human heart, or through its humanly created habitat. Some of the responses given to this question since the Enlightenment are related to those dividing the protagonists of Crisis II. In the seventeenth century, for instance, Thomas Hobbes asserted that it is in the very nature of all human beings to be at war with each other.³¹ A century or so later, Rousseau went to the opposite extreme. For him, the root of our mutual inhumanity is not anything built into human nature as such, for which the Creator alone would be responsible, but the inequality that human beings themselves have built into civilized society.³² This debate reappeared in the nineteenth century when socialist principles challenged the assumed role of human nature in destructive behavior. Dostoyevsky gives a lively account of the issue:

Only fancy, Rodya, what we got on to yesterday. Whether there is such a thing as crime. . . . It began with the socialist doctrine. You know their doctrine; crime is a protest against the abnormality of the social organization and nothing more, and nothing more; no other causes admitted! . . . Everything with them is "the influence of environment," and nothing else. Their favorite phrase! From which it follows that, if society is normally organized, all crime will cease at once, since there will be nothing to protest against and all men will become righteous in one instant. Human nature is not taken into account, it is excluded, it's not supposed to exist!³³

Indeed, one is reminded of the clash between Kierkegaard and Marx on the role of anxiety in human destructiveness. What the father of existentialism saw as the immediate precondition of such behavior is reduced in Marxist doctrine to an unfortunate but curable residue of oppressive social conditions.³⁴ In our own century the contending positions are confronted with a new datum, the unprecedented violence of modern warfare. According to Erich Fromm, this experience has handed human nurture an explanatory burden larger than it can bear.

Thinkers of the Renaissance and later of the Enlightenment . . . claimed that all evil in man was nothing but the result of circumstances, hence that man did not really have to choose. Change the circumstances that produce evil, so they thought, and man's original goodness will come forth almost automatically. This view also colored the thinking of Marx and his successors. The belief in man's goodness was the result of man's new self-confidence, gained as a result of the tremendous economic and political progress which started with the Renaissance. Conversely, the moral bankruptcy of the West which began with the First World War and led beyond

Hitler and Stalin, Coventry and Hiroshima to the present preparation for universal extinction, brought forth again the traditional emphasis on man's propensity for evil.³⁵

This trend, favoring the role of nature in human behavior, has by no means carried the day. Witness the continuing popularity of B. F. Skinner's behaviorism, which addresses pathological conduct exclusively in terms of the context in which it occurs.³⁶ Lastly, there is the current debate between sociobiology and cultural anthropology over the respective import of genetic inheritance and cultural conditioning in the shaping of human conduct. According to Edward D. Wilson, everything we think and do is anchored solidly in human nature, simply because the genes that program our every move are gathered there. If the genes are bad, so will be the behavior.³⁷ Not so for the anthropologists. For them the culprit is culture. "It is not human nurture but human nature that is the cause of human aggression."³⁸

Christians engaged in the missiological dispute I have been calling Crisis II know something of the tension I have just attempted to survey. For we also are divided, at a level that sometimes evades consciousness, on the relative importance of nature and nurture as anthropological categories, and the difference this makes for the way we think about and go about mission. Some are caught up in a groundswell of enthusiasm about how many of our real problems proper sociopolitical management can solve. Others, without denying the environmental factor, sense that the mystery of iniquity will yield only superficially to whatever genuine benefits can be derived from substantial change in the social order. As Christians and missionaries, however, we are probably not at odds in the way Rousseau seems to have been with Hobbes, or in the way Montagu seems to be with Wilson. Our differences on the nature-nurture question are real, but they may not be as radical as might have appeared prior to our use of these categories to specify the alternatives of Crisis II. The only way to test exactly where and how deeply our divisions run, however, is to compare contemporary Christian claims on the relative importance of human nature and human nurture in the mediation of sin and salvation. How do Christians today tend to weigh the alternatives we have so recently named?

Christian commentary on the foundational role of human nature in pathological behavior is available in abundance. To introduce the theme, let me return to my earlier reference to T. S. Eliot. Having distinguished two types of human problems, the solvable ones (which I associated with human nurture) and the unsolvable ones (which I linked with human nature), the distinguished poet is said to have drawn the following conclusion: "The deeper problems in life are of the latter kind."³⁹ In other words, problems that throw us directly up against our limits and reduce us to utter helplessness before them, these are the foundational occasions of the ills that plague our world. For when the human self experiences its own limitations, it always does so in conjunction with its endless longings. The inevitable result is the anxiety already referred to as the ongoing precondition of selfishness and sin. Uneasy with its own precariousness, the human self will resort to any means to maintain its security and significance. As Otto Rank put it, "the fundamental problem is *individual-difference*, which the ego is inclined to interpret as inferiority unless it can be proved by achievement to be superiority."⁴⁰ In essence, this is what the pathological universe gets back to when human nature in the form of selfhood or personhood is taken as its center.

The insight is a commonplace of Christian wisdom. Solzhenitsyn had it in mind when he observed that "the line separating

good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either—but right through every human heart. . . ."⁴¹ With slightly more tact, Charles Davis expresses a similar view: "The core of the disorder lies in the self. The self has to be healed; its attempt to control the universe is the sickness to be cured, not a source of remedy."⁴² On the same point, Sebastian Moore has given us as good a summary as we shall find: "Evil is operative in us as the denial of our contingency through fear and as the cognate fascination with ourselves. It is the inescapable narcissism of consciousness."⁴³ The theme is repeated in William Thompson's study of Jesus:

For we must finally ask what it is that impedes the possibility of authentic community and solidarity in history. I am aware that some would want to stress the priority of the transformation of social structures as the principal means through which an authentic human solidarity can be achieved. But probing of the New Testament symbol of "Satan" has led me to believe that the deepest source of alienation transcends even humanity's social structures, and is rooted in the threat of meaninglessness and lovelessness, the anxiety caused by death, and by man's own finite nature as a finitude which can lead to isolation and anxiety rather than to trust in the Infinite. Thinking of salvation primarily in terms of the reform of the social structures does not seem to penetrate deeply enough the full depth of Christian thinking about salvation.⁴⁴

Thompson's reference to the "anxiety caused by death" is an important refinement. Such is the anxiety that gives birth to destructiveness. It would be difficult to improve on Joseph Haroutunian's account of the matter:

It appears that ever since the emergence of the self-conscious individual upon this earth, there has also been a diseased spirit which has, by its anxiety about death, filled the world with unreason and evil. When we consider the superstitions and idolatries and inhumanities which anxiety about death has produced in the world, we must go further than to call this anxiety infantile and immature. It is an imbecility, a deadly corruption, murdering madness, for which religions and philosophies have failed, by and large, to produce a proper and effective antidote.⁴⁵

The idea that destructive anxiety is basically anxiety about death resonates not only in Christian minds, but in some of the best of those dedicated to modern behavioral science.⁴⁶

The foundational status of human nature in Christian pathological reflection can be seen also in statements on the way evils that germinate in the heart relate to those resident in the structures of society. One of the most striking of these occurs in "The Heart," a poem by Francis Thompson:

Our towns are copied fragments
From our breast;
And all man's Babylons
Strive but to impart
The grandeurs of his
Babylonian heart.

On a more technical level, Paul Tillich harbored similar thoughts. In the following passage, Joseph Haroutunian attempts to describe them:

In finitude and anxiety Tillich thought he had found the quality of humanity which transcends both clime and culture. He insisted, in his own way and with his vast resources, that there is a human nature which is the presupposition of culture and not the product of it. The anxious animal, according to him, with his depth of reason, is the creator of cultural forms, and not the creature of certain cultural patterns. He has existed under all cultures, and will exist under any culture to come. No culture, no society produced by "tech-

nical reason," by science and technology, will make of man a non-anxious animal, because no culture will prevent his thinking as a finite being without destroying him. The anxiety that goes with the "depth of reason" is humanity. Remove the anxiety, and you remove the humanity. . . . Tillich's whole philosophical and theological enterprise is built upon the thesis that culture is produced by human beings, and human beings as thinking beings are necessarily anxious and religious. Without denying that human life is formed differently in different cultures, Tillich insisted that humanity, man who asks the question of being, is the creator of culture and that any human culture draws its substance from the asking of the question of being, and therefore from anxiety and religion. . . . Man thinks as an anxious being and creates his culture as an anxious being.⁴⁷

In substance, this is also the mind of Reinhold Niebuhr, whose long years of social ministry convinced him that oppressive social systems bear the imprint of malignity at work on a deeper level.

Every form of human culture, whether religious, rational or scientific, is subject to the same corruption, because all are products of the same human heart, which tries to deny its finite limitations.⁴⁸

Therefore all human life is involved in the sin of seeking security at the expense of other life. The perils of nature are thereby transmuted into the more grievous perils of human history.⁴⁹

Other indications of Christian insight on the foundational impact of nature on nurture are to be found in Vatican Council II. They occur in *Gaudium et Spes* ("Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World"):

In human beings themselves many elements wrestle with one another. Thus, on the one hand, as creatures they experience their limitations in a multitude of ways. On the other, they feel themselves to be boundless in their desires and summoned to higher life. . . . Hence they suffer from internal divisions and from these flow so many and such great discords in society.⁵⁰

To be sure, the disturbances which so frequently occur in the social order result in part from the natural tensions of economic, political, and social forms. But at a deeper level they flow from man's pride and selfishness, which contaminate even the social sphere.⁵¹

The principals elaborated in Vatican Council II are clearly at work in the advice Karl Rahner once gave to his fellow Jesuits on the reconciliation of religious life and social activism.

It is simply not true, but basically a very old-fashioned and peripheral illusion, if we should think that the people of tomorrow will expect nothing more from us than social involvement, secular humanism and brotherliness. Talk with the people behind the iron curtain, the people with a socialism, which—with all our reservations—is something of an ideal for many of us. There you will notice that those people expect from us a living answer to those ultimate problems which cannot be answered by any socialism or by any earthy paradise of capitalist or socialist kind. . . . Will we never make a job of foreseeing the really coming thing, and introducing it? . . . The coming thing is sober peace in the face of all the absurdity of existence, the absurdity which no social development will spirit away. . . .⁵²

The several statements we have just examined are intended neither to deny nor to minimize the reverse impact of nurture on nature. The point is simply to take note of a strong Christian tendency to radicalize the kind of pressure exerted in the other direction.

Since the quality of a consultation rightly depends on the spectrum of people consulted, and since the several I have called

upon so far, excepting Reinhold Niebuhr, are not conspicuously associated with reflection on and ministry to political and social environments, I would like to turn now to two Christian thinkers who are, and who nevertheless confirm, directly or indirectly, that the pathological universe in its most radical proportions is occasioned by the tensions inherent in human nature. One of these, Jürgen Moltmann, is a leading European authority in the field of political theology and a major influence on the thought of Latin American liberation theologian Jon Sobrino. In the following reflection, Moltmann does his own weighing of the nature and nurture dimensions of human malice:

It follows for the Christian churches that they must fulfill further their old task of employing the Word of the cross to destroy religious idolatry and personal fetishism and to spread the freedom of faith into the very hovels of the obscure. Its new task then will lie in struggling against not only religious superstition but also political idolatry, not only the religious alienation of man but also his political, social, and radical alienation in order to serve the liberation of man to his likeness to God in all areas where he suffers from inhumanity. In this sense, I think, it would also be the task of the churches today to develop "social critical freedom" in institutions. I say "also" because man is basically enslaved by anxiety, and liberation from anxiety happens in the first place through faith—not through social improvement.⁵³

One of Moltmann's main counterparts in Roman Catholic Europe is Edward Schillebeeckx. Few contemporary Catholic theologians have attended to the social and political ramifications of the Christian vision with greater competence and detail than he does in his two massive volumes *Jesus* and *Christ*. Yet, near the end of the second volume, Schillebeeckx makes clear that the pathological principles he had been working with all along are solidly rooted in human nature.

Therefore for us the central problem is: how and what salvation do we claim to find in Jesus of Nazareth? There are many possibilities which restore man to himself, so that he can be who he is for others and in so doing find liberation, redemption, joy and ultimately peace. We have seen that there is certainly a possibility of doing away with some human alienation with the help of science, technology and new structures. At the same time, however, we have seen that this real possibility only affects such alienations as are the result of physical, spiritual and social conditions—limitations of human freedom which can in fact for the most part be removed by opposition, coupled with knowledgeable and active effort. Moreover, in these liberations we can see shreds of God's redemption: through man and the world. The question, however, is whether man does not experience deeper alienations, an alienation which is essentially bound up with our finitude, with our involvement in a nature which is alien to us, with solitude, with suffering because of and in love, with suffering because of our mortality, suffering also because of the invisibility of the hidden God, suffering finally because of our personal and collective guilt and sin: the dirty hands of our human history with so much innocent suffering, injustice and injury, the tears of human and divine indignation.⁵⁴

Here, as in the previous comments, Christians consistently discover the foundational occasion of sin within the confines of what we have called human nature. This, however, is only part of the story.

Christian attention to human nature is not confined to its pathological potential. The interest extends also to its role in constructive and creative activity. Indeed, before it can be anything else, human nature is the privileged locale of God's presence to us as grace. If grace did not invite us beyond ourselves in the first place, we would never experience the reflective consciousness that makes our nature what it is. While such consciousness may oc-

casation monumental devastation, it also lends itself to the noblest accomplishments of the human spirit. "The glory and tragedy of the human condition," says Arthur Koestler, "both derive from our powers of self-transcendence. It is a power which can be harnessed to creative or destructive purpose; it is equally capable of turning us into artists or killers. . . ."55 Reinhold Niebuhr treats the same theme under the heading of "imagination," the power "which surveys the heavens, aspires to the stars and breaks all the little systems of prudence which the mind constructs. It is this imagination which is the root of all human creativity, but also the source of all human evil. . . ."56 At work here is the principle mentioned earlier in this study, whereby the power of evil is most destructive at the very point where we are gifted with the greatest potential for good. The demonic finds its way into our hearts by distorting the hunger for transcendence that inclines us to our proper destiny. Take, for example, the gift of love:

Love is . . . a quest for the infinite. This is in a way the beauty but also the tragedy of man. We always want to go further and wider, higher and deeper. This is at the heart of mysticism in all civilizations and religions. We seek union with the infinite: it is this which is the source of many experiments with drugs or alcohol: it is this which is at the source of all human activity. This quest for the non-finite is the deep motivation in domination—to possess more and more power. So it is also in love.⁵⁷

The grandeur, therefore, as well as the misery of our existence is rooted deeply in the complexities of human nature.

But Christians, especially today, are also aware of and concerned about the role of human nurture in the drama of sin and salvation. Accordingly, the original plan of this study was to examine at this time a thesis diametrically opposed to the one we have just considered. It would have maintained that the environmental concerns of human nurture are really the deepest level of the pathological universe and its soteriological counterpart. I had

"As far as I can tell, there is no serious theological attempt to make nurture rather than nature the deepest occasion of sin and deliverance."

intended to gather testimony showing that some Christians look to humanly created systems and structures rather than to the anxiety of the human heart as the true foundation of the human predicament and its Christian solution. This would have opened both positions to the view of all and prepared the way for a constructive exchange between the protagonists of Crisis II.

However, as I began to search for Christian testimony attributing to human nurture the kind of foundational status already accorded human nature, it became more and more clear to me that there really isn't any. As far as I can tell, there is no serious theological attempt to make nurture rather than nature the deepest occasion of sin and deliverance. This applies even to liberation theology, with its consistent effort to underscore the contribution of social systems and structures to human well-being. Even here, where we might expect to find it, environmental concerns are

never granted foundational status. On the contrary, Gutiérrez himself seems to presume that what we have been calling human nature exercises genuine priority in the explanation of behavioral patterns. In a short reflection written in 1973, the Peruvian theologian distinguishes three levels of liberation. The first of these, which he labels economic, social, political, and cultural, is "what we see first, not necessarily the most profound. Normally one goes from what is visible to what is deeper."⁵⁸ Later in the same article, Gutiérrez shows the urgency of this first stratum of liberation without compromising a deeper reading of the problem, which he attributes to his Christian vision: "I work with university people who are political extremists. They find that the first level is the most fundamental. But I believe that if a Christian does not get up and out of this level of political liberation, he mutilates himself as a Christian. He even forgets one aspect of reality: the conflict between grace and sin."⁵⁹

The sociopolitical liberation that is "most fundamental" for his colleagues is not so for Gutiérrez because the deliverance he has in mind must happen on two other levels in order to happen in depth. It is not enough simply to change the oppressive structures within which many people live. People themselves must be delivered from false consciousness and from sin if liberation is to deal radically with human bondage.⁶⁰ Even for Gutiérrez, then, environmental factors relate to those of human nature more as superstructure to substructure, more as adjective to noun.

What does all this mean with regard to the opposing views that constitute Crisis II? Simply that the opposition itself may not be so much a matter of theory as of practice and application. Things widely agreed upon in principle are not always given consistent expression, and this now seems to be the bottom line of the mis-siological tension we have been dealing with in this study. Accordingly, the best service that can be rendered in the remaining pages of this study would seem to be a few reminders regarding the strengths and weaknesses of our two perspectives.

Those more inclined to underscore human nature can easily fall into the ideological trap that promotes passivity in the face of oppressive environments that are, in fact, susceptible to change. There is a subtle attractiveness in deciding, often prematurely, that certain obstacles to human growth and development are inoperable. We are thereby delivered of responsibility and have the best of excuses for putting aside a heavy expenditure of time and effort. Behind this mentality, with greater influence than we are likely to imagine, is the notion that we can do away with institutional oppression simply by changing the hearts and minds of those who staff the systems themselves and make them work. Our common experience, however, should make us wary of this all too facile approach. We know that some ways of organizing social and political life can maintain a constant level of injustice in spite of the many good people who function within them. Personal virtue simply does not rub off on the ills of the social order if unaccompanied by direct challenges to the structural shape of those ills. No more than Isaac could recall the blessing he mistakenly gave to Jacob can human hearts, merely through the process of conversion, do away with the systems to which they have given birth. Once the umbilical cord has been severed, these systems may assume a life and power of their own, impervious to any corrective short of radical revision or replacement.

If these temptations can be properly managed, there is much to be said for any Christian and missionary vision alert to the intransigence of human nature. There is, indeed, no better cure for the discouragement that feeds on naïve expectation. For all the frustration, there will be no surprise and, one hopes, no abandonment of effort, when we discover new forms of bondage emerging from the very ashes of the inhumanities we worked so hard to destroy. Having done our best to overturn and supplant

the manifold violence of the social order, we shall ready ourselves for the next wave of iniquities, which the human heart will never stop devising until its native anxiety is swallowed up in glory. With Jesus, we shall learn to expect a human future laced with poverty (Mk. 14:7) and war (Mk. 13:7), not because these are tolerable realities whether from a human or a Christian point of view, but because expecting ever to be entirely rid of them is a good way of ensuring that we never shall be. For whenever we stake our future too rigidly on lasting results, we have already built into it, unconsciously perhaps, a point beyond which efforts in behalf of justice and peace will seem entirely futile, a goal hardly worth the trouble to pursue. The Lord's curious musings on poverty and war, therefore, having nothing to do with throwing in the towel in the face of overwhelming opposition, but with the staying power needed to carry the conflict to its eschatological term, to continue caring when deprived of the satisfaction of curing, to become, as Richard J. Neuhaus once proposed, long-term, rather than short-term radicals.

Under the heading of human environment, or nurture, a corresponding list of banes and benefits can be gathered. Here, in contrast with the sphere of nature, we are in the realm of things we can do something about. Social systems of our own making can be remade or unmade as the case may require. Here too, however, a subtle illusion can distort our vision. How tempting to reduce the most important things in life to elements over which we exercise full control. How satisfying to our sense of industry and accomplishment to get the roots of human pathology out of the deep recesses of the heart and into the more accessible province of social and political institutions. "There's man all over for you," says Samuel Beckett, "blaming on his boots the faults of his feet."⁶¹ Or, in a paraphrase of Reinhold Niebuhr, "Modern man will . . . go to any extreme to locate the source of evil outside himself."⁶² This is nothing but the brisk air of the Enlightenment, which we in the West have been breathing for upwards of two centuries, an irrepressible moral optimism based on the assumption that the prime occasion of human destructiveness is entirely containable by appropriate human effort. Despite the blood-drenched decades of recent history, this way of thinking is the going premise of the world in which we live. The fact that Christians themselves are not immune to such extravagances is evident in the liberal Protestant assault on original sin in the last century, and in later Social-Gospel attempts to explain this embarrassing doctrine almost exclusively in terms of defective social engineering. When it comes to the question of salvation, this mentality is equally allergic to the terrible immobilization rightly associated with the event of Calvary. "If I had a symbol for Christianity," says Alec McCowan, "it would be a man rolling up his sleeves, not the cross."⁶³ This is an extreme case, and McCowan is not a theologian, but he does illustrate one of the dangers to which unqualified acceptance of the nurture perspective can give rise.

If we can escape the pitfalls just described, including the more subtle ones, then the emphasis we placed on human nurture can foster initiatives of the highest Christian and missionary significance. We shall be convinced that economic, social, and political barriers to the work of God need not and should not be tolerated, and that moderate optimism about a future delivered from many of the institutional burdens of the present is a consistent Christian hope worthy of the effort needed to bring it about.

How, then, do our Christian scales react when we place human nature on one side and human nurture on the other? Based on the materials we have just considered, several conclusions can be drawn: (1) both perspectives are solidly Christian concerns; (2) while intimately related, each has its own integrity requiring direct ministerial attention; (3) nature is the foundational reality in re-

lation to both sin and salvation, but nurture is its ever present conditioner; (4) lack of foundational status does not imply lack of importance; (5) what is foundational is not necessarily in most urgent need of attention at any particular time.

Unlike Crisis I, whose alternatives exclude each other, those of Crisis II are complementary. Whether the church or the human mystery is at the center of the soteriological universe is, like the original Copernican debate, a question of either-or. As for the nature and nurture perspectives of the human center itself, however, the only adequate formula is both-and.

Missing the Point

Having proposed that the elemental shape of Crisis II is anthropological, and having developed in some detail its competing alternatives, I would like to take a brief look at two rather popular solutions to the controversy, which, in my view, are based on superficial readings of its underlying point of contention. These attempts to resolve the conflict have two things in common: they both stem from a search for balance by those otherwise committed to environmental concerns, and, as already indicated, they both

"Simply baptizing a one-dimensional anthropology with Christian doctrine will not necessarily make it whole."

show little or no awareness of the anthropological analysis of the crisis that forms the basis of this study. Let me now distinguish the two solutions I have in mind.

For some, the best way of stressing environmental and structural factors in a responsible way is simply to keep them in touch with the gospel. Sociopolitical extremism can be avoided by persistent reference to the Christian tradition. An important example of this approach can be found in a document that seems to have had considerable influence on Maryknoll's Seventh General Chapter. It is a proposal about chapter methodology, the initial phase of which is to analyze the "world reality" within which Maryknoll works. This reality "is composed of two aspects: the sociological and doctrinal."⁶⁴ While not deemed exhaustive of the reality they describe, these aspects are the ones "that influence Maryknoll's mission."⁶⁵ Whatever the intention of the author, the legitimate and necessary coupling of human science and Christian teaching in the theological project is in this case compromised by the suggestion that the data of sociology can give adequate expression to what is truly important for missionary consciousness, as long as these data are conjoined with Christian doctrine. What is overlooked here is that a narrowed down or truncated approach to the human mystery will not necessarily be broadened by reliance on the doctrinal tradition, unless, of course, that tradition itself is pressed to the point of revealing its own more comprehensive anthropological premises, which is at best a roundabout solution to a needless complication. Reducing our approach to the "world reality" to sociology and doctrine is just as unacceptable as reducing it to psychology and doctrine. In each case something vital to what our humanness entails has been excluded. Simply baptizing a one-dimensional anthropology with Christian doctrine will not necessarily make it whole. For the real tension of Crisis

II is not between sociology and doctrine but between sociology and the other sciences needed to do comprehensive justice to what it means to be human. If the elements of human nurture are not complemented from the very beginning with those of human nature, it is far less likely that the resulting reductionism will be cured by the gospel than the gospel itself will be reduced in the process.

A second, equally inadequate way of preventing an over-emphasis on human nurture is to intensify one's practice of the spiritual life. As long as there is careful attention to prayer and fasting, and to the service of one's neighbor, this will somehow compensate for a more or less exclusive emphasis on social systems and structures. Although I cannot document this procedure in the way I did its predecessor, I believe a kind of wedding between social activism and spiritual renewal has been underway roughly since the beginning of the 1970s. During this period there was growing pressure on liberation theologians to produce a spirituality of liberation, a project that seems to be developing well at the present time.⁶⁶ My concern is not to play down the growing spiritual sensitivity of social activists or the gradual coming to expression of the spiritual depths of liberation theology, developments which I can only applaud, but simply to suggest that in the long run the only way of correcting a restricted anthropological vision is to expand it.

Those who miss the anthropological point of Crisis II may do so to some extent under the influence of Marxism, especially if they work within the ambit of liberation theology. This is because the critical stance Christians naturally take toward the atheism of the Marxist tradition does not always extend to the far more dangerous deficiencies of Marxist anthropology. A one-sided, environmentalist focus on what it takes to achieve human deliverance is just as contrary, and probably far more destructive, to the Christian ideal than the outright denial of God. I say this because Christians are less likely to be deprived of belief in God than of a comprehensive view of what it means to be human.

Facing the Point

If Crisis II is to enrich rather than impoverish missiological reflection, there is no substitute for facing into the anthropological tensions that gave it birth. Those on either side of the debate owe it to themselves and to the missiological community to make their anthropological premises clear. Those inclined to reduce the human mystery to nature, on the one hand, or nurture, on the other, should be willing to say so. Or, if the inclination is simply toward emphasizing one more than the other, this too should be made known. Once this kind of clarification has been made, the protagonists of Crisis II will know the shape of their real differences, and each side will be able to move toward the kind of consistency of thought and expression needed for constructive dialogue. By way of illustration, let me turn again to the recent history of the Maryknoll Society.

The first item is a proposal submitted to the Seventh General Chapter in 1978. The signers asked that the following statement be included in the preamble to the assembly's formal statement to the membership:

1. Maryknoll, as a community of Christians trying to be honest to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, chooses to take the side of and participate in the struggles of the poor, the oppressed and the exploited of the world.

2. This requires a growing awareness and critical analysis of systems, structures, and classes that are the root causes of poverty, oppression, and exploitation.⁶⁷

From one point of view this is a straightforward diagnosis of

human injustice. The corruption is anchored deeply within certain humanly devised arrangements for living in community, or in what we have been calling human nurture. There is no indication that anything but the sinful shape of social institutions occupies the ground level of such malice. If any of the pressure we have discussed under the rubric of human nature has a place here it is not given expression. One can only conclude, therefore, that the category or what it stands for is unknown, or that it is known but consciously excluded, or that it is both known and included, but with the kind of minimal importance that makes it unworthy of mention. Whichever of these alternatives applies, making it explicit would greatly facilitate the creative unfolding of Crisis II.

If, on the other hand, such a reading of this statement is too severe, if the phrasing does not mean to exclude the constitutional turmoil of human nature as the soil in which the "root causes" are themselves rooted, then only a substantial revision of the text would make this clear. As it stands, the statement can be seen only as an exclusively environmentalist reading of institutional violence. As far as Maryknoll is concerned, the point is academic, for the chapter never accepted the proposal as written. I refer to it here because it is a reasonably good example of statements about missionary practice whose anthropological premises might be forced to greater specification by the kind of analysis we have been doing in this study.

Among other recent statements of this kind in the Maryknoll Society, perhaps the most important is the formal "Mission Vision" of the Seventh General Chapter. Since I have already gone into some detail describing the predominant environmentalist, or nurture, orientation of this document, I shall now ask, as I did of our previous sample, what this means in terms of the discussion generated by Crisis II. My own ability to live with, and indeed benefit from, the vision statement of 1978 is due in great part to my assumption that its all but exclusive focus on systems and structures is simply a way of alerting the membership to a relatively new and thoroughly vital dimension of the missionary enterprise. I have never read the "Mission Vision" as an attempt to reduce the missionary activity of the society to the evangelization of nurturing institutions or as an affirmation that such ministry is more important or functions on a deeper level than its sister ministry to the perilous tensions at work in human nature. Indeed, I have taken for granted that the "Mission Vision" assumes the foundational stature of the human heart in matters concerning both sin and salvation, and that it moves beyond this assumption to the several environmental factors that condition for good or ill what the heart itself devises. One of the reasons why I feel the "Mission Vision" is open to the interpretation I have just given is its own admission that it deals with only "part of our task of mission."⁶⁸ Given the special sense of urgency about environmental matters today, the fact that the "Mission Vision" does not give human nature its due does not necessarily preclude recognition of its primacy among the various human needs that call for missionary activity.

But I may be wrong. Maybe this is not what the "Mission Vision" intends to convey. Perhaps the environmental concerns of the document are thought to be so superior in importance to those of human nature that they are the only ones that need to be dealt with. Although this interpretation would complicate my own acceptance of the "Mission Vision," I would welcome it as another way of surfacing Crisis II as a Maryknoll phenomenon. More than anything else at this time, missionaries need to bring their differences about nature and nurture into the clear light of day. If this study can contribute something to this end it will have been well worth the effort.

Conclusion

Whether or not Crisis II exists anywhere but in my own head will be decided in the long run by missionaries patient enough to stay with a lengthy manuscript and discriminating enough to weigh its thesis against their own recent experience. If they find the proposal wanting, one can hope that the very process of reaching

this decision will provide benefits of its own. On the other hand, if these pages speak to missionaries of something real, of a new and potentially dangerous breach of missionary consciousness, and if they are ready to confront this crisis on its deepest level, there is every reason to expect that a solution consistent with the essentials of Christian wisdom will be forthcoming.

Notes

1. "Guidelines for a New Theology of Mission," *Worldmission* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1967-68): 16-24; reprinted in Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky eds., *Mission Trends No. 1* (New York: Paulist Press, 1974), pp. 23-36.
2. *Lumen Gentium* ("Dogmatic Constitution on the Church"), no. 16.
3. "Statements of the Mission Vision of Maryknoll, 1978, and the Society Objectives," no. 14. Hereafter referred to as "Mission Vision."
4. A convenient summary of these developments can be found in the "Preliminary General Council Report for the Seventh General Chapter," dated April 7, 1978. The document is available in the Society Archives.
5. *Chronicle of the Seventh General Chapter of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers* (1978), vol. I, p. 1.
6. "Mission Vision," no. 3.
7. *Ibid.*, no. 9.
8. *Ibid.*, no. 11.
9. *Ibid.*, no. 13.
10. *Ibid.*, no. 14.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, no. 15.
13. *Ibid.*, nos. 10-12.
14. *Ibid.*, no. 20.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 22.
16. *Ibid.*, no. 25.
17. *Ibid.*, no. 33.
18. The best detailed description of the planning process that influenced the Seventh General Chapter is to be found in the Mission Research and Planning Department's *Social Analysis according to Gospel Values* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, 1979). Page 4 of this document gives a short history of its production and of planning procedures in Maryknoll.
19. John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*, no. 83, as rendered in Claudia Carlen, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1958-1981* (Raleigh, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), p. 68.
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21. John Paul II, "Address at Yankee Stadium" (Oct. 2, 1979).
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23. Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971), nos. 32-34.
24. "Mission Vision," no. 25.
25. *Ibid.*, no. 19.
26. William F. May, "The Sacral Power of Death in Contemporary Experience," in Arien Mack, ed., *Death in American Experience* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), p. 120.
27. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act II, Scene ii.
28. Aelred Squire, *Asking the Fathers* (New York: Morehouse-Barlow, 1973), p. 45.
29. Abraham Maslow, "The Need to Know and the Fear of Knowing," *Journal of General Psychology* 68 (1963): 119.
30. Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1951), p. 143.
31. See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (first published in 1651).
32. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dissertation on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality of Mankind* (first published in 1755).
33. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Crime and Punishment* (New York: Random House, Modern Library, 1950), pp. 250-51.
34. See Søren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread* (first published in 1844); cf. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, vol. 1: *Human Nature* (New York: Scribners, 1941), p. 181. See also *Marxism, Communism and Western Society—A Comparative Encyclopedia* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1973), vol. 3, p. 312.
35. Erich Fromm, *The Heart of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 21.
36. B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 24-25.
37. See Edward O. Wilson, *On Human Nature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978).
38. M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Anthropology and Human Nature* (Boston, Mass.: Porter Sargent, 1957), p. 41.
39. May, "The Sacral Power of Death," p. 120.
40. Otto Rank, *Art and Artist* (New York: Agathon Press, 1932, reprinted 1968), p. 42.
41. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago III-IV* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 615-16.
42. Charles Davis, *Body as Spirit* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), p. 60.
43. Sebastian Moore, *The Crucified Jesus Is No Stranger* (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), p. 35.
44. William M. Thompson, *Jesus, Lord and Savior* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 220.
45. Joseph Haroutunian, "Life and Death among Fellowmen," in Nathan Scott, ed., *The Modern Vision of Death* (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1967), p. 82.
46. See, e.g., Rank, *Art and Artist*; Norman O. Brown, *Life against Death* (New York: Random House, Vintage, 1959); Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: Free Press, 1973); *Escape from Evil* (New York: Free Press, 1975).
47. Joseph Haroutunian, "The Question Tillich Left Us," *Religion in Life* 35 (1966): 712.
48. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Beyond Tragedy* (New York: Scribners, 1965), p. 38.
49. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, vol. 1: *Human Nature*, p. 182.
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56. Niebuhr, *Beyond Tragedy*, p. 161.
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58. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Liberation," *SEDOS* 73 (1973): p. 465.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 472.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 467-70; cf. the author's *A Theology of Liberation*, pp. 175-77.
61. Samuel Beckett, *Waiting for Godot* (New York: Grove Press, 1954), p. 8 (Act I).
62. James Livingston, *Modern Christian Thought—From the Enlightenment to*

- Vatican II (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 466.
63. Alec McCowan, *Newsweek*, Sept. 18, 1978, p. 66.
64. James Weckesser, "Chapter Proposals: 1. Chapter Methodology; 2. Post-Chapter—Process of Planned Renovation," Maryknoll Archives: Seventh General Chapter, no. 24, p. 1.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
66. Claude Geffre and Gustavo Gutiérrez, eds., *The Mystical and Political Dimensions of the Christian Faith*. New Series, vol. 6, no. 10: *Concilium* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1974); Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984).
67. *Maryknoll Pre-Chapter Bulletin*, no. 7 (July 1978): 185.
68. "Missions Vision," no. 25.

Responses to the Article by William B. Frazier, M.M.

Carlos Pape, S.V.D.

When speaking of "Crisis I," we need not understand the polarity marked by the two alternatives in the sense of mutual exclusion; it, rather, calls for integration. It is not a question of opposing "humanity" to "Christian community," "church-centered" to "human-centered" mediation, or the church as "sanctuary" to the church as "sacrament."

The salvation that God offers to all does not make the presence and action of the church superfluous. On the contrary, the church realizes salvation precisely by its being an "efficacious sign," which proclaims that very salvation not only in words but also by the witness of its own life. In the church, salvation is experienced in a reflective way, consciously, and open to an ever clearer manifestation.

In the debate of "Crisis I" the "unique" and "absolute" significance of Christ—and therefore also of his church, which is the sacrament of his presence in the world—is pointed out, it is necessary to keep in mind that those qualities can be conceived in two possible ways: by exclusion, namely, disqualification of other values, or, contrariwise, by assumption of those values, which then acquire an unexpectedly new content. This exaltation of the human resounds already in the cosmic Christology of the Pauline letters from captivity. With Yves Congar we have to admit that we are still "far from a full comprehension and consciousness of the absolute catholicity of Christ." For a Christian, this mysterious efficacy of the catholicity of Christ cannot but be a motive of missionary inspiration and enthusiasm.

With this integrative vision we avoid falling into opposites, which may be of either a Manichaean or a Pelagian type. The impetus from conciliar theology has brought us to a more comprehensive appreciation of Christ and his action in the world, and to a corresponding effort of aggiornamento in our theological perception as well as in our missionary activity. A crisis indeed, but one of growth.

When it is said that the human condition "as such" is "foundational instrument" by which God has willed to communicate his life to us, one cannot but ask: How does this mediation of the purely human operate? Is it that the human being, by the mere title of being human already "shares" the life of God? If the life of God for us is grace, namely, gratuitous and unmerited, how does one act in the face of this gratuity? What is one's place in this act of divine condescension? Traditional theology used to speak of *potentia oboedientialis*. Has the meaning of this theological expression become obsolete?

The mediation of the church, on the other hand, is indissolubly linked with the "primordial sacrament," which is the humanity of the Word. Hence it is not an autonomous mediation but, rather, always related to Jesus Christ. Being ecclesial it will be at the same time Christological, although Christ exercises a mediation that goes beyond the church. It is in this context of communication of life, gratuitous and mediated by Christ and his church, that we have to understand the demand that presents the church as *necessaria ad salutem* (*Lumen Gentium*, no. 14).

Two mediations: that of the church, which is simultaneously mediation of Christ, and that of the human condition. Mediations of the same quality? Or are we dealing here again with one grace that "can" assure salvation and with another that wells up abundantly from the mystery of a Christ who is recognized as the supreme gift of God to the world? (cf. the cautious wording of *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 22 and the parallel in *Lumen Gentium*, no. 16). These two are mediations that have to be integrated. The fanaticism or sectarianism that has often dominated the mentality of Christians ought to give way to the universal love of God who "wants everyone to be saved and reach full knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4-5). Contrariwise, the Promethean tendency of humankind has to open up to a salvation that comes from beyond its own resources.

In this process mission will be experienced not as a humiliation that forces a person to strip the self of one's condition as human being but, rather, as a possibility of possessing this condition more deeply; not as a title granting an egoistic distinction over those "in the shadow of death" but, rather, as a call to solidarity in sharing the goods that are meant for all.

Within the scope of "Crisis II," the theology of liberation appears to support the "human-centered view of salvation," according to which "the grace of salvation is mediated through human beings living together in history, relentlessly conditioned by economic, social, and political institutions of their own making." What counts in this mediation are the favorable or unfavorable structures of human life. The grace of salvation finds its way through the structures that foster life and is hindered by structures that militate against the same. Salvation thus acquires an essentially socio-structural connotation, a socio-cultural conditioning. The key word is "structural analysis." When salvation is viewed in this light, Frazier explains, "missionaries who embraced together the human-centered alternative of Crisis I are parting company as they prove more concretely what human mediation entails."

With regard to a theme at once so topical and complex, I would like to propose only a few considerations. In this radical turn toward the anthropological "center," the search is basically for the efficacy of a mission that could transform a reality which, as

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amply documented in the media, appears frightfully unjust, violent, and dehumanized, a caricature of the world created by God, the Father of all people, who are all brothers and sisters. The search is for the continuous interaction that ought to exist between that world and God, between the secular and the religious, between history and faith, between culture and the gospel.

Ever since *Gaudium et Spes* proclaimed the autonomy of these various spheres (nos. 39, 59), there has been a progressive search for their reciprocal relationship. *Populorum Progressio*, *Octogesima Adveniens*, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, *Redemptor Hominis*, and the Medellín and Puebla conferences have been milestones on this way. From an attitude that emphasized autonomy, theology has advanced to an understanding of mission that aims at "integral" person. It takes account of "the unceasing interplay of the gospel and of man's concrete life, both personal and social" (*Evangelii Nuntiandi*, no. 29) and steers clear of both a temporal-political and a religious reductionism (*ibid.* no. 34). "The Church links human liberation and salvation in Jesus Christ, but she never identifies them" (*ibid.*, no. 35).

Interaction but how? This is one of the basic questions of today, as pointed out by Bishop Franz Kamphaus, chairman of the *Justitia et Pax* Commission of the German Bishops Conference:

The formula of the Council of Chalcedon, "without confusion—without division," which constitutes a basic model of any reflection on the faith and which is fundamental for distinguishing and cor-

relating welfare and salvation (*Wohl und Heil*), far from being theological sophistry, remains the starting point and standard for Christian practice and theological reflection. An exact statement of

"From an attitude that emphasized autonomy, theology has advanced to an understanding of mission that aims at 'integral' person."

the relationship of welfare and salvation, taking full account of the present historical hour, is one of the most urgent tasks of theology in need of solution today, also in this country.

Because the question is not resolved, both theologians and missionaries who are active in this field find themselves in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Thus, as Frazier rightly points out, "the most urgent need at the moment is less that of taking sides, than that of taking stock of what the sides really are."

James A. Scherer

Are the two crises cited by Father Frazier confined to an American, Roman Catholic mission community after Vatican II, or can one see similarities and differences in one's own mission constituency? A candid answer requires me to say that change, confusion, and lack of consensus about the foundation and goal of mission also trouble the mission constituency I am most closely associated with. The relation between Christian faith and other living faiths, the centrality of Christ, the relation between Christ and culture, the priority of justice and commitment to the poor, evangelization of non-Christians vs. reevangelization of nominal Christians, churchplanting vs. the church as sign and instrument of the kingdom, mission strategies relevant to both secularism and religious revival—such issues are warmly debated. But it is difficult to identify with the two crises cited by Father Frazier, at least in the form presented, and to agree that they constitute the principal mission crises of our time. At best they are analogous to crises within Protestant missions.

Crisis I concerns the locus of God's saving presence: Is it to be found exclusively within the Christian community, or in the "human mystery" as such? Progressive post-Vatican II missiology, as taught by some, holds that "simply to be a man or a woman is to have all that is necessary to qualify for the gift of saving grace." The world to which the church is sent is not devoid of the saving presence of God; it is "embraced and challenged by the same saving grace" over which Christians no longer hold a monopoly. According to this view, God's saving presence and gifts are mediated directly to the human situation as human beings participate in the "human mystery." The implication is that salvation is not granted "by grace through

faith" to those who hear the good news about Jesus Christ and respond by repenting and believing. Salvation is now mediated without limit to any and all who participate in the "human mystery." The principal reservation seems to be that even what is good can be corrupted. Therefore the gospel message is needed to clarify and correct the "human mystery," protecting it from idolatrous tendencies and abuses.

The locus of the problem is different for evangelical Protestants who have never strictly held the view that "outside the church there is no salvation." For them the issue is overwhelmingly Christological rather than ecclesiological. "No other name" is the concentrated expression of an evangelical concern to safeguard the centrality of Jesus Christ in all discussion about salvation. Protestants have recognized two dominant challenges to this exclusive view, which has dominated past missiology. One comes from those who hold the view that there is indeed salvation for people who, while remaining faithful to their own religious traditions, do not know Jesus Christ or do not acknowledge him as Lord and Savior. The other challenge arises from a universalist interpretation of divine providence. It insists that all human beings are saved through the objective efficacy of Christ's atonement, whether they know and accept it or not. The first of these alternatives has been associated with liberal Protestantism and has a history going back as far as the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. There it led to the Hocking Commission's proposal that mission work abandon efforts toward conversion and concentrate on a "common search for truth" and dialogue about the common goals of all religious communities. The second view, that of Christian universalism, has an ancient history and has recently been rejected anew by the Lausanne Covenant (art. 3) for undercutting the nerve of missionary evangelism.

In short, Crisis I for Catholics appears to stem from an attack on the pre-Vatican II citadel of church authority, with its monolithic system of hierarchy, magisterium, and sacraments. For

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evangelical Protestants, the crisis stems from an erosion of confidence in the distinctive *sola* elements of the Reformation—Scripture alone, faith alone, grace alone—all pointing with unwavering fidelity to the central affirmation, *Christ* alone.

There are, of course, unresolved issues growing out of both Catholic and Protestant versions of the crisis. What is the biblical and theological basis for the statement that simply to be human is to qualify for God's saving grace? What is meant by "saving grace"? Is all grace as mediated by nature and creation defined as "saving"? What is the distinction between creation and redemption? Is redemption seen as continuous with creation, that is, as an enhancement of nature? What is then the meaning of a "new creation" in Christ Jesus? Where are the reality of sin, evil, and demonic power taken seriously? Are they dismissed as simply aberrations of nature and creation? What is the distinctive

"The older tendency to bifurcate mission into either evangelism or social action seems happily to be a thing of the past."

role of Jesus Christ? Is it interchangeable with that of other savior figures? These are fundamental issues of mission theology, both Catholic and Protestant, responses to which will determine whether there is continuing validity and justification for Christian mission today.

Crisis II would appear to be much less of a crisis for Protestants than for Catholics. In some Protestant quarters, liberation theology receives an enthusiastic response. Elsewhere it is greeted with cool, mixed, or critical reactions. Nowhere, as far as I can determine, has it received the official approval or censure of a Protestant denomination or mission agency, and thus its church-dividing and crisis-provoking potential is much less.

It is virtually certain that some mission groups make use of "structural analysis" or something akin to "environmental anthropology" in their long-range planning. Liberationist rhetoric

is frequently invoked in connection with the challenge to battle against oppression and to identify with the poor. Most Protestants who hold these views would see them as fresh insights derived from Scripture, made suddenly and vividly relevant by the deteriorating social and political context of today's mission. A greater number of Protestants, however, would probably be scandalized by such notions, holding that such views represented a capitulation to Marxist ideology or to Leninist tactics. Puritanism and evangelical revivalism, after all, have in the past produced their own agendas of societal transformation and doing battle with the structures of evil.

If the issue is posed in terms of the alternatives of evangelizing persons or Christianizing the environment—saving individuals or saving the social order—people in my circle would stress the urgency of doing both. Personal evangelism, obviously, should not be neglected. But the older individualistic, pietist notion (really a caricature!) of rescuing souls from a doomed world has now been effectively replaced, in both conciliar and evangelical circles, by the view that individuals and groups should be both evangelized and nurtured in their social and cultural contexts. This implies, and certainly Lutherans increasingly support this view, that Christians in their mission have responsibility to advocate justice as they proclaim the gospel, and to work for the liberation of human beings from all forms of oppression. The older tendency to bifurcate mission into either evangelism or social action seems happily to be a thing of the past. It is striking that the Lausanne Covenant could pick up on a dominant theme of the World Council of Churches when it stated that "world evangelization requires the whole church to take the whole Gospel to the whole world." This growing concern for wholeness in mission, far from pointing to a new crisis, is more a kind of preliminary sign of reconciliation among the fragmented forces of mission. What a tragedy it would be for Protestants and Catholics alike if growing consensus on these issues were now drawn into the destructive orbit of ideological polarization.

Some crucial issues remain unanswered. What is the relative priority assigned to evangelism and social concern? How do the two emphases relate in practice? What is the ultimate theological basis for Christian involvement in advocacy for justice as an expression of Christian mission? How does one's view of the world and of history—above all one's eschatological hope and vision of the kingdom—shape one's personal involvement in the struggle against demonic forces? Protestants and Catholics need to engage each other in a missionary dialogue on these issues.

Tom Houston

There are fashions in theology just as in clothes and furniture. There is a sense of such peer pressure in the title and content of William Frazier's article, which marks twenty years on from Vatican II.

There can be little doubt that Vatican II brought crisis to Roman Catholic missiology. Frazier's lucid exposition of the church as sanctuary vs. the church as sign sets out graphically one important fact of that crisis as it affected the Roman Catholic Church.

If this assessment is at all accurate, then there is one more point to be made. It is that the critical factor in both crises is an

underlying one that is as old as the church. It is the tension, often embittered, between the emphasis on grace or law, or their counterparts, faith or works. That tension would appear to be endemic in the life of the people of God from the New Testament until now. The language, the practical issues, and the rhetoric may change, but the essential paradox between Mount Sinai and the heavenly Jerusalem keeps recurring.

Maybe there is a message in this that goes back to the image of two poles. In the physical universe, the poles are always there. You cannot remove one or the other. The force from each creates one magnetic field in which we have to operate. I believe it is so in the recurring areas of paradox and tension in theology. We have as givens certain apparent opposites, neither of which can be exclusive of the other. Grace is paramount, but law is not inconsequential. Faith is essential but can be known only by works. The church is both sanctuary and sign, and human nature and

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nurture will both continue to constitute the missiological agenda.

There was a similar, though not identical, shift in the main-line Protestant churches. Here it was the movement from the church as the "gathered" community, to the church as the "scattered" people of God. It is likely that both expressions of the trend were fed from increasing secularization in the societies in which churches are set.

This was slower in reaching the evangelical wings of the church. This may have been for a reason that is a commentary on William Frazier's method. With considerable skill, he articulates the difficulty of naming the polarities in his second crisis. Then he seems convincingly to tap the data with his silver hammer, and it very neatly separates into the human nature/human nurture tension. Many will be grateful for the literary pearls that he drops in the course of his argument, although evangelicals would have preferred stronger biblical content.

The trouble is, however, that in matters theological there are never only two poles matching the magnetic north and south. There is a hemisphere of poles with many points in its compass matching the other hemisphere of opposites.

In the evangelical world, the idea that there was no salvation outside the institutional church had been firmly resisted for 400 years since Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. In some ways the proliferation of parachurch agencies, with no ties to any church structure, was possible because this Roman tenet was abandoned. It is not surprising then that evangelicals were not so hung up on the sanctuary vs. sign tension. Because of our view of the church universal, we did not have too much of an exclusive sanctuary approach to begin with. We did, however, have our own problems with the secularizing process in society and tended to fight against it longer before rethinking our position in the light of it.

It took the influence of young evangelicals from the third world to get a reformulation of their position in the Lausanne Covenant of 1974. There it was admitted at last that we have a responsibility towards both the individuals and the structures of society as well as to the church, however "church" is defined. But this resolution did not address the same polarities that had pulled at the Roman Catholic Church in Vatican II.

The question arises now as to whether or not human nature vs. human nurture is a real crisis today, and whether or not it is to be seen as such in the evangelical wing of missiology. There is no doubt that a similar tension exists. It has revolved around the debate as to whether or not evangelism is primary and takes precedence over social action. That is still quite a hot debate when it comes to emphases and methodology in particular programs of churches and mission agencies. It would seem, however, that the resolution proposed in the 1982 Grand Rapids Consultation on the Relationship of Evangelism and Social Responsibility is

helping the proponents of each emphasis to argue less and to get on with the tasks of mission. The needs of refugees and famine victims had already drawn evangelicals to do earlier what they would resolve only later theologically.

That resolution had three parts. Social activity can be a *consequence* of evangelism, or a *bridge* to it, or a *partner* in it. It is important, however, to note the reasoning behind that restatement. It was agreed there that there is a logical priority for evangelism because one cannot get Christian social action until one has Christians. More important still was the admission that there is an essential priority for evangelism because it relates to the eternal destiny of people, whereas social action relates to their temporal and material well-being. This has a bearing on William Frazier's thesis about Crisis II. When the emphasis in Roman Catholic churches moved from sacrament to sign, it would seem that for some it became implicit that salvation could be present for people with no connection to the church, even if their loyalty was to another religion or to no religion at all. That was an idea that evangelicals were not ready to accept on face value. While admitting that there are no ends to the mystery and sovereignty of God, and that only "the Lord knows them that are his,"

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there has never been a willingness to entertain the idea that everyone will be saved in the end, willy-nilly, or that salvation is possible outside Jesus Christ.

Similarly, in the human nature/human nurture tension, it is the solid rejection of universalism that keeps evangelicals on the same side that William Frazier seems to come down on, that the nature factor has to take precedence over nurture. This solidarity, therefore, reduces the crisis proportions of this debate. Unless human nature is redeemed by the grace of God in Jesus Christ, any human nurture is fleeting and insubstantial, although still required out of love of the neighbor. So long as evangelicals believe this and act in this way, the second crisis will not be a crisis for them. There may be those who will shift ground and move to another camp on the issue, but there is little sign that such defections will be many.