Forty years ago a repatriated missionary from China launched this journal in New York City as the *Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library*. The first issue, a sixteen-page mimeographed report, dated March 13, 1950, dealt with a topic that preoccupied many mission analysts: Missions in China. The present issue of the *International Bulletin* carries a tribute to our founding editor, R. Pierce Beaver, who died in 1987. F. Dean Lueking, in “The Legacy of R. Pierce Beaver,” notes that his mentor would be surprised “to learn that his life is a legacy”; but he would nevertheless “be glad for whatever enhances the mission” of Jesus Christ.

Missionary research continues to be the raison d’être of the *International Bulletin*. This is especially well reflected in our January issue, with its much-appreciated annual features “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1990,” by David B. Barrett, and the editors’ selection of “Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1989 for Mission Studies.” Readers will also appreciate the continuing series “Mission in the 1990s,” with articles by Desmond Tutu from South Africa and Neuza Itioka from Brazil.

Associate Editor James M. Phillips offers “Three Models for Christian Mission,” identifying basic approaches or stances that have informed mission through the centuries. Robert Coote, Assistant Editor, weighs the impact that Lausanne II in Manila is likely to have on world evangelization. And our colleague and former Associate Editor, Norman Horner, provides a winsome reflection on his personal pilgrimage in mission. Given the name of our journal, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, we take special satisfaction in Horner’s comment about the term missionary: “Rather than abandon the word ‘missionary’ we should elevate it to its rightful place in a new era of partnership with the churches in the Third World.”

Wilbert Shenk’s “The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China” may be viewed as reflecting the missionary community’s long-term commitment to missionary research: Here we are, on our fortieth anniversary, back where Pierce Beaver started, taking a fresh look at the development of mission and church in China. We wish you profitable reading in missionary research.
The Legacy of R. Pierce Beaver

F. Dean Lueking

If he were still with us it would surprise Robert Pierce Beaver to learn that his life is a legacy, both distinctive and distinguished, in the life of the church in the twentieth century. He was by nature a modest man, not given to wondering if his lifework was building a legacy as a scholarly teacher of the history of the Christian mission and tireless gatherer and preserver of the writings of those who made mission history.

All who knew him even superficially could sense an innate quality of reserve in the man, and all who knew him quite well can understand that he would be not a little impatient with attention to his life that stressed flattery but missed substance. Thus there is some risk in writing of the Beaver legacy. But I think he would be forgiving as well as approving, since my purpose is to portray his lifework as that which must be central and ongoing in the life of the church. Above all, he would be glad for whatever enhances the mission. In that confidence I am grateful to write of what he leaves us as a churchman, pastor, missionary, professor, scholar, librarian, and interpreter of the missiological data of the church’s mission in times past and present.

The legacy of Robert Pierce Beaver has varied strands. He knew and taught the history of the Christian mission. He contributed uniquely to its furtherance by gathering and preserving scattered and obscure documents of the more recent centuries of the Christian church in mission. He worked with imagination and diligence to find a proper repository for these documents. He fostered the idea of a mission research library and center. The uniting thread in all of these strands was to call the church to continued missionary obedience. This legacy took form through his labors during the middle decades of the twentieth century, when the nature and forms of missionary obedience went through nothing short of a seismic shift. The mission was no longer west to east, north to south: The mission was everywhere. His legacy was to help the church sense that and respond to it with a faithful spirit and a disciplined mind. From the 1930s to the 1970s, he not only saw these unexpected turns unfolding but experienced the disruption of these turbulent years in his own person and family. He trained a keen mind and a historically informed eye on the meaning of these things for the course of Christ’s Gospel through the church for the world. He saw and performed tasks no one else undertook. He forged a legacy without ever bothering to notice if anyone was noticing.

At the heart of the Beaver legacy is, of course, a person with qualities that made him memorable as an individual as well as formidable as a scholar. All of us who were his students have our Beaver stories. Mine comes from an event from his early teaching years at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago in the mid-1950s. This happened during one of the evening meetings often held in the Beaver home. The entire class he was teaching that quarter was invited over for supper, since he was required to miss the regularly scheduled lecture due to an out-of-town lecture. Supper gatherings were his way of making up such required absences. As Wilma Beaver kept the food coming, Professor Beaver kept the table conversation lively. It was a typical Beaver gathering—ecumenical, international, inter-faith. His living room became the lecture room, no less demanding intellectually for its friendly, informal setting. On this occasion Beaver had invited Bishop Stephen Neill to join us. Neill was a guest lecturer at the University through Beaver’s arranging. It was an exceptional opportunity for us to hear two superb minds on the subject of the world mission of the church. I recall that Professor Beaver ended the evening with prayer, as he had also begun it by asking a blessing upon us and our food.

A modest, intellectually meticulous, warmly hospitable, academically demanding, genuinely spiritual man stood at the heart of the legacy which gave us far more than he himself would claim.

He was born on May 26, 1906, in Hamilton, Ohio. His father, James Beaver, worked with the Game and Fish Commission of Ohio. He was not active in the church. His mother, Caroline Nuesch Beaver, was a native Hamiltonian who exerted a positive spiritual influence upon her son. As a youngster, Pierce was even more influenced by the local pastor of the First Reformed Church of Hamilton, Ohio. William Kissel was one of those gifted ministers who recognized unusual qualities in the youth of the congregation and planted seeds that were to mature in later years.

In his high school years Beaver met Wilma Manessier, a classmate he managed to sit next to in several classes. That high school romance ripened into a continuing romance during their college years at Oberlin, Ohio. Wilma Manessier became a kindergarten teacher, then she became Wilma Beaver for the next sixty years. They had three children: Ellen, who died in infancy, David, who went to China with them at age of three, and Stephen, who was born in China.

Pierce completed his baccalaureate studies at Oberlin College in Ohio and stayed on to take a Master’s Degree in art history in 1928. During the next four years he moved toward the vocational direction that became his lifework. He entered Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, for graduate study in history and completed his doctorate there in 1933. His Ph.D. dissertation on the interaction of church and society in North Africa at the time of Augustine drew together key elements that interested him throughout his life: history, the Christian presence, and the societal environment. He took courses at the University of Munich in 1931–1932, no mean feat, considering that the depression years cut deeply into the pockets of graduate students as well as other segments of the American population.

While finishing his graduate studies at Cornell, he also completed his preparation for the ministry. He was made a minister of the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1932, serving pastorates in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Baltimore, Maryland, from 1932 to 1936. These were years of long-range importance, developing Beaver’s strong sense of the place of the congregation in the life of
The memories of serving men, women, and children in congregations gave him a critical perspective on the congregation bashing prevalent in much of mainline Protestantism in the 1960s and after. He was too serious a historian to be taken in by trends that mirrored the culture. That disinclination to follow fads served well all his life and brought a durability to his conviction about the inseparable connection between congregation, church, and mission.

His distaste for faddishness did not leave him without a perceptive awareness of the flaws in the church, however. In the same lecture cited above, Beaver applied his customary directness to his own ecclesiology and the tempering it had received over the years:

When I came here [to the divinity school] sixteen years ago I thought of the church as the continuation of the Incarnation. Now I cannot say that. It is blasphemous. The church is too dismembered, lame, blind, deformed, ugly. The Incarnation is beautiful, perfect, and came once in history. When the church calls itself the continuation of the Incarnation it becomes puffed up with spiritual pride and tends to usurp the role of Christ himself. No, the church is not the extension of the Incarnation, but it is the body of Christ—only that. And that is saying a great deal.

It is the organism through which the risen regnant Lord and Savior is at work in the world. A spirit communicates and acts through a body. Jesus Christ present in the church by the Holy Spirit acts through it, mediating God’s reconciling love to men. Most of us know some magnificent personality who accomplishes great things through a miserable and decrepit body. So actually I have come to a much higher evaluation and appreciation of the church than when I thought of it in more pretentious terms, and this view better accords with Paul’s teaching of the church as Christ’s body.  

The memories of struggles and failures in his own pastoral ministry come through in these words, as well.

The half-dozen years from 1938 through the end of World War II were a time of hopeful beginnings and unanticipated endings. Beaver went to China in 1938, just as the menace of Japanese pretensions to pan-Asian dominance became ominous. He went out under the auspices of the Evangelical and Reformed Church to teach at the Central China Union Theological Seminary in southern Hunan Province. No sooner had he and his family settled into their new locale than the Japanese invaders abruptly removed them. Wilma and the two little boys left China on orders...
from the American embassy and returned to the United States. Pierce, however, whose health had deteriorated from the rigor of the work in Hunan, was unable to make the long trip. Instead he was sent to Hong Kong, arriving there just one day before the Japanese bombed and occupied the city. His Hong Kong internment lasted for seven months. He was repatriated on the first Gripsholm exchange ship, and his eventual return to the United States ended a two-year separation from his wife and family.

After regaining his health, he served the Mission Board of the Evangelical and Reformed Church by taking speaking engagements. In 1943 he was loaned to Lancaster Theological Seminary, where he taught till 1948. The disruption he experienced was not time lost, although it must have seemed so at the time. He experienced firsthand the exigencies of war and the roughshod manner in which tender seeds planted in faith apparently disappear and die under the heel of those who bring death instead of life. The futility and chaotic turns of those years taught Beaver never to underestimate the fact of sin in every human being. It also showed him firsthand how discontinuities in mission can become an occasion for God to act in new and unexpected ways. He kept tracking this mysterious Providence, especially in the course of the mission in China, which seemed to die out after the ongoing name for the publication. *Occasional* was an understatement; the bulletin appeared from ten to sixteen times a year during the seven years of Beaver’s editorship.

The *Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library*—now the *International Bulletin*—filled and continues to fill a critical gap in the English-speaking world of missiological research. Beaver supplied the quality of scholarship and theological depth that made it a respected and much-used publication by teachers, students, church administrators, missionaries, and clergy throughout the United States and the world.

Upon Beaver’s leaving the position as director of the MRL in 1955, President John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary (where the MRL continues as a part of the seminary library) paid tribute to Beaver’s leadership in these words:

> He was an extraordinary librarian, or rather, strategist in building a library. His scholarship was very remarkable in its breadth, and [in] the tenacity of his hold on facts. He was an imaginative and devoted worker, who made the library not merely a collection of books and materials, but a center of research. . . .

Beaver’s work through the MRL is a paramount aspect of the legacy he leaves us. He scanned the rapidly changing world of global mission at the mid-point of the century, just as momentous shifts were beginning to take form. He called attention to promising new men and women from Africa, India, and the Far East. His own article in the *Occasional Bulletin* on single women missionaries, which appeared in 1953, became a book: *All Loves Excelling*. Well before the subject of women in the life of the church was widely recognized, Beaver was describing women of great gifts and faithfulness in the world mission. He also touched upon other often-neglected themes, among them issues of race and nationality in North American missions and the plight of the American Indian in the missionary enterprise. In 1953 he provided the first directory and statistical listing of Protestant mission agencies in the United States, keeping a running update in subsequent issues. No one else was attending to these varied strands in the field of missiological research. When he left, the work did not stop, which is what distinguishes a legacy from a personal dynasty.

In 1955 Beaver entered a new mission field, although the University of Chicago community may not have thought of itself as such. Nor did Pierce Beaver fail to honor the excellence of his gifted colleagues and students in and beyond his field. But he was clear and unapologetic about his distinctive vocation among his colleagues. He sensed that the West was in profound transition in respect to the mission of God in the world. For several centuries Europe and North America had been commonly assumed to be the established Christendom, the sending base of mission to the lands of the heathen. Beaver was among those who saw deeper. The sending lands needed to be receiving lands, as well. Within a decade of Beaver’s going to Chicago, the Vietnam War and the bitter reactions to it became signs of a spiritual wasteland that Beaver recognized and pondered. It was no longer farfetched to recognize Hyde Park as mission territory. The devastated houses, the grip of racism, the explosive rise of crime, and the advent of the drug culture made the matter plain: The redeeming power of the risen Lord was as needed in Chicago as in Zimbabwe or Nepal.

In 1953 Joseph Kitagawa and Jerald Brauer of the divinity school faculty had proposed that the long-standing Chicago tradition of rigorous academic theology be leavened by a scholar in the field of Christian mission. There was more daring in this proposal than one might think. The very concept of the Christian
mission itself was viewed with condescension, if not disdain, by many in the university faculty and student body.

Beaver was a splendid choice. He had a sure grasp of what he came to teach. He was not given to stridency in asserting the significance of what he knew and believed. He was open to learning from all sources, remembering that God is not limited to the church. With a fascinating blend of self-deprecation, intellectual excellence, and tartness in confronting those who were insufferably ignorant of the Christian mission, he was quite willing to teach those willing to learn.

How well did it work, this Kitagawa-Brauer proposal to bring a mission historian to the divinity school faculty? Exceedingly well. Beaver found his way naturally and for the right reasons into the respect and affection of colleagues and students and he remained there throughout his sixteen years service, being named professor emeritus upon retirement.

Perhaps my own experience can serve as a paradigm to suggest the extent of the Beaver legacy. I came to the divinity school as a doctoral candidate shortly before Beaver began teaching. I had recently returned from a two-year vicarage in Japan. My interest at the divinity school was to prepare myself for a return to the Far East with a more adequate grasp of Buddhism and other aspects of Asian religion and culture. Joachim Wach and Joseph Kitagawa were excellent mentors, and I thought I was on my way. Then Wach died suddenly in 1955 and Kitagawa was enmeshed with other duties in the department. One spring afternoon in 1956, I sat down under a tree on the campus and explained my dilemma to Jaroslav Pelikan. He suggested that I consider switching my study focus from the Asian receiving side of the mission to the history of the American sending side. He then urged me to talk with a new member of the faculty about this—Robert Pierce Beaver. I did so. Within the first half-hour, I was struck by his immediate grasp of the possibilities of my new direction and his astonishing knowledge of where to find the sources I needed for the study.

I learned why his students referred to him as a walking encyclopedia. In the seminars, the research institutes, and clergy ranks around the world there are many who join me in regarding Robert Pierce Beaver as the ranking historian of missiological data in the middle decades of the twentieth century. We are all in his debt.

Following his retirement from the University of Chicago, he kept a steady pace of continued research and writing as well as serving as the director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center in Ventnor, New Jersey (now in New Haven, Connecticut). He filled this post from 1973 to 1976. Brief though they were, these three years contributed to the Beaver legacy. He brought the full maturity of his mission-teaching vocation to the task. The associate director at that time, Gerald H. Anderson, worked with Beaver and followed him as director. The fruitfulness of that association is evident in the continuing legacy of the OMSC and its publication, the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH. In 1976 Beaver edited the large volume of essays, American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective, which earned Robert Handy’s tribute as one of the most important books in the field of religion to arise out of the bicentennial celebration. Gerald Anderson calling Beaver a “bridge person,” one who was trusted across the theological spectrum with his gifts, is another confirmation of Beaver’s legacy.

In 1976 he and his wife retired to Arizona. He continued his lively interest in the world mission, writing, lecturing, and taking short teaching assignments in various theological schools. In 1981 a stroke brought that to an end. Until his death on November 20, 1987, he lived quietly with Wilma in Arizona, appreciative of family and friends despite the limits of declining health. Several months before he died, he spoke of the final boundary over which the Gospel takes the People of God:

We know that our coming into this world must have been a tremendous adventure. And I am convinced that the greatest adventure of all still awaits us as we go to meet our Heavenly Father.

That testimony is at the heart of the Beaver legacy. I’m glad we have it from him. It is his witness, right to the end of his life, to the empowering grace of Christ that calls the faithful of all the ages to the mission that will continue until its fulfillment in the final Day of Christ.

Notes
2. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

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Mission in the 1990s: Two Views

I. Desmond M. Tutu

Preamble

It has taken me a very long time to note something that must be obvious to many people. In Leviticus God commands Moses to tell the people of Israel, "... be holy because I your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2ff). I should have realized long ago that this meant at the very least that God's people were expected to reflect the character of the God they worshiped, the God who had so graciously chosen them and delivered them from bondage. This fact was meant to provide the motivation for much of what they were expected to do in the area of ethics. They had to act in a way that was an *imitatio Dei*—they had to be generous and compassionate to the widow, the orphan, and the alien (Deut. 10:18, 19). They had to side with the powerless, the marginalized, because this is how God behaved toward them. They had to reflect this aspect of the divine character, they had to have the same concerns as the God they worshiped (Deut. 15:12–15, Lev. 19:9ff, 19:34).

This principle could be extended backwards to the time of creation, so that human beings, who were made in the divine image (Gen. 1:26–28), were expected to reflect God's character, conducting themselves in a manner that was intended to mirror the divine conduct and concerns. For us, the new people of God, the new Israel (Gal. 6:16, 1 Pet. 2:9ff), the agenda of our concerns is set by God, who cares about us and all that he has created.

Our activities should not therefore be a matter of random choice, as if we had an option in the matter. We do not. God gives the command and ours is to be obedient to the divine imperatives.

Priorities for Mission

Mission is a divine enterprise. We have the great privilege of being invited to be God's collaborators, God's fellow workers (1 Cor. 3:9, Matt. 28:18–20, Mark 16:16ff), to accomplish God's goal when the kingdoms of the world will become the Kingdom of our God and his Christ and he shall reign for ever and ever. Amen.

God's intention was for all creation to exist in harmony and peace, as primordially represented by the idyllic existence in the paradise of the Garden of Eden, where there was no bloodshed, not even for religious sacrifice, for all in the garden were vegetarian (Gen.2–3). When that primordial peace and harmony were shattered, God's efforts were directed at recovering that which was lost—disintegration, alienation, and disunity were to become unity, togetherness, and harmony. And so we have the nostalgic vision of Isaiah II making a Hermann Gunkel speak of "Endzeit ist Urzeit"—"endtime would be as the time of the beginning"—or the unity in Christ spoken of in Ephesians 1:9ff. Jesus who would be our peace, breaking down all kinds of walls of separation (Eph. 2:14ff), making all peoples one people, fulfills the vision in Rev. 7:9ff.

We are thus exhorted to work for a just order where all of God's children will live full lives characterized by *shalom*. Concern for justice, righteousness, and equity is not fundamentally a political concern. It is a deeply religious concern. Not to work for justice and peace and harmony against injustice, oppression, and exploitation is religious disobedience, even apostasy. Thus one major mission priority is to work for the extension of what Jesus Christ called the Kingdom of God on earth characterized by *shalom*. The followers of Jesus would want to see the will of his Father being acknowledged and done on earth through zeal for the ob-
servance of human rights, to ensure that God’s children would live harmoniously, as God intended them.

Earth should be a place where each is recognized as a person of infinite worth with inalienable rights bestowed by God, their Creator—where race, culture, religion, sex, and nationality are not used as means for denying some access to the resources God has made available to all. Where none is given an unfair advantage over others on the basis of something as extraneous as race, color, culture, sex, and so forth.

In proclaiming the Kingdom of God, we should seek to work for a recognition of the truth that we are created for interdependence, for togetherness, for fellowship, for family. We are meant for a delicate network of cooperation and interdependence (Gen. 2:18ff). That is the fundamental law of our nature, and when that law is flouted, all kinds of things go desperately wrong.

It is a religious imperative to be concerned about the arms race, about the threat of nuclear holocaust when we spend obscene amounts on budgets of death and destruction. A fraction of those amounts would ensure that God’s children everywhere had a decent family life, with adequate housing and a clean supply of water, enough food, satisfactory education and health services in a community that ensured that children would not die prematurely from easily preventable diseases such as kwashiorkor, pellagra, TB, diphtheria, measles, and so forth.

This would be a society where people mattered more than things and profits, where cooperation and working together were at a premium and harsh competitiveness and horrendous self-aggrandizement were frowned on. We would be working for communities where compassion, caring, sharing, and gentleness were again admired and not despised; where human beings were valued for who they are—those created in the image of God, redeemed by Jesus Christ, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and indwelt by God the Holy Trinity. People would be valued not because they were achievers or consumers, those who had to do something in order to matter, but simply for who they are. They are to be reminded that they are of more value than the sparrows, not one of which falls to the ground without the Father noting it (Matt. 10:29–31). The hairs of their heads are numbered and their names are engraved on the palms of God’s hands. They count, they are of infinite worth with inalienable rights bestowed by God, their Creator—where race, culture, religion, sex, and nationality are not used as means for denying some access to the resources God has made available to all. Where none is given an unfair advantage over others on the basis of something as extraneous as race, color, culture, sex, and so forth.

We have been made to have dominion over the rest of God’s creation (Gen. 1:26ff). Many are agitated that the biblical injunction appears to have been used as an excuse to exploit creation and God’s natural gifts to us irresponsibly and wantonly out of our human arrogance. We are meant to have dominion, but it must be dominion as God would exercise it—compassionately, caringly, responsibly. It is sacrilegious to be so wantonly wasteful of God’s creation, using up irreplaceable fossil fuels as if the supply were endless. It is a religious task to be concerned about ecology, about the purity of the air and water, about damage to rain forests and the ozone layer, about the greenhouse effect, about threatened species (both fauna and flora). These concerns will be mission priorities as we seek to make the universe more humane and “user friendly” and not red in tooth and claw.

In the face of much tragedy and catastrophe, when many wonder whether life is just sound and fury signifying nothing, we must continually stress that there is meaning in it all, that it is a drama that has point. There is a denouement. It is the story of a God who has not remained aloof but is Emmanuel, God with us (Isa. 7:14), who has heard our cries, who knows our suffering, and who has come down to deliver (Exod. 3:7f). The story is of one who, though equal with God, did not reckon this something to be snatched at, but emptied himself, took on the form of a servant, and became obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. One whom God has highly exalted, giving him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus all knees should bow for the glory of God the Father (Phil. 2:5–11).

The story calls us to go forth into all the world to make disciples of all people, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (Matt. 28:19f). We are being taught how to live with a bewildering but glorious plurality of peoples, cultures, faiths, and ideologies in a world that is shrinking rapidly into a global village where we are all neighbors.

When will we learn to live as brothers and sisters? It is only then that we can survive; otherwise, as Martin Luther King, Jr., warned, we will perish as fools.

II. Neuza Itioka

When Dr. Wilbur Pickering and his wife reached the upper Amazon in 1963 to begin their missionary career, they knew exactly what they would do. He would begin translating Scripture portions into the language of the Apurinã Indians. He knew these primitive people were animists. Demons were central to all their activities. Birth, death, marriage, child rearing, fishing and food gathering were all in some way related to their spirit world.

As Dr. Pickering related the task to his thorough training in theology, linguistics, and anthropology, he was confident he could do the job. What he did not realize was that his mission board, in a peculiar kind of naiveté, had sent him to his field unprepared to understand or deal with the dark spiritual realities of an animistic culture.

One day as Dr. Pickering was walking through the village, he suddenly fell to the ground with acute abdominal pain. The pain subsided and he got up, only to be thrown to the ground with the same pain. By now, Indian bystanders were laughing

Born in Brazil of Japanese parents who went to Brazil as lay missionaries to the large Japanese population in Brazil, Neuza Itioka is on the training staff of AVANTE, a cross-cultural missionary sending agency in São Paulo. She is also a missionary of Overseas Crusades. Earlier she worked in campus evangelism with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of Brazil and on the staff of TransWorld Radio. She has a Doctor of Missiology degree from Fuller Theological Seminary and has published two books in Portuguese.
at him. Dr. Pickering got up and went on his way, completely baffled by his strange experience.

Later, to his astonishment and shame, Dr. Pickering realized he had been attacked by demons. The laughing Indians knew very well what was going on, even though he did not. Forced to rethink the reality of the spirit world, he opened his Bible and began a serious study of supernatural power. Later, he lamented that he had not been as effective in evangelizing the Apurinás as he might have been, had he been trained to work with the spiritual powers he encountered there.¹

The problem Dr. Pickering confronted firsthand is not restricted to primitive, animistic cultures. It is also at work in the secularized, atheistic culture of a country like Uruguay. “Train-

There would be neither mission, nor church, nor salvation if the Son of God had not triumphed over the powers of evil on the cross.

ing in spiritual warfare is the most important preparation we can have for missionary work here,” says Celso Thomanzini, a young missionary working there. “In evangelization and church planting we must understand how to deal with supernatural evil power.”²

Over the years the Uruguayan government has systematically abolished Catholicism as the official religion. Today Uruguayan boast that they are the first truly secular society in Latin America. They are proud of the “intellectual objectivity” that has made religion the least important area of their lives.

Looking beyond the official claims of secularization, however, the careful observer sees another reality: There is a presence of spiritual death, oppression, and indifference. Even though they have been taught that their beliefs and practices are shameful, spiritist “healers” recognize the hunger of a so-called secular people and carry on a clandestine ministry.

The Protestant and Evangelical churches in Uruguay are very small. But a small group of missionaries has begun to engage in spiritual warfare through fasting, prayer, and addressing the powers of darkness. They do not face primitive animism, as did Dr. Pickering in the Upper Amazon, but they confront the same principalities and powers in an urban guise. In a very short time they have been able to establish a church in what was thought to be a very unresponsive area.

Spiritual Evil Power

Certainly one of the most important issues worldwide missions must face in the 1990s is how to confront the destructive supernatural evil forces that oppose the missionary enterprise. For too long the western church has tended toward an intellectual expression of its faith, failing to face realistically the supernatural manifestations it must confront.

A major failing of much of the church in the past and today is the loss of a biblical perspective of reality. What is our mission? Is it not to rescue people and nations and lands from the power of Satan, bringing them to acknowledge the true God in submission to his lordship? Because of this loss of perspective, many missionaries find their work does not bring about the results they had hoped for.

Nature of Christ’s Work

If we consider the nature of the work of Christ and the call of his church to give continuity to this work, we will agree that we must focus on what Jesus came to do—destroy the work of the devil (1 John. 3:8). How did Jesus do this? The gospel tells us he listened to the Father and obeyed him. He spoke the words of the Father and ultimately destroyed the power of darkness on the cross. In fact, Jesus came to die on the cross so that he might put to shame the principalities and powers, to disarm them and make a public example of them, triumphing over them in him (Col. 2:14, 15).

There would be neither mission, nor church, nor salvation if the Son of God had not triumphed over the power of evil on the cross. By this act Christ overthrew the old world system under Satan and established a new spiritual system under his lordship.

The church of Jesus Christ is called to do the same: to participate in building this new spiritual order, to rescue humanity from the old system. This task involves the supernatural work of a triune God in the persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. It is only with their involvement that people will be rescued to become a new creation.

Western Worldview vs. Biblical Worldview

In a gradual and subtle way, the western church has identified itself with a rationalistic, scientific, materialistic worldview that leaves little room for the supernatural. Even when humanistic anthropologists and sociologists began to investigate supernatural manifestations³ Christians failed to take note. How ironic it is that it is Christians who ignore or at best only pay lip service to supernatural reality in the world today.

Have we forgotten that Paul said our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers? Do we believe he was speaking only of human political organizations and institutional power?

Our perception in this area is so dull that only a few have pursued a careful study of the forces behind the scene controlling human, political, social, and economic institutions.³ This power must be recognized as a spiritual evil power that controls the whole world (1 John 5:18).

Modern science is said to rest upon a faith that is the fruit of the long schooling of Europe in the worldview of the Bible.⁴ But our western Christian worldview is incomplete. For our convenience, we have abolished the spirit world and mistakenly concluded that the biblical worldview deals only with the rational. In truth, the biblical worldview includes the supernatural, with God, angels, demons, and people moving in the same realm.

The result of this inadequate view of spiritual reality is that missionaries implant a secularized kind of Christianity.⁵ We did away with what we called the superstitions of ignorant, uneducated people. As a result, many converts were forced back to their old ways of life because there was no place in their newly adopted Christian worldview for the supernatural power they saw at work on a daily basis. This is tragic because it is at this juncture that the Holy Spirit is supposed to be at work.

Unfortunately our western theology and missiology have not taken seriously the person of the Holy Spirit. Part of the problem began with the Reformation. In reaction to the mystical elements of Roman Catholicism, all mystical approaches to faith were discouraged. Supernatural manifestations of God and his power were no longer expected.

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But our difficulty lies not only in the problem of an inadequate worldview. Perhaps a more crucial problem is one of discernment. Is it possible that we are so comfortable with conventional theological training that we have not taken seriously the spiritual realm that is so real to the people we wish to reach?

Discernment and the Holy Spirit

It is worth noting that Jesus as the Son of Man confronted Satan only after a personal infilling of the Holy Spirit at baptism. Only then did this same Spirit lead him to face the temptations recorded in Luke 4.

It becomes clear, then, that a correct perception of spiritual reality is inextricably linked to pneumatology. Most notably the Pentecostals, and more recently the Charismatics, have discovered this truth. But for most mainline denominations, the work of the Spirit is still restricted to salvation, sanctification, and token recognition in the singing of the Doxology.

To the extent that the church presented the Bible in a way that emphasized the letter and ignored the Spirit, a living Christ who intervenes today in human affairs was put aside. Fear of fanaticism became a constraining factor, as did distorted views of the person and work of the Spirit. As a result, it was easy to deny a contemporary manifestation of the Holy Spirit and to relegate his gifts and ministries to apostolic times.

But how can we speak of evil spiritual power without considering the power of the Holy Spirit? Demonology and pneumatology are inseparable if we are to rightly discern between spiritual and natural forces at work in the universe.

Third World Context

Today many Third World countries are experiencing acute social, economic, and religious problems. Poverty, corruption, violence, idolatry, and bargaining with the devil are one side of the coin. On the other side are materialism, consumerism, the exploitation of the poor, the weak, and the outcasts. Our temptation is to focus the gospel on this second set of problems to the exclusion of the first.

However, if the church of Jesus Christ could discern the true causes of these catastrophic woes, we would turn our efforts to a struggle against principalities and powers in heavenly places. It is here that we find the roots of these problems, in a humankind that offends God by not glorifying him, by not giving thanks to him. Nations have become futile in their thinking; their senseless minds have become darkened by every kind of idolatry and witchcraft (Rom. 1:21).

Brazil, with its openly practiced witchcraft and demonism, is a good example of the interplay between social, economic, and political upheaval. For millions of Brazilians, demons who represent spirits of the departed are gods to be worshiped and appeased. This practice contributes significantly to Brazil’s inability to realize its real potential as a nation. While Brazil is the seventh world power in terms of economy and fourth in food production, poverty increases and the gap between the upper and lower classes widens. Our situation as a nation reflects the gods we have chosen to worship.

What is true of Brazil is also true of other Third World countries. In Uruguay, when the veneer of Christendom is stripped aside, one finds millions who have either a mystic or animistic worldview. Africa and Asia, too, are power oriented societies. The “spirits of the departed” are part of everyday life. Divination, healing, and witchcraft are commonplace as individuals and families experience spiritual oppression and affliction.

If Christian missionaries are to be effective in these cultures, their ministry must be contextualized. Conventional prayer will do little to conquer these peoples, tribes, and nations for Christ. Our preaching and teaching cannot include only the rational and intellectual. It must go beyond, to deal with spiritual powers. Oscar Culmann points out that in the New Testament the spirit world is a prominent factor. Wherever Jesus ministered, the presence of the supernatural was seen. This lack of perspective influences even our prayer life. Prayer is not just a way of asking God to meet our needs. It is also a way to call God to engage in battle with principalities and powers. Ephesians 6:18 takes on new meaning in this light. After Paul describes the Christian armor, he suggests that the Christian life is a continual struggle on a spiritual level, a struggle to work in partnership with God against spiritual powers. “God limits some of his activities in response to the prayers of His people. If they do not ask, he will not act. Heaven’s desire awaits our stimulation and initiative in revealing to him our will and then to desire and pray that this will be brought to pass.”

We must also contextualize our preaching. Paul said his preaching was not with “wise and persuasive words, but with a demonstration of the Spirit’s power . . .” (1 Cor. 2:4). If we only address the minds of people to change their way of thinking, replacing old doctrines with new doctrines, we miss the point. This is why the apostle Paul went to Corinth to demonstrate the power of the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:4).

The rational, intellectual approach we have used for so long brings only new information, a new way of thinking. What we need to reach people who coexist daily with the supernatural is the powerful presence of the risen Christ. He is the missionary and evangelist par excellence. Without his intimate involvement, we have no mission and there will not be transformation in the lives of people.

And how do we invoke the presence of the risen Christ? The one who glorifies Jesus as Christ is the Holy Spirit. He is the one who leads us into truth (John 16). He is the empowerment behind effective missionary activity.

Changing World

The power of evil has been with us since the Garden. But now we are seeing a rapid change in spiritual values on an international level. Britain and the United States, nations that have taken Christianity to the ends of the earth, are now countries where sophisticated forms of witchcraft and satanism are widely practiced. It is said that there are 10 million witches in the United States alone.

We must take the European expansion of neopaganism very seriously, for it alters the view of history, man’s wholeness, and his relationship to nature and life and death. More importantly, it is a manifestation of evil power that enslaves people who have rejected Christianity. For example, some statistics show that in France the number of witches exceeds the Protestant population.
What we are seeing is a reversal of worldviews. While the northern hemisphere is becoming more pagan, the southern hemisphere is being evangelized, won for Christ, and the church is growing. Does this mean that we are more biblical or that our theology is more correct? Clearly, if we can release the grip that western rationalism has on us and let the people in the southern hemisphere retain their worldview, they will be closer to biblical thought patterns than we might imagine.

The phenomenon we now observe is that the older sending countries are themselves becoming mission fields. The western church is not growing as fast as the Third World church. Rational Christianity is being challenged by power-oriented religions such as witchcraft and satanism.

What must happen if the church is to witness effectively for Christ in cultures built around the concept of spiritual power? We must acknowledge in a new way the realities of the spirit world presented in the Bible, and we must have the ability to discern this spiritual reality when it is present. Only then, as we employ spiritual weapons in the power of the Holy Spirit, will the church do the job it was called to do: deliver people from the power of darkness and transfer them to the kingdom of his beloved Son (Col. 1:13).

Notes


Lausanne II and World Evangelization

Robert T. Coote

The International Congress on World Evangelization, “Lausanne II in Manila,” held July 11–20, 1989, invites a very focused kind of assessment: What will be the impact of Lausanne II on prospects for effective world evangelization?

The first Lausanne Congress, which convened in Lausanne, Switzerland, July 16–25, 1974, drew nearly 2,500 participants from about 150 nations. Sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, with Graham serving as honorary chairman, Lausanne I gave visibility to a relatively broad movement of evangelical Christians committed to world evangelization. From the outset, the concept of “movement” as opposed to “organization” was central to the self-identity of Lausanne. In 1980, there was talk of incorporating Lausanne within the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF), as the WEF unit for world evangelization. The “movement” motif prevailed, however, over against the uncertainty of merging with another organization. Moreover, the Lausanne community was perceived to cover a wider spectrum of evangelicals than WEF; to formally identify with WEF would be to risk narrowing Lausanne’s constituency. Lausanne remains a relatively unique phenomenon on the world scene. At times straining to survive financially, it will stand or fall on its effectiveness in rallying the Christian community to the task of world evangelization.

It may be added that the movement also stands or falls on its ability to walk successfully in the contested eclesial territory between the WEF and the World Council of Churches (WCC). Lausanne has come to serve as a meeting ground for conciliar and nonconciliar evangelicals. Since many of the latter are represented by the WEF, there is a degree of built-in tension within Lausanne, reflecting the distrust of conservative evangelicals toward the WCC. Nevertheless, the original vision for Lausanne was to be a bridge for conciliar and other evangelicals and to provide a stimulus for world evangelization that many felt had been lost when the old International Missionary Council was integrated into the WCC in 1961.5

Since 1974, a number of smaller Lausanne consultations have been held, dealing with Gospel and culture (1978), strategies for world evangelization (1980), evangelism and social responsibility (1982), and so forth. These have been useful in explicating and expanding on the 1974 “Lausanne Covenant,” which more than anything else defines the people who identify with the Lausanne movement.

The results of the consultation on social responsibility helped to flesh out what was meant when the leadership at Lausanne in 1974 declared, “We express penitence for . . . having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive . . . . Both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbor and our obedience to Jesus Christ” (Lausanne Covenant, Article 5). However, Article 6 of the Lausanne Covenant asserts that evangelism, understood as proclamation, is “primary.” This may leave the impression that the deeds associated with gospel witness are secondary and less than essential. A group of “radical evangelicals,” eager for more binding language, caucused at Lausanne in 1974 to frame

Robert T. Coote is Assistant to the Director for Planning and Development, Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut.
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Hear President David McKenna's radio commentary every week on "Our World," broadcast by IMS News. Consult your area religious station.
a kingdom-oriented "Radical Discipleship" statement highlighting the holistic nature of effective witness. But the intervening years have been marked by uncertainty as to what extent the Lausanne community has embraced holistic thinking.

Rene Padilla, one of those active in formulating the "Radical Discipleship" statement in 1974, came away from Lausanne I persuaded that the Lausanne Covenant "eliminates the dichotomy between evangelism and social involvement. . . . the Covenant is a death blow to the superficial equation of the Christian mission with the multiplication of Christians and churches. Evangelicalism is definitely getting over the 'Church Growth' syndrome and over the biblical divorce between the kerygma and the diakonia."

Fifteen years later, Padilla concludes something very different:

[Our] hope was dampened by later developments through which the movement, not in theory but in practice, got away from the concept of holistic mission outlined in the Covenant. . . . in the "marriage" between evangelism and social responsibility, [the latter was] left as a very underprivileged partner.

Padilla's change of view alerts us to the fact that the Covenant is an ideal, expressed in a moment of extraordinary evangelical achievement. People may not live up to it! And, like any docu-

The Lausanne Covenant has not homogenized the multiple voices and streams that give Lausanne its breadth.

Another year has been marked by uncertainty as to what extent the Lausanne community has embraced holistic thinking. Certainly, the Covenant has not homogenized the multiple voices and streams that give Lausanne its breadth. One trusts that Padilla's disenchantment is unduly pessimistic; but we can be forewarned if we find it difficult to render definitive interpretations. Certainly, the Covenant has not homogenized the multiple voices and streams that give Lausanne its breadth. One trusts that Padilla's disenchantment is unduly pessimistic; but we can be forewarned if we find it difficult to render definitive assessments of this and other key issues raised by Lausanne II.

The Lausanne Covenant has not homogenized the multiple voices and streams that give Lausanne its breadth.

The Setting

To begin with, as an event focused explicitly on world evangelization, Lausanne II was surely the most representative gathering of the world evangelical community ever to meet. This was quickly underlined for me when, on the first evening, I found myself sitting with two young men from Nepal, and, on the second evening, two from Morocco. Almost 3,600 participants registered (50 percent more than at Lausanne I), from about 170 countries. About half came from the Two Thirds world. Numbers would have exceeded 4,000 except for the fact that events in China, coupled with visa problems and other snafus (in Romania, Kampuchea, Turkey, and Iran), prevented the attendance of several hundred people. One hundred sixty-seven participants came from the west is relatively rich. He decried the fact that today the net flow of resources south to north amounts to as much as $60 billion a year, with the governments of the 37 poorest nations having to cut spending on health by 50 percent and education by 25 percent so they can pay the west the interest they owe on huge debts. "What an impact," Houston concluded, "it would have on the poor's perception of the Good News of Jesus Christ if his followers were seen to be sharing [their riches with credibility]."

The Lausanne II audience responded with sustained applause. Houston was not alone in receiving such clear affirmation. Caesar Molebatsi (South Africa), Peter Kuzmic (Yugoslavia), and Valdir

Holistic Evangelism

Holistic evangelism: Padilla calls it "integrity in mission." A March 1987 consultation, held in Stuttgart, Germany, and sponsored by the WCC's Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, coined the phrase, "integral evangelism." A score of evangelical leaders committed to Lausanne represented the conservative side of that consultation. Under the leadership of Vinay Samuel and Albrecht Hauser, they followed up with a highly stimulating collection of essays, Proclaiming Christ in Christ's Way: Studies in Integral Evangelism. John Stott, though not present at Stuttgart, writes in the concluding chapter,

I ... like the Stuttgart vocabulary of "integral evangelism," in which "kerygma and diakonia are integrated." For surely there is always something exceptional, even inauthentic, about a Christian witness which is either verbal without being visual, or visual without being verbal. "Good news" and "good works" belong inextricably to one another, so that people are permitted to see as well as hear, and so to glorify God (Matt. 5:16). Given Stott's role as principal drafter of the Lausanne Covenant, this should lessen the ambiguity some find in Lausanne's stance. Certainly, on the face of things, it seemed that Lausanne II in Manila overcame whatever remained of the old evangelical dichotomy between gospel words and gospel deeds. On the first morning of the Congress, Philippine Senate President Jovito Salonga turned a welcoming statement into a sober yet rousing call to evangelization in a world of injustice, violence, and poverty. With the audience responding in a standing ovation, Salonga's speech set the tone of the Congress firmly in the direction of holistic evangelism. The following morning Tom Houston, International Director-elect of the Lausanne Committee, delivered a hard-hitting treatment of the gospel and the poor. Building on Luke-Acts, Houston noted that the majority of the unevangelized world is poor, while the evangelized world of the west is relatively rich. He decried the fact that today the net flow of resources south to north amounts to as much as $60 billion a year, with the governments of the 37 poorest nations having to cut spending on health by 50 percent and education by 25 percent so they can pay the west the interest they owe on huge debts. "What an impact," Houston concluded, "it would have on the poor's perception of the Good News of Jesus Christ if his followers were seen to be sharing [their riches with credibility]."

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Steuernagel (Brazil) were also applauded for their holistic emphasis. Molebatsi challenged evangelical passivity in the face of oppression, and Steuernagel observed that even a gospel of compassion, if it stops short of justice, is less than biblical.

The phrase “evangelism is primary” (from the 1974 Lausanne Covenant) turns up again in the main document produced by Lausanne II, “The Manila Manifesto.” Nevertheless, holistic concepts are stressed in the manifesto (its strong language reflecting fresh input from Lausanne II participants) in Section 4, “The Gospel and Social Responsibility”:

The authentic gospel must become visible . . . in loving service, and as we preach the Kingdom of God we must be committed to its demands of justice and peace. . . . We are called to the integration of words and deeds. . . . Good news and good works are inseparable.

The proclamation of God’s Kingdom necessarily demands the prophetic denunciation of all that is incompatible with it. Among the evils we deplore are destructive violence, including institutionalized violence, political corruption, all forms of exploitation of people and of the earth, the undermining of the family, abortion on demand, the drug traffic, and the abuse of human rights. . . . True mission should always be incarnational. It necessitates entering humbly into other people’s worlds, identifying with their social reality, their sorrow and suffering, and their struggles for justice against oppressive powers.

We repent that the narrowness of our concerns and vision has often kept us from proclaiming the lordship of Jesus Christ over all of life, private and public, local and global.

Still, one picked up rumblings in Manila. From a Bible college professor in the United States: “They’re turning social action into evangelism.” One United States evangelical leader reported that “Some people are angry, and some are confused.” (This reflected unhappiness over the charismatic issue and the participation of an ordained woman in administering communion, as well as distrust of holistic evangelism.) In other words, whether it’s the Covenant of 1974 or the Manifesto of 1989, it is not easy to determine if the rank and file within the Lausanne community are really persuaded.

I hazard a guess that ultimately the issue will be decided by Third World types. As the editors state in the introduction to Proclaiming Christ, “The Lausanne gathering in 1974 highlighted that a number of Christian leaders, especially in the so-called Third World, . . . had ventured to develop models of integral evangelism . . . [that] are neither copies nor transplants from the West. . . . They [are] committed to keeping evangelism and social concern together.”

Lausanne’s implicit message to “radical” evangelicals is, “Keep pushing. The ‘New Face of Evangelism’ Padilla wrote about in the mid-1970s—though contested—hasn’t disappeared.”

Charismatic Issue

Among conservative evangelicals, charismatic themes and styles have been no less controversial than the relationship between gospel proclamation and social action. At Lausanne I, no charismatic leaders were invited to participate from the platform, and the paper prepared for the Congress subgroup on the charismatic movement was assigned to a non-charismatic. This, in spite of the fact that the pentecostal/charismatic world in the mid-1970s numbered about 100 million. But while evangelicals generally have looked askance at pentecostals and charismatics, their numbers have grown exponentially. Today, according to data gathered by David Barrett, pentecostals/charismatics exceed 350 million; they constitute 22 percent of the global Christian community and provide a third of the foreign missionary force.8 We can speculate that when the planners of Lausanne II stopped to consider the role that pentecostals/charismatics play in today’s Christian mission, they concluded that continuing the Lausanne I quarantine regarding charismatics was simply out of the question. Consider the following 1989 breakdown of the overseas career missionary force:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overseas Missionary Personnel (excluding short term)</th>
<th>262,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic (70%)</td>
<td>183,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant and Anglican (23%)</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox, Catholic (non-Roman), and Other (7%)</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now consider the proportion of the above identified with pentecostal denominations or with the charismatic renewal movement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pentecostal/Charismatic Overseas Missionary Personnel</th>
<th>80,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic (20% of total R.C. missionaries)</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant and Anglican (est.)</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox, Catholic (non-Roman), and Other (est.)</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With about one of every five Roman Catholic missionaries identified with the charismatic renewal, and estimating about 3,000 Orthodox, Catholic (non-Roman), and other overseas personnel, this leaves 40,000 Protestants and Anglicans—that is, two out of three—that are either pentecostal or associated with the charismatic renewal!

Lausanne II responded to this reality by including several leaders of the pentecostal/charismatic community in plenary roles, by devoting a “track” to the subject of the Holy Spirit in world evangelization, and by permitting a participant selection process that resulted in a significant charismatic presence. The Holy Spirit track met half a dozen times in Manila, employing one of the largest auditoriums available. Leaders from the track reported a total attendance of 3,200 (several times more than any other track), representing 70 countries. For the plenary of the third evening in Manila, traditional evangelical and charismatic views of the place of the Holy Spirit in evangelization were placed side by side. James I. Packer reiterated the standard evangelical theology, including the familiar assertion that the role of the Third Person of the Trinity is submerged for the greater exhaltation of Christ. Jack Hayford, pastor of the Church on the Way (Four Square Gospel) of Van Nuys, California, followed by emphasizing the necessity of experiencing the fulness of the Spirit for effective witness. Several of my fellow participants agreed that the biblical support and the pastoral, personalized approach that Hayford employed carried the evening—though some also felt the quasi “altar call” (which was out of Hayford’s hands) verged on overkill.

In the course of the ten-day program, a score of videos were used to support plenary speakers, and a third of these were produced by Pat Robertson’s charismatic Christian Broadcasting Network of Virginia Beach. The entire Congress carried a charismatic touch in the persons of Graham Kerr and his wife, Treena (Graham is the former TV “Galloping Gourmet”), who served as Masters of Announcements.

Nothing impressed me more in Manila than a display of maps, graphs, and cartograms vividly depicting the needs of the nations of the world, that is, the context in which the Gospel must be communicated. I followed the display directions to the book room and purchased a copy of Target Earth.10 After several hours of poring over it in fascination, I discovered that it is the product of people related to Youth With a Mission and theYWAM
university in Hawaii. To me it is very telling that this marvelous tool for communicating the parameters and challenge of world evangelization reflects the work and passion of charismatic evangelicals rather than traditional evangelicals.

The “Cooperative Networks” track, led by Michael Cassidy of South Africa, also highlighted the charismatic issue, as linked with another matter that is problematic for most evangelicals: relationships with Roman Catholics. From the report on the track, we read,

Evangelicals and Roman Catholics have many areas of common concern, including world evangelization. Often charismatic renewal spurs cooperation. Lausanne must endorse this obvious movement of the Holy Spirit. . . . How can evangelicals within the Lausanne movement [build cooperative networks with charismatics, including Roman Catholics]?\(^\text{11}\)

But this spirit failed to win the day at Lausanne II. A Latin American group worked to prevent an endorsement of cooperation with Roman Catholics in evangelization. A “congress” of Philippine evangelicals, running parallel to Lausanne II in order to take advantage of some of the Lausanne speakers, did the same. The Manila Manifesto reflects the lack of resolution:

Some evangelicals are praying, talking, studying Scripture and working with [Roman Catholics]. Others are strongly opposed to any form of dialogue or cooperation with them. . . . Where appropriate, and so long as biblical truth is not compromised, cooperation may be possible in [certain areas]. We wish to make it clear, however, that common evangelism demands a common commitment to the biblical gospel.

Whether we think of cooperation with charismatics or with Roman Catholics (or, for that matter, with the WCC), the message from Manila is mixed. The leadership acted boldly in regard to engaging charismatic speakers and making room for limited Roman Catholic participation. Many evangelicals, nevertheless, went away “of the same opinion still.”

The Gospel and Other Religions

It’s doubtful whether any major evangelical missions conference has been held this century, at least within the United States, that did not deal with the issue of the finality of Christ for salvation. With rare exception,\(^\text{12}\) evangelical conviction is that all persons are lost, that there is no salvation apart from Jesus Christ, and that even those who, through no fault of their own, do not have opportunity to hear the gospel in their lifetime, are without hope (Rom. 10:14 ff.). At Lausanne I, Bishop Jack Dain of Australia retold Amy Carmichael’s classic “dream” of thousands upon thousands of blind persons walking over a cliff to destruction, with too few Christians posted at the edge to warn them away.\(^\text{13}\) Given this vivid image and theological basis for missions, it should not be surprising that evangelicals generally avoid interreligious dialogue, fearing that it implies a willingness to relativize the claims of Christ.

In Manila, Ulrich Parzany (YMCA General Secretary, West

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Noteworthy

**Personalia**

We are pleased to announce that [Lamin Sanneh](https://www.yale.edu/), Professor of Missions and World Christianity at Yale Divinity School, has been appointed as a Contributing Editor of the [INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH](https://www.yale.edu/). A native of The Gambia, Sanneh was on the faculty of the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University, 1981–1989; University of Aberdeen, Scotland, 1978–1981; and University of Ghana, 1975–1978. A specialist in Islam and African Christianity, his publications include *West African Christianity* (1983), and *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (1989).

Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, has appointed [Edward W. Poitras](https://www.smu.edu/) as Professor of World Christianity, effective January 1990. For more than three decades Poitras served as a Methodist missionary in Korea, where he was on the faculty of the Methodist Theological Seminary in Seoul. He is a graduate of Yale Divinity School and Drew University.

[Sister Janet Carroll](https://www.maryknoll.org/) of the Maryknoll Sisters has been appointed executive director of the recently established United States Catholic China Bureau, located at Seaton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. The purposes of the bureau are to provide information and news about the Chinese Catholic Church; to facilitate educational exchanges, and to arrange conferences, study tours, and exchange visits; to link up with other church-related resource centers concerned with developments in China; and to en-

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Germany) used his plenary to indict several theologians who suggest that “Jesus is not the only way”: Raimundo Panikkar, Karl Rahner, Hans Küng, and Norman Perrin. To this list Parzany added the name of Eugene Stockwell, based on Stockwell’s presentation at the recent WCC World Mission Conference at San Antonio, Texas. 14

Only Colin Chapman (Trinity College, U.K.) dared to broaden the examination of what the gospel means for those who have never heard of Jesus Christ. He pointed out that evangelicals tend to stress biblical texts that highlight discontinuity between faith in Yahweh and other faiths, while bypassing texts which suggest some kind of continuity. Citing examples of “interreligious dialogue” in the New Testament, Chapman urged that “it’s nonsense to try to separate proclamation and dialogue. . . . [Why are we] so afraid of the word dialogue and so reluctant to practice it?” At the same time, Chapman made it a point to distinguish between merely being “accepted” by God (as in the case of Cornelius in Acts 10:35) and actually experiencing salvation through explicit faith in Christ. 15

John Stott’s exposition of Romans 3 in Manila strongly reaffirmed the exclusivist evangelical position. Yet, on the opening evening an incident was told that would seem to have invited theological follow-up in light of Romans 3: An elderly Chinese man, on being told the story of Jesus, replied, “I have prayed to him all my life, but I didn’t know his name.” But in the ten days of Lausanne II, no one referred to the story again. The best we can say is that the series of questions and life situations with which Chapman concluded his presentation set an agenda that evangelicals typically avoid.

The A.D. 2000 Theme

The A.D. 2000 fervor struck me as particularly problematic. The notion of completing world evangelization by the end of the century received attention early in the Congress, then seemed to fade

Colin Chapman asked, "Why are we Evangelicals so afraid of the word ‘dialogue’ and so reluctant to practice it?"

from plenary discussion (other published reports to the contrary). But on the final two evenings, Luis Bush and outgoing director Thomas Wang picked it up again. It also received extensive consideration in workshop tracks. In order to protect themselves from the charge of predicting the return of Christ, the proponents of A.D. 2000 qualified their slogan to read, “World Evangelization by A.D. 2000 and Beyond.” This is like asking the Xerox service

Mission Church to Reformed Church in Zambia. In 1984–1987 she was editor of the Dutch ecumenical missiological review, Wereld en Zending; in 1987 and 1988 she was a visiting lecturer at the Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon; and in 1988 she was elected to the executive committee of the International Association for Mission Studies. In March 1989 she, together with her husband, Dr. Frans J. Verstraelen, left for Harare, where she had been appointed Senior Lecturer in the History of Christianity in Africa at the University of Zimbabwe. When illness forced her to resign in August, she returned to Leiden and consciously set herself to the difficult task of what she called “the art of dying . . . with a missionary spirit.” Humanly speaking, her life was short, but in God’s design she accomplished her mission—as her many friends in the IAMS will testify.

Robert Allen Hatch, missionary to Latin America under the Presbyterian Church of America agency Mission to the World, collapsed and died December 20, 1989. He was forty-five years old. Hatch was in Mexico City for a planning meeting for “CLADE III,” the Third Latin American Congress on Evangelization, scheduled for 1992. Known for his “Puente” (bridge) ministry, Hatch worked alongside national leaders throughout the evangelical community of Latin America to develop new levels of cooperation and mission outreach. He was held in such high regard that he had been appointed coordinator of CLADE III. Mission to the World has established a memorial fund in support of the “Puente” vision, that will impact the expansion of the gospel from Latin America to the unreached peoples of Latin America and the world.

Announcing

A consultation of missiologists, theologians, and others active in mission in Britain, met at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, in September 1989 and set up a steering committee for the British Association for Mission Studies (in process of formation). Plans are being made for a mission studies conference in the summer of 1990, during which the British Association will formally come into existence. For further information contact: Jack Thompson (acting secretary), Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham B29 6LQ, U.K.

The American Society of Missiology will hold its 1990 annual meeting at Techny Towers, in Techny, Illinois (near Chicago), June 15–17. Theme of the meeting will be “Mission and Joint Witness: Basis and Models of Cooperation.” The Association of Professors of Mission will meet June 14–15 at the same place in conjunction with the ASM. The theme of their meeting will be “Mission in Multi-Ethnic America.” Dr. James A. Scherer of Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago is president of the ASM, and Dr. Wi Jo Kang of Wartburg Theological Seminary is president of the APM for 1989–1990. For further information and registration for either meeting, contact: Dr. George Hunsberger, Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan 49423.
He suggests that the encyclopedia’s evangelization scale can be used to measure “fulfillment of the Eschatological Sign of missionary proclamation: ‘This gospel of the Kingdom will be proclaimed throughout the earth as a testimony to all nations; and then the end will come.’” Ralph Winter, in his 1986 review of United States Protestant missionary history, repeatedly connects the call for the completion of world evangelization to the end of history: “Can we believe that we are now on a new, final threshold leading to the End of History in the year 2000?”

My concern is that evangelical motivation linked to closure by A.D. 2000 may erode drastically in the event that the goal is not reached, or—for those who expect Christ’s return—in the event that the Parousia is delayed. As an earlier generation of American missionaries, motivated by the dream of “bringing in the Kingdom,” was disillusioned by two world wars, is our generation to experience collapse of missionary commitment because of misguided expectations affixed to the turn of the millennium?

It is worth noting that the first draft of the Manifesto carried the “future” section under the heading “The Challenge of the 21st Century.” However, Lausanne II had already been irrevocably married to “A.D. 2000,” so the final draft reads, “The Challenge of A.D. 2000 and Beyond.”

Evangelical preoccupation with church growth, statistical measurements of progress, and closure in world evangelization typify the tendencies that perturb Third World “radicals” like René Padilla. Other Third World figures, however, seem to embrace the very same emphases with full conviction. One church growth story told from the platform in Manila was supported by a glossy booklet (all participants received a copy) depicting a 12,000-seat, twin-spired Gothic cathedral in Korea. Another, appearing in a video report, introduced a 50,000-member bastion of renewal in Nigeria. It makes one wonder how the unhallowed evangelists and pastors of today’s globe cope when they struggle against many odds with little to show for it, other than their faithfulness.

The Manila Manifesto

Some observers will find the term manifesto a bit overblown. Nevertheless, “The Manila Manifesto” is a product of Lausanne II that will serve as a standard for evangelical mission for years to come. The manifesto covers all the familiar bases and clarifies and takes strong positions on numbers of crucial issues. Points that were greatly strengthened or incorporated as fresh material in the final draft include:

- The gospel needed by Jewish people no less than Gentiles
- Preaching must be accompanied by social responsibility, including making clear the demands of justice and peace
- Role of laity and women in world evangelization
- Repentance for professional pride and competition in our ministries, for the erosion of moral standards, and for discrimination of all kinds
- Repentance for “unworthy methods of evangelism”
- A detailed section on the unreached and the possibility of completing world evangelization by A.D. 2000.

Unity was emphasized repeatedly from the Lausanne II platform and again in the manifesto. The Lausanne movement itself demonstrates that considerable cooperation can be achieved by evangelicals. At the same time, one knows that deep differences in style and theology constitute continuing obstacles. “We have too many one-man shows,” confided one Third World leader.

I came away from the Lausanne Congress with a mixture of
hope and concern, knowing that applause in the auditorium does not necessarily translate into wisdom, cooperation, and unity once we return to our ongoing ministries. If the centrifugal force of divergent viewpoints and styles ends up fragmenting the Lausanne movement, it would be to the dramatic loss of evangelical focus on the task of world evangelization. Tom Houston appealed eloquently on the final evening for unity. He will have his hands full keeping the movement together while not surrendering the wider horizons claimed for evangelism in Manila.

The least that can be said about the potential impact of Lausanne II is this: A worldwide Christian witness, conducted along the lines expressed in the Manila Manifesto, will surely lead to more faithful, effective world evangelization. The test is in the doing.

Notes


2. MARC Newsletter, August 1989 (Lausanne II Special Edition), p. 8. It is important to underline that there was no intention of structurally replacing the old IMC; representatives of the WCC were given assurances to this effect in 1974 by the organizers of Lausanne I. In fact, it was debated whether a follow-on committee was needed.

3. Ad Hoc Group, "Theology and Implications of Radical Discipline," Let the Earth Hear His Voice, ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis, Minn.: World Wide Publications, 1975), pp. 1294-96. The Lausanne Covenant will also be found in this volume, pp. 3-9.


9. The figures given here for "Overseas Missionary Personnel" and the proportion of these accounted for by pentecostals/charismatics is calculated as of 1989. Some figures are arrived at by extrapolation from the three Barrett sources cited in footnote 8. The figure for Roman Catholic overseas personnel as a percentage of all Christian missionary personnel (70 percent) is derived from Barrett, World Christian Encyclopedia (1982), p. 803, Global Table 31 (col. 43 total, divided by col. 36). The figure for Roman Catholic missionaries identified with the charismatic renewal movement is found in the aforementioned July 1988 IBMR article, footnote 76.


16. The best-known source of the 17,000 figure (first given at Lausanne I in 1974 as 16,700) is the poster produced by Ralph Winter and his colleagues at the United States Center for World Mission, "Unreached Peoples of the World" (1982 and subsequent printings). The evidence of progress in reaching unreached people groups was stated in one of the plenary addresses at Lausanne II. The information that the number of unreached was now 12,000 had already been published in Mission Frontiers 11, no. 3 (March 1989): 11; also nos. 4-5 (April-May 1989): 17, under the title "The Amazing Countdown Facts." It was also reproduced as cover 4 in the Lausanne publication, World Evangelization 16, no. 60 (July–August 1989); copies were distributed in Manila to all Lausanne II participants. These documents noted that the reduced figure of 12,000 was the result of adjustment by the researchers. Nevertheless, given the wide and long publicity to the larger figure of 17,000, it is not surprising that a Lausanne II plenary speaker would cite the lower figure as evidence of progress since 1974.

17. Personal conversation with Barrett.

18. See items cited in footnote 16.


Two recent examples of viewing completion of the unfinished task as tantamount to signaling the return of Christ are found in Mission Frontiers 10, nos. 11–12 (November–December 1988): 18; and Mission Frontiers 11, nos. 4-5 (April–May 1989): 11. The authors are G. Edward Nelson (reprinted from the Assemblies of God publication Mountain Movers), and Larry Tomczak, director of People of Destiny International. Also note Winter's mission studies outline, Mission Frontiers 11, no. 3 (March 1989): 12, explicitly linking the completion of world evangelization and the end of history.


Is Jesus the Son of Allah?

Graham Kings

Kneeling alone on the soft carpet
of a Mombasa mosque,
Chandeliers above, galleries around,
Stereo system stacked high in the corner,
The quiet question came to me—
Is Jesus the Son of Allah?

The question is not about Jesus, but Allah:
The Arabic for God is more than a name
but is He the same
as our God and Father?

In Southern Sudan  
a Christian will answer, militantly, “No”:
In Pakistan
a Christian may answer, philosophically, “Yes”:
In Saudi Arabia
a Muslim will answer, immediately, “No”:
So does it depend where we stand—or kneel?

El Shaddai of Abraham
Is revealed as Yahweh to Moses,
But not as Ba’al to Elijah:
What of Almighty Allah?
The crucial clue may lead us to
A Muslim now submitting
To the Ultimate Submitter,
Jesus the Messiah.
He does not change his God,
for God is One,
But discovers in the Son
That God is strangely, inconceivably great,
because He became so conceivably small;
That God, in the end, is mercifully just
since He has absorbed the evil of all.

We may, perhaps, then whisper
that Jesus is the Son of Allah:
But in this naked act of naming,
the active Word transforms the Name.

Prostrate upon the carpet of a Mombasa mosque,
Softly to Jesus, Son of Allah, I prayed;
Then rose again to slip outside
and join my wife and daughters,
who were waiting in the shade.

Graham Kings, Vice Principal of St. Andrew’s Institute
for Mission and Evangelism, Kerugoya, Kenya, is a CMS missionary.

Three Models for Christian Mission

James M. Phillips

M issiology has often felt uncertain about the nature and definition of models for Christian mission. It is sometimes assumed that there is only one appropriate model, which, despite defects, is the dominant model throughout the biblical period and the history of the Christian church. At the same time, mission literature employs a number of conflicting models of mission, without necessarily making clear how these models should operate, how they relate to one another, what kinds of leadership they require, or how their results are to be evaluated. This article presents three major models for Christian mission and traces their origins in the Old Testament period, their modification in New Testament times, and their development in church history.

The methodology that will be used here is that of discerning “ideal types.” This is not unlike the methodology Max Weber used to relate “the Protestant ethic” to “the spirit of capitalism,” or Ernst Troeltsch employed to differentiate “churches” and “sects,” and H. Richard Niebuhr developed to discern relationships between “Christ” and “culture.” The “ideal types” to which these writers referred rarely existed in the real world in a pure state, but were almost always found in combinations with different types. Such a warning pertains here, as well. The three models for mission are not the only models that have been used, but they represent to some extent the combination of numerous models found in the history of missions. Those readers who conclude that the following analysis is oversimplified have the writer’s complete understanding. He only asks their indulgence of his use of broad brush strokes in order to make these models of mission a bit clearer.

The three models are Sinai, with its recollection of the people of God gathered at Mount Sinai with Moses the lawgiver as their leader; Zion, with its concept of Israel centered on Mount Zion in Jerusalem under its kings and priests; and Judgment, with its promise of the coming Lord who will intervene with finality in human history, both for condemnation and salvation. These three models originate in the Old Testament, and it is with their appearances there, in approximately chronological order, that we begin.

James M. Phillips has been Associate Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center since 1983. After short-term missionary service in Korea (1949–1952), he taught church history as a Presbyterian fraternal worker at Tokyo Union Theological Seminary in Japan (1959–1975), and as a visiting professor at San Francisco Theological Seminary and the Graduate Theological Union (1975–1982).
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The Models in the Old Testament

The first model of mission is here designated as Sinai, recalling the gathering of the Hebrew people at Mt. Sinai, the mountain of God, under the leadership of Moses the lawgiver (Exod. 19:16–25). It is not the mountain itself that is the crucial feature but rather the history of liberation from slavery in Egypt that has led up to it, the covenant and laws that were enacted upon it, and the unending results that have flowed from it.

Sinai is where the Hebrew people were given an identity as those who had escaped from slavery in Egypt and now knew themselves as the people of God, living in covenant obedience to Torah as a nation of priests (Exod. 19:3–6). This in time will have implications not only for the Hebrews themselves, but for all peoples on earth (Deut. 7:6). God’s people will take their covenant life under Torah with them, not only into the land of Canaan, which they are shortly to enter, but eventually into all the lands where they will go (Josh. 1:7–9). This is what makes Sinai the first model of mission in our sense, although it would be designated as “the one of Sinai,” but the one “who dwells on Mount Zion” (Isa. 8:18).

When people have cross-cultural encounters, they rely on their charismatic leaders to proclaim the words and laws that have provided their identity and guidance in the former context, with the conviction that these laws will be meaningful in the new context as well. New peoples may enter in covenant relationships by these means, with implications for new identity and empowerment. Even if newcomers reject the covenant, the Sinai model still maintains the self-understanding of its original adherents.

In sum, Sinai is a model of mission for a people embarked on cross-cultural encounters. Under charismatic leadership and adhering to a body of laws and regulations, the people enter into contact with strangers of other backgrounds and seek to maintain their own identity in these new circumstances while trying to induce at least some of the strangers to enter into covenanted community with them.

Having gone through the experience of Sinai, the Hebrews conquered the land of Canaan and settled there. At length, King David captured the city of Jerusalem from the Jebusites, made it his capital, and brought the ark of the covenant there after its long wilderness wanderings (2 Sam. 6:1–23). The stage was set for the second model of mission to arise.

With the Hebrew people settled in their own land, with their own king from the house of David living in the royal palace in Jerusalem, with his son Solomon, who would build the Temple nearby on Mt. Zion, the model of Zion begins. In contrast to Sinai, where the law was given, Zion is the mountain where the Temple is to be found. This Mount Zion becomes the new focus of Hebrew religion (Ps. 97:6–9). The Lord Himself is no longer designated as “the one of Sinai,” but the one “who dwells on Mount Zion” (Isa. 8:18).

The consequences of these changes are profound. In addition to the covenant of Sinai, there is now a new covenant with the house of David, saying that it shall always rule and the worship of the Lord will always take place in the Temple (2 Kings 8:19). Zion is a cosmic mountain. It is where God dwells; where heaven and earth meet at the center of the world; where “effective decrees are issued”; the moral and physical capital of the universe, of crucial importance for all nations. The time of the Sinai-type charismatic leader has passed, and now, to use Max Weber’s categories, leadership in both political and religious realms becomes bureaucratized, and both are situated on Zion. Both Isaiah and Micah declared that it was to Zion that all nations would come and from there the word of the Lord would go out to all the world (Isa. 2:2–4; Mic. 4:1–2).

Zion, then, is a model of mission for people who have established themselves in their own promised land. They possess their own religious shrine and governmental center, as well as a society with social hierarchies led by specialized leaders. They see themselves at the center of a sacramental universe, that is to be increasingly blessed by God’s grace emanating from their holy land.

This Zion-type vision was brought to a shocking end, however, with the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 487 B.C.E. The kingship was ended; the Temple on Mount Zion was destroyed; and the people of Judah were forced into exile in Babylon. But even in captivity by the waters of Babylon, when the exiles were taunted by their captors to sing one of the songs of Zion, the Hebrews could never forget their beloved city (Ps. 137:1–5).

Out of the exile and its aftermath there came the third model of mission, that of Judgment. It is very hard to find a proper name for this model, for here are joined a number of different motifs from varied experiences of the people. The prophet Amos spoke about the Day of the Lord, and in time the prophets referred to the Day of Judgment (Amos 5:18–20; Isa. 3:13–15; Hos. 5:1, 2; Mic. 6:1, 2). These would indeed be end times, in which many eschatological promises would be fulfilled (Isa. 14:24–27; Zech. 36:26, 27). There would be appearances of the Lord (Parousia), with profound results (Ps. 102:16; Isa. 66:5). A Messiah would come
to lead a remnant of the people and to judge between the righteous and the evildoers (Mic. 5:2-5; Isa. 7:10-17, 11:1-9; Jer. 23:5, 6; Zech. 9:9, 10). In the servant songs of Isaiah, the Messiah was pictured not as a conquering hero but as a suffering servant of the Lord (Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12). There would be a restoration of the law through the proclamation of Jubilee for the emancipation of slaves, the cancellation of debts, and the restoration of property to its rightful owners (Lev. 24). In the apocalyptic literature, there would be a cosmic dualism between the present age and the age to come, which was anticipated in striking visions granted to the seers (Isa. 24-27; Dan. 7).

Even though these differing images were drawn from very diverse backgrounds, and are by no means completely consistent with one another, there came to be considerable mutual borrowing and cross-fertilization. Different aspects of the many varied facets of Judgment would be brought to bear on particular situations in the light of special needs. For instance, the Judgment model could affirm that in the latter days God himself will intervene through his deputies on behalf of his people, both in condemnation of their disloyalty and wickedness and in affirmation of their salvation and restoration (Joel 3:12; Isa. 3:13-16, 51:5; Hosea 4:1). This Day of the Lord will be a day of doom, but also of mercy, and it will be carried out by God’s Messiah (Mic. 5:2-5; Isa. 11:1-10, 66:16, 18, 19). Humans may cooperate with God’s mission or not, but the mission will be liberating, empowering, overturning, restoring, and ultimately triumphant.

It is evident that this third model of mission operates in quite different ways from the first two. Under Judgment, the Lord acts both for demolition of what has gone wrong and for restoration of the ways of righteousness. Leadership again becomes more participatory, democratic, and charismatic, but with the totally new criteria that Judgment brings to bear.

Furthermore, all three models hold that holiness ultimately belongs to God and the people. But the Sinal model finds holiness primarily in law and its covenants, the Zion model sees it in sacred places and institutions, and the Judgment model tends to relate it to time. Indeed, the Sabbath itself is a model for God’s judgment and restoration of the entire cosmos (Isa. 56:1-8).

The very circumstances under which the model of Judgment most often arises—extreme crisis and despair over the status quo and the pitch of excitement that the judging process generates—mean that this model by its very nature is generally unstable. For as soon as times of crisis are past, the feverish pace of eschatology subsides and the changes wrought by the divine inquest begin to unravel. The mood of the end-times gradually gets back to business as usual. Hence the model of Judgment in its contexts of crisis tends not to last but reverts to the other two models. Yet this does not mean a mere restoration of the status quo ante. Things are never the same after the blinding flash of Judgment has had its day.

The Models in the New Testament

In the New Testament, all three models originating in the Old Testament are transmuted by the ministry and mission of Jesus. Indeed, Jesus’ ministry—as portrayed in the various portraits of the four Gospels and other New Testament writings—represents a fulfillment of all three models, in greater ways than was true either before or after.

Jesus’ ministry is generally described in the synoptic Gospels in terms of the Sinai model. Matthew portrays Jesus as a lawgiver presenting his Sermon on the Mount as from a new Sinai and emphasizing that nothing would “pass from the law until all is accomplished” (Matt. 5:1, 2, 17, 18). The Gospels frequently stress that the events of Jesus’ life were the fulfillment of scriptural promises.

Jesus also carried out his ministry in the Zion model. He purposely limited his work and that of his disciples to the Jewish people. When he sent the twelve out on their mission, they were to avoid the Samaritans and the Gentiles, and to “go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Matt. 10:5, 6). Johannes Blauw, Ferdinand Hahn, and Donald Senior and Carroll Stuhlmueller have emphasized that the earthly ministry of Jesus was purposely limited by him to Israel. Jesus condemned the Pharisees’ methods of proselytization (Matt. 23:15). Jesus did indeed recognize the depth of faith among certain Gentiles—the centurion (Matt. 8:5-13), the Canaanite woman (Matt. 15:21-28), the Greeks who sought him at the Feast of the Passover (John 12:20-23)—but he emphasized that his ministry was primarily among the Jews.

The Judgment motif also appears prominently throughout the Gospels. Luke portrays Jesus’ understanding of his mission in the synagogue in Nazareth in terms of the fulfillment of the Jubilee (Lk. 4:18, 19). John Howard Yoder and Mortimer Arias have emphasized the centrality of the Jubilee motif to Jesus’ mission. With the coming of Jesus, the day of Jubilee and its promised emancipation were already at hand. The judgment of the Son of Man on all nations is also clearly seen in the coming of Jesus (Matt. 25:31-46).

Limiting these three models to the Jewish people is abolished, however, by the death and resurrection of Jesus. Johannes Blauw points out: “It is a striking peculiarity that both the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John culminate in the pronouncement of the resurrection and the call to mission emerging from it.” The great commissions that Jesus gave to universal mission are all presented in postresurrection contexts (Matt. 28:16-20; Mark 16:14-20; Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8; John 20:21). The word of Sinai is now to be taught to and shared with all nations. Now the many nations of the earth can potentially become Zions, holy lands.

Both the wrath and the blessings of Judgment are now to be taught and shared with all nations. The great commissions that Jesus gave to universal mission are all presented in postresurrection contexts (Matt. 28:16-20; Mark 16:14-20; Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8; John 20:21). The word of Sinai is now to be taught to and shared with all nations. Now the many nations of the earth can potentially become Zions, holy lands.

The apostle Paul, like all pioneer missionarines, primarily used Sinai models, but he was willing to employ Zion models when needed: “To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews” (1 Cor. 9:20). He also made use of Judgment models (Rom. 2:1-11). Paul contended for his ministry to the Gentiles with Peter,
James, and the others in Jerusalem who wanted to retain the Zion model (Acts 15). Brown and Meier hold that the early church's decisions on the Gentile mission may have owed more to Peter's position than has often been seen to be the case. But the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 removed the Zion option for the early Christians, at least in its original form.

A new version of the Zion model appears in the Johannine writings. The apostle declared that "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth," and emphasized the rather sharp contrast to the law at Sinai that "was given through Moses" (John 1:14, 17). Jesus' very existence as the incarnate Logos makes Him a living Zion, where God dwells (John 8:12, 13; 10:7, 11, 30). The motifs of Judgment are also present in the Johannine writings, but in a different context than in the synoptic Gospels (Matt. 25:31-46; John 16:7-11; 1 John 4:17). The church came to rely on only one or two of these models, to the virtual exclusion of the third.

Book of Revelation fuses both Sinai and Zion into the overpowering motif of Judgment, providing a compendium of apocalyptic images from the Old Testament onward (Rev. 6:1-17; 14:1; 17:1, 2; 21, 22). There is also brief mention of "a thousand years," which would give rise to a vast millennial literature (Rev. 20:4-10).

Even though Jesus in his own ministry and mission represented an integrated fulfillment of all three models of mission, such a balance could not be maintained in the eras that followed. The church came to rely on one or two of these models, to the virtual exclusion of the third, even though lip service continued to be paid to all three. But the choice of which model was to be predominant kept changing throughout the history of the church.

The Models in Church History

The early Christian church claimed to be the heir of the promises that had been made about Zion, as it witnessed to the Roman Empire with the Sinai teachings and awaited the return of the Lord in Judgment. The persecutions to which Christians were subjected reinforced their convictions that the day of Judgment for the entire cosmos might indeed be at hand.

The conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity in 312 and the efforts that he and subsequent emperors made on behalf of Christianity changed everything. The theology, legal structures, church orders, and even church architecture in the new "Christian" empire suggested that the emperors had established a new Zion on earth. Subsequently, when the crowds flooding into the Christian churches brought all kinds of new worldliness, devout spirits like St. Anthony and St. Pachomius fled as monastics to the desert, there to be a new "kingdom of priests" in their solitariness or in their monasteries, where they re-established the law of Sinai and awaited God's Judgment anew.

In time, the monastic groups reached out in missionary movements to the tribes of Europe, which were to become the new nations of the European continent. As pioneer missionaries, they began with the model of Sinai lawgiving, but their mission work soon led to the establishment of new nations that saw themselves as new Zions, or holy lands. It would take much more space than is available here to indicate how this process came to fruition in such places as Greece, Russia, Germany, France, Ireland, Bulgaria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Poland, and England. Some of the missionaries made their contacts with the leading classes of the new nations by using the Sinai and Zion models, while others worked with the poor and common people and held forth hopes of Judgment. On many a western wall of medieval churches, or in sculptures on the west portals, would be found scenes of Judgment Day, with their promises of Christ's final vindication of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked.

Then came the Crusades, in which Christians and Muslims fought each other for possession of Mount Zion, which symbolized the traditions of Israel. Although the Crusades were to end as military failures for the west, they forged new patterns of colony building and new measures of canon law that were useful for European colonial expansion in the next historical era.

In the period of the Reformation, the Protestant reformers did not practice mission at first, but contested with Catholics in their claims to be the true Zions. Both Lutheran and Calvinist apologists adopted their own versions of Sinai lawgiving as bases for the new Zions they were establishing in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Great Britain. The radical reformers, perse-
cuted by both Catholics and Protestants, stressed their own apocalyptic visions of Judgment in their earlier phases, but as they became established, they embraced their own combinations of Sinai and Zion. Many new communitarian experiments tried to be new Zions where God’s laws were truly upheld, while other radical groups continued to stress millennial Judgment.18

Meanwhile, Catholic missionary orders to the new worlds sought out new nations for Christianity to take the place of those lands and peoples that had been lost to Protestantism.19 These missionary efforts in the service of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs carried Sinai legislation to the peoples of their new colonies. Throughout Latin America, the Philippines, and the coastlands of Africa and Asia, Catholic missions led to the enthusiastic embrace of the new faith by native peoples, who in time came to look upon their lands as new Zions, with appearances of the Virgin Mary and the saints to confirm their sanctity. Occasionally, there were voices of protest against the exploitation of oppressed peoples by their colonial masters in the messages of Judgment by courageous missionaries such as Fr. Batholomé de las Casas. There were also a few Protestant missions, functioning as part of the colonial policies of Protestant powers, that saw the colonies as extensions of Danish, British, or Dutch Zions at home.

Under the influence of Pietism, Protestant missionary work began in earnest as Zion-type colonial enclaves gradually gave way to Sinai-type outreach to new lands. Some visionaries saw the new missions as the fulfillment of eschatological hopes and foretastes of the Judgment that was soon to come. Thus, the thirteen British colonies in America that were to become the United States developed into a center for Protestant Sinai-type foreign missions, even as the American homeland developed its own Zion-type orientation, which was sometimes seen as the outworking of God’s millennial Judgment.22

The emphasis that Protestant missions gave to translation of the Scriptures into the local languages and the building of a local clergy meant that the newly converted Christians gained access to the wealth of scriptural resources for understanding themselves and their worlds, through their own indigenous leaders. New Protestant Zions began to flourish in these new lands after the initial stage of Sinai mission efforts had led to strong indigenous churches. In India, Burma, China, Japan, Korea, Chile, Brazil, and throughout Africa, there came to be Protestant Zions that celebrated the mighty works that God was accomplishing in their own lands.21 But often the threat or the fact of persecution or warfare reminded these Christians that their situation was similar to that of the early Christians, who put their trust not in human decisions but in the Judgment of God.

In similar ways, Roman Catholics in the nineteenth century began new mission work in keeping with their long mission traditions. For instance, groups such as Missions Étrangères de Paris (M.E.P.) inherited the work of former Spanish and Portuguese Catholic missions, while missionaries from Ireland fanned out across the English-speaking world, Belgians went to French-speaking areas, and German Catholics took up work in many lands. Coordination of foreign mission work was promoted by the Vatican’s Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1622. Papal policies prepared the way for a shift from a Zion understanding of the homelands of western Christendom to a renewed understanding of the place of Sinai models, often tempered with the notes of Judgment brought by persecution of Christians.

As Latourette indicated, the nineteenth century was indeed the Great Century for Protestant mission work.22 The three models of mission kept appearing in many different combinations, with Sinai generally taking the lead in pioneer missions, followed by Zion in more established areas, and Judgment emerging from crisis periods. The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910) launched an ecumenical movement that attempted to coordinate the Sinai and Zion models of the Great Century. Nevertheless, the disruptions that followed with World War I and World War II led to many forms of Judgment models.23

Since 1945, mainline Protestant and Catholic missions, which had begun with Sinai models, increasingly developed Zion-type “interchurch relations.” “Three-self movements” in Two-Thirds World churches enabled these younger churches to think of themselves as new Zions, often with greater justification than had been the case of “older churches” in the west. When mainline churches were going this road, conservative evangelical

JUDGMENT: Albrecht Dürer’s celebrated woodcut of the “Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse” (1498) shows how the Lord’s Judgment by the four horsemen (Rev. 6:1–8) will sweep away clergy, nobility, and commoners alike. (The Granger Collection, New York)
The Models in Interaction

It has been seen that throughout the biblical period and the history of the church, the three models of mission have rarely existed in pure forms but have continually influenced one another as missions in actual practice have mixed these models. I have been greatly helped by responses in study programs on these models at the Overseas Ministries Study Center in 1985 and 1986, where participants commented on the interrelationships of these models from their own experiences in many parts of the world. Let us consider, therefore, some brief observations on how these models have related to one another, and may continue to do so.

The Models in Interaction

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Notes

5. Ibid., pp. 111, 118.
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A.D. 2000 column of statistics, computed using current trends and reasonable projections. This year we concentrate on the context of this final column.

**Mass Hysteria in A.D. 1000**

In the year A.D. 960, Bernard of Thuringia predicted the imminent end of the world for the year A.D. 992. Alarm spread throughout Europe as the end of the first millennium approached. By A.D. 999, multitudes were journeying to Jerusalem to await the second coming of Christ as believed prophesied in the Apocalypse and expected in A.D. 1000. The millennial year was preceded by widespread terrors as panic-stricken mobs thronged into Rome and Jerusalem to await the end. Richard Erdoes, in his new book, *A.D. 1000: Living on the Brink of Apocalypse* (1988), vividly describes the tension in St. Peter’s basilica in Rome as the brilliant scientist Gerbert of Aurillac, now Pope Sylvester II, celebrated midnight mass on New Year’s Eve, A.D. 999, regarded as the dreaded eve of the Millennium, the Final Hour, the onset of the Day of Wrath. For centuries afterwards, millennial fever gripped Christendom. By the year A.D. 1060, vast numbers of medieval millenarian movements had arisen, involving millions of desperate rebels, radicals, and rootless poor seeking hope in a newer world.

The mass panic engendered throughout the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages has been captured in an earlier classic, Norman Cohn’s *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957, 1970).

**The A.D. 2000 Megamagnet**

As the year A.D. 2000 approaches, there are many parallels today to that era. There are also some striking differences. First is the instantaneous speed with which modern communications can spread news, alarm, panic, even hysteria. Second is today’s vast agenda of world missions. In A.D. 999, the Christian multitudes were largely concerned with saving their own skins and had no interest in the fate of the world’s 202 million unevangelized non-Christians of that time. Today, by contrast, Christians are widely involved in schemes to evangelize the world, including its 1.3 billion unevangelized persons.

Let us consider two features of the fascination produced today by the year A.D. 2000. Like a huge electromagnet or stellar magnetic field, the Millennial Year is both attracting and repelling global Christianity with enormous force. Half the Christian world sees enormous significance in this date; the other half denies any significance.

**The Attraction of the Millennial Year**

First, millions of Christians are greatly attracted to the A.D. 2000 date. Large numbers of plans to evangelize the world by the end of the century are coming into existence today, in all branches of global Christianity. At present, some eighty global plans and over five hundred nonglobal plans have been announced with A.D. 2000 as their target date. Reasons for this attraction are: widespread secular discussion of 2000 since the first United Nations’ projected population statistics for A.D. 2000 published forty years ago; fifty years of writings by secular futurists (for instance, H. Kahn’s *The Year 2000* in 1967); the feeling among Christians that there must surely be something significant in the end of two whole millennia of Christian endeavor; the emergence since 1970 of a large body of Christian literature on the year 2000; the rapid approach of the Millennial Year itself, now only ten years away; and the current focus on the final decade of the Second Millennium, the years 1990 to 2000, as a Decade of Evangelism. This decade is already being planned in detail by the different churches under a wide variety of names, and in over fifty languages: Decade of Evangelism, Decade of Harvest, Decade of Destiny, Decade of Decision, Universal Decade of Evangelization, Decade of World Evangelization, Decade of World Mission, Decadé de Evangelización Mundial, and so forth. All of these will climax on the first day of the twenty-first century, which will be, strictly speaking, 1 January 2001.

The magnetic power of this date is also evident in the widespread desire in the pentecostal/charismatic renewal to complete world evangelization in order to “present Jesus with his 2,000th birthday present.” A problem with this which has not yet been realized is that if, as scholars hold, Jesus was actually born in 4 B.C., then either his millennial birthday passed in 1988 or will arrive in 1996, not 2000.

**The Repulsion of the A.D. 2000 Date**

By no means everybody, however, is enamored of the Millennial Year. Many Christians are insisting it has no more significance than a date like 1997, 2002, or 2010. It has long been noticeable that a number of major Christian organizations (WCC, WEF, LCWE, Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) have not publicized any interest in A.D. 2000 thinking. Many such bodies are repelled by the prospects of millennial hysteria. They have reacted either by deliberately ignoring it in all their public utterances or self-consciously setting different decadal dates. Thus the World Council of Churches has long avoided any statements about 2000 and instead has recently launched the Ecumenical Decade of Women for the period 1998 to 1998.

Another reason why the megamagnet repels many is that they imagine that A.D. 2000 protagonists are identifying that year with the Second Coming of Christ. Very few protagonists have ever said anything of the sort. Almost universally they have disavowed any prophetic insights.

For most supporters, the A.D. 2000 date is simply a mechanism very much in tune with our times, with widespread acceptance in churches of planning, action plans, five-year plans, project management, deadlines, and so forth. Further, many Christians feel totally accountable for the fate of their generation, usually reckoned as a thirty-year period of opportunity. The sixty-six generations of Christians since A.D. 33 have each failed to evangelize the world; a target date as powerful as A.D. 2000 is a providential gift to be employed to the full. Most concerned Christians over forty years old realize that this may well be their last chance personally to do anything about world evangelization.

**A.D. 2000: The Probable Reality**

In conclusion, the last column’s projections contain many surprises. Note line No. 65. A 1989 poll has shown that 62 percent of Britain’s entire population watches Christian TV programs regularly. Altogether, by 2000, radio/TV listeners/viewers worldwide will have passed 2.1 billion, a massive force.

Let us hope that concerted coordination of the plans reported in line No. 74 may also surprise us by causing the pessimistic A.D. 2000 projections in lines Nos. 71-73 to be replaced by zero in each case.

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David B. Barrett, a contributing editor, has been an ordained missionary of the Church Missionary Society since 1956. Anglican Research Officer since 1970, he is currently Research Consultant to the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board and consultant to other missions agencies in Europe and America. He lives in Richmond, Virginia. Methodological notes on the statistical table on the facing page may be referred to in the *International Bulletin 13* (January 1989): 20.
### World Population

#### Year: 1900
- Total population: 1,619,886,800
- Urban dwellers: 23,694,900
- Rural dwellers: 1,387,191,900
- Adult population: 1,025,938,000
- New-Migration population: 286,705,000
- Nonliterates: 739,233,000

#### Year: 1970
- Total population: 3,610,034,400
- Adult population: 2,245,227,300
- Urban dwellers: 437,761,900
- Rural dwellers: 2,087,465,600

#### Year: 1980
- Total population: 4,373,917,500
- Adult population: 2,774,002,700
- Urban dwellers: 697,349,200

#### Year: 1990
- Total population: 5,297,042,900
- Adult population: 3,208,993,000

#### Year: 2000
- Total population: 6,259,642,000
- Adult population: 3,603,150,000

### World Population by Religion

#### Christians
- Total: 1,144,000,000
- Average Christian martyrs per year: 260,000

#### Catholic
- USSR: 97,002,000
- Europe: 59,569,700
- Northern America: 276,000

#### Pentecostals/Charismatic
- USSR: 97,002,000
- Europe: 59,569,700
- Northern America: 276,000

### Membership by Continent

#### Africa
- 8,756,400

#### Asia
- 1,131,909,600
- 114,924,000
- 164,571,000

#### Europe
- 273,788,400
- 307,108,700
- 403,177,600

#### Latin America
- 262,027,800
- 340,978,600
- 427,379,800

#### North America
- 109,997,900
- 126,149,900
- 147,950,900

#### Oceania
- 2,975,000
- 4,166,400
- 4,166,400

#### South America
- 53,700,000
- 70,000,000
- 98,977,000

### Christian Organizations

#### Service agencies
- 1,500
- 14,100
- 17,500

#### Foreign-mission sending agencies
- 600
- 2,200
- 5,100

#### Institutions
- 9,500
- 80,500
- 91,000

### Christian Workers

#### Nationals (all denominations)
- 1,050,000
- 2,350,000
- 2,950,000

#### Pentecostals/Charismatic national workers
- 2,000
- 3,200
- 4,200

#### Aliens (foreign missionaries)
- 62,400
- 240,000
- 249,000

#### Pentecostals/Charismatic foreign missionaries
- 100
- 3,790
- 34,600

### Christian Finance (in U.S. $ per year)

#### Personal income of church members
- 270 billion
- 4,100 billion
- 5,878 billion

#### Personal income of Pentecostals/Charismatics
- 250 billion
- 3,790 billion
- 5,878 billion

#### Giving to Christian causes
- 8 billion
- 102 billion
- 57 billion

#### Church and institutional income
- 110 billion
- 20 billion
- 35 billion

#### Ecclesiastical crime
- 300 billion
- 5 billion
- 15 billion

#### Income of global missions
- 200,000,000
- 3 billion
- 5 billion

### Computers in Christian use (total numbers)
- 500,000
- 400,000
- 140,000

### Christian Literature

#### New commercial book titles per year
- 5 million
- 3,923,000
- 9,390,000

#### New titles including devotional
- 3,100
- 52,000
- 60,000

#### Christian periodicals
- 3,500
- 50,000
- 60,000

#### New books/articles on evangelism per year
- 330
- 3,100
- 7,500

### Scripture Distribution (all sources)

#### Bibles per year
- 5,452,600
- 25,000,000
- 36,800,000

#### New Testament per year
- 7,500,000
- 45,000,000
- 57,500,000

### Christian Broadcasting

#### Christian radio/TV stations
- 0
- 1,230
- 1,450

#### Total monthly listeners/viewers
- 0
- 750,000,000
- 900,474,400

#### for Christian stations
- 0
- 150,000,000
- 291,810,500

#### for secular stations
- 650,000,000
- 834,068,900
- 1,155,597,300

### Christian Urban Mission

#### Non-Christian megacities
- 5
- 65
- 95

#### Non-Christian urban dwellers per day
- 0
- 52,000
- 60,000

#### Urban Christians as
- 207
- 693
- 987

#### Urban Christians as % of urban dwellers
- 68.4
- 47.8
- 46.3

#### Evangelized urban dwellers, %
- 72
- 80
- 83

### World Evangelization

#### Unreached peoples
- 788,159,000
- 1,391,956,000
- 1,380,576,000

#### Unreached as % of world
- 48.7
- 38.6
- 31.6

#### Unreached peoples (with no churches)
- 3,500
- 1,300
- 700

#### World evangelization plans since AD 30
- 250
- 510
- 620
The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China

Wilbert R. Shenk

The most universally recognized concept to emerge out of the modern missionary movement in the nineteenth century was that the goal of mission was the indigenous church. A church could be said to be indigenous when it had become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.

This concept was primarily the property of the missions. With missions now having passed into the post-modern period, rhetoric about the indigenous church ideal has faded away. There is one major exception, however. The Protestant church in China since 1949 has employed this framework for its self-definition and further development.

We will first examine the origins of the concept and then explore the extent to which its usage in China since 1949 is in continuity with its earlier formulation.

Origins of the Concept in the Nineteenth Century

Frequently it is said that the indigenous church concept originated in the mind of Henry Venn (1796–1873), leading secretary of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1872, or his American contemporary, Rufus Anderson (1796–1880), senior secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1832 to 1866. Both men played key roles in its formulation and popularization, but neither Anderson nor Venn can be regarded as originators of the concept. Although research has yet to reveal precisely when the concept first appeared, it was around in embryonic form from the earliest days of the modern missionary movement. This is not to discount the Anderson-Venn contribution. These two men were highly influential in translating the concept into a working basis for mission theory and practice.

One of the seminal thinkers in the early phase of the modern missionary movement was William Carey (1761–1834), who arrived in India in 1793. After several years of uncertainty, Carey finally was granted permission to establish a work in the Danish colony at Serampore. Significantly, one of the first actions Carey and his colleagues took was to organize—not as a mission, but as a church. In addition to giving priority to the translation of the Christian Scriptures into vernacular languages, the Serampore Baptists emphasized the training of an indigenous ministry. In a statement issued in 1805, the Serampore group said:

"Another part of our work is the forming of our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them; in this respect we can scarcely be too lavish of our attention to their improvement. It is only by means of native preachers we can hope for the universal spread of the Gospel through this immense continent."

This called for them to set up a training college at Serampore.

The American Panopolist and Missionary Magazine for June 1817 reprinted an article from the January 1817 Missionary Register, edited and published by Josiah Pratt in London. This unsigned article made the case for continued support of Christian missions along the following line:

"The Christian church must give the impulse, and must long continue to send forth her missionaries to maintain and extend that impulse; but, both with respect to Funds and Teachers, a vast portion of the work will doubtless be found ultimately to arise from among the heathen themselves; who, by the gracious influence which accompanies the Gospel, will be bought gladly to support, as the Christian Church has ever done, these Evangelists whom God, by His Spirit, will call forth from among them."

While insisting that it was the permanent duty of the church to send and support missionaries, the writer urged that the focus of their efforts should be the emerging church, out of which come pastors and evangelists indigenous to that culture.

In the same vein, J. A. James, a leading Congregationalist pastor and supporter of the London Missionary Society, preached a sermon on "Missionary Prospects" in 1826 in which he asserted: "Let it be a great object with us, to render our missions self-supporting, and self-propagating." James' line of reasoning was that modern missions ought to pattern themselves after the primitive church. The apostles and evangelists brought their listeners to faith in Jesus Christ and immediately formed congregations independent of further missionary leadership. James contended that "the only work to be done by foreigners, is to introduce the gospel into a country, and then to send it forward by the hands of native converts." He suggested that this principle was based on a close observation of human nature and cultural dynamics. Only someone indigenous to a culture really understands the customs, idioms, and worldview of its people. The future of evangelization and church development must be in the hands of those native to a particular culture. Therefore, a priority in missionary work must be the training up of indigenous leadership.

By 1840 something of a conventional wisdom concerning missionary methods and principles was beginning to take shape. Some missions had by now been established thirty or forty years, and there was greater realism about the nature of the task. Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn came into leadership as a part of the second generation of the modern missionary movement. Both men saw the need to clarify the aim of missionary work and the means by which the aim might be achieved. They came to their insights largely independently of each other but with remarkably similar conclusions.

In 1841 Anderson addressed the theme, "On Raising Up a Native Ministry," in the Annual Report of the ABCFM. Citing...
the experience of the primitive church, Anderson observed "that the elders, or pastors, whom the apostles ordained over the churches they gathered among the heathen, were generally, if not always, natives of the country. In this way the gospel soon became indigenous to the soil, and the gospel institutions acquired, through the grace of God, a self-supporting, self-propagating energy." Anderson thus identified what he considered one of the "grand principles" of apostolic missions, but he also forthrightly recognized that the apostles' experiences were, strictly speaking, set within the Roman empire and thus involved minimal cultural barriers.

When Anderson discussed how this "native ministry" was to be raised up, he advocated that those to be trained should be separated from their home environment as young as possible and boarded "in the mission, be kept separate from heathenism, under Christian superintendence night and day." He envisaged a training program of eight to twelve years. The emphasis throughout was on a carefully controlled formation drawing largely on mission resources rather than the local culture. Anderson was, of course, a product of his times in his assumption that there was such a thing as a Christian culture of which the west was the primary exhibit.

Whereas Rufus Anderson's first pronouncements about the indigenous church were from the angle of developing indigenous leadership, Henry Venn at that time was preoccupied with another matter—financial self-support. Venn became secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1841, when the society was facing a serious financial crisis. The crisis threw into bold relief just how tenuous was a church that depended on foreign sources in the event those sources were cut off. Venn recognized that the present dependency of the churches founded by the CMS in other lands was the result of the way the society had gone about its work. What was needed was a new emphasis on inculcating a spirit of self-responsibility and self-support from the beginning. He was to continue emphasizing this theme in coming years.

In 1851 Venn issued the first of three policy statements which, when combined and published as one document entitled "The Native Pastorate," would be his most important contribution to the concept of the indigenous church. In this initial paper Venn took up the question of the employment and ordination of "native teachers." Basic to his concept was the distinction between mission agency and church and between missionary and indigenous pastor. In one of Venn's most quoted passages, he said:

Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, "the euthanasia of a mission" takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all mission agency should be transferred to "the regions beyond." Venn, like Anderson, took as the key to the development of the indigenous church the preparation and appointment of indigenous leadership. He too saw the mission organization as subservient to the church. Later he described the mission structures as "scaffolding," while the indigenous church was the "edifice."

In the second and third papers, issued in 1861 and 1866 respectively, Venn elaborated further on the indigenous church and the means by which it was to be developed. In the 1861 paper he criticized the mission station approach, especially for the way it created dependency on the part of the new church. The longer Venn observed missions, the more critical he became of missionary paternalism and domination.

For Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson, the grand aim of missionary work was the indigenous church. By the 1850s they were speaking of the "Three SELFS": self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating. Although their understanding was conditioned by the worldview of the west, they had arrived at insights that would prove prescient of that overly self-confident western worldview.

### Changing Currents

The second generation of leaders of the modern missionary movement lived during a period when the western powers were at times unsure about their role as colonialists and it was usually assumed that colonialism was, at most, a temporary phase in world history. During the second half of the 1800s new winds began to blow. In 1875, two years after Henry Venn's death, the European powers gathered in Berlin to carve up the continent of Africa into a series of colonies. This was also the period when the "Unequal Treaties" were forced on China by the western powers. The "High Imperial" period had dawned, and any lingering European self-doubts about colonialism were vanishing.

The proceedings of the First General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in China, held in Shanghai in May 1877, form a valuable prism through which to view the mood and regnant mentality among missionary leaders at that time. The moral ambiguity of the missions' vis-à-vis the "Treaty" was recognized. But at the heart of the thirteen-day conference was the role of foreign agencies in raising up a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Chinese church. W. M. McGregor began his address on "The Training of a Native Agency" with the statement: "That China must be evangelized by Chinese is a truism." The hiring by the missions of Chinese evangelists, catechists, and pastors, the payment of subsidies to churches, missionary-Chinese relations, missionary standards of living, stirring up the local church to evangelize, the training of Chinese for church and community leadership—these and other issues were addressed and discussed with apparent vigor and urgency. The focus of the conference was on perfecting and making more effective the methods and procedures that formed the consensus concerning missions.

**Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn took the views of their predecessors about missionary methods, and articulated them anew in terms of "the three selves."**
Voices of Criticism and Reform

From time to time voices critical of the missions system were heard. John L. Nevius (1829–1893) went to China in 1854 as a Presbyterian missionary. He became increasingly disillusioned with what he called the Old Plan and formulated what he termed the New Plan. By the Old Plan, Nevius meant the missions' practice of employing local evangelists to assist in colportage and evangelization. The New Plan sought to avoid this “paid native agency.” Both old and new had as their aim the founding of an indigenous church that was “independent, self-reliant and aggressive.” But the Old Plan tried to achieve this goal by employing indigenous peoples in what was conceived to be a first stage. It was assumed that a church would be formed during this initial phase and then salaries of workers could be withdrawn.

But experience showed that subtle changes took place during this phase. The paid workers had in fact been dislocated from their normal position in family and society and they had developed a dependent relationship to the mission. It was proving difficult to overcome the effects of this pattern. To avoid falling into this pattern from the outset, Nevius advocated that missions not pay subsidies and salaries. He believed that the congregations should be challenged to appoint and support their evangelists for outreach. “The prophet not being without honor except in his own country,” Nevius’s ideas had a much more positive reception in Korea than in China, where he lived and worked. Nevius paid a visit to Korea in 1890, and his plan was later credited with having played an important part in the growth of the church there.

Another critic of the missions system was Roland Allen (1868–1947); who served with the (Anglican) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in China from 1895 to 1904. In his first book, Missionary Methods: St. Paul’s or Ours? (1912), Allen identified three “disquieting symptoms” characteristic of mission-established churches. (1) This variety of Christianity remains exotic. “We have not yet succeeded in so planting it in any heathen land that it has become indigenous,” said Allen.16 This lack of rootedness was a grave concern. (2) Missions everywhere are dependent. “Day by day and year by year there comes to us an unceasing appeal for men and money for the same missions to which we have been supplying men and money for the last fifty or sixty years.”17 Thus their existence is precarious and there are no extra resources to launch new work elsewhere. (3) The results in one place look the same as everywhere else. “Our missions are in different countries amongst people of the most diverse characteristics, but all bear a most astonishing resemblance one to another.”18 What one reads about in China, except for the names, could just as well be said about the work in Kenya. Allen observed, “There has been no new revelation. There has been no new discovery of new aspects of the Gospel, no new unfolding of new forms of Christian life.”19 Allen called for a return to New Testament principles and a radical dependence on the Holy Spirit.

For a church to be truly indigenous, Allen suggested that missionary practice ought to observe five apostolic principles: (1) New converts must be taught so clearly that they can readily translate teaching into practice. (2) Church organization must make sense and be supportable within the local culture and economy. (3) The economic basis of the church must be geared to the economy of its members and independent of any foreign subsidies. (4) Christians must be taught and practice mutual responsibility and church discipline. (5) The church should immediately exercise spiritual gifts to serve and strengthen its life.20 Allen’s criticisms met stiff resistance in mission circles. His prescriptions were deemed to be too radical, and his ideas were generally dismissed.

Reader’s Response

To the Editors:

I would like to commend the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN for its excellent issue on “The Gospel and the Jewish People” (Oct. 1989). The responses to the WCC’s Sigtuna statement helped to clarify the issues and in that sense move forward the very much needed internal Christian discussion, a discussion which, I may say, is not yet a generation old and so barely begun.

Though your responders appear to already have all the answers, I would argue that the Christian community has yet to agree on how, precisely, to frame the questions. This phenomenon may help to explain the disparity of views between the Sigtuna and Willowbank statements. A couple of examples may suffice to illustrate my point. Both Dr. Kvarme and Willowbank unqualifiedly affirm, seemingly in contradiction to Sigtuna, that, in Kvarme’s words, “Jesus is the Messiah for Jews and gentiles and that salvation is in Jesus Christ alone.”

But is that affirmation as univocally clear as its author believes? I think not. It presumes, for example, that the concept of “Messiah” is exactly the same for Jewish tradition as it is for Christianity, indeed the New Testament in applying the term to Jesus uses it in precisely the way all contemporary Jews would have understood it. Neither presumption, however, is correct. Instead, biblical scholarship has shown that the evangelists radically modified the concept in applying it to Jesus. So it is not so much that Jews have “a theology with a basic rejection of Jesus as Messiah,” as Kvarme erroneously claims, as that the term Messiah as used by Christians is essentially unrecognizable to Jewish tradition. It is equivocal, not univocal.

Likewise, the simple word is in Kvarme’s affirmation turns out to be anything but simple if one wishes to be true to the whole of the New Testament witness. While Kvarme appears to use it in a simple historical sense, the church’s affirmation of Jesus as Messiah is not only historical but also and radically eschatological. It is not adequate to the church’s proclamation to say simply, “Jesus is Messiah.” One must also say in the same breath “Jesus will be Messiah.” Christ’s work is not yet complete. Nor are the biblical promises yet completely fulfilled either in us individually as Christians or in the world. The Jews are not
Another kind of criticism of the missions system was emerging. In Nigeria, for example, the African Church Movement was started in 1891. Nigerian church leaders who became frustrated in their relations with each of the Protestant mission societies—Anglican, Methodist, and Baptist—met and concluded:

"That this meeting in humble dependence upon Almighty God is of opinion that Africa is to be evangelized and that the foreign agencies at work at the present moment taking into consideration climatic and other influences cannot grasp the situation; resolved that a purely Native African Church be founded for the evangelization and amelioration of our race to be governed by Africans." The operative phrase here is "governed by Africans." This struggle for power continued to crop up wherever missions had founded churches.

Emergence of the Three Selfs in China

John King Fairbank has called the period from 1800 to 1985 "the great Chinese revolution." This underscores the fact that China over the past two centuries has experienced considerable turmoil and development. The nineteenth century opened on the last phases of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The Taiping Movement (1850-1864) threatened for a time to hasten the demise of Manchu rule but was itself stamped out. The revolution of 1911 formally ended the Ch'ing period and brought, in the Republican Government with Sun Yat-sen eventually at the head. When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the country was beset with enormous problems, and unrest was widespread. After a brief alliance with the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang (KMT) turned on the Communists in 1927 and established KMT control. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. More overt conflict erupted in 1937, engulfing most of China until 1945. In 1934-1935, Mao-Zedong staged the Long March, and out of it forged the Communist movement into an instrument that would eventually wrest power from Chiang Kai-shek and result in the New China under Communist rule in 1949. After years of chaos, corruption, and war, the charismatic Mao offered the people of China a welcome relief.

With the exception of the Portuguese incursion at Macau in the early seventeenth century, until the nineteenth century all of China's external threats had come overland from the west. When the European powers began making their approach to China by sea, the government of China was not diplomatically or militarily prepared to defend its territory.

In spite of its reputation for self-sufficiency, Chinese culture has repeatedly indigenized foreign elements, including religions, ideologies, and technologies. Both Buddhism and Islam entered China as foreign faiths and eventually gained acceptance through indigenization in varying degrees. In the twentieth century two western ideologies vied for acceptance by the Chinese. Liberalism and Marxism-Leninism each had a significant encounter with Chinese culture. Mao Zedong successfully fused Marxism-Leninism with his own socialist vision and made this the basis for the New China. Even in this case, however, it appears that the borrowing was selective. Throughout a long history, the Chinese viewed the Russians with suspicion. For a time following the communist victory in China, the Chinese seemed to be firmly within the Russian orbit. It appears that one of the reasons for the break between the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China in the 1960s was Mao's insistence on finding his own way of applying Marxist ideals to the situation in China.

Thus there is nothing unique about the fact that Christianity came to China as a foreign faith. More to the point is the particular

Wrong, I believe, in reminding us of this most crucial fact.

I must confess to having found Dr. Arthur Glasser's response disquieting both in its highly tendentious tone and in its seemingly absolute ignorance of Jewish tradition and beliefs. To state, as Glasser does, that for Judaism the law (Torah) is inscribed on stone while for Christianity it is inscribed on the heart is to ignore the fact that biblical Judaism already defined the Law as the Law of the heart long before the time of Jesus. Deut. 6:5, for example, forms the heart of the ancient Jewish prayer, the Shema, prayed twice daily by all pious Jews. And Jeremiah, whose phrase Glasser evokes (cf. Jeremiah 31), was a Hebrew prophet whose words were revered by Jews as divine teaching centuries before the rise of Christianity. Likewise, Glasser's polemical portrait of Jewish reactions to "Hebrew Christian" movements ignores an incredible amount of history and the often tragic role played by Jewish converts in helping to rationalize Christian persecution of Jews over the centuries.

Both Glasser and the Rev. David Harley appear bemused by Sigtuna's forthright condemnation of "coercive proselytism," feeling it to be no longer a problem. One can find an excellent discussion from the Catholic perspective of this still quite pertinent issue in Tommaso Federici's study included in the volume of papers from the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee entitled, "Fifteen Years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue" (Rome: Libreria Editrice Lateranense, 1988). Indeed, it may be argued that a greater awareness of the fruits of the intense dialogue between Jews and Christians over the past decades should be required reading for anyone assaying to comment upon a text such as that of the Sigtuna meeting. Equally, it might have been helpful for readers if the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN had elicited responses to the Willowbank Declaration from among the ranks of those experienced in the dialogue. Fair is fair, after all.

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way in which it was brought to China and the timing of its coming. These facts have had a profound impact on the way the indigenization of the Christian faith was eventually worked out.

As already shown above, the concept of the indigenous church was central to the missions system. By the 1920s, however, there was widespread dissatisfaction among Chinese church members over what they perceived as a lack of progress in becoming a church the Chinese could call their own. While among missionaries there was always an awareness that their achievements fell short of the ideal, aside from the Roland Allens, there was no call for a major overhaul of the system. The weight of opinion was on the side of gradualism rather than revolutionary change. A recent study by George A. Hood of the English Presbyterian Mission in Lintung, South China, depicts the situation well.

### The concept of the indigenous church was central to the missions system.

In 1881 the English Presbyterian Mission, which began working in the Swatow area in 1888, convened a meeting of Chinese and mission leaders of the congregations for the purpose of organizing a Presbytery. At the heart of the enabling action was the principle that “the native church ought to be self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.” The identify of the church was defined vis-à-vis state and mission. The missionaries were at pains to stress the distinctive roles of government and church. While the mission–church relationship was an intimate one at this stage, the constitution anticipated the time when leadership in the church would be fully in the hands of the Chinese themselves.

When the English Presbyterian leader, James Chalmers Gibson, addressed the Centenary Conference in Shanghai in 1907 commemorating the coming of Protestant missions to China, he claimed that the churches of the Swatow area had achieved 80 percent self-support. He challenged the rest of the church in China to achieve full self-support within the next few years. Twenty-five years later his son, Tom Gibson, reported that in 1931 Swatow churches raised 69 percent of their support, and this represented a 4 percent improvement over the previous year. The missionaries continued to believe they were moving along the correct lines and could cite facts to prove it. But the “self” in the minds of the missionaries was quite different from that of the Chinese.

The missions system was shaped by two things. In the first place, the missionaries had to come to terms with a political environment that was hostile in every way. The western governments and traders were constantly at odds with the missionaries. And the missionaries faced equally difficult situations in relation to the Chinese government and people. In this hostile and ambiguous environment, the missionaries reached out for whatever legitimation they could get. Although they were troubled by the way in which the “Unequal Treaties” were made, missionaries nonetheless accepted them as a necessary support to their missionary role. In the words of George A. Hood, “they regarded the right to hear, believe and practice the Gospel, as they interpreted it, to be paramount, and to be defended with the same determination as that of modern contenders for human rights.”

Second, the mission maintained its own organization, which called for regular meetings where the missionaries discussed and decided matters that concerned the church. This pattern was followed by many groups. Inevitably, it produced deep frustration on the part of the churches as time went on. It meant that the real decisions were being made by the mission and the church was rendered largely impotent. The Chinese reacted to this mission “yoke” in several ways.

The Boxer Uprising of 1900 became an emotion-charged symbol for Chinese people of the evils of foreign interference. The centenary of Protestant missions in China occurred shortly thereafter in 1907. According to Chao, “To Chinese Christians, the hundred years of western missions was a sufficient lesson for them to realize that the Church in China, if it was to survive, should sever herself from foreign missions backed up by unequal treaties and gunboats. As early as 1906, the Rev. Yu Kuochen of Shanghai started an independent Chinese church though it was only a tiny beginning.” While this independent church movement in China would grow, it remained relatively small in numbers. Churches in this category were generally lumped together as sects and typically were independent local congregations. But their existence was a telling comment on the missions system.

Other Chinese remained within the mission-founded churches and tried to work there. By the 1920s frustration was widespread. At the National Christian Conference held in Shanghai in May 1922, both Chinese church leaders and missionaries spoke about the “indigenous church.” The two viewpoints present a contrast in emphases. The Chinese pointed out their distress over the denominationalism that had left its imprint on the young church in China. While expressing gratitude for the devoted service of many missionaries, they said, We wish to voice the sentiment of our people that the wholesale, uncritical acceptance of the traditions, forms and organizations of the West and the slavish imitation of these are not conducive to the building of a permanent genuine Christian Church in China . . . the rapidly changing conditions of the country all demand an indigenous Church which will present an indigenous Christianity, a Christianity which does not sever its continuity with the historical churches but at the same time takes cognizance of the spiritual inheritance of the Chinese races.

They appealed for a positive Christian response to the New Culture Movement, an initiative on the part of a group of intellectuals to bring about a renewed China. They argued that while the New Culture Movement was good, it did not go far enough. As Christians they wanted a renewed China based on personal transformation through faith in Jesus Christ.

In a report on leadership, the church leaders spoke candidly: “The time has come for a much larger responsibility to be placed on the Chinese.” To be an indigenous church required indigenous leadership.

While recognizing the importance of Chinese leadership, the missionary statement singles out self-support for discussion. Rather than a bold reaching out for fresh approaches, this report reflects caution.

The thrust of Chinese church leaders’ concerns during the 1920s is summed up in an eloquent passage from T. C. Chao’s address to the Shanghai Conference on the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese church. Chao said pointedly: “The Church is weak because she is still foreign and divided. This is not because the genius of the Christian religion is alien to the Chinese mind and heart, but because the church which expresses Christianity is so various and rigidly organized that it does not fit in with the Chinese genius. She is foreign both in thought and form.”
The Three-Selfs Since 1949

Proclamation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 introduced a new order. The government moved on many fronts to root out threats to the republic and its people. This included foreign elements identified as imperialist and anti-revolutionary. Christian missions and missionaries came in for their share of criticism as tools of imperialism, and the churches they had founded in China found themselves under a cloud of suspicion because of the organic relationship. The outbreak of war in Korea in 1950 heightened tensions.

In 1950 a group of Christian leaders, led by Y. T. Wu of the YMCA, drafted “The Christian Manifesto” in consultation with Premier Chou En-lai. With this statement the leaders of the newly founded Three-Self Movement declared their support for the People’s Republic of China and its program of political and social reform. The manifesto stated the commitment of the churches as follows: “Christian churches and organizations give thoroughgoing support to the ‘Common Political Platform,’ and under the leadership of the government oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and take part in the effort to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, unified, prosperous, and powerful New China.”

This required a concerted effort to help people discern the influence of imperialism in the church, both past and present, and join with the government in its reform efforts. Emphasis was placed on the duty of the churches to “cultivate a patriotic and democratic spirit... The movement for autonomy, self-support, and self-propagation hitherto promoted in the Chinese church has already attained a measure of success.” Christians were enjoined to work together and oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism wherever these were manifested. Eventually some 400,000 Protestant Chinese signed this declaration.

It was perhaps more than fortuitous that the Three-Selfs terminology had been a part of the Christian vocabulary for nearly a century. In Chinese society it is common to identify a new program or campaign by assigning it numerals. Sun Yat-sen’s theory of revolution was published as The Three People’s Principles. In 1951–1952, the government launched the Three Antis-Campaign (corruption, waste, bureaucractism) and the Five Antis-Campaign (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state assets, cheating in labor/materials, stealing of state economic intelligence). In 1964 Premier Chou En-lai proposed the Four Modernizations, which he reenvied in 1975 (industry, agriculture, science-and-technology, and defense). The Cultural Revolution targeted the Four Olds (old culture, thought, habits, and customs). In 1981 the Chinese Communist Party set forth the Four Basic Principles (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, Chinese Communist Party leadership, the people’s democratic dictatorship, and socialism) that are to guide Chinese life. The Three-Selfs thus fit readily into this context.

On the level of vocabulary and concept, it is apparent that the missionary movement had failed in achieving its grand aim in China, that is, in establishing indigenous churches. This judgment may be debated, and various qualifications may be offered. But there can be little doubt that from the Chinese viewpoint, a genuinely indigenous church had not been achieved. The fundamental discontinuity, therefore, is the abrupt and complete change in leadership after 1949. The classical vision was of an orderly evolution from mission to church. In the event, the transition was abrupt, precipitated by revolution within the political order.

Chinese Christians had to face challenges from several sides, both before and after the Communist takeover in 1949:

1. The taunt that Christianity was a foreign religion and any Chinese who became a Christian was unpatriotic. (“One more Christian, one less Chinese.”)
2. The reluctance of the missions to hand over leadership responsibility inevitably caused Chinese Christians to feel mistrusted and undervalued.
3. The western forms of church life, especially denominationalism, proved to be a continuing embarrassment.
4. Chinese Christians identified deeply with their nation, sharing the resentment of all Chinese toward external powers that violated China’s territorial sovereignty.
5. Chinese Christians felt their loyalty to Christ and the church universal was questioned by some foreign friends who were animated by strong anti-Communist sentiments.
6. Chinese Christians wished to be free to work out their destiny as citizens of the New China who were also loyal to Christ and the Body of Christ.

From the statements and documents released by Chinese church leaders since 1980, it is self-evident that the Three-Selfs are the framework for dealing with this agenda. The church

It was perhaps more than fortuitous for Chinese Christians that the “three selves” terminology had been a part of the Christian vocabulary for nearly a century. Since liberation has been fully in the hands of Chinese leadership. They have carried the responsibility for guiding the church’s destiny. We can discern at least three focal areas of development. First, the relationship of church and society has been a priority. The missions left a legacy of careful separation of church from the sociopolitical order. Long before liberation, some Chinese Christian leaders had challenged this western formulation. Since liberation, it appears, this had been the area in which the most thoroughgoing changes have been effected. Prior to 1949, Chinese had been involved in society through hospitals, schools, and agricultural work. After 1949, the churches no longer had opportunity to carry out service ministries of this kind. Leaders have stressed the need for Chinese Christians to show solidarity with their peoples while bringing to bear in society the special contribution that a faith commitment enables.
Secondly, the relationship of the church in China to the church universal in light of the changes since 1949 is calling for fresh thinking. The Third National Chinese Christian Conference in October 1980 stated: “While holding fast to the Three-Self principle, we are open to friendly relations with churches and Christians abroad on the basis of equality and mutual respect.”

The statement went on to criticize those from the outside who have their own designs on China and ignore the views of the Chinese church. This indicates a lack of mature understanding and genuine respect on the part of outsiders. What is needed is a fuller vision of the universality of the church. There would then be place for a new appreciation of the particularity of any particular church. In the words of K. H. Ting, “The firmer a national church roots itself among its people, the stronger its individuality and the more it contributes to the catholicity of the universal church.”

Finally, there is a call to develop theologically in the context of the New China, to give greater depth to the faith and witness of the church. Roland Allen said more than seven decades ago that one sign that the Gospel has taken root in the soil and soul of a people is when a “new revelation” or fresh insight from that message springs forth. What the shape of that new word will be is only beginning to be discerned, but a self-conscious effort is underway to foster theological development.

Afterword

The vision of an indigenous church as the grand aim of mission was at the heart of the modern missionary movement. That vision was carried out in a specific historical period that was dominated by a particular culture. In response to the work of missionaries in many parts of the world, the foundation for new churches was laid. In retrospect, it appears that the means of carrying out the vision may have been inadequate when measured against the goal the leaders themselves had set. Rufus Anderson saw clearly the importance of the indigenous church as the aim of mission, but he prescribed a style of tutelage for future leaders which, on the one hand, tended to rob them of their own culture, and, on the other, assured missionary control for generations.

The experience of the church in China is of immense historical and contemporary interest. In spite of criticisms that can validly be made of the modern missionary movement, it did successfully lay a solid foundation so that even though leadership of the church was transferred abruptly, the church has demonstrated great resiliency and indigeneity. The church in China today may be viewed from various angles. Not least is to see the church as a vindication of that faith which gave rise to the modern missionary movement two centuries ago.

Notes

4. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 184.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 196.
24. Ibid., p. 139.
25. Ibid., p. 299.
30. Ibid., p. 540.
31. Ibid., p. 249ff.
32. Ibid., p. 208.
33. There is an extensive literature around the theme of the indigenous church in China. But this usage is to be distinguished from that in relation to the indigenous churches noted above. It would be more correct to call this a discussion of how to dignify the mission-founded churches. Three representative pieces from the 1920s are: T. C. Chao, “The Indigenous Church,” The Chinese Recorder LVI:8.
My Pilgrimage in Mission

Norman A. Horner

How often in human experience God nurtures some immature, adolescent fascination and brings it to a measure of solid Christian commitment. My pilgrimage in mission began precisely in that way.

During high school I was intrigued by stories of the adventures of David Livingstone (1813-1873) and Henry M. Stanley (1813-1885). I found the writings of the French explorer Paul Du Chaillu (1835-1903) in the Denver Public Library. Today, almost sixty years later, the impact of Du Chaillu's books, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa and Wild Life Under the Equator* is still part of my emotional recall.

At age seventeen I was received under care of Denver Presbyterian Church as a candidate for ordained ministry in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Such ordination awaited completion of both college and theological seminary, a total of at least seven more years. Hence there seemed no urgency about deciding whether to prepare for an overseas assignment or for the pastorate at home. Moreover, my pietistic faith dictated that the decision was not properly mine to make, anyway. In God’s time it would be made clear.

Throughout the four years of college my interest in overseas service was never a preoccupation, but neither was it entirely absent from my thoughts. Occasional missionary speakers helped to keep it alive. The Presbyterian Church had a very large number of overseas personnel in those days. The mission in French Cameroun, West Africa, was one of its strongest and most flourishing, but missionaries on furlough from other parts of the world also extended their Macedonian calls for recruit.

In 1935, immediately following my senior year in college, I enrolled as a first-year student at Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. It was there that my interest in “foreign missions” (the term we used quite unabashedly then) was rekindled. The Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), although already in decline, still sponsored groups of interested students in the seminaries, and I joined such a group. Our seminary faculty included a full-time Professor of Missions and Evangelism, Dr. Charles H. Pratt. “Uncle Charlie,” as he was familiarly known to the students, taught a one-semester required course in the history of missions. He also offered a remarkable variety of electives, the most memorable of which was designated “The Lives of Great Missionaries.” In that course each student was obliged to read and evaluate a number of missionary biographies. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century figures predominated on the bibliography, but some were from much earlier Christian history.

Nothing made a deeper impact on my thoughts about commitment to overseas service than the arguments advanced by Robert E. Speer. Speer retired from long and distinguished leadership of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1937. He never met him personally, but his address to an SVM conference in 1903, “What Constitutes a Missionary Call?” was reprinted again and again for the next forty-four years. I was especially impressed by these sentences:

> The whole thing reduces itself to this simple proposition. There is a general obligation resting upon Christian men to see that the gospel of Jesus Christ is preached to the world... You and I need no special divine revelation to our personal lives to indicate that we fall under that general duty. What we need is a special call to missionary service... The Presbyterians and Non-Presbyterians of the whole earth, and the Jews, are commanded to keep that story before their own people and all other people, by means of a faithful missionary service.


35. Ib. ibid., p. 20.


A missionary's mastery of another language and identification with another culture cannot be quickly accomplished.

God has placed you were meant by God to keep you out of the foreign field."

That rigid logic would be unlikely to persuade most students in seminaries of the mainline churches today, but in the 1930s many of us did not so readily dispute it. I, for one, found it entirely convincing. In the fall of 1937, at the beginning of my senior year in seminary, I mailed my application for appointment to missionary service under the Presbyterian Board. The hearty endorsement of "Uncle Charlie" Pratt and other influential friends was no guarantee of a favorable response. Our country was just emerging from the Great Depression, and funds were in short supply. The board had been forced to curtail many projects overseas, and not many new missionaries had been appointed for several years. Hence it seemed a special act of Providence when a prompt reply invited me to indicate the areas in which I would be most willing to serve. I replied that I'd serve wherever they sent me, but that my preference was Cameroun in West Africa.

By December 1937 my appointment to Cameroun was assured, and I was directed to attend the outgoing missionaries' conference at Hartford, Connecticut, in the summer of 1938. There I met three others appointed to Cameroun and some twenty-five or thirty assigned to other fields. The worst of the depression had been weathered, and my denomination was determined to increase its already substantial missionary presence throughout the world.

In March 1939, after six months of French language study in Paris, we appointees to Cameroun made the slow journey on the Dutch freighter Maaskerk from Bordeaux down the West African coast to Kribi. Thus began my residence of ten years among a people whose country was solidly under French rule and who took for granted the authority of foreign missionaries in the affairs of their churches, mission schools, and hospitals. Although the storm clouds of World War II had already gathered dark and foreboding by 1939, none of us dreamed of the extent to which people who make it their lifetime career are the real backbone of the missionary enterprise. Mastery of another language and identification with another culture cannot be quickly accomplished.

The next nineteen years (1949–1968) in Louisville, Kentucky, were nevertheless a time of personal satisfaction and expanding thought. The first real challenge to my earlier understanding of mission began with the research I did in relation to my doctoral dissertation, a comparative study of Protestant and Roman Catholic missions among the people of Southern Cameroun. In each of the three regions to which I had been assigned in that country, Roman Catholic influence was strong. Large Catholic mission stations were close to the Presbyterian centers, but we had had no social proximity and no personal friendships with the Catholic missionaries. I had done little or nothing to improve the relationships, and my background made real objectivity difficult. Preparation of my dissertation involved the examination of a vast body of materials written by Catholic missiologists and missionaries to Cameroun, and those afforded me a very different perspective from which to evaluate what I had actually seen of their work.

Thus began an openness that went beyond the intra-Protestant ecumenism to which I was already committed. Catholic missionaries no longer seemed antagonists, although I was not yet ready to think of them as colleagues. Competition, I believed, was inevitable, but we had much to learn from one another and such competition must be kept from the unworthy level of mutual incrimination and innuendo.

During the summers of 1956 and 1959 I traveled widely in Latin America, getting acquainted with a different Catholic-Protestant situation than we had known in West Africa. Then, from June 1963 through January 1964, a sabbatical leave from the seminary and travel grants from the Sealtantic Fund and the Advanced Religious Studies Foundation enabled me to travel extensively in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the Far East. I believe that I visited a wider range of Roman Catholic mission projects than any other Protestant had done up to that time. The volume I published in 1965, Cross and Crucifix in Mission, was in large part my reflections on those visits. By today's standards that book seems an overly cautious and restrained evaluation of the possibilities for Protestant-Catholic collaboration. But I believe that it was the earliest objective and nonpejorative comparison of their respective missionary strategies.

In 1968 I resigned from the Louisville Seminary faculty to accept a specialized missionary appointment in the Middle East under the Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations (COEMAR). This involved research and consultation on interchurch relationships, especially with the Orthodox and Eastern-rite Catholic Churches. My assignment was to the region as a whole, with primary residence in Beirut, where I served on the faculty of the Near East School of Theology.

Until the early months of 1975, one could move in and out of Lebanon with freedom. I became well acquainted with both clergy and laity in all communions in the countries from Turkey eastward to Iran and from Syria southward to Egypt and Sudan. Many of them became warm personal friends with whom I am still in contact. Brief periods of travel and research also took place in France, Switzerland, and England.
me to Ethiopia, across North Africa to Morocco, and through the Gulf States of the Arabian peninsula. I am grateful to COEMAR for giving me wide freedom to write my own job description and make my own agenda. And I rejoice in every opportunity I had to penetrate barriers of suspicion and mistrust that are the legacy of past decades of mission in that part of the world.

My modest travel budget permitted Esther to accompany me only rarely, and she found her own area of special service in Beirut. Between 1971 and 1976 she became friend-in-need to more than sixty European and American women confined in Lebanese prisons, most of them either awaiting trial or serving three-year sentences on drug charges. At any given time there were a dozen to fifteen, eight or more of them crowded into a single cell without beds or sanitary facilities in the Sanayeh Women’s Prison. The others were confined to a psychiatric hospital some miles away or to smaller prisons elsewhere in the country. Esther battled the system for permits to visit them regularly, shopped for their personal needs, kept separate accounts of any money they had for such purchases, supplemented the inadequate prison diet with home cooked and nourishing food, maintained regular contact with their respective embassies, corresponded with their families, negotiated with the local lawyers representing them in the cumbersome Lebanese legal system, got medical care authorized when need arose, and even cared in our home for a very ill baby born in Sanayeh prison. Sixteen-hour workdays were her normal schedule much of the time.

By spring 1975 the previously sporadic violence in Lebanon had become full-scale war. It was no longer possible to travel freely even within the country, much less to other parts of the region. Thus a major part of my assignment in the Middle East had reached an impasse. Yet classes at the Near East School of Theology continued to meet, albeit with a much reduced faculty and student body. Periodically the intensity of fighting around us interrupted school activities altogether. At such times I volunteered my services at nearby hospitals and elsewhere. Meanwhile Esther’s provision for the women still confined in prisons took on new dimensions of urgency.

Memories of our final eighteen months in Beirut are bittersweet. There was incredible destruction and suffering throughout the city. The winter of 1975–1976 was harsh and long. Yet the daily uncertainty through which we all lived nourished a camaraderie unlike anything we had known before. Lebanese neighbors who had been mere speaking acquaintances became concerned friends, anxious to share whatever they had. We walked together on the same dangerous streets, slept on mats in the same shelters whenever the fighting reached a crescendo, rushed to help one another cover shattered windows with plastic against the winter rains.

On March 16–17, 1976, all prisons in Lebanon were summarily “liberated” by armed groups. Eight of the twelve remaining western prisoners eventually found their way to our small apartment for refuge, and within the next two weeks we had helped arrange repatriation for the last of them. On July 4, Esther and I left Beirut in a convoy of some seventy vehicles organized by the German embassy and bound for Damascus. Damascus was flooded with refugees from Lebanon seeking passage to other parts of the world, but within ten days we were able to secure reservations to the United States via Switzerland.

For the next six years, until my retirement at the end of 1982, I was associate director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center (OMSC), then located in Ventnor, New Jersey. Those years were a happy and rewarding climax to my missionary career. The lively program at the OMSC enables Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Eastern Christians to gather in a relaxed atmosphere of companionship and mutual interest. Nowhere else in North America can one meet a greater variety of missionary leaders or join in exploring a wider spectrum of mission issues. Protestants of the ecumenical mission agencies and those of the more independent conservative-evangelical boards live together there and face their differences as brothers and sisters in Christ. I think that no aspect of the ecumenical task is more important than that.

I continue to feel the pride I have always felt at being called a missionary. The word itself has fallen into disfavor in some of our churches since the 1950s because of its earlier association with

Rather than abandon the word “missionary” we should elevate it to its rightful place in a new era of partnerships with the churches in the Third World.

the era of paternalism, but there are now evidences of its restoration. I rejoice in seeing it restored to favor, not merely out of nostalgia for an older terminology but because none of the proposed alternatives carries the same rich meaning. However small or halting our individual contributions, we missionaries belong to a distinguished company. Eugene Nida correctly says: “No other humanitarian undertaking even comes close to equal what the missionaries have done in relieving physical suffering, educating deprived persons, mediating in social conflicts, and demonstrating the meaning of a new life made possible by the power of God” (“My Pilgrimage in Mission,” INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, April 1988, p. 65). Rather than abandon the word missionary we should elevate it to its rightful place in a new era of partnership with the churches in the Third World.


This comprehensive reference work, published approximately every four years, is an indispensable tool for those who are leaders, participants, and supporters of the missionary endeavor of the church. It is essential to the work of a broad range of people, including: scholars and leaders of missionary agencies, training institutions, and churches.


While statistics and directory information constitute most of the book, the introductory chapters provide a helpful context. In an article entitled "A Unique Opportunity," William Dyrness provides descriptive glimpses of churches around the world.

In "The Sending Body," Samuel Moffett reviews and evaluates the sending base of North America, making comparisons from the past and discussing the relationship between church and parachurch missionary efforts.

Christy Wilson gives a brief statement on Tentmakers, alluding to an unsubstantiated statistic that 80 percent of the unreached people groups are in restricted areas.

In a rather strange treatise, Arthur Glasser uses the title "That the World May Believe" to paint a negative picture of associations of missions that seek to serve missions and increase their networking and cooperation. This chapter would have been more appropriate as an editorial in a periodical than as a chapter in an important reference work. In an article dealing with mission associations, he takes an unplanned departure to give, without context, a negative commentary about the World Evangelical Fellowship, which is a body made up not of missions but of evangelical associations in more than fifty countries. Despite the heavy editorializing, the chapter contains helpful elements of history and information about mission associations.

I found no major surprises in the statistics, though some may not have expected the extent of increase in the number of missionaries. Career missionaries have increased from 39,370 (a slight adjustment of the number reported in the 13th edition of the Handbook, to 43,648. Short-termers, who numbered 21,830 (this figure is some 6,000 less than what was reported in the 13th edition of the Handbook, a revision reflecting a more restrictive definition of short-term personnel) have increased to 31,519. The total for career and short-term personnel combined is 75,167, a gain of almost 23 percent from the number reported in the 13th edition.

Annual income received by U.S. agencies for overseas ministries is reported as $1,728,100,000, a 31 percent gain over the figure reported in the 13th edition.

Because of the variety of ways the material is presented, there is no end of its uses for people of all levels.

Wade Coggins, retiring Executive Director of EFMA (Evangelical Foreign Missions Association), was a missionary in Colombia, South America, in his earlier years.
Profiles in Liberation: 36 Portraits of Third World Theologians.


Deane William Ferm has been surveying and introducing liberation theologies for a long time and is widely known by his former resourceful publications on the subject. This time the author provides a unique service in putting together profiles of thirty-six theologians from the third world, twelve from Africa, eight from Asia, and sixteen from Latin America, showing how they do theology from their own context. His main contention is that there is not one monolithic system but many "liberation theologies."

Ferm has not only worked extensively and carefully with the bibliography of these theologians but has corresponded with them, asking them some basic questions that can be relevant to the North American readership, such as: their understanding of liberation theology, how their views and the issues have changed over the past ten years, and the role of Marxist analysis in their theology. He asked them to tell their own personal stories and the crucial events that shaped their lives.

The product is a very useful guide to the main representatives of contextual theology in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, with a selected bibliography of each individual author. The book is good for dispelling common misperceptions for those who care and as a companion for introductory courses or a personal reading course on this still fertile and challenging subject.

—Mortimer Arias

God and Production in a Guatemalan Town.


San Antonio Aguas Calientes is a market town located in the central highlands of Guatemala. "God" refers to the religious implications of the data that the author uncovered in the course of his research, in 1977 and 1978. Sheldon Annis is an Overseas Development Council scholar and researcher. Although by most standards the peasants in San Antonio remain poor, a closer study of the population reveals class differences in response to complex historical, cultural, socioeconomic, and religious factors (chaps. 1–2). A very recent factor is the rapid growth of Protestantism in Guatemala. Protestant membership during this period stood at around 20 percent and is now closer to 30 percent.

The central actor in Annis’s study "is the village Indian’s tiny plot of corn and beans, known as the milpa.” This is more than raising crops. It is a worldview. The milpa is both a culturally congruent means of production and a logical expression of ethnic self-understanding or “Indianness.” This “milpa logic” is Catholic and for centuries has expressed the Indian’s lowly place in Guatemalan society. It maintains equality within the Indian community by requiring that everyone invest their economic surplus in religious celebrations—a kind of “cul-
ture tax.” Clues to this self-awareness can be found also in the Indians’ approach to cottage industries such as cane mat (petate) and textile weaving (the huipile).

Increasingly, disintegrating forces are working against the colonial Indian worldview, gradually overtaking village life. The milpa-based economy is in crisis. The traditional social egalitarianism (the assumption of shared poverty) is being undercut. This has produced two classes of Indians that now stand outside the boundaries of traditional Indianness: the dispossessed and the upwardly mobile entrepreneurs, both of which are open to a Protestant ideology (or quasi-Protestant brands of Catholic ideology) of suelo al cielo (from dirt floor to heaven, pp. 81–90).

While testing his hypotheses, the author discovered a significant difference between the approach of a Catholic and a Protestant weaver to their craft. Whereas their technique was the same, their different worldviews gave them quite different understandings of what they were doing. While the Catholic woman wove for pleasure and satisfaction, her Protestant sister-in-law manufactured marketable huipiles. The Catholic woman’s approach was symbolic, deeply imbued with a sense of harmony, order, and balance. This the Protestant weaver set aside when she converted to the Protestant faith.

Both Catholics and Protestants weave with financial gain in mind. But the difference between them lies in what they bring to their task. The more of her psyche and cultural heritage that the traditional producer puts into her weaving, the more she creates a kind of social currency that is marketable only within the community. But, the author argues, an individualistic Protestant conversion redefines the Indians’ communal self as me. While for the traditional Indian woman textiles are wealth, for a Protestant textiles are a means to wealth. Annis found that Catholic women tend to make money from weaving and Protestants from selling what their Catholic sisters produce. The income derived from textiles serves to stabilize, rather than change, the traditional productive system of Catholics. Protestants tend to use their surplus to create and expand their opportunities. Almost half of the upwardly mobile families in his sample were Protestants, in a village where about 18 percent are Protestant. In conclusion, Annis attributes the new Indian receptivity to Protestantism to the sweeping change in traditional Indian community values.

This ground-breaking study may prove to be very significant if the author’s conclusions can be upheld elsewhere in Guatemala. Given the ultimate direction of his study, it is unfortunate that he did not develop a typology of Protestantism in San Antonio, in the same way that he did with Catholicism (pp. 90–91). He documents the Protestant presence and beliefs and discusses the Protestant ethic, with little awareness of an emerging new kind of Protestantism. Although these hypotheses need to be tested on the several types of Catholics and Protestants with more sensitivity to the theological and ideological nuances, Annis is to be congratulated for raising valid questions about the much vaunted growth of Protestantism in Guatemala.

Guillermo Cook

Guillermo Cook lived in Guatemala during the 1960s and visits the country frequently with the grassroots theological education program of the Latin American Evangelical Center for Pastoral Studies (CELEP). He is affiliated with the Latin America Mission and has a Ph.D. in intercultural studies from Fuller Theological Seminary.
Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a Study of African Independent Churches.


In this work designed as an introductory missiological survey of African independent churches, Professor Daneel combines his extensive research on churches in Zimbabwe (chaps. 4-6) with an introduction on a continental scale (chaps. 1-3) and a concluding chapter of "theological reflection."

Within a single work Daneel provides brief but fair introductions to the work of other leading scholars such as Sundkler, Barrett, and Turner, and he offers concise and incisive treatment of the issues of typology, history, causation, and theological evaluation of independent churches. Fully aware of the hazards of generalizing about these churches, he nevertheless recognizes that theological reflection on them is an essential part of missiology. From this perspective he presents much empirical data and produces a valuable reading of the independent-church scene in Africa. Its significance for all African churches is obvious. Any theological training institution that has not offered a course on independent churches for lack of a suitable textbook has no excuse any more. The much-needed text is now available.

The only major weakness in this presentation is that geographical balance is lost after chapter 3. The three later chapters on Zimbabwe take up 55 percent of the book and the final chapter deals almost exclusively with Zambian churches in the context of the debate among Beyerhaus, Oosthuizen, and Martin in South Africa in the 1960s. In spite of this limitation, the book is in a class by itself and goes a long way toward filling a gaping hole in the literature on independent churches.

—Stan Nussbaum

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1989 for Mission Studies

The editors of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH have selected the following books for special recognition of their contribution to mission studies in 1989. We have limited our selection to books in English, since it would be impossible to consider fairly the books in many other languages that are not readily available to us. We commend the authors, editors, and publishers represented here for their contribution to advance the cause of missionary research with scholarly literature.

Costas, Orlando E.
Elliston, Edgar J., ed.
Christian Relief and Development: Developing Workers for Effective Ministry.
Gilliland, Dean S., ed.
The Word Among Us: Contextualizing Theology for Today.
Gittins, Anthony J.
Gifts and Strangers: Meeting the Challenge of Inculturation.
Goodpasture, H. McKennie, ed.
Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America.
Greenway, Roger S., and Monsma, Timothy M.
Cities: Missions' New Frontier.
Hornor, Norman A.
A Guide to Christian Churches in the Middle East.
Elkport, Ind.: Mission Focus Publications (Box 370). Paperback $6.00.
Jansen, Frank Kaleb, ed.
Target Earth: The Necessity of Diversity in a Holistic Perspective on World Mission.
McGee, Gary B.
McKimme, Donald E.
Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. $34.95; paperback $18.95.
Newbigin, Leslie.
The Gospel in a Pluralist Society.
Pate, Larry D.
Sanneh, Lamin.
Tucker, Ruth A.
Another Gospel: Alternative Religions and the New Age Movement.
Hungry, Thirsty, a Stranger: The MCC Experience.


This book is the fifth in a series intended to tell the story of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) of Canada and the United States. In this volume thirty case accounts are offered, not as a continuous historical record, but as selected scenes from the panorama of MCC individual and corporate experience. They are concrete examples of Mennonite theology in action—obedience to Christ through love of neighbor as the fruit of repentance and conversion. This is the taproot of MCC life and its motto, "In the Name of Christ."

MCC is a viable example of the integration of evangelism and social action that American churches split apart in the first part of this century, and which now again is the focus of much reflection on their part. Most Mennonites have always expected MCC to be more than a welfare agency. "Obedience to the words and deeds of Christ still means love, grace, witness, compassion, and community" (p. 9). Even so, there are disclaimers in the book to indicate that some inside and outside the organization might have different interpretations of obedience. How Mennonite!

The first cases in the book describe the origins of MCC in famine and relief work in South Russia among the Dutch/German Mennonites. In subsequent cases, the major areas of MCC involvement are identified. During World War II, MCC negotiated with the governments of Canada and the United States to devise structures for alternatives to military service for members of the historic peace churches. After the war, MCC was involved in reconstruction of war-torn areas. Now the organization consists of 1,000 workers; 10,006 part-time volunteers; 10,000 worker alumni who educate and inspire the supporting churches; aid and development programs in 50 countries, and an annual operating budget of $33 million.

In one section, MCC publicity materials are described and its distinctive artist's posters are pictured. A foldout organizational chart at the end of the

Frances F. Heibert is a member of the Mennonite Brethren Board of Missions and Services, a graduate student at Fuller Seminary, and a former missionary in India with the Mennonite Brethren Mission.
book clearly identifies the various programs of the agency and its affiliates.

A stated purpose of the book is to describe the struggle of MCC personnel, many of whom are inexperienced lay workers, with the demands of conscience, Christian ethics, and compassion in complex moral and political arenas, so that others may benefit and be encouraged. In the strength of God’s Spirit, these efforts bear fruit beyond expectation. “Little signs of the kingdom appear in the wilderness of suffering and despair” (p. 10).

Kreider and Goossen are well qualified to write about MCC. Both professional historians, Kreider has served with MCC in a variety of assignments; Goossen has written numerous books and articles about Mennonite life.

This book is heartily recommended for the models it presents of an organization that seeks to minister to the whole person in obedience to Jesus Christ.

—Frances F. Hiebert

American Society of Missiology Series


Sergio Arce, Cuban Presbyterian theologian, offers an excellent example of praxis-based liberation theology in these twelve essays dating from 1965 to 1983. The first three essays set the foundations for his view of Christian faith: the history of Christianity in Cuba, his reasons for being a Christian Marxist instead of simply a Marxist, and his description of the mission of the church.

The other nine essays deal with themes such as evangelism, unity, church renewal, incarnation, faith, ideology, theology, spirituality, and liberation. Arce’s method is a bit deceptive, but easy to unravel because of its repetition in almost every essay. He begins making some pious, orthodox statements about the theme, but then proceeds to immerse it in the principles and practice of the Marxist revolutionary movement in Cuba. What results from that immersion is generally a secularized redefinition of these Christian themes, which places Marxist revolution as the interpretive key, critical analysis, projected result, or enabling necessity of each theme, similar to the results seen in the works of many other Latin American radical liberation theologians.

One unique element of Arce’s presentation is his criticism of other liberationists for trying to do theology from the starting point of revolution-ary praxis without actually being involved in an active revolution. He feels that their attempts at praxis-based theology are still imprisoned by theory and speculation.

Although Arce’s rejection of evangelism as witness, final judgment, the possibility of a personal relationship with God in Christ, and the normativity of Scripture makes his theology particularly repugnant to evangelicals, we
can learn much from his criticisms of
our theologizing and our own critical
interaction with his radical redefini-
tions. In the final analysis, Arc is pro-
vocative but not convincing.

The book also contains interesting
commentaries by German liberationist
Dorothee Soelle and Columbia Uni-
versity's Stanley Aronowitz, and ends
with four appendices containing pro-
clamations by Fidel Castro of his new
appreciation of Christian liberationist
faith as a partner in the goals of Marxist
revolution.

—Raymond C. Hundley

Wise as Serpents, Harmless as
Doves: Christians in China Tell
Their Story.

Edited by Jonathan Chao and Richard Van
Houten. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey
$10.95.

This is a book of testimonies about
the religious experiences of Chinese Chris-
tians who are associated with house
churches in China. Collected by Jon-
athan Chao and edited by Richard Van
Houten and the staff of the Chinese
Church Research Center in Hong Kong,
the experiences related here cover the
period from 1949 to 1984 and are sub-
divided into several phases: The Road
to Liberation (1949–65); The Cultural
Revolution (1966–69); Confusion and
Resolve (1970–78); The Taste of Free-
dom (1979–80); Clamping Down (1981–
84).

The format includes question-and-
answer interviews, testimonies, letters
to friends in Hong Kong, sermons, re-
ports by travelers, transcripts of re-
corded material, interpretations by
house-church leaders, poems, and
songs. In the introduction and before
each of the five sections, either Chao
or Van Houten gives a brief analysis of
that period and puts it into the broader
framework of China's economic, polit-
ical, religious, and social context. The
experiences come from nearly every
graphic area of China, whether the
rural hinterland, major urban centers,
or among the minority nationalities. The
testimonies accurately reflect one di-
mension of the work of God's Spirit in
China.

Van Houten confesses that to get
a complete picture of China's churches,
the reader must also include the opin-
ions and experiences of the leaders of
the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and
the China Christian Council. These
opinions are not included in this book.
However, to the credit of the editors,
the interviews and testimonies reflect
"several shades of acceptance of the
TSPM, ranging over a spectrum of
complete acceptance, grudging ac-
knowledgement, studied indifference,
and unequivocal rejection" (p. vi).

In reading these materials one is
impressed by the spiritual vitality of
these Christians, by some limited the-
ological perspectives, and by the va-
riety of the heresies that are challeng-
ing their faith and threatening to corrup-
t their witness for Christ.

—Ralph Covell

Ralph Covell is Academic Dean of Denver Con-
servative Baptist Seminary. He was a missionary
in China and Taiwan (1946–66) and formerly
editor of Missiology. His most recent book is
Confucius, the Buddha, and Christ.
The Bishops’ Progress: A Historical Ethnography of Catholic Missionary Experience on the Sepik Frontier.


Now and again one reads a truly satisfying book. Mary Taylor Huber’s The Bishops’ Progress is one of those. Huber is a social anthropologist who became curious about missionaries during a field trip dedicated to more standard anthropological concerns. We are fortunate she got side-tracked.

Specifically, Huber has written on an “ironic dimension” she discovered in the life, work, and emerging development of a fascinating interpretation of mission life. She uses “progress” in the technology used by, the circumstances affecting, the mission law governing, and the complex of roles taken on by anthropological concerns. We are fortunate she got side-tracked.

Huber’s eye is always on the telling detail that reveals what was truly going on as history was moving ahead. She has a keen ear for the cognitive dissonance that SVDs overcame when they spent as much time developing their material base as they did preaching the Word and celebrating the sacraments. She sniffs out, too, the dilemmas that men trained to live in semimonastic communities in exact observance of a schedule of prayer and other activities faced on the jungle frontier. And the paucity of discussion of the transition from mission to local church speaks volumes about Roman Catholic missioners’ dilemma in that arena.

Huber’s book is good on these and a dozen other points. It is readable, incisive, and insightful. She avoids the mistakes outsiders frequently make when they venture into strange societies, and by returning to tell the tale Huber gives her readers a splendid chance to experience something of the texture of her subjects’ lives. I suspect, too, that Huber has uncovered themes that have validity far beyond its immediate Melanesian setting. The book is a must for anyone wanting to understand what was happening in the Catholic missions of the past one hundred years.

—William R. Burrows

William R. Burrows, former missionary to Papua New Guinea, is Managing Editor, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York.

Dissertation Notices

From the Catholic University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands, 1969–1989

Doctoral dissertations relating to missions, Theological Faculty (Faculteit Godgeleerdheid) of the Catholic University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. The Faculty offers the S.T.D. degree.

1969
Muskens, M. P. M.

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Missio Aktuell Verlag, Aachen 1979. (513) 948-8733

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These dissertations were prepared under the supervision of Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., Professor of Missiology, Department of Theology, University of Nijmegen, Heyendaalseweg NL-6525 AJ Nijmegen, The Netherlands. The dissertation of van den Berg was prepared under the supervision of Jacques Van Nieuwenhove, professor of history and the Church in Latin America, in the same department.

1971
Pirijns, E. D. P.
“Japan en het Christendom, naar de overstijging van een dilemma.”
Two volumes. Published by Lannoo, Tielt-Utrecht, 1971.

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Roes, J.

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“De Rooms Katholieke Gemeente van Suriname (vanaf 1866).”
Published by Westfort, Paramaribo, Suriname, 1974.

Kuepers, J. j. A. M.
Published by Drukkerij Het Missiehuis, Steyl, 1974.

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“Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah, recente ontwikkelingen in Indoensisch Islamonderricht.”

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Bergen, L. F. M. van
“Licht op het leven van religieuze, sannyasa-dipika.”
Published by Thoben Offset, Nijmegen, 1975.

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“Schisma zwischen Kirche und Volk, eine praktisch-theologische Fallstudie des Volkskatholizismus in Nordostbrasilien.”

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“Buitenlandse arbeiders in Nederland, een niet participerende bevolking.” Published by Het Wereldvenster, Baarn, 1979.

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Coomans, M. C. C.

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Tullemans, H. G. M.

1984
Digan, P.

Mokoka, G. Cl.

1988
Cornelissen, J. Fr. L. M.
“Pater en Papoea. De ontmoeting van de Missionarissen van het Heilig Hart met de cultuur der Papoea’s van Nederlands Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea (1905–1963).”

1989
Berg, P. J. M. van den
“La tierra no da asi no mas. Los ritos agrícolas en la religión de los Aymara-Cristianos de los Andes.”
Published by Celda Latin American Studies, Amsterdam, 1989.

Breetvelt, J. N.
“Dualisme en Integratie: een studie van de factoren die een rol spelen bij het hervinden van identiteit bij opgeleide Afrikanen.”
Published by J. H. Kok Publishing House, Kampen, 1989.

Stoks, J. W. H. M.
“Cultuur en Rite: een beschouwing over wezen en samenhang van beide begrippen.”
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Feb. 27-Mar. 2: Mission under Authoritarian Governments. Dr. James M. Phillips, Associate Director, OMSC.


Mar. 12-14: "Black and African Theologies: Siblings or Distant Cousins?" Dr. Tite Tienou, Alliance Seminary, discusses the book by this title by Josiah Young. Cosponsored by the Presbyterian School of Christian Education in cooperation with the Richmond Theological Consortium, at Richmond, Va.


Apr. 2-6: Building the Healing Community: A Workshop for Health and Community Development Workers. Drs. Jean and James Morehead, International Child Care and Tufts University School of Medicine, Dr. Duane Elmer, Wheaton College, Eldon Stoltzfus, Mennonite Central Committee, Haiti, and Jeannie Thiessen, MAP Int'l. Cosponsored by American Leprosy Missions and Mennonite Central Committee.


Most seminars run from Monday afternoon to lunch on Friday (note dates); tuition is $50. Where dates vary, consult individual program outlines.

Publishers of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research
Book Notes

Basel Mission.
Guide to the Basel Mission’s Cameroon Archive.

Comblin, José.
The Holy Spirit and Liberation.

Fu, Charles Wei-hsun, and Gerhard E. Spiegler eds.

Mission History from the Woman’s Point of View.

Henkel, Willi, and Josef Metzler.

Hoornaert, Eduardo.
The Memory of the Christian People.

Jenkins, Paul.
A Short History of the Basel Mission.

Nyce, Dorothy Yoder.
Strength, Struggle, and Solidarity: India’s Women.

Prüter, Karl.

Samuel, Vinay, and Albrecht Hauser, eds.

Sheard, Robert B.
Interreligious Dialogue in the Catholic Church Since Vatican II: An Historical and Theological Study.

Speight, R. Marston.
God Is One: The Way of Islam.

In Coming Issues

Confessing Jesus Christ within the World of Religious Pluralism.
Mark Thomsen

The Christian Gospel and World Religions: Will Evangelicals Ever Change?
Ralph R. Covel

Catholic Teaching on Non-Christian Religions at the Second Vatican Council
Miikka Ruokanen

The Yogi and the Commissar: Christian Missions and the African Response
Lamin Sanneh

Toward A New History of the Church in the Third World
Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J.

Korean Minority Church-State Relations in the People’s Republic of China
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Helen Barrett Montgomery
John Livingston Nevius
Constance E. Padwick
Charles W. Ranson
Timothy Richard
A. B. Simpson
W. A. Visser ‘t Hooft
Robert P. Wilder