Universality of Grace: Probing the Message of Vatican II

Five years ago on these pages, William R. Burrows identified the issue: Certain Vatican II documents tend "to see Jesus as a manifestation of the way to God, not as constitutive of this way" (INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN 9, no. 1 [January 1985]: 3).

In the present issue of the BULLETIN, Miikka Ruokanen provides what Burrows judges to be "the most accurate account" of what Vatican Council II said about whether non-Christian religions are means of salvation. Ruokanen's contention is that the silence of Vatican II documents regarding the saving qualities of non-Christian religions implies the unchanging uniqueness of the Christian way of salvation. His conclusion is that while Vatican II was unprecedentedly respectful of non-Christians and their religions, the council "did not make the least compromise. . . . The urgency of the church's mission is no way lessened. . . . [She] has received the explicit revelation of divine grace in Christ; . . . and, consequently, it is her mission to establish the bodily presence of the people of God, . . . to add people from all nations to the number of the elected."

Ruokanen's respondent, Paul Knitter, now firmly associated with the "myth of Christian uniqueness" thesis, asserts otherwise. He concludes that there are "even clearer and more persuasive reasons to interpret the council's silence in a positive sense and to conclude, with the majority . . . of contemporary Roman Catholic theologians that Vatican II implicitly affirms the salvific potential of other religions."

Burrows then returns to our pages with a rejoinder. He sees deeper issues, such as the need to clarify what is meant by salvation ("Liberal interpretations . . . are vague"); to form a more developed understanding of the authentic working of God's Spirit in those who haven't heard of Christ; and to appreciate the "crisis dimension of conversion." He points out that when the latter insight is missing, it undercuts "the urgency of witnessing to the Gospel that people's eternal destiny is secured in grace by conversion from false consciousness to true consciousness. It shortcircuits the Christian conviction that Jesus is the manifestation of the single authentic way of rooting ourselves in reality's theonomous depths."

Other articles in this issue—for example, the Philippine Catholic and Greek Orthodox contributions to our Mission in the 1990s series, and the personal stories of two North American missionaries to Latin America and India—take up other missiological themes. Interestingly, they each touch on the universality of God's grace and the central role of Christ in effecting salvation.

Few doubt that the grace of Jesus Christ is universal in scope; but the mystery of it remains.

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Mission in the 1990s: Two Views

I. C. G. Arévalo, S.J.

Agenda for Mission

The last two decades have produced so many discussions on the theology of mission and of the church’s missionary activity, so much soul-searching and debate on the role of missionaries and on the tasks of Christian mission as we move toward the third Christian millennium, that we can only repeat, or pick up and choose from, the positions already taken and the agenda already drawn up by countless conferences, seminars and individual theologians. The essays already published in the International Bulletin of Missionary Research on “Mission in the 1990s” have done us the service of summing up much of the enormous contemporary literature on the subject of Christian mission and the questions it raises today. This contribution thus cannot be expected to say anything new. It will try instead to present “Mission in the 1990s” from a rather specific Roman Catholic viewpoint and from a definite context: East and Southeast Asia.

For twenty years, Roman Catholic bishops and theologians have struggled with the subject of Christian mission—more precisely with the mission of the church—in what might be called the “FABC region” (Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences), that part of Asia that Europeans call “the Far East.” (“Far from whom?” the renowned Filipino historian, Horacio de la Costa, used to ask.) The years following the Vatican Council II saw in Latin America the remarkable emergence of CELAM (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano) and the significant movements in theology and ecclesial life and praxis that the names of Medellín and Puebla evoke. In a lower-profile way the FABC assemblies and workshops represent in East and Southeast Asia what CELAM II and CELAM III have meant for the churches in Latin America. It is appropriate, therefore, to give readers a summary of FABC thought and directions on the theme of Christian mission. It is my conviction that mission in Asia, as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, will be in continuity with these directions, that the 1990s will spell out these orientations in more concrete ways and deepen the theological understanding of these areas of ecclesial thought and practice.

1. Always the point of departure in the thought and texts of the FABC conferences has been the vision of a “new world being born” in Asia since the end of the colonial period in our part of the earth. In “this vast and varied, restless and swiftly-changing world” of nearly three billion people (almost two-thirds of humanity), we see an ever-widening, ever-increasing search, “new today in its breadth, restlessness and urgency,” for the reshaping of national societies and human communities “in the midst of so much social change, conflict and struggle, suffering and oppression, inhumanity and death.” This search “defines the turbulent history of our time.” FABC documents clearly and explicitly affirm that the church’s missionary proclamation and activity must be in close dialogue with the realities of this context and must seek to respond to the “signs of the times.”

This perspective, on the part of Roman Catholic Church leaders in Asia, is a relatively new one. Vatican II, especially its pastoral constitution Gaudium et Spes, provided the necessary intervening moment toward the acceptance of this perspective. If we may draw wisdom from a perceptive remark of Cardinal Newman, however, it will take another generation before this point of view becomes universally accepted by church leadership. But the establishment of this new perspective is henceforth irreversible and decisive.

2. From 1971 onward it has been affirmed—most clearly by the FABC General Assembly of 1974 at Taipei—that the “basic mode of mission in Asia” must be dialogue. Missionary dialogue, of course. We must explore the interface of the Gospel’s meanings and values with the realities of Asia and its many peoples—its histories and cultures, religions and religious traditions, and especially its “poor masses” in every country. These realities—cultures, religions, life-situations of poverty—make up the ambience and context wherein the Gospel is to be proclaimed; these realities define the “place” for the localization of the church and the inchoate “real-ization” of God’s kingdom.

This overarching program of dialogue with the cultures (i.e., inculturation), with the religions and religious traditions (i.e., interreligious dialogue), and with “our peoples, especially the poor multitudes in Asia” (i.e., development/liberation), has been the thematic background of both the pastoral and missionary activity of the local churches of Asia in the past twenty years. In the 1979 International Mission Congress (Manila) it was used as the overall framework for reflection on mission and the tasks of mission in the 1980s. For the 1990s these dialogues remain the headings under which the concerns and activities of Christian mission are collocated. It is in the endeavor to bring these dialogues into life and practice, and in the ongoing reflection on the processes they have initiated, that the way of theologizing on mission must surely be constructed in the decade to come.

3. The “acting subject” of this missionary work and dialogue must be, concretely and in the first instance, the “local church.” The local churches and Christian communities constitute the responsible historical subject of mission today in Asia (again, in the first instance). It is they who can discern and work out the way the Gospel is best proclaimed, the church set up, the values of God’s kingdom realized in their own place and time. The local Christian community “becomes church” largely through interrelationship with the milieu that is its place and context of mission.

4. The local church means the entire Christian community, the “entire people of God” in this given time and place. Here the participation in the church’s missionary activity of laypeople is especially to be stressed. This total ecclesial community is, in the first instance, “the self-acting and self-realizing subject of the church’s mission”; the proclamation of the Gospel by word,
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a strong influence on the SEDOS Seminar is not really important; what is significant is the near-total agreement regarding the directions for the future of mission.10

The Doing Remains

In the theology of mission, then, it is clearly on this same FABC itinerary that the interaction of praxis-reflection-policy-action must move. And “all the doing remains.”11

Inculturation has been very much present in theological discussion since the 1960s, but its implementation has not really moved forward in a genuinely significant or decisive way. The liberation theology breakthrough and subsequent vigorous debate on it now have been in the forefront of attention for more than fifteen years. This movement without doubt has been a major dimension of the ecclesial/missionary life of our time; the contribution of the Latin American churches has been invaluable for a rethinking of mission. Liberation theology’s energies are not spent, and for the decade to come we await continuing development and greater participation by other sectors (Asia, Africa, etc.).

Interreligious dialogue has gradually but steadily been moving toward front-and-center in the past few years. It will surely assume larger proportions in the coming decade. The debate on “the myth of Christian uniqueness” is already productive—not only of unsettling questions—but of a deepening reexamination of the person and the message of Jesus and of the salvation found in him. In this discussion of the very meaning of Christianity, the caution must be repeated that constant contact needs to be maintained with those actually engaged in missionary life and action and with “practicing believers” in other religious traditions. A mere exchange of ideas largely elaborated in academic circles beg to become a game of chess instead of a genuine service to mission in our time.

The Asian Theological Advisory Commission (TAC) of the Asian Bishops’ Conferences, constituted in 1985 to advise the FABC, after informally sounding out the Asian episcopal conferences to find out what the pastoral leaders in the region believed were the most crucial and most urgent theological concerns, placed two themes—theology of interreligious dialogue, and the theology of the local church—as the top items on their agenda.

The concern for the local church is an attempt to understand the situation of church communities on various levels in the present period of the church’s history in Asia. In many ways it is an effort at coming to grips with what the mission and task of each local Christian community must be, in the most concrete manner possible, as it tries to live the imperatives of the Gospel and insert the Gospel’s meanings and values in the human milieu whose common history it shares. This will obviously mean a deepening understanding, not only of the milieu of proclamation, witness, and service, but of the concretion (or incarnation) of the Gospel’s meanings and values in a given time, place, history, and culture. Hence the concern that inculturation and dialogue, as well as human and societal development and liberation, become concrete in “the living out of its own particular mission, by the local church.” The fulfillment of Christian mission is the way to self-realization of the church as authentic bearer of the Gospel in its being and life, in its own place and time.

Our planning for mission activity should start from below. What we should do in a particular situation cannot be determined a priori from above. It should be the fruit of an analysis of the situation, of the kind of people with whom we are working, of their real needs. It is by involving ourselves with them and experiencing life with them that we shall be able to discern the will of God in that situation. Mission is not bringing God to a place where he is not present, but helping people to discover and listen to God who is there, perhaps hidden or dimly perceived or seen differently, but who is calling them all the time towards a dialogue leading them to fuller life.

Such a mission can be best accomplished only by a local church . . . . Each church is on mission and is co-responsible for mission all over the world. So instead of the more familiar concept of “foreign mission” we will have to be accustomed to the concept of collaboration in mission . . . . The vision of the Church universal as a communion of local churches will also be manifested as a communion in mission.12

Some Enduring “Musts” for Mission

At this point I would like to recall yet older, more traditional things. They center around the spirituality of mission.

1. The thrust of grassroots ecclesial communities is a return to the most fundamental of Christian basics: koinonia, the trinitarian life experienced and shared with the community of faith, hope, and love. Mission today must be about the creation of Christian community, about the building up of human solidarity, beginning on the grassroots level. Hence the continuing importance of “base communities” and what they concretely mean for communion and participation.13

The realization of community, sociologically speaking, will differ from place to place, from society to society, from culture to culture, from “level to level.” Community is not a univocal term, and its realization will take on diverse concrete expressions. Perhaps the word solidarity, so frequently in the vocabulary of John Paul II, best translates what is meant here.14

2. In his mission letter issued in 1975, Pope Paul VI spoke of the need of radical Christian witness for our time: the witness of totally given, self-sacrificing love. In the surfeit of words in our age, he said, only those teachers who teach by deed will be heard, or who join the witness of their lives to their words.15 This will be more valid, if possible, in the 1990s than it was in the 1970s. The names of Archbishop Romero and Mother Teresa most readily come to mind. In the history of Christian mission, the witness of life has always been the most effective vehicle for the Gospel. If this sounds like a platitude, it is a platitude that bears repeating today, when the outreach and power of ministry in media would seem sometimes to be saying something to the contrary.

3. Lastly, and in the same vein, we must affirm what a work on the theology of mission published not too long ago calls “mission as mystic itinerary.”16 Today it is the sense of God as mystery, beyond human concepts and formulations, rooted in the personal experience of faith, that characterizes the search for God, for the hidden God of our age. Face to face with the radical challenges to Christian mission, the bearers of the Gospel in the midst of any society—of other faiths or of unbelief—must speak from an authentic experience of God, personal or within community, or it will fail to gain a hearing. This experience must arise today and in the decades to come, as it has always arisen, from a living out of the Paschal Mystery in one’s own life—in prayer.
and contemplation, in the labors of witnessing to the Gospel, in
discernment in the Spirit, in the fundamental dedication to and
involvement with the poor, the suffering, the broken, and the
discernment in the Spirit, in the fundamental dedication to and
mission; in the end, there is no other way.

The work of mission is finally the work of the Spirit of God. In
the 1990s, as in the past, we will seek to discern both the signs
of the times and the ways by which we must respond to them.
But in all this we must seek to be obedient to the Spirit, for in
that obedience alone can we second God's renewing of the face
of the earth.

NOTES

1. "Mission in the 1990s: I. Arthur F. Glasser and II. Michael Amal-
lados," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 13, no. 1 (January
1989). The present contribution should really be considered only a
postscript to Fr. Amalados's more comprehensive treatment of the
theme. Cf. also his book, Mission Today (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum
Spiritualitatis, 1989).


3. E.g., for India: Felix Wilfred, The Emergent Church in a New India (Tiruchirappalli, 1988), and for the Philippines, Brendan Lovett, On Earth as in Heaven: Corresponding to God in Philippine Context (Quezon City, Philippines: Claretian, 1988). See also Lovett's Life Before Death: In-culturating Hope (Quezon City, Philippines, Claretian, 1986).

4. Words included within quotation marks are taken from FABC texts,
but especially from the "Final Statement of the International Congress
on Mission, Manila, 2-7 December 1979." Cf. n. 2, above.

5. FABC papers, Joseph A. Komonchak, Towards a Theology of the Local Church (Hong Kong: FABC Secretary General's Office, 1986). The Theological Advisory Commission (TAC) of the FABC intends to issue its study-paper on the theology of the local church in the Asian context in the spring of 1990.

6. Cf. Niall O'Brien, Revolution from the Heart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), a remarkable account of base ecclesial communities (BECs) in the diocese of Bacolod, Negros island, Philippines, which deserves an even wider audience than it has already reached.


13. Niall O'Brien's book, cited in n. 6, above, spells out the revolution of hope that the base ecclesial communities can awaken.


II. Bishop Anastasios

M ission will always remain the central ecclesiastical matter; an expression of the life and vitality of the church. Unthinkable as it is to have a church without liturgical life, it would be even more unthinkable to have a church without missionary life.

1. Secularization in a Changing World

The complex and changing world within which the church is
called to live out its mission needs to be studied continuously and
thoroughly so that the march, language, and meaning of the

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Ethin. He is also a contributing editor of the International Bulletin.
igion in the 1990s, the big problem remains secularization. Our duty is to pursue loving dialogical contact with our fellow men and women, many of whom every day walk with us without identifying with either the believing community or the antireligious community.

Given the crucial problem of “faith and science” in our secularized world, a living Eastern Orthodox theology could bring to bear some distinct characteristics; for example, a personalistic, existential theology that culminates in a theology of the divine energies. Accentuating the significance of the person and the divine initiative on behalf of the world, Orthodox theology can open new ways for Christian dialogue with the modern sciences. Our endeavor is neither a fatalistic submission to contemporary technological culture nor a sterile negation of it. Rather, it is how we can, in a climate of apocalyptic concerns, work for the renewal and transformation of culture.

2. The Electronic Age: A Third Period of World History

In the first stage of civilization, human beings summarized their origins through oral traditions, myths, laws, and institutions. Later, the written word led to a second level utilizing the oral tradition and pushing it forward into space and time. During the past few decades, we have entered a third period of world history. We proceed at great speed in the electronic world, which, combining oral and written word with visual media, offers us unimaginable flexibility, range, and speed. These new possibilities not only make human thinking more agile and fluid, but also give new dimensions, inclinations, and powers to human intelligence.

The Christian message that was carried in the vessels of the oral and written word in the former centuries must now be conveyed in a timely and correct way. It has to be tuned with the dynamics of the new media that mold the common sense and the universal human conscience. On this level we have remained behind in our theological education as well as in our ecclesiastical practice. Have we been taken by surprise? Are we slow to move because of our traditional character and way of thinking? There is need of serious reconsideration concerning the education of priests, missionaries, and other workers of the church in order to make full use of the new possibilities offered by the new era for the transmission of the Gospel.

For mission in the 1990s, the big problem remains secularization.

3. The Emergence of a New Europe

The most important new situation in the 1990s is undoubtedly the rapid and radical changes in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the emergence of a new Europe. These societies, after a long, painful experience of the communist system, are searching for a new direction and orientation. It is not true that their dream is capitalism. Of course their longing is freedom and creativity, but the ideals of a just, peaceful society remain predominant. What type of democracy will emerge? What insights will inspire it? The new generation receives not only the good inspirations of freedom but also faces the invasion of the dangerous products of Western secularized culture.

The church has the opportunity to play a decisive role, offering the message of Christ who gives priority to love. The missiological implications are enormous. We must have the courage for a self-criticism and proper estimation of the mistakes and shortcomings made during a previous phase of the history of these peoples, when church and state were identified and the church’s leadership accepted a high-society style of life and thinking.

Since many of the churches present in the transforming socialist countries are Orthodox, I feel obliged to say that we must avoid beautifying the Orthodox past in every detail. Many aspects require serious revision and repentance. Sensitivity for the social process; participation in the building of a free and just society through prophetic witnessing, service and consequent life in Christ; intellectual capacity and wisdom to deal with new scientific discoveries and challenges; courage to say the truth before the authorities; and readiness to accept martyrdom, remain serious principles for Christian mission and evangelism.

But also among Christians a deeper understanding is needed. When the snow that covers a country has melted, then the different colors and gaps—suspicions, controversies, and even enmities—may appear again. Especially the temptation of various Protestant groups to proselytize among the Orthodox people can emerge, creating problems and damage. Recently 10,000 copies of the Bible were sent from abroad to a small number of families (less than twenty!) of a Romanian Orthodox congregation. In this Romanian version of the Bible the word “idol” has been consistently translated as “icon”, thereby undermining the Orthodox Christians who during all these years of communism through resistance and suffering kept the Christian church alive in this country.

The development that takes place in the Soviet Union will have, sooner or later, an influence upon other socialist countries, and also upon China. Communism has played a role of bulldozer, destroying many old traditional structures. Are Christians ready to tackle the values, longing and dreams of the young generation, and offer the right orientation in the post-communist period that is emerging?

Finally it is expected that all these social changes will have an effect in the Third World. New challenges and opportunities are before us and need a creative and prophetic presence of the Christians around the world.

4. Religious and Cultural Multiformity

Although we must take full account of the coming technical culture, we should not forget the traditional way that survives in many societies, in all continents: old cultures, traditional structures, states of mind, conditions of life. However powerful the currents that push humanity toward a world community with common characteristics, the religious and cultural multiformity of the world will remain intense.

In the past two decades the discussion of the theological significance of other religious beliefs has gone on with increasing tension in certain theological circles, which has caused serious uneasiness. Western Christian thought comes often to a polarization: Some people deny the worth of religious conceptions out­side the Bible; others question the uniqueness of Christ.

For the Orthodox Church, Christ is the incomparably great and absolute One. Hence, there is no need to diminish others in order to exalt his magnificence. His greatness, always revealed in the mystery of humility and love, does not despise anyone or anything, but shows the truth that exists even in the most simple inspiration within the history of the world.
In an analogous way, our living experience of Christ and our longing to be united with him do not awaken any enmity toward others but give us freedom from preconceived “views” and “fears.” Christ imparts an infinite love that, like a strong magnet, discovers even the tiniest particle of love that exists among the array of religious ideas, shapes, and symbols. It collects them with respect and doxological disposition and rejoices at the mystical light that penetrates through the most dark folds of human history in personal and universal fields.

This is no way means compromising the Christian Gospel. Our message cannot cease to have as its center an event: “God was manifested in the flesh, vindicated in the Spirit” (1 Tim. 3:16). He who was incarnated, crucified, and resurrected, the Lord who is to come again in order to recapitulate all things, remains to all ages the axis of our preaching. Mission is an inner necessity for the faithful and for the church. If we deny it, we not only refuse an obligation, we deny ourselves.

5. Wholeness of the Church’s Experience and Message

Being faithful to God, we are obliged to obey the fullness of the divine will, the whole of the Gospel and not just half of it. Since ancient times, in the Orthodox Church this call was heard: “Make us worthy to do your will not half way, but to fulfill all, as you will” (St. John Chrysostom). This holistic view and approach demands that we assume all the truths of revelation, that we be faithful and consistent in following all the commandments of the Gospel, and that we contemplate the whole mysterious plan of salvation. We proclaim him “who is, and who was, and who is to come.” We are not preoccupied with the past only. The catholicy and wholeness of the church’s experience defines this vision.

Faithful to the catholicy of the Christian tradition, we have to remember in missionary quests and efforts the trinitarian, cosmological, eucharistic, and eschatological dimensions of the faith. Individual and communal life, personal sanctification and social justice, local cultures and openness toward a world community, are within the ecclesiastical interest of the church.

The faithful live with “a burning heart for the sake of the whole creation,” according to the expression of Isaac the Syrian (Sermon 81). The whole cosmos has been called to participate in the restoration that has been achieved through the incarnation, the redeeming sacrifice, the resurrection and ascension of Christ. In Christ, God has assumed human nature entirely and by that, the whole creation. Our concern is a longing for the unity of all things. All things are to be reconciled through and in Christ, finding their relationship to the Logos of God (Eph. 1:10). In this process the church, that is, the body of Christ in space and time, has a central role: to serve the universal unity in a cosmic dimension.

6. Growing into Unity

Division in the Christian church continues to be the great scandal of humanity and a terrible restraint for world mission. Every effort, labor, and struggle for the mutual rapprochement of Christians acquires a special missionary meaning and value.

Growing toward unity is not only a deep human desire but also a hopeful vision echoing the express will of Christ, voiced at the beginning of his Passion: “That they all may be one . . . so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.” In this prayer, we do not see only the deep concern for unity of his disciples, but also the basis, the root of this unity—“that they may be one in us.” The unity for which we are asking cannot be rooted in a ground other than in the “in us” emphasized by our Lord.

We have to grow toward unity in different levels of our own Christian commitment, starting from the parishes, dioceses, local churches, where so often cracks and divisions occur. We have also to extend our concern to wider circles in national and ecumenical levels. There is a two-way traffic. The more we contribute with prayer, love, and humility to the coming together of those who long for God, the more we approach Christ, the center of the universal unity. And on the other side, the more we are struggling to liberate ourselves from our small ego (personal or collective), having him as a guide in all the details of our life, our desires, thoughts, and actions, being in a deep communion with him, the more we grow into an essential and deep fellowship and unity with all human beings.

7. The Radiating Power of the Saints

The church radiates the gospel of salvation mainly as a communion of saints. Within the church militant, the saints known and unknown contribute in a mystical way to the world mission. This is done through prayer, the spiritual mobilization they create by their own existence. Many saints circulate among us, endowed with love and grace, self-denial and humility, forbearance, patience, and spiritual power. According to tradition, God sent Saint Anthony the Great to Alexandria to meet a shoe-repairer who had reached spiritual heights as an ascetic. The church has never lacked those unknown shoe-repairers throughout the twenty centuries of its life. They contribute to the quiet and convincing transmission of the Gospel. We sometimes hear of heroic women, largely unknown by the world around them, who have struggled their whole lives in the midst of poverty; with self-denial they have brought up their children, having always on their lips the phrase “Glory be to you, O God.” Thus they contribute to the promotion of the Gospel message. Our church is not merely the theories, the schisms, the theological disputes, but the unknown pages of the lives of the saints who live the Gospel faithfully.

8. The Local Church Participating in the Sufferings and Expectations of the World

As the holy, catholic, and apostolic church in a certain locality, each community of the faithful must participate in the suffering and struggles of the whole church throughout the world. Each ecclesial community participates in the universality of the church. Surely, a local church presents distinctive features, and it is by these distinctiveats that it is called to glorify God and give its witness. At the same time, it is a primary requirement for every diocese and parish to experience the universality as well as the locality of the church.

Each local church, in order to be genuinely catholic, must
pray for and be ready to serve in the most destitute regions, where people are starving for the word of God, where the Christian presence does not exist or is imperceptible. In this way the church remains faithful to its apostolicity and catholicity.

Stressing the fact that every country is a place of mission, including one’s homeland, is undoubtedly correct. But the view that there is no more need for “external mission,” that the local church is solely responsible for its own region, is dangerous. When a local church or parish is absorbed by its own concerns, including one’s homeland, is undoubtedly correct. But the view that there is no more need for “external mission,” that the local church is solely responsible for its own region, is dangerous. When a local church or parish is absorbed by its own concerns, spiritual withering results. To close and isolate oneself is to lose oneself. This is a spiritual law that is valid for the life of individuals, the community, and smaller and larger entities.


It is time to intone the Gospel as an overflowing of thanksgiving and joy, for the unexpected gifts of God, his love “which passes all understanding,” and the light, hope, and fullness of life brought by his resurrection. This deep experience of joy and hope, which pulsates within the heart of the faithful, cannot be kept within the narrow limits of oneself. It radiates from us, and thereby thanksgiving to the Father is expressed more directly and existentially. The central sacrament of the church, the Divine Liturgy, which recapitulates and doxologically summarizes the church’s faith, is a “Eucharist,” a “Thanksgiving,” a thankfulness that is experienced in celebration. The strongest wine is the wine of the Divine Eucharist, which intoxicates us with unselfish love, with a sober joy that no one and nothing can take away from us (John 16:22).

Drawing constantly from the well of inspiration and power found in the Divine Eucharist, mission becomes a doxological movement, declaring the final hope for the future of humanity and the whole universe and an invitation to feast in it. The radiation of this essential joy, full of hope, a joy that quietly overcomes sin, suffering, and disdain, has been from the beginning the characteristic of a genuine Christian community. It is only with joy, the joy of unselfish love, the joy of the permanent presence of the resurrected Christ, with this feast of the Resurrection, that the church proceeds victorious in the world. And if she were to lose this joy, she would also lose the world.

10. Acting in Local Context with a Universal- Eschatological Perspective

In the World Mission and Evangelism Conference that took place in San Antonio, Texas, May 1989, with the theme “Your Will Be Done—Mission in Christ’s Way,” the two most important trends were the spirit of catholicity and the passionate will for the fullness of the Gospel. The central idea of the conference was defined as the need to discern the will of God in local conditions, while preserving the sense of the wider plan of God within history. Some months later, in August 1989, during the meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Moscow, this decisive contribution of San Antonio was again affirmed.

Between the two gatherings, the “Manila Manifesto” was drafted and approved by evangelicals meeting in the Second Lausanne Congress (Manila, July 1989). The manifesto and the congress itself, with the theme “Proclaim Christ Until He Comes,” moved in a similar direction.

This convergence of thoughts, realized within the period of four months by conferences covering the whole spectrum of the Christian world, is very significant indeed. These meetings took place in cities belonging to the so-called first, second, and third worlds: San Antonio in the technologically developed West, Moscow representing the Eastern socialist countries, and Manila representing the developing world of the South.

It is this synthesis of universal perspective and realistic sensitivity in confronting local needs and the challenge to act in the local context, while keeping a universal perspective, that will define the missionary effort in the last decade of the twentieth century.

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

Miikka Ruokanen

Ostra Aetate (NA), the declaration of the Second Vatican Council on the relation of the church to non-Christian religions, marks an authoritative change in the Catholic approach to other religions. For the first time, there is a recognition of non-Christian religions as entities that the church should respect and with which Christians should enter into dialogue.

The NA declaration and the other parts of the conciliar documents dealing with the question of non-Christian religions are intended to be positive in tone: criticism of religions is absent. Classical terminology such as pagan, idolatry, or error is completely absent when the council speaks about religions. The council introduced a totally new atmosphere of respect and recognition. Any possible criticism is expressed by silence rather than by open critical statements.

There are many commentators on the Second Vatican Council who maintain that the Catholic Church recognized non-Christian religions as ways of divine revelation and salvation. These religions, it is said, may be seen as expressions of the universal christological grace, though less perfectly manifest than in Christianity. Paul F. Knitter summarizes: “The majority of Catholic thinkers interpret the conciliar statements to affirm, implicitly but clearly, that the religions are ways of salvation.” According to Thomas F. Stranksy, the NA declaration “proposes that religions as such are not outside but within the history of salvation”; these religions “incarnate sufficient ‘religious beginnings’ of a supernatural response to the revelation in Christ.” In Pietro Rossano’s interpretation of the council, “Christ is seen as the origin, center, and destiny of the various religions, as the One who brought them to birth, takes them up, purifies them, and fulfills them.”

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This line of interpretation, however, reflects more the creativity of individual theological thinkers than the solid doctrinal teaching of the council. The church did not accept any divinely approved alternative ways of revelation and salvation, or any reinterpretation of the standard doctrine in Christology and soteriology. The council did not recognize the salvific efficacy of other religions in particular; but it did recognize the general salvific presence of God's grace in all the universe God created. The conciliar teaching about non-Christian religions is rooted in the theology of creation and in the Roman Catholic natural law tradition; furthermore, it is placed in a missiological context.

In my study, I exclude the analysis of the history of the NA declaration that was originally initiated by the need to make a reconciliatory statement concerning the relation of the church to the Jews. I have gone through the details of the history of NA in my not-yet-published monograph "The Catholic Doctrine of Non-Christian Religions according to the Second Vatican Council." Furthermore, I do not intend to address the context in which we today discuss interreligious relations. I concentrate solely on the documents of the Second Vatican Council. My emphasis is on the NA declaration, but additional reference is made to other documents of the council for a wider exposition of the themes.

The Progress of Humanity toward Unity

When trying to find elements that unite all religions, the focus of the council is on the possible spiritual and moral good of religions expressing the value of human life and especially that of human dignity. Religions are seen as spheres of life contributing to the general progress of humanity and human culture. All this is well in accord with the council's general tendency to seek positive points of connection between the Christian faith and the modern world with its rapid cultural, scientific, technical, and social development, as well as its growing sense of the unity of humankind.

The NA declaration and other conciliar statements about non-Christian religions are framed with that concept of the development of unity within humankind. The very opening sentence of NA contains the idea of the progress of humanity toward unity: "In this age of ours, when men are drawing more closely together and the bonds of friendship between different peoples are being strengthened, the church examines with greater care the relation which she has to non-Christian religions" (NA 1, 1). The NA declaration ends with a reference to the same kind of theology, introducing the theme of human dignity and human rights (NA 5, 1-3).

The conciliar belief in the positive progress of humanity is based on the positive implementation of natural moral law, given by the Creator of all peoples. The pastoral constitution Gaudium et Spes (GS) confirms the increasing universal validity of natural moral law within the development of the modern world: "the Council wishes to remind men that the natural law of peoples and its universal principles still retain their binding force. The conscience of mankind firmly and ever more emphatically proclaims these principles" (GS 79, 2). Recalling the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, the constitution states: "Deep within his conscience man discovers a law which he has not laid upon himself but which he must obey. Its voice, ever calling him to love and to do what is good and to avoid evil, tells him inwardly at the right moment: do this, shun that. For man has in his heart a law inscribed by God" (GS 16, 1).

The church sees the progress toward unity to be fully in accordance with its mission: "The Church, moreover, acknowledges the good to be found in the social dynamism of today, particularly progress towards unity, healthy socialization, and civic and economic cooperation. The encouragement of unity in harmony with the deepest nature of the Church's mission, for it 'is in the nature of a sacrament—a sign and instrument—that is of communion with God and of unity among all men' " (GS 42, 3; the reference is to the dogmatic constitution on the church, Lumen Gentium, LG, 1, 1). The decree on the church's missionary activity, Ad Gentes (AG), declares that "brotherly concord" of all people is a part of God's plan of salvation in Christ, and consequently, it is a part of the church's mission. This "an-

It is a special duty of the church to foster the unity of humanity.

swers to a profound longing in all men" (AG 7, 3). The explicit work of salvation is in accordance with the basic truths of natural moral law.

The Second Vatican Council leans heavily on the Thomistic axiom: grace does not annul nature but perfects it [gratia non tollit naturam, sed perficit]. The Thomistic principle is combined with missionary motivation. This axiomatic mode of thought is most clearly put forward in the central document of the council, the dogmatic constitution on the church: "The faithful must, then, recognize the inner nature, the value and the ordering of the whole creation to the praise of God. Even by their secular activity they must aid one another to greater holiness of life, so that the world may be filled with the spirit of Christ and may the more effectively attain its destiny in justice, in love and in peace" (LG 36, 2). The same motive is strongly applied to the mission of the church: "The effect of her [the church] work is that whatever good is found sown in the minds and hearts of men or in the rites and customs of peoples, these not only are preserved from destruction, but are purified, raised up, and perfected [sanetur, elevetur et consummetur] for the glory of God, the confusion of the devil, and the happiness of man" (LG 17, 1; the same wording is given also in AG 9, 2).

The conciliar declaration on non-Christian religions is given in the same framework of the church's missionary vocation to promote the unity of humankind in terms of the theology of creation and natural moral law, and in terms of perfecting it by God's explicit plan of salvation in Christ. The second sentence of NA declares that it is a special duty of the church to foster the unity of humanity. "Ever aware of her duty to foster unity and charity among individuals, and even among nations, she [the church] reflects at the outset on what men have in common and what tends to promote fellowship among men" (NA 1, 1).

Religious or Moral Truth in Religions?

The NA declaration begins a closer examination of the religions of the world by defining what is common to all people: "All men form but one community. This is so because all stem from the one stock [unam habent originem] which God created to people the entire earth, and also because all have a common destiny [unum habent finem ultimum], namely God. His providence, evident goodness, and saving designs [concilia salutis] extend to all men against the day when the elect are gathered together in the holy city which is illumined by the glory of God, and in whose splendour all peoples will walk" (NA 1, 2).
In terms of the theology of creation, all human beings live in the sphere of the Creator's providence and enjoy the goodness of created things. But, in addition to this, God himself is the ultimate goal of all people, even though they may not be aware of that. Through his "saving designs," God offers the possibility of salvation and of citizenship in the eschatological holy city. This is the soteriological-eschatological offer of grace, mediated through the church. This is the vocation of all human beings to become members of the people of God.

There exists a certain kind of duality in the theology of NA: On the one hand, all live in the sphere of God's good creation—this is their human vocation; on the other hand, the means of salvation are extended to all but meet their fulfillment only in the elect—this is the divine vocation of humanity. The human vocation is understood very much in terms of the theology of creation and natural moral law, and the divine vocation in terms of media salutis and divine grace. The first aspect is the fundamental fact of existence; the second aspect is a call that may become a reality in the life of anybody. As all are redeemed by Christ, they are offered the same divine calling and destiny.

The idea of God's voice in the human conscience is not limited to moral questions but it also touches the question of truth. "His conscience is man's most secret core, and his sanctuary. There he is alone with God whose voice echoes in his depths" (GS 16, 1). There are "elements of truth and grace" among all peoples; this is based on "the secret presence of God" in all of his creation (AG 9, 2). On the basis of creation and the Creator's voice in the conscience, every human being is involved in the search for the religious truth. The inclination of humankind to religion belongs to the created goodness of nature. People cannot avoid seeking the religious truth of existence; this orientation toward religion is a part of their nature as human beings.

The NA declaration affirms the full appreciation of all religions as expressions of the human search for truth. In this respect, both the moral and the religious aspects of any religion are recognized: "The Catholic Church rejects nothing of what is true and holy in these religions. She has a high regard for the manner of life and conduct, the precepts and doctrines which, although differing in many ways from her own teaching, nevertheless often reflect a ray of that truth which enlightens all men [radium illius Veritatis, quae illuminat omnes homines]" (NA 2, 2).

The Veritas referred to here is the Christian truth. The validity of non-Christian religions is measured by the Christian criteria. The next sentence reveals who this personified Truth is: "Yet she [the church] proclaims and is in duty bound to proclaim without fail, Christ who is the way, the truth and the life. In him, in whom God reconciled all things to himself, men find the fullness of their religious life" (NA 2, 2). Religions contain seeds of truth insofar as they reflect something of the Christ-centered truth, or at least seek the truth that became plain in Christ.6

Here again the idea of grace perfecting nature is evident: The universal human search for truth meets its fulfillment and perfection in God's explicit revelation and grace through Christ. Christological grace purifies and perfects what is naturally good, reflecting the truth and the grace of the Creator. Jesus Christ is the ultimate embodiment of both the religious and the moral truth. If there is to be any development in religions toward "the fullness of religious life," it must be a movement toward Christ. So non-Christian religions do not seem to have an independent status of revelation of the divine mystery; their religious truth is measured by and related to the truth of Christianity.

It is important to note that when the NA declaration speaks about religions in general, the concept of revelation is not employed. Theologically speaking, the recognition of notitia Dei in religions does not belong to the sphere of revelation. Significantly, the council's dogmatic constitution on revelation, Dei Verbum (DV), although it reinforced the principle of the general knowledge of God, the word revelation was not used outside the explicit events and documents of salvation history, the history of Israel, Christ, and correspondingly, the Old and the New Testaments. When speaking of revelation, in all its documents the council always means revelatio divina in the sense of revelatio Veteris Testamenti or revelatio Christiana.

In fact, the constitution on revelation does not teach anything new about the natural knowledge of God. The document only quotes the statement of the First Vatican Council (1870) and thus repeats the classical Catholic doctrine on the natural recognition of God by reason through analogy in created nature: "God,

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Noteworthy

**Personalia**

**Werner Ustorf**, lecturer in the history of religions, missiology and ecumenics at the University of Heidelberg, has been appointed Professor of Mission in the University of Birmingham and the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, U.K. He will succeed Professor Walter J. Hollenweger of Switzerland who has retired, having held the post at Birmingham since 1971.

Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham also have appointed **J. Andrew Kirk** as Head of their Department of Mission, in succession to **Marcella Hoesl, M.M.**, effective September 1, 1990. After twelve years (1967-79) in Argentina with the South American Missionary Society, Kirk returned to London where he worked with John Stott to found the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity, of which he has been the half-time associate director. Since 1982 he has also served as theologian missioner for the Church Missionary Society.

**George W. Peck**, president of Andover Newton Theological School in Newton Centre, Massachusetts, died of a heart attack on January 17, 1990. He was fifty-eight years old. Born in Australia, Peck served as a missionary on the faculty of Eastern Theological College in Assam, India, from 1958 to 1963. He came to Andover Newton as dean and Judson Professor of International Mission in 1966 and served in that role until assuming the presidency in 1983. He had returned to the United States only two days prior to his death after spending six months on sabbatical in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at the Comenius Theological Faculty.

**Announcing**

The Latin American Theological Fraternity has announced
that the Third Latin American Congress on Evangelism (CLADE III) will be held in August 1992 in Quito, Ecuador. The theme of the conference will be “The Whole Gospel for All Nations from Latin America,” and it will have as its theological framework the Lausanne Covenant of 1974.

The American Society of Missiology will hold its 1990 annual meeting at Techny Towers, in Techny, Illinois (near Chicago), June 15–17. The 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.” James A. Scherer of Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago is president of the ASM, and Wi Jo Kang of Wartburg Theological Seminary is president of the APM for 1989–1990. For further information and registration for either meeting, contact: George Hunsberger, Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan 49423.

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Mission Association will be held October 26–28, at the Hyatt-Lisle Hotel near Chicago. Theme of the meeting is “Mission: U.S.A.” For further information, contact: Fr. Joseph R. Lang, Executive Director, USCMA, 3029 4th St. N.E.; Washington, D.C. 20017.

The next conference of the International Association for Mission Studies will be held August 3–11, 1992, at Hawaii Loa College, Kaneoku, Oahu, Hawaii. Theme of the conference will be “New World, New Creation: Mission in Power and Faith.” For membership applications in IAMS and further information on the conference, write to: Joachim Wietzke, General Secretary of IAMS, Mittelweg 143, D-2000 Hamburg 13, Federal Republic of Germany.

Non-Christian religions are various expressions of humanity’s natural consciousness of the existence of divinity.

“Sounding the depths of the mystery which is the Church, this sacred Council remembers the spiritual ties which link the people of the New Covenant to the stock of Abraham” (NA 4, 1).

The revelation and grace of God are effective in both of the salvation historical covenants, the Old and the New Covenants. An unbroken continuity exists between these two covenants.

Further, NA speaks about “the common spiritual heritage” of Jews and Christians (NA 4, 5). This kind of concession to the mystery of true religion is made only in regard to Judaism. NA also expresses belief in the reconciliation and unification of Jews and Christians into one people of God as a part of the eschatological hope of the church (NA 4, 2 and 4; LG, 6, 3).

Islam, the austere book-religion, occupies the second rank. The Muslims are appreciated because of their strict monotheism and strict morals; “they highly esteem an upright life.” Allah is not mentioned by name, but NA speaks about the God of Islam with respect as the true God. “They worship God, who is one, living and subsistent, merciful and almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth” (NA 3, 1). The council says the Muslims worship God “who has also spoken to men,” but a major element of Islam is overlooked: there is no word in the council texts about the Prophet Muhammad. It is interesting how the text speaks of God’s
God; the council does not say anything about the possible result, finding the truth in them. The dogmatic constitution Lumen Gentium is in line with NA by stating, “Nor is God remote from those who in shadows and images seek the unknown God” (LG 16, 1). The true God, revealed in Christ, remains unknown in those religions.

The Possibility of Salvation Outside the Church

The council fully acknowledges the good that can be found in the doctrinal concepts and moral practice of non-Christian religions. Religions are good to the extent that they teach what Christianity teaches about God and to the extent that they help in the process of achieving a morally just universal human community. But in regard to the divine mystery, non-Christian religions—are exceptions—are still seekers of the truth. The NA declaration does not make any specific statement about whether and how non-Christians can be saved outside the Christian church. The concept of grace does not become a theme when the council teaches about non-Christian religions, although the concept of grace is connected with the conciliar teaching about God’s creation. Lumen Gentium and Gaudium et Spes make a contribution to that.

LG 16, 1 states: “Nor is God remote from those who in shadows and images seek [quaerunt] the unknown God, since he gives to all men life and breath and all things, and since the Saviour wills all men to become saved [salvos fieri]. Those who, through no fault of their own, do not know the Gospel of Christ or his Church [sine culpa ignorantiae], but who nevertheless seek [quaerunt] God with a sincere heart, and, moved by grace, try in their actions [operibus] to do his will as they know it through the dictates of their conscience [per conscientiae dicta]—those too may achieve eternal salvation. Nor shall divine providence deny the assistance necessary for salvation to those who, without any fault of theirs [sine culpa], have not yet arrived at an explicit knowledge of God, and who, not without grace, strive to lead a good life [rectam vitam].”

This long passage gives a clear definition of the conditions for the possibility of being saved extra Ecclesiam and the explicit Gospel of Christ, offered in the church. First, these candidates of extraecclesiastical salvation have not yet heard about the revealed christological way of salvation, and therefore they are personally innocent for not knowing Christ. Second, they sincerely seek the truth, the still unknown God. Third, they practice the moral good that they recognize on the basis of their conscience.

God’s grace as the mercy of the Creator may assist these kinds of non-Christians in their search for the truth and right life. In a way not plain to us, God’s grace perfects and strengthens what is already given in human nature and in natural moral law, inherent in human life. These non-Christians may be saved and attain eternal life in a way that is hidden to us.

Immediately after the above statements, the LG constitution emphatically states that whatever good or truth is found amongst the adherents of non-Christian religions, it “is considered by the Church to be a preparation for the Gospel” (LG 16, 1). This praeparatio evangelica does not in any measure lessen the urgency of the church’s mission. Quite on the contrary, it challenges the church to make an even greater effort in its mission; the text continues: “Hence to procure the glory of God and the salvation of all these, the Church, mindful of the Lord’s command, ‘preach the Gospel to every creature,’ takes zealous care to foster the missions” (LG 16, 1).

The pastoral constitution defines the divine calling of all people: “All this holds true not for Christians only but also for all men of good will in whose hearts grace is active invisibly. For since Christ died for all, and since all men are in fact called to one and the same destiny, which is divine [vocatio hominis ultima reversa una sit, silicet divina], we must hold that the Holy Spirit offers [offere] to all the possibility of being made partners, in a way known to God, in the paschal mystery” (GS 22, 5). All are called, salvation is offered, but not yet guaranteed. The text does not speak about the finality of salvation, but about the call extended to all to become participants of God’s grace. Willing that good that is written by God into every human heart unites men and women with the grace of the Creator, and the sufferings of life may unite any human being with the sufferings of Christ.

Many commentators on the Second Vatican Council have understood the quoted passage of GS 22, 5 as a Catholic concession to the salvific efficacy of non-Christian religions. This, however, is not the case. The possibility of salvation outside the church is defined in a context where the council does not speak at all about other religions but about human and ethical problems in terms of the theology of creation: the nature and dignity of humankind, sin, death, conscience, freedom, and atheism. God’s
hidden grace may work in those—even atheists—who, guided by their God-given conscience, seek the truth and do good, even for the non-believer. This line of understanding, expressed in GS 22, 5, is in line with the Pauline teaching about the opportunity of the pagans to have a relationship with the Creator on the basis of God’s law written in every human heart (Rom. 2:14–16).

The religious substance of non-Christian religions has no specific role as a medium of hidden salvation in terms of the theology of creation and natural moral law. A sincere seeker of the truth and doer of good may be an adherent of any religion or of none. Non-Christian religions are neither demonized nor divinized; they are seen as naturally good. They are neutralized and relativized: Religions are a part of human life and culture, and as such they offer—if compared with other aspects of human culture—neither any particular hindrance nor any special advantage in a non-Christian’s relation to the Creator.

Conclusion

Although the Second Vatican Council demonstrated unforeseen openness to the progress and problems of the modern world, it did not make the least compromise in respect to the Catholic faith. All the good evolution in human culture, no matter whether it be secular or religious, is welcomed. But in spite of that, all developments need to be purified, strengthened, and elevated by the revealed divine truth, given to the world in Christ and incarnated and transmitted in his church. The urgency of the church’s mission is in no way lessened by the Second Vatican Council: the church has received the explicit revelation of divine grace in Christ; it possesses the plenitudo mediiorum salutis, and, consequently, it is its mission to establish the bodily presence of the people of God, that is, of the church itself, among every nation and to add people from all nations to the number of the elected (see AG 6, 2, and 7, 3 and 9, 2).

Many of the modern interpreters of the Second Vatican Council propose a line of interpretation that cannot be supported by the conciliar texts. There may be other authoritative documents, and certainly there is a legion of individual Catholic authors who recognize non-Christian religions as ways of divine revelation and salvation or as expressions of the universal christological grace. But the official statements of the council do not let us make such a conclusion.

Notes

1. It is remarkable that the word paganus or its derivatives do not appear in the documents of the council at all. Neither does the adjective form gentilis occur. The word idolatra appears in the documents only once, and even then not in regard to non-Christian religions but when the council speaks about “a kind of idolatry of the temporal” in the modern context of science and technology (see Apostolicam actuositatem 7, 3). The old terminology about pagan religions and their errors is radically left out. The respectful words religio and gens are normally used by the council when speaking about the non-Christians. Philippe Delhaye, Michel Gueret, and Paul Tombeur have published a complete computerized concordance of and various statistics on the texts of the Second Vatican Council: Concilium Vaticanum II, Concordance, Index, Listes de fréquence, Tables comparatives (Louvain: Publications du CETEDOC, 1974).


5. I refer to the official texts of the council, Sacrosanctum Concilium, Constitutiones, Decreta, Declarationes, Cura et studio Secretariae Generalis Concilii Oecumenicii Vaticani II (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1964–66). The number of the section and the number of the paragraph referred to within that section are indicated. The English translation used is from the edition by Austin Flanery, Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1975).

6. In the council documents, the word veritas is a concept of the Christian truth. Christ himself is the embodiment of the truth, which is veritas revelata, veritas catholica, or veritas evangelica. The council documents employ the word veritas only twice to mean truth possibly discerned outside the revealed Christian religion, and even then truth is presupposed to be an indication of the secret presence of that God who is fully revealed in Christianity: in the quoted passage of NA 2, 2 and in AG 9, 2 that speaks about “those elements of truth and grace which are found among peoples” and are “a secret presence of God.”

7. The text uses the word combination patrimonium spirituale. The concept of patrimonium is a term used throughout the council documents to describe the treasure of the revealed truth in Christianity. The relationship between Judaism and Christianity is of a profound spiritual and theological nature. The concept revelatio is also used when the council speaks about “the revelation of the Old Testament” (NA 4, 2).

8. The word gratia appears only once in the declaration (NA 4, 8), and even then clearly meaning the christological grace proclaimed by the church.
Interpreting Silence: A Response to Miikka Ruokanen

Paul Knitter

With Miikka Ruokanen, I admit that the documents of the Second Vatican Council are silent about the issue of whether other religious traditions can be viae salutis or ways of salvation. But to interpret this silence, as he does, to mean that the council fathers implicitly denied that there can be authentic revelation and salvation through other religious paths is even less warranted than to conclude that they implicitly affirmed such salvific value. It seems to me that Ruokanen’s analysis moves beyond the evidence of the texts themselves and contrary to the broader Roman Catholic theological context in which these texts were fashioned. Within this broader context of Catholic experience and tradition, there are, I suggest, even clearer and more persuasive reasons to interpret the council’s silence in a positive sense and to conclude, with the majority (not just “many”) of contemporary Roman Catholic theologians that Vatican II implicitly affirms the salvific potential of other religions.

1. Dualism between Nature and Grace

Ruokanen’s main thesis seems to be based on his understanding of Catholic theology of creation and natural moral law: “The religious substance of non-Christian religions has no specific role as a medium of hidden salvation in terms of the theology of creation and natural moral law.” But especially since the discussions of the “nouvelle théologie” during the 1950s and de-Lubac’s revision of the “supernatural,” together with Rahner’s early writings on “nature and grace,” Catholic theology, dur-

One cannot worship the living God unless that God is revealed.

ing the conciliar years and now, would have great difficulty seeing itself reflected in Ruokanen’s overly dualistic distinction between the orders of creation and of redemption, or between nature and grace, or “human vocation” and “divine vocation.” While nature and grace are clearly and necessarily to be distinguished, they cannot be neatly separated into “here and there” or “then and now.” As Rahner puts it, there really is no such thing as natura pura—“only nature.” Nature is imbued with saving grace; grace cannot work except through the natural. Therefore if “gratia non tollit naturam sed perficit,” it is because God has already been active in nature and so the grace of Christ can perfect the grace within nature.

2. Revelation

Ruokanen, of course, recognizes the clear teaching of Vatican II that saving grace is operative beyond the visible confines of the church, throughout creation. But because of his dualistic understanding of the orders of creation and salvation, he too neatly designates where “grace” is operative within creation and where “only nature” reigns. This is especially clear in the way he argues that, according to the council, the religions are bereft of authentic revelation. He would interpret the explicit statement of NA that within the religions there is “a ray of that truth which enlightens all men” to mean only that this is the “natural knowledge” of God that Vatican I said is available to all people. The religions are therefore only “expressions of the human search for truth” (emphasis mine).

Such conclusions are based, I suspect, on an incomplete reading of Vatican I. While the fathers of that council opposed the fideists and insisted that a natural knowledge of God is possible, they did not deny that a “supernatural knowledge” was also possible for all. In fact, to know God through reason is not yet to know the God who saves. Therefore, if Catholic theology affirms the genuine possibility of salvation outside the visible church, it also, a fortiori, affirms the possibility of authentic, “supernatural” revelation. For this reason, the “rays” of truth” recognized by NA within the religions are more correctly understood as rays of the Logos spermatikos—“seeds of the Word”—as Ad Gentes and the 1984 Vatican Statement on “The Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions” clearly state (AG 11, 15; see the 1984 Statement in International Bulletin of Missionary Research 9, no. 26 [1985]: 187-91). Where the Divine Word is active, there is real revelation.

But Ruokanen may ask, if they were talking about authentic revelation in the religions, why did not the council fathers use the word revelatio? Why is this term reserved only for the Jewish Scriptures and the New Testament, as is evident in Dei Verbum? Here a Roman Catholic sensus theologicus might help. The traditional teaching has been that revelation sensus stricto ended with the death of the last apostle. Within creation and within the religions we are speaking about another kind of divine revelation ("general" or "transcendental" as Rahner terms it). Out of a respect for tradition, official statements limit the term revelatio to its stricter, traditional meaning.

Ruokanen’s straining to deny the council’s recognition of revelation within the religions is evident, I think, in his comments on the individual traditions. To hold that Islam, “the austere book-religion” (that is not the language of NA) “is not recognized as a religion of divine revelation” contradicts NA’s explicit recognition that Muslims “worship God” and “submit wholeheartedly to his inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham did” (NA, 3). One cannot worship the living God unless that God has been revealed. Were not the decrees that Abraham submitted to authentically revealed? Further, to say that in Hinduism there is “no acquisition of religious truth” is to miss the full content of NA’s recognition that Hindus “scrutantur ... mysterium divinum.” Scrutantur means not just to search for, but to explore more deeply what one grasps. If this were not the case, Hindus could not exprimunt (express) the divine mystery (NA 2). And to hold that Buddhists are only “seekers,” not finders, of truth is to misread the Latin verb scire. NA states that Buddhists are “able” to “reach supreme illumination.”

In general, when NA states that the religions “seek” (ni-
3. Salvation

Even more adamantly Ruokanen argues that according to the council, although grace is universally available, it doesn’t operate through the religions; the religions contain only a natural search for God. Again, he fails to appreciate the bonds between grace and nature within Catholic theology. Grace must always have a medium in nature and history; it cannot operate, as Ruokanen seems to suggest, purely in an interior or individualistic manner. It has to take some natural or sacramental shape. And with Rahner and the majority of Catholic theologians, I ask, would not the religions provide one such sacramental mediation of grace? Unaware, Ruokanen suggests a positive answer to this question when he lists the three conditions for the operation of saving grace outside the church: besides not having really heard the Word of Christ, persons have to “sincerely seek the truth” and also “practice the moral good.” These last two elements are precisely what the religions are about!

But then why didn’t the council come out and say that the religions are ways of salvation? Again, I appeal to my Catholic theological “sensus” and suggest that the main reason may have been that such a statement represents a genuine change or “development” in the teaching of the magisterium. And because of our traditional notion of the “inerrancy” of the magisterium, all changes (like those concerning usury or religious liberty) are usually introduced cautiously, implicitly—silently!

4. Conclusion

I cautiously venture an interpretation of Ruokanen’s assessment of Vatican II. A number of times, he points out something that is really not the issue of his study—namely, that the council did not intend to lessen “the urgency of the Church’s mission.” My sense is that this is the deeper concern of his analysis—to protect the urgency of the missionary mandate. I would strongly agree with him that any new theological view that jettisons or jeopardizes the missionary nature of the church runs contrary to Christian identity and must be abandoned. I would suggest, however, that in his further research, Ruokanen study not whether the council affirms the salvific potential of other religions but, rather, whether there is any validity to the claim made by the majority of Catholic theologians that to hold such a position does not lessen the urgency of the missionary mandate but, on the contrary, strengthens it by clarifying it. Here, I suggest, there would be an even more fruitful ecumenical dialogue between Christian neighbors concerned about mission and dialogue.

Comments on the Articles by Ruokanen and Knitter

William R. Burrows

Miikka Ruokanen’s summary of the doctrine of Vatican Council II concerning the theological status of non-Christian religions and their role in salvation is, in my judgment, the most accurate account of that doctrine I have seen in print. As one who spent five years preparing a dissertation on the topic, I admire Ruokanen for getting to the heart of the conciliar teaching so concisely. Paul Knitter, though, has raised absolutely important issues, and no one should think the problems are solved because the conciliar teaching is elegantly laid out by Ruokanen.

Knitter’s and Ruokanen’s disagreement points to a need for the liberal and evangelical traditions they represent to continue the conversation. I believe that Ruokanen is right in his central thesis on the magisterium’s teaching; but Knitter’s development of the “silence” of the council draws on important currents in the formation of the magisterial teaching. Two things should be said. First, there simply are unresolved tensions in the Vatican II magisterium, and both authors employ the resources they are convinced are right. But official teaching since the council has tended to reinforce the conservative things that were explicitly said in the documents instead of reinforcing ideas liberals find attractive. Second, the problem is deeper than who is winning.

In that connection, Ruokanen seems to me accurate in explicating: 1. the recourse of the council to the natural law tradition to locate salvation (outside of visible Christianity and faith in Jesus as Christ) in the depths of human conscience; and, 2. the council’s “silence” about the value of other religious traditions as means of salvation or as valid revelations. Liberal Catholics have almost universally missed the first point and have interpreted the second as silence giving consent to viewing other traditions as such means. They should have been more cautious.

In the rest of this response, I want to try to unpack two insights that neither author attends to sufficiently: 1. a deep “theoanthropology of true conscience” inviting development; and, 2. ambiguity about what constitutes “revelation” in the light of the several major religiocultural characterizations of true...
conscience, an ambiguity often overlooked in the rush to be for or against extra-Christian revelation.

In my own thinking, I have come to see the crucial issue as one of assessing whether God's graciousness: 1. is available universally in an act of "conscientization" aiding humans to overcome false, sinful consciousness and to affirm their creaturely status before God; or, 2. is available only in an explicit act of faith in Jesus as Christ and as a result of his work. (I think it important to retain the criteria for the authenticity of both—at one-ment with God and our fellows, however diversely that result is expressed or conceptualized—if dialogue is to have a necessary critical edge). The council takes the first position, while teaching also that all grace comes through Jesus as the Christ.

Liberal interpretations of revelation and salvation tend to see other religious ways mediating salvation, but are vague about what salvation means. We need to overcome that lack of clarity. We also need to see that the "act of conscience" wherein the council locates justification is more like conscientization as Paulo Freire puts it (an existential and social appropriation of true consciousness and overcoming alienating false consciousness) than doing what one thinks or believes is best or obligatory.

There can be no cheap grace inside or outside Christianity.

Conscience, in an almost forgotten Stoic metaphysics underlying the natural law tradition, means more than ethical activity springing from sincerely held convictions. That is only one aspect of conscience. Viewed holistically, conscience is the total spiritual, mental and volitional side of human beings. When that is seen, the real crux theologicus is rooted in the council's implicit conjunction of justification and conscientization, and seeing the complex process as one that involves a total rooting of human beings and their communities in a single divinized reality. They become grounded in God the creator and redeemer. On such a view, whether it occurs inside or outside the sphere of visible Christianity, justification/conscientization is not a nominal but a real and radical transformation of people: no cheap grace inside or outside Christianity! Much of the talk of extra-Christian salvation and revelation, it seems to me, misses the crisis dimension of conversion. This oversight undercuts the urgency of witnessing to the Gospel that people's eternal destiny is secured in grace by conversion from false consciousness to true consciousness. It short-circuits the Christian conviction that Jesus is the manifestation of the single authentic way of rooting ourselves in reality's theonomous depths.

What needs to be investigated by both liberal and evangelical traditions is twofold. 1. What is meant by the encounter with God in the depths of conscience? 2. Is this conceptuality acceptable in the light of what we know about pluralities of logics and religiocultural syntheses?

Rather than in the terms set out in the clash between Knitter and Ruokanen, it seems to me that a development of the Catholic magisterium ought to articulate both "Christian" and "extra-visible-Christian" salvation as one and the same process of gaining a divine empowering center for life, and dialoguing with other traditions to see if they have potential for helping achieve deeper understanding of justification-as-conscientization.

This may seem far removed from missionology. It is not. It involves gaining clarity about the salvation Christians believe mission-as-evangelization must make manifest. And interreligious dialogue can be the very important task not of asserting that a vague form of salvation is offered in other traditions, but the urgent effort to clarify what light can be cast and resources offered by other traditions to overcome human misery. We are only at the beginning of such a dialogue. Both Ruokanen's caution on overstating what the council has said and Knitter's urgency about getting into the business of overcoming the barriers to human liberation caused by religious division are important aspects of a multifaceted effort to clarify Christian mission.

My Pilgrimage in Mission

Eugene L. Stockwell

I suppose my pilgrimage in mission began in 1926, when I was three years old. At that tender age my parents sailed from New York as Methodist missionaries to Argentina. They took me along. My parents were determined individuals, products of the Student Volunteer Movement, deeply influenced by Dr. John R. Mott, whom my father served as personal secretary in the early 1920s.

For the next three-and-a-half decades my parents gave their lives to Latin America with four central convictions: 1. they believed deeply in the importance of the local church congregation, 2. they believed that a well-trained Christian ministry was essential to help the church be faithful and effective in its witness, 3. they believed that good Christian literature was essential for Latin American church growth, especially literature indigenously written and produced, and, 4. they believed that the ecumenical movement was essential, not peripheral, to Latin American church life.

Though I suppose my parents would not agree to the following synthesis of their theology, in retrospect it seems to me that they held a very traditional, orthodox, Protestant theology. They had deep faith in Jesus Christ as the Lord of all and they believed it was important to share that faith with everyone on earth. In today's terms they were very evangelical while not at all fundamentalist. Living in the midst of pre-Vatican II Roman Catholicism they were not exactly "anti-Catholic" but they certainly were very skeptical about Roman Catholicism. My father once said to me, to my astonishment, that if I had married a

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Eugene L. Stockwell was for ten years a Methodist missionary in Uruguay, followed by twenty-seven years of work in denominational and ecumenical organizations, most recently as Director of the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism from 1984 to 1989. In the fall of 1989 he was a Senior Mission Scholar in Residence at the Overseas Ministries Study Center in New Haven, Connecticut, and currently is exploring future work in Latin America.
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Roman Catholic woman he and my mother would have felt they had failed.

By the tender age of sixteen I had decided to enter the Christian ministry. By the age of eighteen, under the onslaught of college atheism and World War II, I decided Christian faith was not for me. I left the church for some eight years. My recovery of faith around 1949 is surrounded by many anecdotes, perhaps interesting to my family but hardly worth recounting here. Except for one.

In 1949 I was working as a fledgling gentleman in a Wall Street firm. One day I happened to be in the old New York Pennsylvania Railroad Station coffee shop, where across the way I saw an aged gentleman. I thought to myself, "That is Dr. John R. Mott." I walked over, introduced myself, and then was treated to a remarkable few minutes I shall never forget. Dr. Mott never took another bite of whatever he was eating. Until he had to hasten to catch his train he steadily quizzed me about my faith, my purposes in life, my plans for the future, my basic commitments. I mercifully cannot recall my answers, but what I knew intensely was that at a very deep level I was being challenged, in the name of Jesus Christ, about who I was, who I might be, and who God wanted me to be. It was an encounter never to be forgotten.

Seminary training followed, under giants such as Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich—I am not sure I ever really understood either of them adequately—and eventually came a decade of missionary pastoral service in Uruguay in a small city congregation, followed by twenty-seven years work in denominational and ecumenical offices in New York and Geneva.

One is loath to single out a few among the many factors that, as a complex web, undergird a life, but as I look back there were at least five that moved me from my earlier evangelical and not very questioning faith toward the convictions I hold today.

1. Latin America. This continent has been the cradle of my experience, even when in recent decades I lived far from it. At first it was the River Plate region that was my Latin America, but in later years places such as Chile, Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua (to name a few) entered my life with power. The continent I loved rather romantically at first increasingly was a world of poverty, of military dictatorships, of torture, of senseless wars. It was also the continent where marvelous hope sprang forth in profoundly Christian individuals who were willing to risk all for Christ. There were "base ecclesial communities," theologies of liberation, struggles for justice that seemed to me to embody the meaning of Christian mission at its best. I can well understand how others, linked to other continents, cherish their national and cultural ties to the lands of their birth. For me, however, Latin America is the context of meaning where, I believe, God points the meaning of Christian mission at its best. I can well understand how others, linked to other continents, cherish their national and cultural ties to the lands of their birth. For me, however, Latin America is the context of meaning where, I believe, God points the meaning of Christian mission at its best. I can well understand how others, linked to other continents, cherish their national and cultural ties to the lands of their birth. For me, however, Latin America is the context of meaning where, I believe, God points the meaning of Christian mission at its best. I can well understand how others, linked to other continents, cherish their national and cultural ties to the lands of their birth. For me, however, Latin America is the context of meaning where, I believe, God points the meaning of Christian mission at its best.

2. Human rights. It was in the 1960s that I began to realize—that participation in God's mission involved a commitment in the struggle for human rights. Martin Luther King, Jr., had something to do with this, as I joined some of his famous marches, but it was the growing cloud of military regimes that spread across Latin America that had the greatest impact.

How could it be that the continent I loved was ground down under the heel of some of the worst oppressions in human history? And more, how could it be that my nation, the United States, could underride and reinforce such dastardly regimes? Friends were killed, or they just disappeared. Colleagues were tortured unmercifully. Many I knew risked their lives valiantly with a commitment to Jesus Christ that I admired, with a courage that I wondered if I could emulate. For years, often at a distance and sometimes close to the action, I was engaged in a host of solidarity enterprises with Latin Americans who daily put their lives at terrible risk in faithfulness to our Lord. I paced the halls of the U.S. State Department, testified before Congress, participated in pastoral delegations to visit churches and countries in great stress. Did all this make any difference? It did to me, if to no one else, for in this activity I found a new sense of what Christian mission is all about, something for which my seminary textbooks had not prepared me. It was in the struggle on behalf of the suffering and oppressed that I found a Christ more alive than I had ever before known. The proclamation of the Gospel was suddenly powerful and beautiful—not the Gospel that I dared to proclaim to others, but the Gospel that the poor and the suffering of Latin America proclaimed to me and to many, out of the depths.

3. Women. I grew up in a "man's world" and seldom reflected on the oppressions men placed upon women. I knew how to smirk at the jokes about women. I could easily excuse my own participation in male-dominated structures; they seemed natural, God-given, right. Then came the confrontational challenges of these women in church and society who raised essential questions about their human rights, about language, about fairness, about dignity with justice for both women and men. This was not easy to face, for me at least. What was challenged, however, was not just my "machismo"; it was my Christian faith. What kind of faith is it that relegates the half the human race, intentionally or inadvertently, to a second-class status? I had long known of valiant women engaged in Christian mission (two of my great aunts had been missionary pioneers in India and Burma), but now the question was whether I could accept a new order of things, within my sense of Christian mission, an understanding that could be threatening to the comfortable order I had inherited. There was a particular moment in 1972 when, in an embattled United Methodist board budget session, a strong-willed woman pointed her finger at me and asked what I personally would do to get more women on key posts of the staff I supervised. My answer, which surprised me as much as the committee, was: "A woman can have my job right now." That was certainly an insufficient answer, but it was a watershed in my inner thinking: I had to mean, internally, that I was ready to give up something I cherished on behalf of the struggle of women for a rightful place in their, and my, world. My wife, as well, greatly helped me to understand better the role of women, especially in the family and in the comprehension of what a working team relationship could be in the life of a married couple.

In time the matter of the participation of women broadened out more widely for me. My world of Christian mission had had slight place for many racial groups, for indigenous peoples, for aborigines, for the handicapped, for refugees. Increasingly Christian mission embraced them all, complicating my world immensely but also clarifying the meaning of everyone's participation in the whole community of God's people.

4. Roman Catholics and Orthodox. In the last decade or so I have been enriched beyond measure by the faith and worship and witness of Christians "of other folds" who have opened up my narrow Protestant world immeasurably. I did not really be...
believe that Vatican II could happen. The 1968 Medellin Latin
American bishops’ conference was unthinkable, but it happened.
I began to find more affinity with some Roman Catholic priests
and lay persons than I found with many persons in my own
church. I shall not forget a conversation in Rome with Father
General Pedro Arrupe, then head of the Jesuit Order, when both
of us recalled that as children, he in Spain and I in Argentina,
thought the other surely “had horns,” but now both of us
shared greater agreements and ties than either of us could have
with many in our own churches. The universality and catholicity
of Christ’s church took on new meaning. I still shed tears as I sit
in a Roman Catholic mass and cannot participate in the elements
of Christ’s body and blood, but even as I sit there I know that
the peace of Christ is shared with me, longingly, kindly, expecting
the day when the broken body and shed blood will be for all in
a eucharistic community where no barriers intrude.

And the Orthodox! Here I come rather late to this centuries-old
tradition that is so rich, so complex, so vital, and so strange
to a mere Protestant. I do not understand much in Orthodoxy. I
have trouble enduring the seemingly endless liturgies, even as I
know they mean so very much to those brought up in the tra
dition. I struggle inwardly against the pompousness of some Or
thodox hierarchs, even as I remember similar pride in all-too-
many Protestant ecclesiastics. I wish the Orthodox would give a
greater place to women in church leadership. I feel excluded from
the Orthodox Eucharist, but am grateful that there are moments
when the bread is shared with all. Despite all of that, some won-
derful Orthodox persons, women and men, have patiently helped
me to understand a bit of the incredibly rich Orthodox heritage
and have pressed me to see the Eucharist as a missionary event.
I marvel at the ways in which the Orthodox have stood up under
centuries of oppressive regimes and have done more than survive;
they have been victorious in the faith. I am moved by the sight
of tiny babies being given the Eucharist as they are received into
Christ’s body accompanied by a simplicity and earnestness on
the faces of their parents I have seldom seen elsewhere. Ortho-
doxy was once a far-away reality for me; today it is a companion
in the Christian family that enriches my understanding of Chris-
tian mission.

5. Evangelicals, and dialogue with persons of other faiths. This
is indeed a strange combination, for evangelicals (as we
currently use the word) have often been resistant to much that
is encompassed by dialogue, preferring to emphasize proclama-
tion and conversion. In work with the National Council of Churches
in the United States and with the World Council of Churches I
often found myself attacked by name, sometimes fairly and some-
times unfairly, by persons and groups that identified themselves
as evangelicals. Frequently I did not know how to respond. The
temptation was to fight back, to defend, to explain, and I suc-
cumbed to that temptation all too often. But in the wiser responses
of many colleagues I began to see a kindlier way that sought to
build bridges of understanding instead of walls of defense. At a
press conference at the San Antonio World Mission and Evan-
gelism Conference a journalist asked me what one question I
would want to pose to my evangelical friends. I had never thought
about that, but my response was: “I would ask: do you con-
sider me a Christian?” I know that many evangelicals would
immediately respond, “Yes.” But others have been frank enough
to wonder how to respond, for they question some of my con-
victions and ask if I really believe in Jesus Christ as a true Christian
that unites us is far more
basic and important than anything that separates us.

The faith in Jesus Christ
others of different faiths whose spiritual pilgrimages have much
to teach all of us, and who at their best are persons and commu-
unities we as Christians greatly need to hear and understand—
not because we can convert them to our faith, but because they
are creatures of the one God whose Spirit is at work in all creation.

I suppose that my “testament” of faith is best expressed
in the address I presented to the San Antonio conference. I thought
that in that speech I stated unequivocally my faith in Jesus Christ
and in his uniqueness. However, some evangelical friends, both
within and outside the WCC family, demurred. I felt that if the
question, “Is Jesus the only way to salvation?” means that
persons of other faiths are denied “a passport to heaven” then
my answer to that specific interpretation had to be “no.” That
seemed to some like a denial of faith in Jesus Christ. Quite the
contrary, in my view. However, my more important comment (I
thought) was that God would decide who would or would not
be saved, and that we do well to be reticent about trying to decide
this matter from our limited human perspective.

What still strikes me as strange, whatever my limitations of
understanding, is that too many persons in the evangelical world
and too many persons in the ecumenical world do not talk to-
gether enough. Missiles are launched across the theological chasm
that separates them, and as all missiles they destroy rather than

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build up. For myself, I am enormously grateful for what I have learned from both evangelicals and from those most committed to dialogue with people of other living faiths. I have wondered if, to use a phrase out of American politics, I am just a mugwump (a fence-sitter with the mug on one side of the fence and the wump on the other), or whether that is precisely where a bridge-building Christian should be in today's biblical and theological world. In a world where a lot of traditional walls are coming down, this is one fence I would like to see disappear.

As I look back at the past decades I am acutely aware that my "world of mission" has been more one of doing than of academic thinking about mission. I do not think I have contributed much at all to the advance of thought about Christian mission. Rather, I have tried to absorb what many others have contributed to mission theory, attempting in a small way to put some of it into practice.

Currently my interests are far more concerned about the future than about the past. I see all kinds of possibilities for absorbing involvement in many aspects of Christian mission. I am eager to join others in new ventures in mission communities that offer great promise. The past is, after all, but a prelude. In God's hands, the best is yet ahead.

The Legacy of Daniel Johnson Fleming

Lydia Huffman Hoyle

In the history of mainline Protestant missions, 1932 stands out as a watershed year. In that year, Ernest Hocking published and widely disseminated his conclusions regarding the missionary enterprise in a book entitled Rethinking Missions. Though Hocking's work was embraced by few mission organizations or enthusiasts, it set the agenda for discussions of missions for the following decade as many began to rethink the pillars and practices of the enterprise.

For the most part, Hocking's arguments and ruminations were not original. A rethinking of the missionary endeavor had long been underway by persons for whom the missionary enterprise was more than a passing interest. Prominent among these was Daniel Johnson Fleming. A missionary and later a professor of missions at Union Theological Seminary in New York, Fleming (1871–1963) was the most prolific, creative, and arguably the most influential of those prior to World War II who sought to articulate a missions theory to accompany modern thought.

Birth and Rebirth

Fleming's involvement in missions was not a natural outgrowth of his upbringing. Though his parents, Daniel and Josephine Fleming, were actively involved in the local Presbyterian church, neither was caught up in the missionary fervor of the period. By necessity and interest, their energies were committed to various business ventures in their Xenia, Ohio, hometown. The spiritual needs of the world were not in their line of vision.

When Fleming left home to attend the College of Wooster, Ohio, he was suddenly immersed in mission enthusiasm. He heard numerous missionary talks and saw the "red-hot YMCA men" signing on the dotted line, but remained unmoved. Since his youth, he had been enamored with business and money-making and had little interest in or intention of becoming a missionary. As a college senior, however, he came into contact with J. C. R. Ewing, a furloughing Presbyterian missionary. After much conversation, Ewing was successful in convincing Fleming to serve with him at Forman Christian College in Lahore, India, as a short-term instructor in math and science.

In 1898, Fleming set sail for India. Still bereft of any missionary zeal, he viewed the assignment as an opportunity to travel. His intent was to return to America in three years to study and practice law. Thus, he arrived in India with "no intention whatever of becoming a missionary." So much for the burning heart and visionary hope expected from a missions volunteer.

Fleming was enthralled by his new home. Lahore, though once described by Rudyard Kipling as "in as foul and as filthy a state as any city can be," was for Fleming a place full of charm and beauty. Indeed, as time passed, he came to love everything about India—the country, the college, and even missionary life. In many ways, India became a place of transformation for him. "I was rudely awakened from my religious lethargy," Fleming recalled. "I was shocked intellectually and spiritually. After being sheltered by the Killbuck and the hills of Wooster, I saw the world as it really was. Wooster was the garden, so to speak, of my soul, but India planted the seed of vision. India captivated me. It became my meat and drink. Really, I was reincarnated."

Though Fleming had come to India with no message save that of science, he became a missionary even as he served as one. As symbol and strengthening of his new commitment to the cause of Christ, he burned his law books and began investigating the education he would need to spend his life in India as a career missionary. By the end of his three-year term, he had decided to study in New York, where he could take courses at Union Theological Seminary while simultaneously working toward a Master of Arts in physics at Columbia. From 1901 to 1903, Fleming worked to complete both courses of study.

The years in New York were difficult ones for him, "the late delayed Sturm and Drang period" of his life. His recently enlivened faith was so devasted by his studies, in fact, that he became unsure about missionary work and considered returning to India as a government official. As time passed, however, Fleming rebuilt his religious life and turned with renewed vigor to prepare for a career overseas.

After completing his study in New York, Fleming was ordained by the Presbyterian Church and moved to Chicago for further training in chemistry at the University of Chicago. There, he received a Master of Science and more importantly, met Elizabeth Cole, who a year later became his wife. Shortly after the wedding, the Flemings returned to India. Lahore became their home for the next eight years and the birthplace of their three children—Elizabeth, McClung, and Helen.

As Fleming taught, evangelized, and discipled his Indian
students, he built on two key principles. First, he held a firm belief that Christianity was true and that this truth could be demonstrated through experience. Citing examples from the research of prominent early scientists, he asserted that each investigator had been willing to act "as though they knew, for the sake of an end which they sought." Similarly, he told his students, "we need to act in order to know, to test by experience, to appeal to verification. 'Oh taste and see that the Lord is good.' There was no doubt in Fleming's mind that anyone who experienced Christ would choose him over any other.

Second, he argued that the value of any religion would be demonstrated through its self-expression in social service. This action-orientation took quite concrete forms. Students at the college were not simply instructed to do good—but rather were encouraged to choose a program of service for themselves. At each break, when the students returned to their homes, the majority, with Fleming's prompting, committed themselves to at least one form of service. This emphasis on Christian action remained central throughout Fleming's life. 

**Mission Revision**

Late in 1912, the family returned from India, anticipating a two-year furlough in the United States. Settling in Chicago, Fleming began work toward his doctorate at the University of Chicago Divinity School. As the months passed, a return to India began to appear improbable. Both Fleming's wife and his children needed medical attention best received in the United States. Reluctantly he decided to remain there, disappointed that God was leading him "to a sphere of less usefulness, than the one to which I had given my life." With this unhappy decision made, another more encouraging event confronted him. First Yale, then Union scrambled to offer Fleming a faculty position. The choice was a complicated one for Fleming, but it ended in his decision to join the Union faculty. Harlan Beach, hoping to build a stronger program of missions at Yale, responded graciously to the news, but called it the "greatest disappointment" of his life.

In February 1915, Fleming taught his first course at Union. In the tradition of Rufus Anderson, he focused on the problems that arose in the establishment of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating indigenous churches. His goal was to help prospective missionaries "get thoroughly into a point of view which makes the native Church of any Field absolutely centric in thought and service." Fleming taught scores of courses built on this and related themes in the years that followed as he served first as Director of the Department of Foreign Service (1915-18) and later as Professor of Missions (1918-44).

Judging by correspondence, Fleming received the support and encouragement of each of the seminary presidents under whom he worked. With this undergirding, he set out to build the missions program. He began by developing and coordinating a sound curriculum. By the fall of 1915, a total of thirteen courses were offered at Union alone, with an additional fifty-two courses taught at nearby institutions.

Fleming also took other measures to enhance the missions program at Union. Beginning with the 1917-18 academic year, several fellowships were provided to missionaries on furlough and to qualified nationals. In addition, a building was secured in 1927 that provided apartments for these missionary students. Most significantly, financial and space considerations caused the Missionary Research Library, begun in New York in 1914, to be moved to the seminary. The library, Fleming's "workshop and joy," was an added boon to the missions education program that Fleming was developing.

Fleming also contributed to missionary education and research outside of the seminary. When it was amenable to his schedule at Union, he taught at such schools as Boston University, the Hartford School of Missions, Columbia University, and Yale Divinity School. In addition, he provided many series of lectures in the United States, England, and Canada. Beyond his role as educator, Fleming contributed his expertise to various missionary and nonmissionary conferences and commissions. In 1919–20, he served as the sole American on the International Commission on Village Education in India sponsored by the British Missionary Societies. A decade later, he served on the staff of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry in India (headed by Hocking). Traveling five times to Europe and three times around the world, Fleming was a delegate to numerous missionary conferences and twice served as missionary representative to the Institute of Pacific Relations in Hawaii.

Though Fleming's work day was filled with teaching, conferences, and so forth, he spent his free time writing. Through this medium we understand best the nature of his contribution to missions theory. During his career, he published twenty books, at least fifteen booklets, and scores of articles. Four of his first five books reflected his continued involvement with India and education and had a limited readership. Beginning with *Marks of a World Christian*, however, Fleming directed his writing toward a wider audience. Though he continued to focus on a constructive restructuring of the missionary endeavor, his work also held interest for any Christian seeking to learn how to adapt to an increasingly pluralistic society. Based on this wider foundation of interest and on the integrity and clarity of Fleming's style, scores of reviews from a variety of periodicals greeted each of his publications.

One central goal dominated Fleming's writing—making missions ethical in the eyes of the world. For many Americans, such a revision of missionary theory was becoming a necessity. The questions raised by the sciences, historicism, and biblical higher criticism had begun to filter down to the average church member. Further, travel and increasing numbers of books about the non-Western world were bringing a new consciousness of the excellencies of Eastern civilizations while revealing the weaknesses of the West. This new knowledge led many to question the straightforward goal of world evangelization.

Meanwhile, the awakening East was increasingly communicating its distaste for certain missionary attitudes and practices. Many factors fed this growing discontent. As in the West, World War I contributed to a general reduction of Western prestige. This decline in perceived Western superiority was accompanied by an increase in nationalism in the lands where missionaries primarily labored. As Westerners, missionaries often bore the brunt of nationalistic antiforeign sentiment. As in the United States, science also struck a devastating blow. Educated Easterners reportedly...
knew “more about Darwin and Huxley and Dewey and Russell and all the ancients and moderns that an old missionary can ever hope to know.” Thus, many were critical of traditional ideas of all kinds, as well as those that propagated such “worn-out” ideas.

Fleming listened to the West and to the East and responded. In classroom lectures, conference presentations, and a constant stream of books and articles, he sought to encourage a new ideology and methodology for the missionary enterprise that took seriously the many issues being raised. Central to his theory was a firm belief in the equality of all persons. Meshing liberal Protestantism’s affirmation of man’s goodness with anthropological evidence regarding basic racial equality, Fleming denied the traditional and lingering belief in Western superiority. He concluded, rather, that “just as we have given up the idea of the divine right of kings and are giving up the age-long conception of male superiority, we will very likely have to give up the flattering delusion of decided racial superiority.”

Fleming went a step farther by embracing and even reveling in the unique contribution of individual cultures and religions. Just as Franz Boas, the dominant anthropologist of the period, called for an appreciation of cultural peculiarities, Fleming sought a Christianity that respected rather than denigrated or feared the best in other faiths. He based his appeal on the assumption that God was working universally in all races. Thus, Christians should be prepared to recognize all elements of truth and goodness even when they appeared in other religious systems. It is important to note that while lessening the huge chasm believed to exist between Christianity and other religions, Fleming consistently upheld the superior revelation of Jesus Christ. For Fleming, though other religions had much to offer, no other “gift” of East or West equaled the gift of Christ.

Building on this foundation that heralded the equality and integrity of all persons, Fleming called for a remapping of the world. Denouncing missionary maps that painted the West in white and the receiving countries in black, he argued that the West was actually a part of the non-Christian world. There was no portion of the world where Christianity prevailed. If anything, Fleming wrote, “the West is of a deeper black because it has had access to Christ so long.”

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Recognizing the power of language over thought and practice, Fleming also sought for a change in missionary nomenclature. Terms of battle (e.g., “warfare against Islam,” “conquest for Christ,” etc.) needed to be eliminated. Such words were clearly offensive to the Easterner and self-deceptive for the Westerner. Likewise, Fleming encouraged the elimination of once acceptable terms like heathen, native, and foreign, which had taken on derogatory meanings.

As a scientist, Fleming also saw the need for scientific integrity on the part of the Western missionary. For “it is only Christianity at its best—a Christianity that has freed itself from invalid accretions, conflicting dogmas and a mind that wars against science—that can compete with the best in reformed and purified ethnic faiths.” The missionary was to approach others as one who had been and still was seeking truth. He must make it plain “that he believes the truth as revealed in Jesus because he has found it to be the supreme truth, experimentally and practically: and that the Christianity he presents is itself scientific in the sense that it welcomes the most careful and exact experiment or the test of any seemingly contrary truth.” Though Fleming recognized the danger in such an attitude, he believed that Christianity could stand the test of logical and practical evaluation.

Most important, Fleming called for an attitude of humility. The arrogance of the past could not continue. The shameful attitudes and conditions of the West demanded “an indubitable and pervasive humility on the part of Christians. . . . A deep sense of national and racial repentance should accompany any further missionary work that we do.”

In Fleming’s theory, altered attitudes led to changes in missionary methodology. Like many earlier theorists, he encouraged the separation of Christianity from the West. This separation could be demonstrated through the encouragement and development of indigenous churches. For “it is not enough that the Church be Christian; it should be Indian, or Japanese, or African.” The missionary role was thus to become that of a helper or enabler, not a leader.

Fleming then encouraged these enablers to apply the Golden Rule on a global scale. Thus, they were to evangelize those of other faiths in the way that they would want to be evangelized. In one article, for example, Fleming sought to put the reader in the shoes of a Buddhist in America. Acceptable missionary practices for the Buddhist were discussed as a means of setting up a mirror in which American missionary practices in other countries could be examined.

Though it was not Fleming’s method to proclaim “ready-made solutions and categorical answers” to ethical issues, he also spent much space addressing particular problems facing the “world Christian.” These ranged from economic issues (e.g., Should Christian organizations accept money from donors who illegitimately secured their wealth?) and political questions (e.g., In troubled countries, should Christian missionaries align themselves with the forces of law and order or with those working for greater freedom?) to religious questions (e.g., Should Christians worship with those in other religious groups?). In each case, Fleming presented the problem and offered alternative responses without proclaiming his own opinion. The reader was then forced to work out his own position. Thus, while Fleming did not hesitate to demand specific changes in missionary attitudes and methods, he acknowledged the complex nature of the ethical issues facing world Christians.

World Unity

In the last third of Fleming’s long life, he came to focus on one component of his theory—the unity of humankind. He elaborated on this theme in seven books and a plethora of articles. Through collections of international Christian art, architecture, symbols, and prayers, he denied the unethical bifurcation of people according to race, nationality, culture, or religious heritage. Several of these collections received a great deal of attention. This was particularly true of Each with His Own Brush (1938). This compilation of indigenous Christian art, printed eight times, was included in the Graphic Arts Show presented in 1948 by the Grand Central Palace in New York, was sent on tour through Latin America by the Institute of Graphic Arts, and was chosen by the Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America to be used in a series of exhibits in some two hundred Catholic schools and colleges.
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World community remained the theme in Fleming’s final two works. Written during World War II, Bringing Our World Together focused on the role of Christianity and the church in “bringing the nascent universal fellowship” to maturity. Fleming believed that many collaborators were together moving the world toward unity, and that a world religion was a necessary partner in this endeavor. Christianity was deemed to be uniquely suited to be this faith because of its revelation of God through Jesus Christ, assurance of purposeful existence and relation to God, and vision of the brotherhood and equality of all. Further, Christianity, to a greater extent than any other religion, was already becoming the world religion. Thus, Fleming called the Christian community to permeate the world—“bringing Christianity to bear on continents of thought such as war, race, and industry.” In this way, Christians could fulfill their responsibility in the quest for unity.

Fleming’s last book, Living as Comrades, was an effort toward bridging one of the great gulfs still separating the people of the earth—economic status. As in an earlier effort entitled Ventures in Simpler Living, Fleming led an inquiry into the question of what the Christian plane of living should be. Having spent his missionary years in a beautiful home filled with servants amidst the poverty of India, the question ate at Fleming in a personal way. As with all his books, he offered no clear-cut answers but a multitude of possibilities. Using illustrations from the lives of many young Western Christians living in poverty-stricken Eastern countries, Fleming sought to deal with the problems that arose when one contemplated the simple life. While the examples were drawn largely from the lives and concerns of missionaries, the book clearly laid the question at the feet of all Christians. “The general principle is plain. High ethics impose upon one the moral responsibility to use wealth in the furtherance of God’s purpose for mankind as a whole, not simply for one’s private satisfaction.” Though the book did not demand that all Christians live in poverty, it made it difficult to ignore the issue of personal consumption.

Though Fleming published his last book in 1950 at the age of seventy-three, he continued to live a quite vital and full life for another nineteen years. With the end of his teaching career and the death of his wife of fifty-one years, he moved to Pilgrim Place, a community of retired missionaries in Claremont, California. There he married Helen Mack Howard and enjoyed “one of life’s unexpected bonuses.” In March 1969, Helen Fleming died suddenly. Within a month, Fleming, at the age of ninety-two, followed.

Conclusion

Early in his life, Fleming quoted Sir Andrew Fraser, lieutenant governor of Bengal, who said: “Remember that Jesus Christ walked with a large heart in the narrow way.” In the space of a few words, this statement summarizes Fleming’s life and work. His large heart enabled him to respect the religion and culture of others and to seek to serve them according to Christ’s example. The narrow way, however, provided him motivation and direction. For though he longed for and encouraged a sympathetic attitude toward other religions, he consistently built on the belief that Jesus Christ was the clearest and best revelation of God. Perhaps a large heart and narrow way are together necessary to have an enterprise that is both ethical and missionary.

Notes

1. Though the book summarized the findings of laypeople who visited and evaluated various missionary sites, it was stamped with Hocking’s personal theology and viewpoint.
3. Short-term appointment was a new idea at the time. Fleming was the first Presbyterian so designated. See Webster, Christian Community, p. 40. Forman College, named after its founder Charles Forman, was responsible for educating 20 percent of the men who received higher education in the Punjab.
7. “Notes on the Religious Life of D. J. Fleming,” (Written for the Board of Foreign Missions, 1904). (In author’s possession.)
8. Because he was returning to India as a college instructor, appropriate education in his teaching field was a necessity.
10. Though Fleming stressed Christian service, he did not share the social gospelers’ emphasis on structural reform.
11. Fleming’s dissertation “Devolution in Mission Administration” was completed in 1914, at which time he received his Ph.D. and graduated summa cum laude. In 1916, the dissertation was published. Fleming also received an honorary doctorate in 1925 from his alma mater, the College of Wooster.

12. Letter, 13 November 1914, D. J. Fleming to Francis Brown. (Copy in author’s possession.)
15. Frank Laubach pointed to this book as the one that gave him the “clue” that started him on his world literacy campaign.
16. Two of his books, Attitudes toward Other Faiths (1928) and Bringing Our World Together (1945) were named as Book of the Month by the Religious Book Club.
23. Ibid., p. 47.
26. Ibid., p. 64.
27. Ibid., p. 155.
30. Memorial notice, n.a. (in author’s possession).
31. This included, in Fleming’s view, adherents of non-Christian religions, social scientists, and others who were working socially and politically for a unified world.


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Selected Works about D. J. Fleming


Indigenous African Christian Theologies: The Uphill Road

Tite Tienou

Introduction

The search for indigenous African Christian theologies, which began in the 1950s, is well into its fourth decade. Yet the energy expended in producing books and articles and organizing colloquia and conferences on African theology seems to have little impact on daily, grassroots church life in the African continent. The situation is such that B. Bujo considers theology in Africa to be too abstract and too academic. It is limited to academic discourses and national or international congresses. . . . Apart from [a] few concrete achievements, African theology, on the whole, remains elitist. In preaching and catechesis, there are few theologians and leaders of the Christian community who bother to formulate their proclamation along African lines.

Although the above assessment was made in 1988 and dealt specifically with Roman Catholic theological education in Africa, others made similar observations in the seventies and early eighties concerning African Christian theologizing in general. It now appears that, as French poet La Fontaine said, the mountain has given birth to a mouse! Many people realize today that the development of a fully indigenous African theology will not be as easy as some thought in the past. Indeed, there is general agreement that the road that leads to such a theology is on a very steep hill. What signposts can one see on this treacherous uphill road? I propose to examine here the problems and the prospects of developing indigenous African Christian theologies. First, I place African theology in historical perspective by looking at the context of its birth. Second, I focus on the contours of African theology—its nature and contents. Third, I look at the challenge for the future. The question of African theology cannot be separated from the issue of theological education. No serious discussion of African theology can therefore afford to ignore the contextualization of theological education. I consequently deal with the challenge for the future in light of issues related to the contextualization of theological education.

The Context of the Birth of African Theology

The modern quest for an indigenous African theology had two starting points: European colonialism and Western missionary efforts of the past century. Both forms of foreign control or domination characterized politics, economics, and Christianity in the continent up to 1950. This is not to suggest that outside influences are to blame for all the difficulties Africa encounters. I also do not mean to imply that colonialism and missionizing were one and the same thing. Rather, my purpose is simply to underscore the fact that current African realities cannot be understood apart
from the events of the past century. Recognizing these two points as a background in the debate on African theology, without passion and with irenicism, sheds light on the difficulties encountered by the first generation of advocates for an indigenous Christian theology in Africa.

If on the surface Africa was a quiet colonized continent in 1950, there were nevertheless indications that this tranquility would not last much longer. Organizations for the emancipation of Africans and even political parties were formed in the forties. These forces, which had the purpose of shaking off the European colonial yoke, contributed to making the 1950s the beginning of Africa’s political and cultural renaissance. Is it mere coincidence that this decade also marks the official birth of African theology?

The year 1956 marks, most observers agree, the official birth of conscious self-theologizing by Africans within the structures of missionary Christianity. Two publications, one Catholic and one Protestant, made that year an important milestone on the road to an indigenous African theology. On the Catholic side, a group of French-speaking priests contributed to the collective book Des prêtres noirs s’interrogent et suggèrent. For the Protestants, Paul D. Fueter’s article “Theological Education in Africa,” published in the International Review of Missions, was the first voice in the discussion.

There is, of course, a sense in which it is impossible to point to a specific date as the beginning point of African theology. African theologizing was probably intuitive and unconscious when Western missionizing first began in the continent. There were even people who, like Mojola Agb express” from the Nigerian mission, insisted on the necessity of integrating Christianity with African culture. These were lonely voices in the nineteenth century. Most gospel communicators realized then, as we do now, that the good news concerning Christ must be explained in receptor-oriented fashion. But, somehow, the time was not right for the application of the same logic to theology. As the years passed and as more and more Africans began to participate fully in missionary Christianity through ordination, which was granted after completion of some form of theological education, some became vividly aware of the necessity of theological thinking undertaken in Africa itself by Africans. The urgency of such indigenous thinking arises not only from the internal logic of the Gospel as it gradually takes root and develops within a population, but also from the discrepancy which suddenly appeared in the nineteen-fifties between the intention of the foreign evangelizer and the evangelized African.

It is reasonable to infer from the above that African Christians (and some Western missionaries) were emboldened to call for indigenous theological thinking in the 1950s because of the prevailing social and political conditions in the continent. This is the reason why more than one person has suggested that “African theology is inscribed in the movement of political and cultural emancipation of African peoples.”

The context of the birth of African self-theologizing has important implications for the present status of the quest, as well as for the future. The fact that the search for an indigenous African theology arose in a setting of political, cultural, and religious domination means that from its very inception the African theological movement had an apologetic dimension. The audience for whom the articles and books were written was not the African church but the writers’ peers and mentors. The problem of the first generation of African theologians was not that of defending the Christian faith against the assaults of its “pagan” African detractors. Rather, they saw their task as that of legitimizing the existence of an indigenous African theology within the confines of Western Christianity.

In the fifties and sixties several examples of apologetics for an African theology were published. In most cases these studies were first presented as theses and dissertations in European universities. The first works of such people as Mbiti, Mulago, or Tshibangu come to mind. They were, by and large, theologies of antithesis: African theology is what European theology is not. Is there any wonder that such efforts have failed to produce a genuine indigenous African theology? S. Sempore notes that “the tendency to reflect by reaction against or opposition to the white world is still strong in many African theologians; similarly the tendency still to study the problems of the fifties.” This tendency continued well into the seventies and can still be seen here and there at the present time. In its current phase, then, African theology still seems to be dealing with problems of the context of its birth. This is one of the major factors that hinders the development of indigenous Christian theologies in Africa.

The Contours of African Theology

This study has thus far given support to B. Bujo in his criticism of African theology. Not everyone, however, would agree with such an assessment. Addressing himself to the question, “Where Are We in African Theology?” at the 1977 Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, G. Setiloane stated: Content-wise . . . we have established the legitimacy of the African claim to a unique and different theological point of view within the ecumenical Christian community because of our cultural, geographical, spiritual, social and temperamental background.

It is true that, except for very conservative evangelicals, few people dispute today the need for African Christians to develop their own theology. This achievement may be due to the efforts of the first generation of African theologians. But this is hardly theological content. Perhaps this is an indirect confession that African theologies are still in their infancy. This raises the question of the nature of indigenous African theologies: What are they? How can they be recognized by their contents?

African theology is impossible to define in such a way that all interested in the subject will be satisfied. One wonders if such an attempt is even wise. So, perhaps the course taken by the participants at a workshop on African theologies published in Mission Studies is the best one in the present circumstances. They agreed to four general meanings of the term African theology. It is theology that is “done in Africa, . . . to a significant degree arises out of the identity of African people, draws on African categories of thought and speaks to the historical situation of African people.” When one takes these four characteristics of African theology seriously, it becomes apparent that indigenous African theology is far from being monolithic. African theologies are diverse in their focus and in their contents. It is nevertheless possible to discern major currents within this diversified and complex movement.
J. S. Ukpong has isolated three main issues that, though different, are interrelated. According to him these three issues are the bases for the major kinds of African theological output. The issues of culture, color, and poverty, Ukpong argues, are the major forces at work in the quest for African indigenous theologies. He sees African inculturation theology, South African Black theology, and African liberation theology as attempts to deal with the three issues mentioned above. What Ukpong calls African inculturation theology is accepted Catholic terminology for what Protestants label either African indigenous theology or, increasingly, African contextual theology. He considers that this is the first and oldest form of African theology. Black (South African) and liberation theologies came later. In many ways the expressions African theology and African indigenous theology or African inculturation theology are synonymous. Ukpong defines African inculturation theology as an attempt to give African expression to the Christian faith within a theological framework. It involves a conscious engagement of European Christian thinking and African religious thought in serious dialogue for the purpose of integrating Christianity into the life and culture of African people.

If this is true, then the most important question in the search for an indigenous African theology must be, How does one’s culture shape or influence the theologizing process? The advocates for the right of African Christians to do their own theologizing think that culture, in all its dimensions, has an important role in the formulation of theology. They argue, for instance, that since European and African cultures differ, their Christian theological outputs must also vary.

There are many examples of African theologies that are written and argued for on the premise of the existence of an essential cultural-philosophical difference between Africa and the West. One thinks, for instance, of Mbiti’s proposal that eschatology be built on an African concept of time. Sawyerr and Sundkler focused on the African concept of family as the basis for African ecclesiology. Others have developed Christologies that portrayed Christ as the great ancestor or the master of initiation rites. In the process of taking seriously the so-called African traditional culture, however, some of these authors appear at times to be more apologists for non-Christian theology and religion. One can respond, of course, that a degree of that is inevitable, since Westerners, in the past, tended to ascribe little value to African culture and religion. But one does not normally think that the Christian theologian’s calling is “to rehabilitate the “pagan” religious past.

Quite often the implicit assumption of those who attach great value to African traditional culture seems to be that biblical cultures and religions and African ones are similar. This degree of continuity should mean an easy transition between traditional religion and Christianity. Yet as H. Maurier observes, in 1988 “there was a greater gulf between Christianity and African traditional religion than in the past.” Sadly, the work of some Christian theologians has actually strengthened traditional religion by stressing continuity rather than discontinuity with the Gospel.

As if the above roadblocks in the development of an indigenous African Christian theology were not enough, there are added difficulties with defining African culture. It is well-known that contemporary Africa is as complex as any other continent in the world. This is why A. Ekwunife is right when he says that
The road toward an African theology will continue to be uphill.

measure the Africanness of any theology purporting to be African by the degree to which it speaks to the needs of Africans in their total context. Quite naturally, the opinions of African Christians should be taken seriously when determining these needs. Correctness of indigenous African theologies should be judged by the degree to which they are faithful to the Christian Scripture. In that sense, African theologies have the same reference point as any other Christian theology.

If we maintain the double concern of relating the totality of biblical revelation to the totality of the situation of African Christians, African theology will truly become a discipline at the service of the church. It will cease being either a footnote on Western theology or an instance of exotic Christian religious product for missiologists interested in Africa. Until then, African theology will travel on an uphill road.

Challenge for the Future: Contextualization of Theological Education

The history of African theology as well as its contents have thus far revealed one thing: the production of genuine African Christian theology is still in the future tense. Beside the reasons mentioned above, the status of theological education in the continent may contribute, in no small way, to the foreignness of the theological enterprise. Should this be the case, then the most urgent challenge ahead of us would be the contextualization of theological education in all its dimensions.

Theological education in Africa faces the same crises as education in general in the continent. We know that the systems of education currently used in most African countries are adaptations of European models. Since educational theories and practices generally have in-built cultural assumptions, can we expect European systems to deal adequately with African problems? Even without the colonial factor this question would still need to be asked. It becomes more crucial because, in most instances, education was, and continues to be, a tool of Western cultural imperialism in Africa.

I concede that the problem of culture is less acute in the technical fields of learning. But, the fact that “authentically African theological education is in its early stages because it is the models received from the West which continue to predominate” should disturb anyone interested in seeing African theology develop. For it is impossible to separate theology and culture.

The Western ethos of theological education in Africa is accentuated by the large number of foreigners teaching in the continent’s theological institutions. Paul Bowers documents for us the status of africanization of teaching staff. He found that on the whole 60.1 percent of theological teachers in Africa are Africans. For evangelical institutions, however, the ratio of Africans is only 48.4 percent. Either way, a large proportion of those who mold the theological minds of Africans in Africa are foreigners: 39.9 percent for all types of institutions and 51.6 percent for the evangelical ones! One cannot minimize the impact of this reality on the future of African theology.

The models of theological education in Africa as well as the people who implement them contribute, sadly, to the theological void in the continent. We may have the theological counterpart of what E. Kodjo describes as the economic characteristic of the continent: it produces what it does not consume and consumes what it does not produce. How can the situation change? Should we establish more and better theological institutions? Should Africans lead them and be the majority of the teaching staff? Should we africanize their curricula? We should do all of the above and more: we should rethink the nature and purpose of theological education. In the words of B. Bujo: “Theology should cease to be a science-in-order-to-earn-a-living or a pretext for building up a career and should re-discover its ecclesial and prophetic role.” African Christian theologies will not be produced in theological institutions and universities alone but through the communal efforts of the entire church.

Conclusion

The quest for indigenous African Christian theologies is an ongoing process. In the past thirty years significant milestones were reached. Yet much remains to be done. Surely one of the areas that needs considerable attention is how to relate this search for theological identity to the worship and prayer life of the African churches. This is one of the places where religion and theology will influence public life in Africa. Otherwise theology will remain a curious private commodity.

Notes

2. Not all African Christian theologizing has European colonialism and Western missions for background. Early North African Christianity and present-day Egyptian and Ethiopian Christianity are examples of non-Western efforts. They are excluded from the present study.
Korean Minority Church-State Relations in the People's Republic of China

Wi Jo Kang

I. Historical Background

In the latter part of the nineteenth century local rebellions against the government of Beijing and other situations of unrest in China weakened the political power of the Ching Dynasty. Taking advantage of this situation, Japan and Czarist Russia extended their military and economic activities in China's northeastern region. The newly rising military power of Japan confronted China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, and ten years later Czarist Russia engaged in war with Japan. To the surprise of the world, Japan was victorious in both wars.

In 1905, Japan and Russia signed the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth, and the Korean king was forced to establish a so-called Protective Treaty with Japan. At that point, the king handed over diplomatic and economic rights to the Japanese, and Korea became a colony of Japan. Also in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Koreans crossed the Yalu and Tumen rivers to China to escape Japanese encroachment and to engage in the resistance movement against Japan.

Among those Korean immigrants to the northeastern part of China, then called Buk Kando, there were early Christian converts. They wanted to have religious freedom and also to engage in political activities for the independence of Korea. These early converts were the result of work that Presbyterian missionaries had begun in 1884 within Korea. The Presbyterian mission extended to the northern part of Korea; already, in 1892, Northern Presbyterians from the United States established a mission station in the port city of Wonsan.

When many converts moved from North Korea to China, it was natural that mission work be extended into the area of Buk Kando. Canadian Presbyterians started work there in 1898. Canadian missionaries like the Reverend Robert G. Grierson supported the work of Dong-Hui Yee, who was both a Christian minister and a nationalist political leader. Grierson worked not only among the Koreans in Buk Kando, but also among the Korean immigrants in the Russian port city of Vladivostok.

Many Christian leaders believed that the success of Christian mission among the Koreans was the best way to liberate Korea from Japanese rule and to eventually achieve independence. Among such leaders was Sang-SuI Yee, who believed that through Christian education of Korean youth, the Korean people could achieve independence from Japan. He migrated to Buk Kando in 1906 and established a Christian church in Yong Jong where it became a center of the Korean nationalist movement and Christian education. In church meetings Sang-Sul Yee preached the Gospel of Christ and the liberation of Korea at the same time.

In the same year, Presbyterian elders Jong-Sik Yee and Kwon-Bo Yee migrated from the northeastern Han Kyung province of Korea to Buk Kando and established a new Christian town named Kusechon, or "the salvation town." In 1911, another Presbyterian elder, Hyung-Sik Ryang, led his entire family from Korea to an isolated village in northeastern China and established a church there, calling the village the "dwelling of [God's] grace." Such towns and villages with church-related names like "town of eternal life" and "village of paradise" were common among the Korean settlements in China.

In the initial stages of Korean immigration to China, the Chinese government did not welcome Koreans for fear of Japanese military retaliation, especially nationalist Koreans who were engaged in anti-Japanese political activities. There were conflicts between Korean immigrants and Chinese residents. However,
the Chinese government officials soon sympathized with the political cause of the Koreans, because China too was threatened by Japanese power.

The Chinese also welcomed Koreans because they were good rice farmers and produced high quality rice in difficult farm land. In daily life the Korean emphasis on children’s education earned the respect of the Chinese, so much so that the Chinese often sent their own children to Korean church-schools.

When Korean Christians migrated to northeastern China, many missionaries to China and their European and North American mission agencies welcomed the Koreans because of their zeal for evangelistic outreach and their strong commitment to church life. Often, when the Japanese police sought to arrest Korean nationalists, the missionaries protected the Koreans with the missionaries’ own extraterritorial legal rights granted by the Chinese government.

In such circumstances Korean Christian movements were often identified with the nationalist movement. Dong-Hui Yee openly associated his Christian ministry with the independence movement. He often led revival meetings in which he asked his fellow Koreans “to believe in Jesus to save the nation”; and he advocated the building of church-schools to educate the children for the independence of Korea. He would say that “when one million Koreans become Christians, Korea will achieve independence.” This identification with political independence is one important reason for the “miracle in mission history,” the success of Christian mission work among Koreans in Korea and China. It is also why a pro-Japanese scholar from America who visited Korea in the early part of the century complained that Korean Christians were not motivated by moral and spiritual reasons, but by economic, social, and political reasons.

Korean Christians in northeastern China increased in numbers until, in 1921, an independent Korean presbytery of the Presbyterian Church was formed. Meanwhile, Japan’s imperialist military government continued to extend its influence in China and brutally suppressed Korean nationalists and Christians there. It was not unusual for the Japanese police, with the support of the military, to demolish entire Korean villages and arrest the Christian leaders. In many towns and small villages of Korea, one finds monuments erected to commemorate Korean patriots martyred by the Japanese. Such suffering escalated in 1919 when there were popular uprisings in Korean villages and towns against the Japanese occupation. A Presbyterian record of that year notes that many churches were confiscated or burned by the Japanese. Christian houses were burnt, and thirty-three church leaders in Buk Kando lost their lives.

This persecution, however, did not stop the church activities of Koreans in China. In 1925 a record of the Methodist Church reported:

In North Kando, we have sixteen Sunday schools for both adults and children, the enrollment of which is over eight hundred. We have at present two Epworth Leagues organized with the membership of eighty. . . . We hope to organize more leagues in the coming year. The unique feature of our work in North Kando is the children’s daily Bible school in Rong Jong, which is probably the only one of its kind in the Orient. This school is to teach the Bible to the children who are attending the private and public schools and who are voluntarily coming to the church to learn the Bible. We teach them from four to five o’clock every afternoon, except Sunday afternoon on which we have regular Sunday schools for the children. At present the school has an enrollment of 138 boys and girls and the attendance is very good.

Even after the Japanese controlled the entire northeastern region of China and established in 1932 the so-called state of Manchukuo, with a Japanese-controlled puppet government, Korean Christians in China extended their work. The general

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Readers’ Response

To the Editors:

Dr. Eugene Fisher’s response in the January BULLETIN to our comments on the WCC’s Sigtuna statement (October 1989 BULLETIN) calls for factual clarification. First, biblical Christianity emerged from a major religious controversy within Jewry prior to any Gentile involvement.

Second, today’s Rabbinic Judaism reflects centuries of evolutionary change. In part it reflects reaction against Jews who found in Jesus their Messiah and Redeemer. Cyrus H. Gordon’s “Jewish Reactions to Christian Borrowings” details Judaism’s efforts to establish an antithesis with the traditional Jewish thought and worship retained by emerging messianic congregations (Carol L. Meyers and M. O’Connor, eds., The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983], pp. 665–90). Dr. Fisher unwittingly states the exact opposite: “The Evangelists radically modified the concept [of Messiah] in applying it to Jesus.”

Third, Dr. Fisher charges us with “absolute ignorance.” Would that he knew the long efforts we’ve put forth to enter this century’s total Jewish experience. And we are offended at his gross overstatement: an “incredible amount of history” links Hebrew Christians with anti-Semitism. He disparages their possible contribution to this dialogue. He also forgets that today’s most notable Jew-for-Jesus is currently the archbishop of Paris. Although most of Cardinal Lustiger’s relatives were destroyed at Auschwitz, this Jew came to faith through reading the Bible (Dare to Believe [New York: Crossroad, 1986]). Lustiger writes, “In becoming a Christian I did not intend to cease being a Jew. . . . It was Christ who gave me the key to my searchings. . . . I found Judaism’s fulfillment in welcoming Jesus, the Messiah of Israel. . . . I said to my parents: I am not leaving you and going over to the enemy. . . . I am not ceasing to be a Jew; on the contrary, I am discovering another way of being a Jew” (pp. 38, 41, 42).

The dialogue must continue, and the central issue is Jesus Christ!

Arthur F. Glasser, Dean Emeritus
School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary
Pasadena, California
superintendent of the Korean Methodist Church urged:

Our missionary specialty is the work in Manchuria. It is wide and rich country which is fit for farming. So the Koreans are migrating to Manchuria by the thousands and tens of thousands every year. It has been reported that there are already more than a million Koreans and they are in sore need of the Gospel message. During the past, our church has done a great deal of work in cooperation with the Mission Boards in America, but we must do much more in the future. 5

Korean Christians within China and Korea responded favorably to such an appeal, and Christian work continued to be successful among the Koreans in China, despite Japanese oppression, especially during the years of World War II. The end of that war brought the surrender of Japan, and that was understandably an occasion of great celebration. When the war ended, however, the thirty-eighth parallel was taken as the dividing line between the two areas where the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would accept the surrender of Japanese forces. The United States occupied the area south of the parallel, while the Soviets occupied the area north of the line and in Manchuria. As the Soviets occupied Manchuria, most of the Korean Christians, knowing the Marxist ideology and the hostile attitude to religions of the Soviet government, fled to South Korea. Some Korean Christians, however, primarily the elderly and the poor who could not afford to travel south, remained in China and continued to live as Christians. But their life as Christians was now conditioned by the new situation in Chinese history.

II. Church-State Relations in New China

Shortly before the end of World War II, the Chinese army, under the leadership of the Communist party, engaged in guerrilla war-

The Japanese police and army would demolish entire Korean villages and arrest the Christian leaders.

To the Editors:

In your January 1990 issue (p. 30), Eugene J. Fisher responds to my critique of the Sigtuna Statement in the October 1989 issue and questions the affirmation that “Jesus is the Messiah for Jews and gentiles.”

The messiahship of Jesus is a crucial question in the relationship between the church and the synagogue. There is no dispute among us concerning the different postbiblical developments in the Jewish and the Christian concepts of the Messiah. However, dialogue and witness should move beyond a static recognition of this difference, as there is also an intrinsic link between Jewish tradition and Christi-

The New Testament affirmation that “Jesus is the Messiah for Jews and gentiles” originated in a Jewish context, it was shared by Jewish persons with Jewish people, and became part of the essential Jewish heritage of the church. This affirmation of the messiahship of Jesus, however, was not so much “a radical modification of the concept,” as it was an identification of the person Messiah. The New Testament moves from the conceptual to the actual and identifies the present and future reality of the Messiah.

Against this background I agree with Fisher that we must listen to Jews when they remind us of the eschatological aspect of the messiahship, and we welcome the new awareness in biblical scholarship of this basic element in the New Testament creed and its Jewish background. However, against this background we must also question a situation in which “the term Messiah as used by Christians is essentially unrecognizable to Jewish tradition,” and uphold the genuine messiahship of Jesus in dialogue and witness. Today we experience that Jewish people in Israel and other countries read the (Hebrew) New Testament, recognize Jesus as the Messiah of Israel and come to faith in him. Why is it so difficult for the contemporary Jewish-Christian encounter to deal with this fact and this theological challenge?

Ole Chr. M. Kvarme, General Secretary
Norwegian Bible Society, Oslo, and International Coordinator,
Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism
of the Communist revolution, in April 1948, Tien Feng, a Christian magazine published under the auspices of the Christian Literature Society, published the following statement by Wu:

A world revolution is developing before our eyes. No matter how we may fear and hate it, this revolution is already an undeniable fact. The opposition of the toilers, the struggles of small nationalities, and on the international scene the sharp opposition between democratic and anti-democratic forces, all these are inevitable phenomena of that world revolution. At the present stage the most important task of that revolution, negatively speaking, is to oppose the attempt of the new imperialism and its corollary feudalistic forces to oppress peoples and enslave the world; and positively speaking, to unite all democratic forces in establishing a new society of freedom and equality, a society of no classes, where everyone works and everyone receives the results of his labors. Capitalism can no longer meet the needs of our time; it only creates economic inequality and imperialism.7

The Chinese revolution, according to Wu, was a righteous movement to liberate the people from the evils of capitalism and imperialism. He also criticized his fellow Christians who did not support the revolution:

Christianity has no understanding of today's revolutionary movement; what it sees is not the positive meaning of that movement, but only its negative processes. It sees only its eye-for-eye, tooth-for-tooth reactions, and has come close to renouncing the whole movement.8

Criticizing the attitude of many Christians against the Communist revolution, Wu advocated Christian "reformation" in China. The first task of this reformation was the separation of the Chinese churches from the "mother churches" and mission boards abroad.15 "The message then stated that "the authority of policy determination and financial administration must pass over to Chinese leadership. ..." This was a clear indication of the Chinese church's determination to be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating, to truly implement the Three-Self principle of mission theory.

On the basis of this "message from Chinese Christians to mission boards abroad" in 1949, the leaders of the Three-Self Movement formulated the "Christian Manifesto" in May of the following year, in consultation with Zhou En-Lai, the premier of the People's Republic of China. The manifesto denounced imperialism and all connections of Christianity with Western imperialism, and it asked Chinese Christians to denounce through self-criticism all inroads of imperialism and to support the Communist government. They were urged to promote the Three-Self Movement by cutting off all foreign aid and dependence.

On 3 June 1950, Wu presented a draft of the manifesto to some church leaders, and it was published in July with the signatures of forty prominent Christians. By September of that year, fifteen hundred people had signed the document, and the Three-Self Movement was the official reality of the Christian movement in China, and the relationship of the church to the new state reflected it fully.

In October 1950, delegates to the biennial meeting of the National Council of Churches in China, after careful discussion, decided to adopt the manifesto as the official position of the Chinese churches. By the adoption of this manifesto, all of the administrative power over the churches was transferred to the Three-Self Committee. After the close of the meeting, some of the church leaders saw how the church had irreversibly aligned itself with the Communist state of the People's Republic of China.

The manifesto continued to be signed, however, by many Christians; now that it had the approval of the National Council of Churches in China, its popularity increased. There were basically two reasons why many Chinese Christians signed the manifesto: first, the document emphasized a patriotic attitude toward the country; and second, the resentment that the Chinese felt toward foreign agents extended to some missionaries as well. The manifesto really spelled the end for missionary work in China.

Meanwhile the Korean War started in the neighboring Korean Peninsula. The Three-Self Movement formed a committee called the "Preparatory Committee to Oppose the U.S.A. and Help Korea." The committee engaged in the work of asking Chinese Christians to volunteer as soldiers to fight against U.S. soldiers in Korea. The committee also pressured the Chinese churches not to receive any aid from the United States. The Korean War brought out great antiimperialist feelings throughout China. The people were led to believe that the Chinese were making a great last stand against the Western imperialists by helping North Korea and confronting the United States. In April 1951, the delegates of 151 Protestant churches met in Beijing and issued the "United Declaration of the Delegates of Chinese Christian Churches." The declaration called upon the Christian community

1. To enthusiastically support and carry out the Central Government Legislative [Body's] plan of control for all cultural and educational and relief organizations and religious bodies receiving American financial aid. ...  
2. To enthusiastically take part in the "Oppose-America, Support-Korea" movement, strongly support the resolution of the Executive of the World Peace Movement concerning the Five Nations Peace Treaty, support all decisions of the "Oppose-America, Support-Korea" People's Central Organization, also make known and definitely carry out the patriotic program; every local church, every church body, every Christian publication must implement the "Oppose-America, Support-Korea" propaganda and make this propaganda known to every Christian.11

In 1951 the drive to purge Christianity of its "imperialistic connections" greatly intensified. By this time many Christian institutions, like schools and hospitals, were administered by the People's Committee. In an April 1951 meeting, the government and church leaders denounced missionaries as agents of imperialism. All institutional funding from abroad was cut off. In addition to the institutional funds, all private funds to Chinese churches were cut off. After the meeting, one of the new demands made upon the churches was a denunciation movement, in which all Christians sympathetic to anything American were to be denounced. Likewise, the churches were to take up the responsibility to "Oppose-America, Support-Korea" as the "most important" work of the church.12

Roman Catholic Christians in China also participated in a similar movement. In November 1950, five hundred Catholic lead-
ers issued their own manifesto, calling for the independence of the Chinese Catholic Church and for severing ties with Catholic agencies outside of China, including the Vatican. Throughout the period of the Korean War, Roman Catholics were asked to do the same as other Christians—oppose America and help North Korea. And in order to have a similar organization like the Three-Self Movement, the National Catholic Patriotic Association was established in 1957. This became the officially recognized Catholic organization in China, through which all communication to their constituents was made.

In the years after the Korean War, the churches enjoyed considerable religious freedom. It was now the official government position to say that “Christianity is no longer a foreign religion” and “Christianity is to be respected.”

Of course, there were many youth activities on Sunday that were sponsored by the government in order to discourage the young people from attending church. Also, the Marxist government did not like many of the church activities, saying that they were “nonproductive.” But the Christian churches continued to maintain their identities and grow in new China.

Korean Christian churches in the northeastern region were especially active in supporting the Three-Self Movement’s call to “Oppose-America, Support-Korea.” They participated in recruiting young people to volunteer as soldiers, or in raising funds to support the soldiers. So Korean churches became strong participants in the Three-Self Movement of the Chinese state.

This relationship, however, changed drastically during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76. All religions were considered to be remnants of old feudal and capitalist societies, and thus they had to be wiped out. Christian Bibles were confiscated and burned, and Christian churches were closed and used for storage or as factories. The first floor of the Korean church in Yanji City was still being used as a factory when I visited there in early 1987. Pastors and church workers suffered public humiliation and were forced to work on farms or in factories.

With the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the “Gang of Four,” including Mao’s wife, who had masteredmind the Cultural Revolution, was arrested. The Chinese Communist party clearly recognized that something had gone wrong during the Cultural Revolution. The outcome was the reform movement and liberalization of the country, including the liberalization of religious affairs. In 1979, Christian churches were officially reopened. And in the following year, the China Christian Council was formed to work more effectively with the affairs of the churches as they relate to the state.

III. Korean Church-State Relations in China Today

In spite of the remarkable survival, growth, and vitality of Korean Christian churches in China, which seek to maintain their “postdenominational” and independent stance, some Christian groups from abroad have been taking advantage of the liberal policies in China today. Korean Christians from abroad, often strongly anticommunist, use their visits to China to try to influence the Korean Christians politically and theologically, even trying to reintroduce denominational confessions.

This is a serious issue facing the Korean churches in China today. As indicated, the Three-Self Movement and the Roman Catholic Patriotic Association were formed to make Chinese churches truly Chinese, to serve the Chinese people and not North American and European institutions. In doing so, the Chinese churches demonstrated to the people of China and to the government that they were serious about being the Chinese church. This effort of Christians in China must be respected and admired by all Christians outside of China.

Granted, the situation is not without its problems. The Roman Catholic community in China does not recognize nor have liaison with the Vatican, and the papal office does not recognize the new bishops appointed by the Patriotic Association. Also, despite Vatican policy, Chinese priests and bishops have married. On the Protestant side, there are some house churches that are nostalgic about their former denominational identity and relationships with foreign mission agencies. There are also some Koreans in China who distrust the government, primarily due to the suffering they experienced during the Cultural Revolution. On my visits to Northeast China I have noticed that some Koreans are admirers of South Korea and are attracted to the growth of the churches there. Although the Bible is published in the Korean language in China, many Koreans prefer to carry the “South Korean Bible.” (One pastor told me that the people choose it because the paper is of better quality and less bulky than its Chinese counterpart.)

But most Korean Christians in China support the Three-Self Movement. It is irrelevant and irresponsible for outsiders to try to reintroduce denominations, developed outside of China, into the Protestant community. Yet many Korean Christian leaders who visit China today from South Korea and the United States are advocating their particular denominational theology and church polity. There are also numerous Korean mission societies for China formed within South Korea and the United States. They solicit funds for the cause of missions and are generously supported. It is not clear, however, how these funds for China are distributed or who receives them. The Korean leaders I met in China were strongly critical of these developments. The Korean Christians welcome visitors, but they are put in a very difficult situation by the anti-Three-Self Movement and anticommunist propaganda spread by Korean visitors.

Some Korean Christians from outside China talk about “underground Korean churches,” as if these churches were in opposition to the Three-Self Movement churches. But an elder I met in Yanji City told me that these are simply churches that do not have pastors and buildings in which they can worship openly.

A Korean pastor from Los Angeles recently visited China and subsequently reported that “China is one country where open church meeting is not allowed. Therefore I conducted a secret service without public announcement or advertisement.” However, good this pastor’s intentions were, his conducting a secret service is not only a violation of the law of the land but puts Korean Christians in a difficult situation in their relation to the state. Korean Christians are allowed to conduct their services in public or in their homes. But the government prohibits foreigners from bringing in money or holding church meetings secretly to influence people with their denominational theology. Why should outsiders jeopardize the freedom Korean churches presently enjoy in China?

All Chinese Christians sympathetic to anything American were to be denounced.
Not only do some Koreans from abroad conduct such meetings but they also distribute anti-Three-Self Movement materials. They go so far as to say that the Three-Self Movement is nothing but an agent of the Communist party. This can only create a stressful relationship between the Korean churches and the Chinese state.

The April 1987 issue of Tien Feng reported that the Korean church in Harbin received four kinds of anti-Chinese and anti-Three-Self Movement materials. These materials were written in Korean. There was no indication given as to where they came from, other than the name of the sponsoring organization "Jung-

Korean Christians are allowed to conduct their services in public or in their houses.

Mi Gidohoe" (China-U. S. Prayer Association). One publication of considerable length criticized socialism and the Chinese government as well as the Three-Self Movement and Korean Christians who supported the Three-Self Movement.14

The Office of Religious Affairs of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture published a study document in 1982. It states, "Today we Christians in China are able to enjoy freedom and Christian worship because we supported the Three-Self Movement of self-support, self-government, and self-propagation." It goes on to emphasize, "Our life today is different from pre-liberation days. How the churches in China are to behave is the policy which we Christians in China decide by ourselves, not by outsiders."15 Thus the document strongly opposes foreign interference in the conduct of the affairs of the Korean churches in China.

A particularly blatant attempt to influence the Korean community in China is found in a project of the Unification Church. This group offered to donate a building and initiate the teaching of English at Yanbian University. The university administration accepted the offer of the building but decided that the teaching program could not be administered by the Unification Church itself. Thus the social-science building was constructed with outside donations and Unification personnel assist in the English program under the university's administration. Any such large donation of money carries with it the danger of unwarranted influence by the donor.

The distrustfulness of some Korean Christians in China and the accusations against the Three-Self Movement by outsiders are serious issues for church-state relations in China today. Any distrust and disloyalty on the part of Korean Christians toward the state is subject to manipulation by outsiders who oppose the Three-Self Movement. Consequently there is risk that the cordial church-state relationship that exists through the work of the Three-Self Movement may be destroyed, to the detriment of the welfare and continued growth of the Korean churches in China.

Notes

6. The last reliable statistics are found in 1934 in a list of churches. See Kwang-Il So, "Buk Kando," pp. 134–35. In this source there is no list of Roman Catholic churches.
8. Ibid., p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 15.
10. Ibid., p. 17.
12. Ibid., pp. 97–98.
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Book Reviews

Countdown to 1900: World Evangelization at the End of the Nineteenth Century.


The Southern Baptist Convention has added another provocative work to its AD 2000 series with the publication of Todd Johnson's Countdown to 1900. Johnson is with Youth with a Mission and helped to found their Frontier Peoples Project. Through extensive citation of late-nineteenth-century missions periodicals, Johnson traces the development of a broad movement to evangelize the world by the year 1900. Inspired by the questions "Does what happened in the nineteenth century have anything to do with Christians at the close of the twentieth century? Is continuity a reality in the history of missions?" the editors included Johnson's research in the AD 2000 series (Foreword).

Johnson begins his inspiring story with early versions of the idea of world evangelization within a set time frame. He cites A. T. Pierson, pastor and Presbyterian mission theorist, as the major promoter of the cause of world evangelization by the year 1900. Many evangelicals and missionaries concurred with Pierson and worked to diffuse the missionary presence throughout the world in a movement reminiscent of the current focus on reaching the unreached by the year 2000. Although the movement failed in its immediate goal, Johnson credits it with "helping the church accomplish as much as it did in the final years of the nineteenth century" (p. 56).

The strengths of Johnson's work are its timeliness, his thorough perusal of missions periodicals, and his appendices. Photographs of relevant personnel add to the value of the book. Readers will find it repetitive and poorly written, however. Johnson relies on quotations to make vital points rather than explicating them in the course of historical narrative. For example, the definition of evangelization, a key point in Johnson's thesis, must be gleaned from quotations on pages 8-9. This weakness makes the book fragmented and hard-to-follow. An additional problem is Johnson's failure to acknowledge any of the secondary literature that has appeared on his topic in the last five years. Nevertheless, Johnson's book should prove valuable in acquainting a broad audience with an important movement in mission history.

—Dana Robert

Church, Ministry and Mission: Essays in Honour of the Reverend K. Imotemjen Aier.


The Church on the Move: A Quest to Affirm the Biblical Faith: Essays in Honour of Peddi Victor Premasagar.


Two significant Indian church leaders are celebrated in these volumes. K. Imotemjen Aier recently retired as general secretary of the Council of Baptist Churches in northeast India, and Bishop Peddi Victor Premasagar of the Church of South India received the salute of his colleagues as he arrived at his sixtieth birthday. Both are unusually worthy of recognition. The collection from northeast India includes papers by representatives from the...
Baptist world community as well as from India, in particular the northeast region. Mission is the connecting theme throughout, though there are chapters also on the history of the church union movement in northeast India and on women in ministry from a northeast Indian perspective. There is useful material here for anyone interested in the angle of vision provided by people associated with one of the most dynamic bodies of Christians in the world.

The volume from South India represents especially a perspective from the other end of the country and also offers much that is of interest to a wider audience. There are two sections, one devoted to papers on the Bible, church, and society, and the other concentrating again on mission and ministry. (It is surely not pure happenstance that here too there is a paper on women in ministry.) Short of listing the table of contents (there are fourteen entries besides the introduction), it is impossible to summarize the contents, but I found the chapters on hermeneutics in India today (by Paulos Mar Gregorios) and on the ministry of the laity (by Samuel Amirtham) especially valuable. (I note also with approval that the laity are attended to in both works.) Religious pluralism, theological education, and liberation theology all have articles devoted to them in the Premasagar Festschrift, and they are worthy of study.

It goes without saying that collections of this kind are of uneven quality, and it is hard to give them genuine unity. But the unmistakable Indian accents present in the two books before us easily outweigh such problems. We are reminded of two fine contemporary Christians who are members of the world household of faith, and a group of Asian authors have an opportunity to share with us their reflections on current issues. The global church is the richer on both counts.

—George Peck

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Helping Missionaries Grow: Readings in Mental Health and Missions.


This volume is a compendium of fifty articles drawn from selected journals. Articles included were written within the past fifteen years. The focus encompasses both the mental or emotional health of missionary families and the personnel selection, training, and nurture concerns of sending agencies. A section on special issues addresses women's concerns, repatriation, and cross-cultural counseling. Sections on missionary preparation and adjustment are supplemented with chapters on family life, the mission couple, missionary children, and the education of missionary children. The editors have included section introductions for the guidance of the reader, and the section introductions add coherence to this rich variety of materials.

This book, written by forty-nine authors, has a remarkable continuity of interest and focus, as well as a rich diversity of viewpoints. The sections are well chosen, carefully organized, and well balanced. The commitment to an evangelical perspective runs throughout. In fact, the editors are unabashedly seeking to demonstrate the contribution that psychological understandings can make to the Christian mission. They are aware that psychological understandings must be kept in dialogue with theological understandings. At the same time, the perspectives presented in this volume suggest that interpersonal conflicts or cross-cultural misunderstandings are not simply or necessarily due to a lack of spirituality among missionaries. This approach frees persons to experience such human occurrences with more openness to alternative problem-solving procedures and less need for feelings of guilt and inadequacy.

The section on missionary preparation unfolds in terms of psychological assessment in candidate selection and nurture, missionary effectiveness, and the training of missionaries. Nearly 300 pages are devoted to missionary families and missionary adjustment. Articles range from theory and research pieces to practical advice for missionaries and sending agencies. Authors are careful to review the results of empirical findings in the light of biblical mandates. The correlation of these two sources of knowledge (the biblical and the empirical) would surprise many social scientists, but not those who are familiar with the development and maintenance of social groups. For, in a sense deeper than is recognized in this text, biblical records contain a remarkable compilation of the learnings of social groups who have been able to discern, in part through divine guidance, how to live together and survive in foreign territory. But the missionary task is tougher than simply surviving in a contrast culture. The missionary task is to live in a foreign culture in a manner that both models and proclaims the Gospel in
that culture's own terms! Hence, at least two levels of stress occur. The stress of living in a strange land, and the stress of seeking to establish a lifestyle and level of adjustment that is a reflection of the Christ. In this context, a collection of papers that throws light on the reality of missionary stress and points in the directions of potential solutions to some of the dilemmas of such an existence is most welcome!

This reviewer would give the editors high marks for gathering together between the covers of one book so much useful information on the topic of the missionary vocation seen from the perspective of psychological understandings and empirical findings. Missionaries, sending agencies, and psychologists alike will find much of benefit in these pages.

—John E. Hinkle, Jr.


Here is a valuable but little-known research tool, which should be placed in the hands of every research scholar interested in aspects of Christianity in India. It is also an important source of information for Indian missions, mission executives, and educators.

The editors have made an effort to compile significant journal articles and other pertinent writings. Both Roman Catholic and Protestant sources are included. Foreign publications have been consulted as well as Indian ones. A number of European languages as well as Hindi transliterations are seen, but most entries are in English.

In addition to general documents covering a wide span of subjects pertaining to Christianity in India, specific classifications include philosophy and theology; socioeconomic and anthropological studies; education, art, and communication; social and medical welfare; language and literature studies; general history of Christianity in India; biographies; religious orders and missionary societies. Name and subject indexes are included.

Roger E. Hedlund is Coordinator and Lecturer at the McGavran Institute, Church Growth Research Centre, Madras, India.
This helpful tool should be in every research library and certainly with every institution and individual involved in training for the missionary apostolate in South Asia.

The tragedy is that this annual bibliography may die for want of publicity. The sixth number was issued in 1986. No. 7 could be the last. The editors inform me that their subscription list is only about 100. What a pity. A valuable evangelization resource is dying for want of use. Missiologists and other interested parties are called to the rescue: we can save this needed publication. Subscribe today!

—Roger E. Hedlund


Geoffrey Johnston’s book is more than just mission history or Presbyterianism in Nigeria. It is a valuable contribution to social history. This is a story that clearly defines a Presbyterian mission in southeastern Nigeria as an agent of both religious and social change among the Efik, Ibibio, and Ibo. The role of Christian missions is often seen and interpreted in the area of religious change, but little or seldom in the area of social change. The author gives a balanced view of both. Furthermore, he tells us how Presbyterianism took root in a traditional and colonial context of Nigeria among the ethnic groups mentioned above.

The Presbyterian mission as an agent of religious and social change did so through the following means: itinerant preaching and church planting; education and establishment of schools; theological and ministerial training; medical work and establishment of health clinics; and promotion of social reforms.

The entire book focuses on a historical narration (gleaned from both field work and mission archives) of the inception, growth, and development of the work of the Presbyterian mission.

The missionaries were informed by their cultural background, worldview, and theology. The author documents how these social factors influenced the missionaries in their activities. These social factors are important to understand for anyone who wants to assess and evaluate the work of the missionaries.

The focus on the African as an object of change is also well presented. As their society was changing due to the work of the missionaries, Africans were also changing internally and intellectually.

The strength of the book lies in the fact that the author weaves together historical facts and social information. One can clearly identify patterns of growth and development of the church, of education, of medical work, and of social change. The author uses the principles of church growth, social

Yusufu Turaki is General Secretary, Evangelical Churches of West Africa, Jos, Nigeria.
theory, and personality change. His ability in this interdisciplinary approach is commendable.

Another strength of the book is its case study of a particular mission in southeastern Nigeria. This case study focuses not only on the pioneering work of the mission, but on its growth and development over several decades. The Presbyterian mission made enormous contributions to the growth and development of Christianity, education and establishment of schools, and to medical work and social reform in southeastern Nigeria. This contribution has earned for the Presbyterian mission a significant place in the history of missions in Nigeria. The book also gives an extensive analysis of the impact of the Presbyterian mission in the rise of a nationalist movement and the search for political freedom.

—Yusufu Turaki

The Preferential Option for the Poor.


Outcome of a conference sponsored by the Rockford Institute Center on Religion and Society, this book is presented as a conversation among theologians, ethicists, philosophers, and public-policy experts from a wide political and religious spectrum. However, it leans heavily toward vindication of capitalism unhampere by governmental checks or the power of trade unions, and toward the type of piety that identifies wealth and American military power with divine approval.

The first and longest of four papers read at the conference is by Max Stackhouse. It reviews attitudes to the poor in the history of various Protestant traditions, assuming considerable prior acquaintance, and concludes with judgments about contemporary Catholic liberation theologies. The conclusions seem to rest on inadequate information.

A paper by Dennis McCann of De Paul University discusses Catholic tradition in relation to the poor, mainly

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by analysis of the U.S. Bishops’ pastoral letter, *Economic Justice*. The paper is largely a defense of the pastoral against Berger and Novak, in which McCann makes some telling points about earlier developments in Catholic social teaching.

Robert Benne of Roanoke College contributes a paper on available options for the poor in public policy making, while a paper by Gilbert Meilaender of Oberlin College deals with Christian spirituality in relation to wealth and poverty. Although containing some good insights and suggestions, these two papers are really too short for their subject matter.

The real interest of the book lies in the final chapter, reporting on the discussion at the conference, showing where particular contributors stand on the issue of the preferential option, and demonstrating where the bias of the conference as a whole lies.

—Monika K. Hellwig

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**Inculturation**
**Interreligious dialogue**
**Justice and peace**

and the consequences of preaching a universal Gospel in the midst of an ever-growing cultural and religious pluralism. These issues challenge not only missionaries who intend to work abroad or in the home missions, but every Christian called to live in an ever-more interdependent world.

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**Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890.**


David Hanlon, a young historian of the University of Hawaii, has presented us with a carefully researched and thoroughly documented history of Pohnpei, which happens to be one of the most intriguing parts of the Pacific both in its seething internal culture and in its tumultuous interactions with the outside world. He clearly has a great respect for the Pohnpeians, among whom he has lived and worked for several years, and for their ability to appropriate elements from other cultures and to fit them into their own. Christianity is one such element that has been appropriated and fitted in. Large parts of the book, in fact the largest parts, deal with the introduction and adoption of Christianity and with the involvements of missions under the earliest colonial rule. It is good to see missions and the church set in the wider context of the total history of the area.

The American missionaries in Micronesia were much more inclined toward cultural impositions on the island people than were missionaries in other parts of the Pacific, and their efforts at such impositions stand out in this account. The way in which they tried to turn their fellow missionaries who happened to be Hawaiians into their servants is another negative element that appears. Their religious outlook is described as the belief “that the purpose and work of life was constant penance for the basic sinfulness of human nature” (p. 105). Perhaps this is an adequate understanding of their religion, but to be sure on that point we need a thorough examination of the subject similar to that which has been made of the English missionaries in the Pacific by Niel Gunson in his book *Messengers of Grace*. We also need a study of the religious convictions of the Pohnpeian Christians. Hanlon says that there were true believers and people of deep faith as well as pragmatic and manipulative people in the church (pp. 142–43), and that the Pohnpeians who went as missionaries to other islands were motivated by both material gain and spiritual commitment. The problem is that there is considerable evidence

Charles W. Forman is Professor of Missions, Emeritus, at Yale University Divinity School. He worked as a Presbyterian missionary in India for five years (1945–50).
given of the pragmatic and manipulative elements that operated in conversion and church life and of the possibilities for material gain, but we read little or nothing to support the suggestion of true belief, deep faith, and spiritual commitment; nor do we gain any insight into the depths of this faith. Perhaps the records that are available do not provide what is needed in this regard. However that may be, there is no doubt that we have much to be grateful for in this careful recovery of a significant piece of church history and island history.

—Charles W. Forman

Frontiers in Muslim-Christian Encounter.


This study is primarily a collection of papers prepared by Michael Nazir-Ali during his career as a bishop of the Church of Pakistan, an assistant to the archbishop of Canterbury coordinating studies for the 1988 Lambeth Conference, and director of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.

The papers are organized around the themes of Theology, Missiology, Dialogue, and the Social Order. The topics range from interpreting the doctrine of God and Christology in a Muslim context to the use of the Qur'an as a bridge and the cult of Muhammad Veneration.

The author's approach is that of an informed evangelical and ecumenical churchman. He shows balance on questions ranging from evangelism and holistic ministry to those of the uniqueness of the gospel and what it shares with other religious traditions. As a strong churchman, however, he limits contextualization by church tradition as well as Scripture, refuses to give the status of "church" to worshiping groups based on ethnic or social grounds, and insists that adopting an episcopal form of government be a prerequisite for joining the Church of Pakistan—one of the hindrances to most of the Presbyterians joining.

He has a broad grasp of both the Christian and the Muslim traditions, and issue can only be taken with minor points. One is left, for example, with the feeling (on p. 48) that there are no extant materials for a critical edition of the Qur'an, since no works are mentioned like Arthur Jeffery's Materials for a History of the Text of the Qur'an (1937). Some might take issue with his argument that Christians should not eat meat from the Id-ul-Adha sacrifice because of the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ in which we participate (pp. 122-23). It can be argued, instead, that the sacrifice is not a sin offering but just a commemoration of Abraham’s sacrifice, hence it should be more acceptable than meat offered to idols, which, at least in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10:27, is not forbidden to Christians unless it hurts a weaker believer.

The drawbacks of this book are inherent in collections of papers prepared for different occasions—some overlapping and imbalance of topics covered. These are outweighed, however, by the value of the material for anyone interacting with Muslims.

—J. Dudley Woodberry

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Simon Barrington-Ward, now Anglican bishop of Coventry, England was general secretary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society from 1975 to 1985. He stood in a great succession, which included Max Warren (1942–63) and John V. Taylor (1963–75). Like Taylor’s Change of Address, this book is a selection of Barrington-Ward’s newsletters during his term of office. Those who have read the whole series will be glad to find these stimulating pieces in a more permanent form. It is a small, if well-chosen, collection, however. Of those mentioned in an article in the International Bulletin (vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 11–15), the omission of the two newsletters devoted to the interpretation of Mao’s China must be a matter for regret, both for their own sake and for the insight they provided into the writer’s absorption with the dualism represented by structure and its spontaneous renewal. There is still a wide selection of valuable pieces on Islam, African Christianity, prayer, changes in modern mission, and other topics highly relevant to missiologists.

It was encouraging to one who has written of Barrington-Ward’s dialectical approach to Christian realities that his own introduction refers to his discernment of a coherence, even a pattern, in these occasional writings shaped around contrasting opposites—ideal and reality, structures and community, spiritual and material—and their fusion (p. viii). Anyone interested in the theology of mission as it relates to our contemporary world cannot fail to be stimulated by this highly individual and yet authentic and profound reflection, which arises from a worldwide involvement with the Christian mission. This book has the capacity to satisfy the heart and spirit as well as to address the mind and is strongly commended.

—Timothy E. Yates

Timothy E. Yates taught in the University of Durham, England, and was awarded his doctorate for work on the Church Missionary Society leader of the nineteenth century, Henry Venn, subsequently published as Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad. He is presently rector of Darley Dale and Director of Ordinands of the Anglican Diocese of Derby, England.

Effective Evangelism: A Theological Mandate.


McGavran, the founder of the Institute of Church Growth and Fuller Seminary’s School of World Mission, delivered this series of lectures at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. His thesis has not changed from earlier works: churches ought to grow. His analysis is consistent: good works, “spiritual renewal,” and correct doctrine, though important, are often not resulting in growth. His focus in this volume is on
seminaries and Bible colleges: curriculum should be changed so evangelism and church growth receive new emphasis.

But the title is misleading. This is neither an informed "theological mandate" nor a practical guide to "effective evangelism." As edited lectures, the book is redundant, assumes too much theological common ground with the readership, provides only cursory biblical exposition, and fails to deal adequately with legitimate differing viewpoints that have offered nuances and correctives during the last two decades (see especially Orlando Costas, Mortimer Arias, and Howard Snyder).

The strength of the book is the autobiography. Readers can more fully grasp the theological issues and ecclesiological concerns of McGavran and company if this history is understood. The ideological framework of "church growth" came from the liberal-fundamentalist battlefield of North America. This created a certain set of definitions and relationships that continues to cause myopia and unbiblical partisanship. For example, McGavran saw Gandhi as a hindrance to church growth. India's "untouchables" heard themselves called "Harijans" (God's people) by Gandhi—thus eliminating their need to find fairness in the Christian church. McGavran cannot see that God uses any means available to create justice. And, while affirming the role of anthropology, McGavran never includes concerns about governments, warfare, politics, or other human institutions in the subject matter of missions.

But in many ways McGavran is basically right. His personal observations and the research done under his supervision continue to confirm his central concerns. We would all do well to heed his words and renew our commitment to ministry that draws men and women into the church. Church growth is not an automatic by-product of other ministry activities, just as justice has not been a by-product of personal evangelism. Intentionality, training, and effective organizational leadership are needed for all such kingdom work.

—Mark Lau Branson

Mark Lau Branson is Vice President and Dean of Fellowship Bible Institute, an adult education center in the black community of San Francisco. Branson worked for ten years with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, taught at the Evangelical Seminary of Lima, Peru, and helped found the journal Transformation: An International Dialogue on Evangelical Social Ethics.

Transculturation: The Cultural Factor in Translation and Other Communication Tasks.


R. Daniel Shaw directs the Bible translation program at the School of World Mission, Fuller Seminary, in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators. He previously served as a Bible translator and anthropological coordinator for SIL in Papua New Guinea.

Shaw describes his book as "an attempt to integrate cultural studies, translation theory and the communication process" (p. 7). He takes the
term “transculturation” from Charles Kraft, who contrasts it with “translation.” Shaw, however, treats transculturation as more perfect translation, translation that incorporates the cultural situation of both source and receptor cultures, which modern translation theory certainly seeks to do. Shaw does not seem to deal specifically, however, with the possibility of obscuring the cultural perspective of the source by replacing it with that of the receptor, which many translation theorists would try to avoid.

After an introductory chapter on “A Biblical Perspective of Culture” there are three parts to this book. Part I, “Toward Discovering Culture,” describes some major cultural factors that influence communication. Part II, “Toward Appreciating Culture,” touches on Old and New Testament cultures, receptor cultures, the translator’s culture, and the relation among them. Part III, “Toward Transculturation,” is about how to do translation in light of what was said in the earlier sections.

This may be too much ground to cover in 300 pages; the treatment is sketchy and often abstract. The illustrations that are used come primarily from the Samoan language and culture of Papua New Guinea.

—William A. Smalley

William A. Smalley was a translation consultant for twenty-three years, first for the American Bible Society and then for the United Bible Societies. He is currently writing a book on the role of Bible translation in the modern missionary movement.

Dissertation Notices

From the University of Birmingham, England, 1989–1990

Bayes, John.
“Fulfilment on Condition: A Revisionist Appraisal of Christian Fulfilment Theology with Particular Attention to Problems of Verification.”

Castle, Brian.

Collier, Jane.
“The Culture of Economism: An Exploration of Barriers to Faith-As-Praxis.”

Faupel, D. William.
“This Gospel of the Kingdom: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought.”

Gill, Kenneth D.
“Towards a Contextualised Theology for the Third World: The Emergence and Development of Jesus’ Name Pentecostalism in Mexico.”
Ph.D. 1990.

Kamu, Lalomilo.
“The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel.”

Kinne, Warren H.

Lee, Ki-Ban.
“The Validity of Ricci’s Intercultural Mission in China and His Position Within the Context of Contemporary Missiological and Theological Proposals.”

MacRobert, lain.
“Black Pentecostalism: Its Origins, Functions and Theology with Special Reference to a Midland Borough.”

Morse, Merrill P.
“Kosuke Koyama: A Model for Intercultural Theology.”

These dissertations were prepared under the supervision of Walter J. Hollenweger, Professor of Mission, Department of Theology, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT, England. This list is a sequel to the lists of Birmingham dissertations published in the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN in July 1982, October 1986, and January 1989. Professor Hollenweger has recently taken early retirement and returned to his native Switzerland, where his address is Grueb, CH-3704 Krattigen.
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