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EDITORIAL

The 50th Anniversary of the Second Vatican Council 1962-2012: From now on SEDOS will be publishing articles on the Second Vatican Council. Our purpose is to renew the interest of SEDOS Membership and Readers in a momentous phenomenon, "the most important event in the history of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation"(Komonchak). Fr. James **KROEGER** speaks of the Second Vatican Council as "A Marvelous and Generous Gift" (FABC Papers, n° 117).

John Paul II considered the Second Vatican Council as a "compass by which to take our bearings in the vast ocean of the third millennium", (NMI, nn. 57-58). Also in his Spiritual Testament John Paul II noted, "I am convinced that it will long be granted to the new generations to draw from the treasures that this twentieth-century Council has lavished upon us...". And he confirmed his determination to put the Second Vatican Council into practice. With the passage of time the Second Vatican Council Documents "have lost none of their timeliness; indeed, their teachings are proving particularly relevant to the new situation of the Church and the current globalized society" (OR-EE, 27-04-05,p.3). We start with the article on: "**Second Vatican Ecumenical Council - A Synthetic Overview**" written by **R. Trisco** and **J. Komonchak** which is most helpful.

Jacques Matthey traces the stages of the evolution of the Protestant and Ecumenical Missiology from 1910 Edinburg to Edinburg 2010: "**¿En qué está la misión? 100 años después de la Conferencia mundial de Edimburgo. Un punto de vista protestante**". After a time of break-off due to the interpretation of the meaning of Edinburgh 1910, priority was given to the Mission recognized as *Missio Dei*. The preparation of the Conference of Edinburg 2010 brought together representatives of world Christianity. "Mission and unity belong together" (Rev. Dr. Olav Fykse Tveit, General Secretary of WCC).

Michel **CHAMBON**, the author of "**Les gui, chinois dans la foi catholique**", lived with the Catholic communities in Hong Kong for three years. This is a summary of his Master Thesis, but it would be well worth reading the whole thesis to fully grasp this attention-grabbing study! Michel CHAMBON investigates the coherence between the firmly embedded Chinese belief in spirits, *gui*, and their Christian faith.

"**Turned Upside-Down: Learning and Challenging**" reminds us that today every missionary, lay or religious is called to live the kenosis of Christ in a special way. The self-emptying is *a sine qua non* attitude which enables missionaries to learn from those among whom they live and move; this also enables them to see the New Face of Mission. Sister Janis **McLaughlin**, MM, puts in a nutshell her 40 years of experience in Africa by using one of the names of God in Shona, Zimbabwe: *Chipindikure*: "The One Who Turns things Upside-Down".

Sister NZENZILI MBOMA, FMM
Executive Director of SEDOS

R. Trisco and J. Komonchak
SECOND VATICAN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL
A Synthetic Overview

This lengthy presentation provides an extensive summary of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Following a short introduction, the material unfolds in four major sections: **I.** Preparatory Commissions; **II.** Rules and Procedures; **III.** Periods [Council Sessions: 1962-1965]; and, **IV.** Pronouncements of the Council.



Introduction. On 25 January 1959, less than one hundred days after his election, in a speech in which he outlined the broad lines of his papacy, Pope John XXIII told a group of cardinals gathered at Saint Paul Outside-the-Walls that he intended to revive two ancient forms for stating doctrine and ordering discipline: he would hold a Diocesan Synod for Rome and an Ecumenical Council for the universal Church. The two events would be followed by a reform of the Code of Canon Law. The announcement of a Council surprised most Catholics. No Ecumenical Council had been held since the First Vatican Council, and some churchmen were of the view that its definitions of Papal Primacy and Infallibility made further ecumenical councils superfluous. Both Pius XI and Pius XII had considered reconvening Vatican I, but although consultations were undertaken and some considerations of an agenda were begun, in the end both Popes decided not to proceed.

In various speeches and messages over the next years, John XXIII set out three general purposes for the Council: (1) he wished it to be an opportunity for a spiritual renewal and reinvigoration of the Church that would make it more faithful to Christ's will and (2) for an updating (*aggiornamento*) of its pastoral attitudes, habits, and institutions to make them more effective in the changed conditions of the modern world. If these two goals could be achieved, the Council would also (3) greatly promote the restoration of unity among Christians.

I. Preparatory Commissions. On Pentecost Sunday, 17 May 1959, the Pope established an Ante-preparatory Commission headed by Cardinal Tardini, with Archbishop Pericle Felici serving as Secretary, and composed of ten clerics who held important posts in the Roman Curia. This commission's tasks were to consult the bishops of the world, the offices of the Curia, and the theological and canonical faculties of Catholic universities for their advice and suggestions about a conciliar agenda. They were also to sketch the general lines of the topics to be discussed at the Council and to suggest various bodies that would prepare the material for conciliar deliberation. The bishops and others consulted were left complete freedom to make suggestions in the areas of doctrine, discipline, pastoral activity, and contemporary problems. Over 75% of those invited responded; their responses were made up into fifteen large tomes in four volumes. The proposals ranged in significance from the sublime to the trivial and reflected a very broad range of theological and pastoral perspectives. Some opposed any change while others hoped the Council would be an opportunity for major reforms. If the majority of the bishops were rather cautious and earth-bound in their suggestions, it could have been in part because of the deadline for their submissions, and also in part because it was not at all clear what Pope John actually wished the Council to be and to do.

In the vast amount of material received, the ante-preparatory commission found no fewer than 9,338 suggestions which it organized for convenient reference according

to the traditional divisions of dogmatic and moral theology and also according to the books and topics of the Code of Canon Law. The proposals received were placed under the seal of secrecy and could be consulted only by those officially engaged in the preparation of the Council. As the structure of the preparation took shape, the material was divided once again, drastically reduced, and presented in the form of questions for further study.

On Pentecost, 5 June 1960, John XXIII announced the structure of the preparatory period. Ten commissions were established to draw up texts for the Council to consider:

(1) for matters of Faith and Morals (the theological); (2) for Bishops and the Governance of Dioceses; (3) for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People; (4) for Religious;

(5) for the Discipline of the Sacraments; (6) for the Liturgy; (7) for Studies and Seminaries; (8) for the Eastern Churches; (9) for the Missions; (10) for the Apostolate of the Laity. In addition, the Pope created two Secretariats, one for the communications-media and the other for Promoting the Unity of Christians which, it was said, would enable non-Catholics to follow the work of the Council. A Central Commission was also established to supervise and coordinate the work of the other commission, to review the texts they prepared and to recommend them to the Holy Father for the conciliar agenda as well as to draw up the rules that would govern the Council's work.

The ten commissions were chaired by the cardinal-heads of corresponding offices in the Roman Curia, with Curial figures also serving as Secretaries on most of them. The personnel of the commissions consisted of members and consultors, the former having voting rights, the latter offering advice when asked. It was noticed that among the members and consultors there were some theologians who had been under suspicion or the subject of disciplinary measures during the previous decade, such as: Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Bernard Häring, and Karl Rahner. No women and no lay people were appointed to the preparatory commissions.

The commissions set to work on the basis of the questions proposed by the ante-preparatory commission, although they were permitted to suggest additional questions. The preparatory work lacked good coordination and most of the commissions failed to collaborate on common or related problems. The Theological Commission, headed by Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, caused some difficulty by insisting that it had exclusive responsibility for doctrinal questions. It would not enter into practical pastoral problems and expected all the other commissions to submit to it any and all matters of doctrine. In support of its sovereignty the Theological Commission refused to collaborate with other commissions and in particular with the Secretariat for Christian Unity. The 'pontifical secrecy' that was supposed to surround the work of the commissions, widely understood to prohibit speaking about the work of one's own commission, even with members of other commissions, further compounded this lack of coordination.

The commissions brought a total of 75 texts before the Central Commission which were later culled, some being remanded to the post-conciliar reform of Canon Law and some combined with others. In the end a total of 22 Schemas were submitted to the Central Commission for conciliar discussion. The texts prepared by the pastoral commissions generally kept very close to the ground; they did little more than recommend mostly minor changes in the Church's canonical and disciplinary norms; there was very little evidence that the commissions had considered the serious sociological and theological discussions of pastoral activity that had been going on for three decades. The one exception to this was the Commission on the Sacred Liturgy whose members included many of the most important scholars in the liturgical movement. They had decided to seriously study the various historical and theological topics to be addressed and were therefore able to buttress with effective arguments their recommendations of significant liturgical reform.

The Theological Commission prepared eight texts: a new formula for the profession of faith, meant to be used at the opening of the Council, and seven constitutions: (1) on the sources of revelation, (2) on the moral order, (3) on defending the deposit of faith, (4) on chastity, virginity, marriage and the family, (5) on the Church, (6) on the Blessed

Virgin Mary, and (7) on the community of nations and the social order. In general, these texts were meant to confirm with the Council's high authority the orientations and emphases that had characterized the Papal Magisterium over the previous century and a half, in particular as these had been expressed at Vatican I, in the anti-modernist documents, *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili*, and in the Encyclical *Humani Generis*. Their general tone was very defensive, suspicious of most of the recent movements of theological renewal in dogmatic and moral theology and in biblical studies, and at best indifferent to ecumenical implications.

During the preparatory period the Secretariat for Christian Unity, chaired by Cardinal Agostino Bea, presented a different notion of what the Council might do and how it might do it. Early on Pope John granted it permission to prepare texts to alert the other commissions to the ecumenical dimensions of various subjects. When its efforts to collaborate with the Theological Commission were rebuffed, it began to prepare texts that the Pope said could eventually be brought to the Council itself. Some of the Secretariat's texts addressed questions also being considered by the Theological Commission, among them the Word of God, membership in the Church, hierarchical authority, and religious freedom. These texts were written with an eye to overcoming misunderstandings of Catholic doctrine on the part of other Christians, to exploring their views with sympathy, and to proposing ways of understanding and stating Christian doctrine that would go beyond any polemical impasse.

All of the texts written by the preparatory commissions were brought for review before the Central Commission, which was composed of cardinals and archbishops from all over the world and which met in six meetings between 12 June 1961, and 20 June 1962. The members of this commission were quick to criticize the prepared texts and to offer amendments. Had people been aware of the quality and vigour of the discussions within the Central Commission, the public might have anticipated the drama that unfolded when some of these texts reached the Council floor. The criticism and proposed amendments were referred to a sub-commission whose work was then to have been reviewed by the whole Central Commission. Time did not permit this last step and consequently the texts went before the Council as altered or not by the **sub-commission**.

II. Rules and Procedures. By the *Motu Proprio Appropinquante Concilio* (6 August 1962) John XXIII laid down the rules that were to govern the conduct of the Council. For the direction of the general congregations, in which the proposed decrees were to be discussed and voted on, he established a board of ten presidents, all cardinals, who were to supervise the debate and maintain discipline, one of them presiding each day. He also set up ten commissions, which were the same as those in the preparatory phase, although the first was now called the Commission for the Doctrine of Faith and Morals, and the last was now charged with matters pertaining not only to the Apostolate of the Laity but also to the mass media and entertainment. The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, the Technical-Organizational Commission, and the Financial Secretariat were carried over, and at the last minute the Pope added a Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs which would examine new questions proposed by the Council Fathers. Besides the Chairman, who was named by the Pope, each conciliar commission consisted of 24 members, two-thirds of whom were elected by the Fathers and the rest appointed by the Pope. This represented a change from Vatican I where all the members of the conciliar commissions were elected by the assembly. Latin was to be used in the public sessions and General Congregations; modern languages could also be used at the commission meetings. The speeches of individual Fathers were not to last more than ten minutes. The majority required for approval of all matters, except elections, consisted of two-thirds of those present and voting. Some of these provisions would later be modified in the light of the conciliar experience.

On 23 July 1962, the General Secretariat of the Council, headed by Archbishop Pericle Felici, sent the Conciliar Fathers a first volume containing the texts that would be discussed at the First Session of the Second Vatican Council. It contained the following draft texts: (1) on dogmatic constitutions on the sources of revelation, (2) on the defense of the deposit of faith, (3) on the Christian moral order, (4) on chastity, marriage, the family and virginity, (5) on the sacred liturgy of the Church (6) on the mass media, and

(7) on the unity of the Church (dealing with the Oriental Catholic Churches). Why these seven texts were chosen for the initial conciliar agenda is not known. The draft of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church and that on the Blessed Virgin Mary were not included because the final revisions and editing of these two texts were not complete when the Council opened. A second volume would be distributed to the Fathers only early in November.

The ecumenical goal of the Council became apparent when it was seen that invitations were sent to the major Christian churches and communities. Their representatives were permitted to attend not only the public sessions but also the General Congregations, but they did not have the right to vote or to speak. However, they would be able to make their views known to the commissions through the Secretariat for Christian Unity and through personal contacts with Conciliar Fathers. It was a great disappointment that most of the Orthodox Churches were not represented at the First Session, but a decision made at a Pan-Orthodox Meeting in Rhodes in 1961 had decided upon a common response. On the very eve of the Council, however, the Moscow Patriarchate broke with the rest and decided to send representatives. The representatives of the Patriarch of Constantinople did not attend the Council until the Third Session. Ecumenical representation at the Council increased from year to year; 17 Orthodox and Protestant denominations were represented by 35 delegate-observers and guests during the First Period, while at the Fourth Period 93 represented 28 groups.

The announcement of the Council and the years of its preparation had created widespread interest both within and without the Catholic Church. A spate of historical surveys and studies of the previous 20 Ecumenical Councils appeared, along with monographs on topics likely to be discussed at Vatican II, particularly in the areas of liturgy and ecclesiology. Surveys of the desires and wishes of Catholics with regard to the Council were published, and several authors published proposals for a reform agenda.

In the Spring of 1962, several important members of the Central Commission, including: Cardinals Leo Jozef Suenens (Malines-Brussels) and Paul Emile Léger (Montreal) and Archbishop Denis Eugène Hurley (Durban, South Africa) [see article containing his interview in 2000], wrote to Pope John to express their concern that the pastoral and ecumenical goals he had outlined for the Council were unlikely to be met on the basis of the texts the Central Commission had reviewed. Such fears spread as the character of the official texts became more widely known. There was some apprehension that the Council, which was not expected to last more than two sessions, would entail little more than rubbers tamping the documents placed before the Fathers. As the Bishops began to gather in Rome in the second week of October 1962, contrasting fears and hopes divided them.

III. Periods. The Second Vatican Council met in four periods or sessions: from 11 October to 8 December 1962; from 29 September to 4 December 1963; from 14 September to 21 November 1964; and, from 14 September to 8 December 1965.

In the course of the four years of Vatican II, 3,058 Fathers participated, by far the largest number in the history of the Ecumenical Councils. Besides the 129 Superiors General of clerical religious orders, their numbers and the percentages of all those who attended, ranked by continent, were: Europe 1,060 (36%); South America 531 (18%); North America 416 (14%); Asia 408 (14%); Africa 351 (12%); Central America 89 (3%); and Oceania 74 (3%). The participation of those who had a right to attend fluctuated. It was the highest at the First (84.34%) and at the Fourth (84.88%) Periods; 82.34% attended the Second and 80.23% the Third. These numbers would have been higher had many bishops from the countries under Communist domination been permitted to attend.

A. First Period. The most dramatic of the four periods of the Council opened with a solemn ceremony attended by Representatives of 86 Governments and international bodies. In his opening speech Pope John disagreed with "distrustful souls who see only darkness burdening the face of the earth" and recommended instead that the Fathers consider whether God might not be providing new opportunities for the Church? He wanted the Council not only to defend the patrimony of the faith but also to consider how

to understand and present it to contemporaries; to this end he distinguished between the substance of the faith and the fashion in which it is articulated. He urged a pastoral goal and the use of the methods of research and the literary forms of modern thought. In the face of errors he advised the Fathers to avoid condemnations and instead to give a positive demonstration of the validity of the Church's teaching. He emphasized the duty to work actively for the fulfillment of the mystery of unity with other Christians and with non-Christians. To those familiar with the preparatory material, it appeared that the Pope was declaring his dissatisfaction with the official Schemata and proposing that the Council adopt a different approach [see *The Documents of Vatican II* (Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed.), pp. 710-719, for John XXIII's opening speech].

The First General Congregation (13 October 1962) had permanent consequences for the Council, for instead of proceeding immediately, as had been planned, to elect the 16 members of each commission with only the lists of members and consultants of the defunct preparatory commissions to guide it, the Council, at the motion of Cardinal Achille Liénart (Lille) and of Cardinal Joseph Frings (Cologne), adjourned after a few minutes to allow more time for consultation among the bishops of the various countries or regions. Thereupon, the national or regional Episcopal Conferences decided to recommend one or two candidates of their own for each commission. At the Second General Congregation (16 October), before the Fathers cast their ballots, a composite list of all these nominees was distributed. In this way the commissions became more representative of the whole assembly and did not merely perpetuate the mentality of the preparatory commissions, which had been largely dominated by curialists and could have been expected merely to defend texts which many Fathers considered to be unacceptable. Continuity was assured, however, by the Pope's appointment as Presidents of the conciliar commissions some of the same curial cardinals who had presided over the corresponding preparatory commissions. The postponement of these elections was a first indication that the Fathers were going to accept their responsibility for the Council, and the consultations undertaken established the importance for the Council of cooperation within and among the Episcopal Conferences.

In the course of this First Period the Council discussed the Schemata on the Liturgy, on the sources of revelation, on mass media, on the unity of the Church, and on the Church. Lively discussions took place on the liturgical schema's proposals to allow: greater use of vernacular languages, more common practice of communion under both kinds and concelebration, and greater authority in liturgical matters for Episcopal Conferences. The long debate came to a close with a vote on the general principles set out in the draft. An overwhelming majority of the Fathers (2,162 to 46) showed they were ready to embark upon significant Church reform.

The second important debate concerned a Schema on the sources of revelation which focused on two questions: the relationship between Scripture and Tradition and the value of modern historical critical methods in the interpretation of the Bible. The text was sharply criticized for its negative tone and lack of ecumenical and pastoral sensitivity, for prematurely settling the legitimately debated issue as to whether all revealed truths are found in the Scriptures, and for looking with such suspicion at the problems uncovered by modern biblical scholarship that it would prevent any fruitful Catholic contribution. Defenders of the text argued that the dogmatic issue had been settled at the Council of Trent and by subsequent common teaching and that the faith was being endangered by books and articles calling into question the historical character of both the Old and New Testaments. A vote was taken on whether to discontinue the debate or to continue it with discussions of the individual chapters. Although the vote to discontinue (1,368 to 822) fell just short of the two-thirds majority required, the Pope, to avoid prolonged and probably fruitless debate, intervened. He halted the discussion and remanded the text to a special commission under the joint Chairmanship of Cardinals Ottaviani and Bea to rewrite the text. It had become clear that a substantial majority of the composed texts were different in orientation and purpose from those composed by the Theological Commission, and that the Pope would back them up.

Now that the Council had clearly demonstrated its pastoral and doctrinal interests, the rest of the First Period was somewhat anticlimactic. At the end, a few days were

devoted to a preliminary discussion of the Schema on the Church, commonly considered the chief business and central theme of the whole Council. The official text was subjected to a by now familiar litany of complaints, and it was understood, even without a formal vote, that it too would have to be substantially revised. In fact, that was to be the fate of all the prepared Schemata. On 6 December 1962, it was announced that the Pope had appointed a Coordinating Commission, Chaired by Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, whose task it would be to review the draft texts prepared for the Council, and, in the light of the goals of the Council as stated by Pope John and ratified by the Council's votes, to decide which were to be retained on the conciliar agenda, which could be left for post-conciliar decisions, and what changes in content, method, or tone needed to be made. This "super-commission" rapidly reduced the texts to be retained to 17, the last of these being a new Schema, championed in particular by Cardinal Suenens, to address the presence of the Church in the Modern World. Throughout the intersession, the conciliar commissions undertook what has been called a "second preparation" of Vatican II.

The First Period ended without its having approved a single Schema, but the decisions made at it determined the orientation of the whole course of the Second Vatican Council. The people and the purposes that had largely dominated the preparation of the Council had been replaced; new leaders would now pursue goals that were largely ignored during the preparation.

With the death of John XXIII on 3 June 1963, the Council and all activities related to it were automatically suspended. But, the day after his election (22 June), Pope Paul VI promised that the Council would be resumed and that it would pursue the goals set for it by his Predecessor. Five days later he fixed the opening date of the Second Period for 29 September.

B. Second Period. Before the Fathers reconvened, Paul VI issued a revised edition of the *Ordo Concilii...celebrandi* in order to correct some of the defects in organization and procedure manifested in the First Period and to expedite the labours and ensure the freedom of the participants. He abolished the Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs and enlarged the Board of Presidents to 12 members; their duty would be to see that the rules were duly observed and to resolve any eventual doubts and remove difficulties. He also appointed four Cardinals: Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; Giacomo Lercaro (Bologna); Julius Döpfner (Munich and Freising); and Leo Jozef Suenens (Malines-Brussels) as moderators, who were to take turns in directing the discussions in the General Congregations. Pope Paul VI also made various changes in the procedural rules, such as reducing to 50 percent plus one the majority required for the rejection or deferment of a Schema or a part of one, and permitting one Father to speak in the name of others.

For the improvement and expansion of the news service; about which there had been many complaints during the First Period, Paul VI appointed a Press Committee chaired by Archbishop Martin John O'Connor. The Pope increased the number of non-Catholic Christian observers invited to the Council, and 31 more were present at the Second Period than at the First. John XXIII had invited one Catholic layman, Jean Guitton, to the latter part of the First Period. Paul VI provided for the attendance of several lay auditors at the General Congregations and for their assistance to the commissions; in addition to Guitton, ten other laymen from various countries, for the most part representing international Catholic organizations, were welcomed at the start of the new period.

At the public session which opened the Second Period on 29 September 1963, Paul VI gave a memorable address in which he emphasized the pastoral nature of the assembly and specified its four purposes: (1) to define more fully the notion of the Church, especially with regard to the position of bishops; (2) to renew the Church; (3) to promote the restoration of unity among all Christians [he asked for non-Catholics to pardon Catholics for their faults in the schisms and condoned injuries done to Catholics]; and, (4) to initiate a dialogue with the contemporary world.

The conciliar discussions began with the revised Schema on the Church. Heated debate arose over the Schema's discussion of the Collegiality of Bishops and its relation

to the Primacy of the Pope defined at Vatican I. On 30 October the moderators, employing a procedure not envisaged in the *Ordo*, put to the vote, for the guidance of the Doctrinal Commission, five propositions contained substantially in the Schema's third chapter. Four of them concerned the sacramentality of the episcopate and its collegial character and authority; the fifth concerned the restoration of the diaconate as a permanent order. All five of the propositions received majorities of over two-thirds, thus removing all doubt about the progressive tendency of the Council. But the "irregular" character of the votes would be evoked many times afterward calling into question their validity.

Also in connection with the Schema on the Church, another division among the Fathers appeared over the question whether the Schema on the Blessed Virgin Mary should be a separate text or be incorporated into the Schema on the Church. After an emotional debate, the question was put to the vote on 29 October, and by the narrowest margin in all the Council's deliberations (1,114 to 1,074) the assembly decided to incorporate it into the Constitution on the Church.

During a discussion of the Schema on Bishops and the Governance of Dioceses (5-15 November), one of the Council's rare dramatic confrontations occurred when Cardinal Frings frankly criticized the methods of the Holy Office; Cardinal Ottaviani, the Secretary, vehemently defended them. The first three chapters of the Schema on Ecumenism were discussed (18 November – 2 December) and were approved on condition of revision, but, to the consternation of many Fathers, all action on the fourth chapter (on the Church's attitude toward Non-Christian Religions and especially the Jews) and on the fifth (Religious Freedom) was deferred to the Third Period, allegedly because of lack of time for mature consideration.

On 21 November the Pope announced that the number of members of each commission would be increased to 30. After the Episcopal Conferences had again nominated candidates, the Fathers elected the greater part of the new members on 28 November, and the Pope appointed the rest. The commissions then elected a new additional vice-Chairman and Secretary. The avowed purpose of these changes was to expedite the labour of the commissions, but they seem also to have been intended to help bring some recalcitrant commissions into greater harmony with the wishes of the conciliar majority.

During a ceremony commemorating the conclusion of the Council of Trent (3 December), Paul VI made known his *Motu Proprio Pastorale Munus* (30 November), in which he either granted or declared to be restored (his language was ambiguous) to bishops certain faculties and privileges, many of which had been proposed in an appendix to the Schema on Bishops and the Government of Dioceses. The relatively insignificant character of many of these faculties or privileges underscored in the minds of many Fathers and observers the degree to which the Episcopate had in the past become dependent upon the Papacy.

On 4 December, the concluding public session of the Second Period was held. The Fathers definitively passed the Constitution on the Liturgy by a vote of 2,147 to 4 and, by a vote of 1,980 to 164, the Decree on the Communications Media. Against the latter Decree, opposition had been raised at the last minute on the grounds that it would not answer the expectations of Christians and would compromise the Council's authority; the final vote at the General Congregation on 25 November had seen over 500 bishops vote against it. The Pope, using a formula that stressed his union with the other Conciliar Fathers, approved and promulgated the two texts, the first of the final documents of the Council. On 25 January 1964, he issued the *Motu Proprio Saram Liturgiam* by which he established a commission for the implementation of the liturgical constitution.

In his closing address Paul VI thanked those Fathers who had contributed toward the expenses of the Council or had aided their needy brothers. He said that the Council had been marked by assiduous labour and freedom of expression, and expressed the hope that it could complete its work in a Third Period. He then announced his forthcoming pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

During the interval between the Second and Third Periods the Fathers were again invited to submit further comments on the unfinished business, and on the strength of

this advice the commissions continued to revise the Schemata. At the direction of the Coordinating Commission and in accord with the Pope's wishes, the number of topics were reduced, namely: those on priests, religious, education for the priesthood, missionary activity, marriage, and Catholic education, to a series of brief and basic principles on which the Fathers would be expected to agree easily and quickly, and without public discussion, in the Third Period. The fuller articulation and implementation of these principles could be left to post-conciliar bodies. This reduction of the conciliar agenda, known as the "Döpfner plan", was designed to ensure that the Council could end its work with the Third Session. To facilitate this changes were also made in the conciliar procedures to prevent repetition and to expedite decisions.

Just before the Third Period was to open, the Pope announced that women would now join the lay men as Auditors of the Council. Among the increased number of observer-delegates, for the first time, were representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

C. Third Period. Pope Paul opened the Third Period on 14 September 1964, with a public session at which he concelebrated Mass with 24 Conciliar Fathers, a first conciliar expression of the concrete reforms approved in the Constitution on the Liturgy at the end of the Second Period. The conciliar discussions began with chapters of the Schema on the Church not yet approved in general and then with successive votes on the eight chapters as amended. In the discussion of the chapter on the Blessed Virgin Mary, the debate focused on whether to accord her the titles "Mediatrice" and "Mother of the Church". Very great Interest attended the votes on the third chapter, on the Hierarchical Constitution of the Church with special reference to bishops. The battle over the relationship between Papal Primacy and Episcopal Collegiality had not grown less fierce. In fact, on the very eve of the Third Period, Paul VI received a confidential note from prominent cardinals and heads of religious orders begging him not to allow the teaching of the chapter to be voted on and not very subtly implying that if he did not so act, he would be guilty of squandering the authority of his office. After four formal reports on the chapter were read out to the assembly, the voting did proceed, and on the major issues under debate the votes were overwhelmingly favourable.

Discussions followed on the Schema on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church whose progress, however, was impeded by the need to await the results of the voting on the Schema on the Church. The Schemas on Religious Freedom and on the Jews, which had originally been part of the Schema on Ecumenism, were now to become distinct documents. The debate on them was vigorous and was marked by both theological and political concerns. The text on Religious Freedom was criticized for departing from the Church's traditional insistence on the unique rights of the true religion; it was defended as reflecting the development of political realities, respecting the dignity and freedom of persons, and a prerequisite for any serious ecumenical or, interreligious dialogue. The Schema on the Church's Relationship with Jews continued to receive criticism because of the political consequences it was feared it would have for Christians in the Middle East. A revised text on Divine Revelation was also discussed as was a Schema on the Lay Apostolate. Early in October the revised Schema on Ecumenism was put to a series of votes and approved.

Opposition to the "Döpfner plan" and to a premature closing of the Council grew during the early weeks of the Third Period, as shown when the drastically reduced and so-called "minor Schemas" came before the Fathers. On 12 October a revised Schema of 12 propositions "on the Ministry and Life of priests" was brought before the Council. It was attacked by many Fathers as inadequate, superficial, jejune, and disappointing; by a vote of 930 to 1,199 it was sent back to the competent commission to be completely recast. The discussion of the Schema on the Church's Missionary Activity was initiated by Paul VI himself, but despite his favourable judgment of it, most of the speakers found it unsatisfactory because of its brevity and skeletal nature, and at the proposal of the commission the Fathers by a vote of 1,601 to 311 remanded it to be completely rewritten. The Schema of 19 propositions on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life was also criticized but was accepted by a narrow margin (1,155 to 88?) provided that it be extensively modified to take account of the thousands of reservations (*mod*) expressed. The Schema of 22 propositions on Education for the Priesthood was more favourably

received and was substantially adopted. The Schema on Christian Education, developed from the inadequate previous Schema of propositions on Catholic Schools, was substantially approved in spite of 419 negative votes. A brief document (*votum*) on the Sacrament of Marriage, intended for the guidance of the commission for revising the Code of Canon Law was discussed, and by vote the Fathers agreed to the moderators' proposal to submit the Schema to the Pope for his action in accord with their two-day discussion.

The Council also discussed the Schema on the Oriental Catholic Churches and the long-awaited Schema of a Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, commonly called Schema 13 from the number of its place on the agenda. The debate on the latter focused on the methodology of the Schema, on whether it properly distinguished and related the realms of the natural and the supernatural, and on the appropriateness of a council addressing the very contingent questions discussed in appendices to the Schema. The Fathers were admonished to avoid the subject of artificial contraception, which the Pope had reserved to the study of a special group of clerical and lay experts and to his own final judgment.

Four events in the last days of the Third Period were received so poorly by substantial numbers of the Fathers that they spoke of "the black week". Because a minority persisted in its objections to the third chapter of the Schema on the Church, the Pope ordered that an "explanatory note" be prefaced to the Doctrinal Commission's explanation of the final revisions; drawn up to allay the minority's fears, this text was declared to provide the authoritative interpretation of the doctrine contained in the third chapter. Although the Council was never given an opportunity to discuss or to approve this Note, it succeeded in its purpose and in a vote on 17 November only 47 out of 2,146 Fathers were opposed to the text.

On 20 November, the revised text on the Church's Relationship with Non-Christian Religions was approved by the Council with the provision that recommended amendments would be taken into account. The revised Schema on Religious Freedom suffered a different fate. It was distributed to the Fathers on 17 November and, according to the moderators' decision was to be voted on two days later. Since the new Schema differed considerably in structure, length, and argument from the text discussed earlier in the period, some Fathers requested more time for study and consultation; to accommodate them, the moderators and Presidents decided to take a preliminary vote to determine whether or not the Fathers wished to proceed at once to the scheduled vote. But on the appointed day (19 November) Cardinal Eugenio Tisserant in the name of the Presidents announced that no vote would be taken in that period. Amid strong feelings of disappointment and resentment an urgent petition for an immediate vote, drawn up by U.S. Bishops, was circulated in the council hall and was signed by 441 Fathers (and later by hundreds more). It was then presented to Paul VI by Cardinals Albert Gregory Meyer (Chicago), Joseph Elmer Ritter (Saint Louis), and Paul Léger (Montreal). The Pope upheld the decision to postpone the vote on the grounds that the *Ordo* required more time, but he promised that the Schema on Religious Freedom would be the first item on the Agenda of the Fourth Period.

On the same day, 19 November, 19 modifications, which at the last minute (had been introduced by Papal Mandate into the Schema on Ecumenism by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, were distributed to the Fathers. They were accepted by them the next day in the final vote on the whole Schema, the alternative being rejection of the whole Schema. The modifications were intended to clarify the text, but many of them were found offensive to and by Protestants.

At the public session that ended the Third Period, Paul VI concelebrated Mass with 24 priests having major Marian Shrines in their territories. Then the Fathers passed the Constitution on the Church (2,151 to 5), the Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches (2,110 to **39**), and the Decree on Ecumenism (2,137 to 11), and the Pope promulgated them. In his closing address the Pope, having expressed his pleasure at the doctrine concerning the Episcopate and the Church in general, on his own authority proclaimed Mary to be the "Mother of the Church", that is, of all the faithful and all the pastors. The Council had followed the Doctrinal Commission's advice and declined to accord her this title explicitly

and had contented itself with presenting the idea in equivalent terms. Many saw the Pope's act as intended to reassert his own distinct Papal Authority.

D. Fourth Period. Paul VI opened the Fourth and last Period of the Council at a public session on 14 September 1965, at which he again concelebrated Mass with 24 Fathers. He announced that he was establishing (by the *Motu Proprio Apostolica Sollicitudo*, dated 15 September) a Synod of Bishops, previously promised, and as the Fathers were requesting in the unfinished Schema on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church; in this way the close cooperation between the Pope and the Bishops could continue to benefit the Church even after the end of the Council.

Of the 16 final documents of Vatican II, 11 were completed, approved, and promulgated at public sessions during the Fourth Period; 5 texts were promulgated on 15 October, 2 on 18 November, and 4 on 7 December. The pace of developments was rapid, and to expedite matters the opportunities for bishops to intervene orally in the hall were reduced even more than during the Third Period.

As the Pope had promised, the Schema on Religious Freedom was the first discussed, and while opposition to it continued to be voiced, a preliminary vote, taken on it on 21 September, found that a majority of 1,997 to 224 had accepted it as the basis for a definitive text. This overwhelming success represented one of the high-points for the U.S. Bishops and for their chief adviser on the issue, John Courtney Murray, S.J. Amended further, and with some last-minute changes from the Pope, it was approved on 15 October by a vote of 1,954 to 249.

The Schema on the Church in the Modern World had been greatly expanded by the inclusion of the appendices to the previous draft. Differences among progressives appeared with regard to this text with some Fathers, particularly Germans, arguing that it was too positive, neglecting the realities of sin, and confused the realms of the natural and the supernatural. The French-speaking Bishops and theologians defended its incarnational approach. A rather evangelical approach, articulated by Cardinal Lercaro, was particularly upset that the text was not stronger in its section on war and peace. This section was criticized also, but on nearly opposite grounds, by some U.S. Bishops on the grounds that it ignored the deterrent role played by nuclear weapons and implied criticism of the defense policies of the West. Some controversy also arose over the sections on marriage and the relationship between its ends, and on the regulation of births. A large number of bishops were also upset that their plea for an explicit condemnation of communism was not seriously considered. On 6 December the Schema was approved by a vote of 2,111 to 251.



The revised Schema on Divine Revelation continued to be the subject of debate, particularly on the question of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, on inerrancy, and on the historical character of the Gospels. Last-minute interventions by the Pope once again reduced opposition, and the text was approved on 29 October by a vote of 2,081 to 27.

All the other texts went through the final stages of their redaction and were approved without great controversy. The Schemas were: the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church, Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life, Priestly Formation, Christian Education, the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions, the Apostolate of the Laity, the Church's Missionary Activity, and the Ministry and Life of Priests.

In a dramatic event on 7 December, the day before the Council closed, Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I, in order to remove the psychological barrier to reconciliation, expressed their regret for the mutual Excommunications of the Roman See and Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1054 and for the offensive words, unfounded reproaches, and reprehensible gestures that accompanied those acts on both sides. They also expressed a desire to remove the memory of those events from the midst of the Church and committed them to oblivion. Finally, they deplored the preceding and subsequent untoward incidents, which, under the influence of various factors including lack of mutual understanding and trust, ultimately led to the effective rupture of ecclesiastical communion.

The last public session of the Council was held outdoors in front of Saint Peter's Basilica on 8 December 1965. After Mass celebrated by the Pope alone, a series of Messages to the world, composed in French, were read out: to rulers, scholars, artists, women, workers, the poor and sick, and youth. The Apostolic Brief *In Spiritu Sancto* ordering the closure of the Council was then read by the Secretary General and the acclamations traditional at Ecumenical Councils since the fifth century were chanted, and the Fathers professed their obedience to the Conciliar Decrees.

To acquaint the faithful with the teachings of the Council and to stimulate them to accept its Decrees, to incite them to the desired spiritual renewal in their private, domestic, public, and social life and to gratitude to God for the Council, and to develop in them a feeling for and an awareness of the Church, Paul VI, by the Apostolic Constitution, *Mirificus Eventus* (7 December 1965), proclaimed an Extraordinary Jubilee to be celebrated in all the dioceses of the world from 1 January to 29 May (Pentecost), 1966. By the *Motu Proprio Integrae Servandae* (7 December 1965) he changed the name of the Holy Office to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and altered its procedure.

Then, by the *Motu Proprio Finis Concilio* (3 January 1966) he established post-conciliar commissions for:

(1) Bishops and Governance of Dioceses, (2) Religious, (3) Missions, (4) Christian Education, and (5) the Apostolate of the Laity, all of which were composed of the same chairmen, members and secretaries as the corresponding Conciliar Commissions had been, and were to be assisted by experts chosen especially from among the conciliar *periti*. He also established a new Central Commission for the purpose of supervising the work of the other five commissions and of interpreting the Documents of the Council. Finally, he confirmed the permanent existence of the three secretariats: for Promoting Christian Unity, for Non-Christian Religions, and for Non-Believers.

IV. Pronouncements of the Council. The Council issued a total of sixteen Documents: four Constitutions, nine Decrees, and three Declarations.

A. Constitutions. These four documents covered the Church, Divine Revelation, Liturgy, and the Church in the Modern World.

1. Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium). In the Fathers' discussion of this Constitution the principal points centered on: Biblical figures for the Church; the Church as Mystery; the theological, spiritual, and juridical aspects of the Church; the relation between Christ's Church and the Roman Catholic Church; the authority of the body of Bishops (collegiality) and its relations to the Papal Primacy; restoration of the permanent diaconate with or without Celibacy; universal priesthood of the faithful; functions of the laity and their relation to the hierarchy; existence and role of charismas; the position of separated Christians and of Non-Christians vis-à-vis the Church; balance between equality and authority; concern for the poor and the afflicted and for social justice; the missionary obligation of the Church; relations between Church and State; and the Blessed Virgin Mary as *mediatrix* of grace and as Mother of the Church.

The Constitution has the following chapters: (1) "The Mystery of the Church", (2) "The People of God", (3) "The Hierarchical Structure of the Church, with Special Reference to the Episcopate", (4) "The Laity", (5) "The Call of the Whole Church to Holiness",

(6) "Religious", (7) "The Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and her Union with the Heavenly Church", and (8) "The Role of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the Mystery of Christ and the Church": "The Role of the Blessed Virgin in the Economy of Salvation"; "the Blessed Virgin and the Church"; "Devotion to the Blessed Virgin in the Church"; "Mary, a Sign of Sure Hope and of Solace for God's People in Pilgrimage".

2. Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (Dei Verbum). The discussion centered on the nature of Tradition and its relation to Scripture; whether all revelation is somehow contained in the Scriptures; inerrancy of the Bible, historicity of the Gospels; and reading, diffusion, and interpretation of the Bible. The chapters of the Constitution are:

(1) "Revelation Itself", (2) "The Transmission of Divine Revelation", (3) "The Divine Inspiration and the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture", (4) "The Old Testament", (5) "The New Testament", and (6) "Sacred Scripture in the Life of the Church".

3. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium).

The conciliar discussion touched on the Biblical, Christological, and ecclesiological foundations of the liturgy; its didactic value; liturgy as a unifying factor; the best ways to secure active and intelligent participation; simplification of rites; use of Latin and of modern languages; incorporation of local or national customs or traditions; making liturgy an effective influence in society; the competence of Episcopal Conferences and of individual bishops; concelebration of Mass; Communion under both kinds; Anointing of the Sick; and the length, language, and composition of the Breviary.

In addition to an introduction, which states that the liturgy is the outstanding means whereby the faithful express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church, the Constitution contains the following chapters:

(1) "General Principles for the Restoration: and Promotion of the Sacred Liturgy",

(2) "The Most Sacred Mystery of the Eucharist", (3) "The Other Sacraments and the Sacramentals", (4) "The Divine Office", (5) "The Liturgical Year", (6) "Sacred Music", and (7) "Sacred Art and Sacred Furnishings". An appendix contains a "Declaration of the Most Sacred Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican on Revision of the Calendar".

4. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes). The Fathers discussed the meaning and value of temporal activity; dignity of the human person; the conflict in the world between good and evil; the presence of sin; the role of women in society; racial discrimination; problems of the Third World; world poverty and hunger; problems of emigration; atheism, Marxism, and Communism; freedom and encouragement; of scholarly research; the Church's influence on culture; Christian humanism and anthropology; the equality of all human beings; the necessity for Catholics to work with all people of good will; the solidarity of the Church with the world; the light shed by revelation on the mentality, problems, and forces of our age; the benefits of religion to civilization; the nature, ends, acts, and indissolubility of marriage; family life; abortion; economic production; the conditions of workers; relations between the Church and political society; the arms race; the possession and use of nuclear weapons; obligatory military service and conscientious objection; the obligations of nations toward an international authority; the growth of world population; aid to underdeveloped nations.

The Constitution contains an introductory statement on "The Situation of People in the Contemporary World". Part I, entitled "The Church and the Human Person's Calling", consists of four chapters: "The Dignity of the Human Person", "The Community of Mankind"; "Human Activity Throughout the World", and "The Role of the Church in the Modern World". Part II, entitled "Some Problems of Special Urgency" has five chapters: "Marriage and the Family"; "Development of Culture"; "Economic and Social Life"; "Political Community", and "Peace and the Community of Nations". A concluding section states that the Church desires honest dialogue between her own members, with the separated brethren and communities, with all who acknowledge God, with those who cultivate the

noble qualities of the human spirit without believing in God, and even with those who oppress the Church.

B. Decrees. The Council issued nine Decrees on a wide range of topics.

1. 1. *Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office (Christus Dominus).*

The discussions centered on the bishop's office and the powers needed to exercise it; the Roman Curia and its relations with Bishops; internationalization of the Curia; the powers needed for the proper discharge of bishops' duties; freedom in the appointment of bishops; compulsory retirement of bishops; the subjection of religious to the local ordinary; care for migrants; personal dioceses for people of a peculiar rite or nationality; powers of episcopal conferences; and, a central organ of bishops to assist the Pope in governing the Church.

2. *Decree on Ecumenism (Unitatis Redintegratio).* Points of discussion included; the need for humility, charity, forgiveness, and the acknowledgement of errors and faults by all parties; assurance that unity does not mean uniformity; no simple "return" of the separated brethren; the meaning and use of the word "ecumenism"; the propriety of calling certain Protestant communities "churches"; the danger of engendering confusion and indifferentism in the minds of the faithful; participation in religious services with Non-Catholic Christians; the validity of marriages celebrated before Non-Catholic Ministers; ways of conducting the Dialogue; the desire for the restoration of unity among all followers of Christ. In conclusion, the Decree exhorts Catholics to refrain from superficiality and imprudent zeal, to be faithful to the truth received from the Apostles and Church Fathers, and to act in conjunction with the separated brethren so that no obstacle be put in the way of Divine Providence and no preconceived judgments impair future inspiration from the Holy Spirit.

3. *Decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches (Orientalium Ecclesiarum).* The discussion treated the structure of the Church; the rights and prerogatives of patriarchs; the evils of forced Latinization; determination of the Rite of Oriental converts to the Catholic Church; the participation of Oriental Catholics in the religious services of Oriental non-Catholics and *vice versa (communication in sacris)*: and marriages between Oriental Catholics and non-Catholics. The Decree, expresses the Catholic Church's esteem for the institutions, liturgical rites, ecclesiastical traditions, and the established standards of Christian life of Oriental Catholics.

4. *Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (Presbyterorum Ordinis).* Central points of discussion included: the dignity and excellence of the priesthood; the spirituality and holiness of priests; the connection between their spiritual life and their ministry; their participation in Christ's priesthood; obedience and poverty; the importance of celibacy; life in common; associations of priests; their relations with bishops and laymen; an advisory council for the bishop; rights of priests; their duties toward non-Catholics; extra-parochial apostolates; training in preaching; their intellectual activity and continued education in the ministry; the administration of the Sacrament of Penance; the missionary dimension of the priesthood; the equitable distribution of priests throughout the world; remuneration and financial equality of priests; abolition of the system of benefices and of honorary titles; and care for ill, aged, and fallen priests. The preface states that the Decree applies to all priests.

5. *Decree on Priestly Formation (Optatam Totius).* Points of discussion included: the notion of a vocation to the priesthood and means of fostering it; the nature and purpose of minor seminaries; adaptation of seminary discipline to modern times and to life in the world; organic unity in the spiritual, intellectual, and pastoral formation of candidates for the priesthood; sending them from other parts of the world to study in Europe; the place of scholasticism, especially Thomism, in the teaching of philosophy and theology; the need for natural, human virtues in candidates; the development of a missionary or apostolic spirit in them; isolation of seminarians from the world; a period for acquiring preliminary experience in the ministry or else a pastoral apprenticeship after ordination; and, reform of the Congregation of Seminaries.

6. *Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life (Perfectae Caritatis)*. Renewal according to the Gospel was discussed, as well as the attitude toward traditional practices; the theology of the vows; the role of contemplatives; the place of the apostolate in religious life; accommodation to contemporary needs; the spirituality of the active life; the recent decrease of vocations; and, Conferences of Major Superiors. The Decree asserts that the adapted renewal includes both the constant return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to changed conditions and the needs of the Church. The religious life is a state complete in itself and should be held in high esteem. The vows of chastity, poverty and obedience are related to dedication to the love and service of God and to the works of the apostolate. Priests and religious educators should foster religious vocations.

7. *Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad Gentes)*. Conciliar discussion covered: the theology of the missions; the nature of the missionary vocation; flexibility and adaptation to other cultures with their own customs and values; creation of a central mission board; the new role of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; the reason for missionary activity; the need of it for the salvation of non-Christians; dialogue with non-Christians; connection of missionary activity with ecumenism; extension of the mission area to other territories; the situation of the "new churches"; the status of prelatures *nullius*; the relations between missionary institutes and local ecclesiastical jurisdictions; the apostolic training of missionaries and catechists; borrowing of priests; lay missionaries; support of the missions; and, twinning or pairing of an older diocese with a new jurisdiction.

8. *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity (Apostolicam Actuositatem)*. Points discussed included: the dogmatic foundation of this apostolate and its objectives; lay spirituality; formation for the apostolate; relations with the hierarchy; Catholic Action; lay initiative and clericalism; the apostolate of youth; social action; cooperation with non-Catholics and non-Christians; and, a secretariat in the Roman Curia.

9. *Decree on the Instruments of Social Communication (Inter Mirifica)*. The responsibility of the laity in this area was discussed, as well as the use of the media for evangelization; the need for concrete assistance in personnel and equipment in missionary countries; the formation of sound public opinion; institution of a special office in the Roman Curia or expansion of the then existing Pontifical Commission; and, creation of an international Catholic news agency. The Council asked the Pope to extend the duties and competence of the Secretariat for the Supervision of Publications and Entertainment to embrace all media, including the press, and to appoint to it experts from various countries, including laymen.

C. Declarations. The Council issued three Declarations.

1. Declaration on Religious Freedom (Dignitatis Humanae).

Points of discussion included: philosophical and juridical and/or dogmatic and theological arguments; connection between internal, personal freedom and external, social freedom; limitations; development of the Church's earlier teaching, especially of the doctrine of previous Popes; effects on Catholic countries and on Concordats; "rights of error"; danger of giving an excuse to anti-religious governments; freedom or toleration; right of evangelization or of proselytism; danger of promoting indifferentism; rights of the Catholic Church; and, application in predominantly non-Catholic countries and in those under Communist domination.

Part 1 of the Declaration, "The General Principle of Religious Freedom", states that the human person has a right to immunity from coercion on the part of individuals, social groups, or any human power. Government should respect and favour the religious life of citizens but should not command or inhibit religious acts; in preventing abuses, it must act according to juridical norms for the preservation of public order.

Part II, "Religious Freedom in the Light of **Revelation**", asserts that the human person's response to God in faith must be free. The Church must enjoy freedom and

independence The Council denounces and deplores the oppressive policies of some governments and emphasizes the necessity of religious freedom, which should everywhere be provided with an effective constitutional guarantee.

2. Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate).

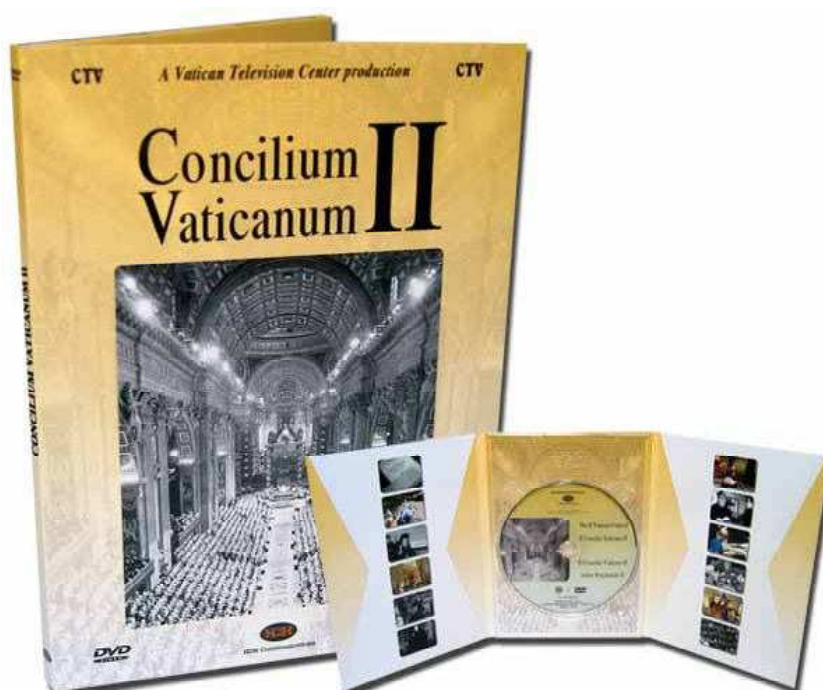
The discussion covered: religious, not political, motives for a pronouncement in view of Arab opposition; the common religious patrimony of Christians and Jews; the alleged collective guilt of the Jewish people for the death of Christ (the accusation of deicide); their alleged rejection by God; the prediction of their eventual conversion to Christianity; the urgency of condemning anti-Semitism; and, bonds with Islam and other world religions. The Declaration affirms that: "all peoples comprise a single community, and have a single origin ... one also is their final goal". People ask fundamental religious questions. The Church deplores hatred and the persecution of the Jews and all displays of anti-Semitism and reproves any discrimination or harassment based on race, colour, social status, or religion.

3. Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis).

The discussion covered: objectives; role of the family; obligations and limitations of the State; parents' right freely to choose schools; freedom within Catholic schools and freedom of research, especially in the sacred sciences; duties of the Post-Conciliar Commission. The Declaration recognizes the importance of education for young people and adults amid present-day progress. Everyone has a right to education; children have a right to moral instruction. The Church is obliged to educate its children, and it uses all suitable aids, such as catechetical instruction, but especially schools. In Catholic colleges and universities individual disciplines should be pursued according to their own principles and methods and with freedom of research, and there should be, if not a faculty, at least an institute or chair of theology with courses for lay students.

[NOTE: This presentation has been edited by James Kroeger. It is taken from the *New Catholic Encyclopedia, Second Edition* (2003) XIV: 407-418; reprint permission requested].

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Jacques Matthey

¿En qué está la misión? 100 años después de la Conferencia mundial de Edimburgo.

Un punto de vista protestante

Jacques Matthey es pastor, teólogo y exégeta reformado suizo. Desde 1977 trabaja en el Consejo Ecuménico de las Iglesias (COE) para organizar la conferencia misionera mundial de Melbourne (1980). Este mismo año se comprometió con el Departamento misionero de las Iglesias protestantes de Suiza romanche donde es nombrado Secretario general entre 1991 y 1998. Al volver al COE en el 1999 ocupará diversos cargos como director del Programa Unidad, Misión, Evangelización y Espiritualidad y secretario de la Comisión Misión y Evangelización. Durante este periodo, dirige la revista Internacional Review of Mission. Como profesor del Nuevo Testamento en el Seminario de cultura teológica en Lausana, J. Matthey ha publicado varias obras y artículos.

He escogido tratar el tema "¿E que esta la misión, cien años después de Edimburgo?", evocando primeramente las rupturas que, en el mundo de la misionología protestante, se llevaron a un debate de interpretación respecto al significado de Edimburgo 1910 y a la prioridad en la misión. Después evocaré las tentativas de acercamiento que siguieron, y que fueron posibles por desarrollos teológicos tanto de parte de los "evangélicos" como por parte de los misionólogos del COE. Interpretaré la organización y el contenido del mensaje de la conferencia de 2010 como una consecuencia y un signo de estos cambios. Me fundamentaré casi exclusivamente en los desarrollos teológicos en los organismos misioneros que trabajan más bien a nivel internacional que en análisis de escritos de teólogos individuales.

Mirada sobre la evolución de la misionología protestante y ecuménica en el siglo XX

Me veo obligado dentro de los límites de este artículo a seleccionar y simplificar las descripciones de las tendencias teológicas y les ruego a los lectores de no sentir un mal sabor al respecto.

Algunas rupturas

A continuación de Edimburgo, la corriente misionera protestante en su mayoría se reunió en el comité de continuación; después de 1921 en el Consejo Internacional de Misiones (CIM), uno de los organismos que con Fe y Constitución, y el Cristianismo Práctico, dio forma al ecumenismo contemporáneo. El CIM está en el origen de las grandes conferencias misioneras mundiales de Jerusalén (1928), Tamboran (1938), Whitby (1947), Willingen (1952) y Achimota (1958). Sociedades de misión con tendencia evangélica conservadora y que habían participado en Edimburgo se alejaron del CIM, por la confusión de las controversias alrededor de la publicación en los Estados Unidos de la serie de libros titulados *Fundamentals* que reaccionaban fuertemente contra las tendencias teológicas liberales.¹ Este fue el *comienzo* de una serie de *rupturas* que afectaron fuertemente la teología y la práctica misionera protestante durante todo el siglo XX.²

Una *segunda ruptura* significativa se llevó a cabo alrededor del asunto de la integración entre el CIM y el COE, a fines de los años 50. Varios consejos misioneros, miembros del CIM, rehusaron una integración de la misión en la Iglesia, temiendo que la iniciativa en materia de evangelización no fuera sujeta por consideraciones de política eclesiástica o nacional, y sometida a lógicas jerárquicas. Para los defensores de la fusión, esta, lógicamente, resultaba del pensamiento misionológico y del estrecho lazo previsto ya en Edimburgo entre misión, Iglesia y unidad. Esta posición fue expresada de manera clásica por el Comité central del COE en 1951:

Nos mantenemos en atraer la atención en particular sobre una reciente confusión en la utilización de la palabra "ecuménico". Es importante insistir sobre el hecho que este término (...) está utilizado de manera apropiada para describir todo lo que concierne al conjunto de la tarea de toda la Iglesia llevando el Evangelio al mundo entero. Este término abarca pues, de igual manera, el movimiento misionero y el movimiento hacia la unidad y no debe ser utilizado para describir lo último en oposición al primero (...). Nuestra preocupación (...) es encontrar, en ideas, en actos y en nuestra forma de organización, la verdadera unidad entre misión de la Iglesia en el mundo (su apostolado) y la obligación que tiene la Iglesia de ser una.³

Esta posición no fue perdonada en muchos medios evangélicos preocupados por mantener una total libertad de acción frente a las Iglesias con mirada demasiado estática.

Enseguida de la conferencia del CIM de Willingen en 1952, se podría decir que había un cambio progresivo de paradigma en materia de misionología ecuménica⁴ por la creciente influencia de la versión renovada de *missio Dei*, lo que iba a contribuir a una *tercera ruptura*. Ya había una comprensión clásica según la cual la *missio Dei* funcionaba por "envíos" sucesivos: el Padre envía al Hijo quien por el Espíritu envía a la Iglesia para llevar el Evangelio al mundo que no lo conoce. El acercamiento nuevo que se desarrolló después de Willingen actuaba como un cambio Copérnico. Dios era concebido como directamente presente y activo en el mundo secular y religioso. Se trataba, pues, para la Iglesia de interpretar "los signos de los tiempos" para acercarse a Dios que estaba en misión en el mundo social, político y ecuménico. Lo que a veces se llamó la teología del apostolado influenció muy fuertemente al COE en los años 60 y 70, y contribuyó a una "politización" del compromiso misionero, pero también a una feliz y necesaria ampliación del horizonte y del contenido del mensaje. Este desarrollo tuvo repercusiones en muchos campos, como por ejemplo la lucha contra el racismo, la apertura al diálogo interreligioso y la defensa de los derechos humanos en tiempos de dictaduras en América Latina. Ha proporcionado el argumento teológico a las versiones asiáticas y africanas de la teología de la liberación, a partir del momento en que la opción preferencial por los pobres y los oprimidos fue considerada como estando en el centro de la *missio Dei*.

HACIA LA "DECLARACIÓN DE LAUSANA"

Paralelamente, la evolución misionera protestante ecuménica reconocía a cada Iglesia, en donde se encontrara, su propia responsabilidad de dar testimonio. La conferencia de México resumió ese desarrollo en 1963, al hablar de "misión en los seis continentes".⁵ Un movimiento misionero prioritariamente centrado del norte hacia el sur se encontraba cuestionado, igual que la pretensión de las sociedades de misión de ser las principales portadoras del Evangelio en el mundo. En fin, en el cuadro del COE, los misionólogos fueron los más ardientes defensores de una verdadera teología contextual no controlada por la dogmática europea, sobre todo a partir de la conferencia de Bangkok en el 1973.

Recordemos que el conjunto de los desarrollos mencionados, paralelos a la apertura vivida por la Iglesia católica después del Vaticano II, suscitó una gran reacción en el seno de los ambientes protestantes más conservadores. Muchas conferencias se realizaron desde la mitad de los años 60 para reafirmar las prioridades más tradicionales. Y fue finalmente en 1974 que tuvo lugar el gran congreso internacional que votó la "Declaración de Lausana" como una carta magna de misionología evangélica y que dio el nacimiento al Comité de Lausana para la evangelización del mundo.⁶ La declaración puede leerse casi punto por punto como una crítica a las tesis defendidas en aquel momento al interior del COE. Pero gracias a la influencia de cristianos del Sur, sobre todo de América Latina, de Billy Graham y de John Stott, la declaración de Lausana igualmente proporcionaba las bases de un futuro acercamiento.⁷ Ella afirma fuertemente la prioridad del anuncio del Evangelio por sobre toda otra actividad, pero reconoce la acción social como elemento constitutivo del testimonio cristiano. Con referencia al diálogo interreligioso, la posición, sin embargo, se mantiene estrictamente exclusivista. Así se abre una *tercera brecha* en el mundo de la misión protestante.

Edimburgo 1910, una herencia reivindicada

La mención de las rupturas sucesivas, en el interior del movimiento misionero no católico, muestra que hay un debate respecto a la reivindicación de la herencia de la conferencia de 1910. Los círculos que son clasificados como "evangélicos" estiman que el movimiento de Lausana y las misiones que le fueron vinculadas, contrariamente al COE, guardan fidelidad a la visión original de Edimburgo -la prioridad del anuncio del Evangelio por todos los lugares donde no se lo conoce. Ellos serán los garantes de la continuidad teológica de Edimburgo. Los entornos ecuménicos recuerdan hasta qué punto los temas abordados en Edimburgo, luego al interior del CIM, sobrepasaban largamente la sola "evangelización".⁸ Ellos, igualmente, subrayan como la situación del mundo había evolucionado desde 1910, sobre todo después de dos guerras mundiales provocadas por las naciones que pretendían ser un modelo de civilización cristiana. En opinión del COE, esto volvería caducas ciertas posiciones de Edimburgo. Los misionólogos ecuménicos insisten en la continuidad institucional y teológica entre Edimburgo, el CIM y el COE.

Renovación de las relaciones

Desde allí los intentos se multiplicaron para reconectar a los responsables misioneros y eclesiales de estas diversas tendencias. Se podría afirmar a posteriori que tres textos fundamentales jugaron un rol importante en este sentido. Ya se ha mencionado el primero, la *Declaración de Lausana* (1974), abriendo la puerta a un diálogo sobre el rol sociopolítico del testigo. El segundo es la exhortación apostólica *Evangelii nuntiandi* de Pablo VI (1975), cuya visión holística ayudó mucho a salir de las alternativas demasiado rígidas y reductoras. El tercer texto es *La Afirmación ecuménica sobre la misión y la evangelización* adoptada por el COE en 1982, que logró la apuesta de una síntesis entre anuncio del Evangelio, vida y liturgia de la Iglesia y compromiso al lado de los pobres para su liberación. Es necesario recordar que, desde 1961, los teólogos ortodoxos estaban plenamente implicados en la reflexión misionológica del COE.

A estos tres documentos le siguieron otros en las Iglesias y en las organizaciones mencionadas, pero son ellos quienes, a mi modo de ver, abrieron el camino a nuevas formas de colaboración *ad hoc* o institucionales, como también, acercamientos en materia de teología de la misión. Esto no se hizo en el espacio de algunos años, pero, teniendo en cuenta los progresos y los retrocesos, en un periodo que abarca casi treinta años. Es probable que los cambios políticos de 1989, el final de los grandes relatos y de la guerra ideológica entre dos sistemas que duro desde 1917, hayan contribuido enormemente a una renovación en el diálogo.⁹

Intensificación de los contactos

No es posible hacer una clasificación institucional de la misma manera que para las rupturas, pues no ha habido nueva "integración" o desaparición de alguno de los protagonistas,¹⁰ pero una intensificación de contactos. Mencionemos, sin embargo, la importante consulta de Stuttgart sobre la evangelización en 1987, reuniendo altos responsables del COE y de Lausana, que propuso a los dos movimientos como también a la Alianza evangélica mundial de pensar en un comité paritario teniendo como tarea de discernir modelos misioneros aceptables por todos. En 1989, el COE y Lausana organizaron dos grandes conferencias en San Antonio y en Manila. Los participantes de parte del COE, estimando tener una sensibilidad evangélica, enviaron a Manila un mensaje subrayando los puntos comunes. La declaración de Manila, al reafirmar las posiciones clásicas de Lausana, produjo una apertura por una parte hacia los carismáticos y pentecostales; y, por otra parte, hacia los teólogos solidarios con los pobres.¹¹ Del lado del COE, la apertura progresiva hacia lo que será llamado movimiento ecuménico en el sentido amplio de la palabra se institucionalizó por la adopción en 1997 de una declaración de orientación general reconociendo la importancia de estrechas relaciones, del diálogo y de la cooperación con las Iglesias y socios no miembros.¹² Es en el mismo periodo que el COE decidía abrir sus asambleas por más tiempo, constituía un grupo de diálogo con los Pentecostales y hacia la propuesta de un proceso hacia un *Fórum* cristiano, comprometiendo al mayor número posible de actores.¹³ Por su parte, las tres grandes organizaciones evangélicas, el Comité de Lausana, la Alianza evangélica mundial y el movimiento AD

2000 and Beyond se reunieron en vista de una reconciliación y de mejores colaboraciones en Noruega en el año 1999 con un observador del COE.¹⁴

Sobre todo, desde fines de los años 80, los diálogos y contactos se prolongaron para incluir representantes de Iglesias pentecostales clásicas, principalmente teólogos formados en las universidades. Esto tuvo la gran ventaja de renovar el acercamiento a la pneumatología, la relación entre fe, comunidad eclesial y salud, carismas y la oralidad en la misión.¹⁵ Por lo demás, un nuevo consenso en cuanto a la importancia de la eclesiología está en camino de tomar forma, lo que contribuye a atenuar la división casi infranqueable de los años 60 entre *missio Dei* y *missio ecclesiae*.¹⁶

Este acercamiento hizo posible el desarrollo de un proceso común muy largo reuniendo a los numerosos sectores del cristianismo contemporáneo que termina en la reunión internacional del *Fórum* cristiano mundial en el 2007 en Nairobi, al prefigurar la diversidad de los participantes que se encontrarían en Edimburgo.¹⁷

Edimburgo 2010, la originalidad de un centenario

La particularidad del proceso de los estudios y de la conferencia del 2010 reside precisamente en el hecho de que unas veinte Iglesias, organizaciones ecuménicas, confesionales o misioneras lo organizaron *juntas*. La lista es muy amplia como para nombrarlos a todos. Se trata, entre otras cosas, del Consejo ecuménico de las Iglesias y de otros asociados clásicos del movimiento ecuménico, del Consejo Pontificio para la Unidad de los cristianos, de la Alianza evangélica mundial, del Comité de Lausana para la evangelización del mundo, de delegados pentecostales y ortodoxos. En resumen, esto son las organizaciones, movimientos e Iglesias que estaban en mayor conflicto en cuanto al contenido del mensaje y a los métodos de misión, quienes se reencontraron a alto nivel en Edimburgo, lo que permitió documentar los progresos —todavía relativos— en el seno de un acercamiento misionológico. No hay lugar aquí para resumir las 300 páginas del libro que contiene los resultados del proceso de estudio,¹⁸ pero me limitare a comentar el tema de 2010 y algunos acentos teológicos destacados.

El tema de 2010: set testigos de Cristo hoy

Es interesante comparar el tema de 2010 con el lema, a menudo, considerado como un buen resumen de la conferencia de 1910: la evangelización del mundo en nuestra generación.¹⁹

La terminología de *testimonio* reemplazo la de evangelización. Es más frecuente en la Biblia para describir el mandato de los cristianos en general, que la de evangelizar, a menudo reservado a Jesús y a los primeros apóstoles. No tiene el carácter de agresividad muy a menudo unido a la evangelización, a causa de prácticas inaceptables. Hablar de testimonio implica una visión de la misión que concierne al conjunto de la vida. El testigo ilumina el mensaje no solamente por una palabra, sino por su actitud, su vida. Es un tema reconocido tanto por los católicos como por los protestantes, los evangélicos como también los pentecostales, los progresistas como los conservadores.

Pero, ¿dar testimonio de quien, de qué? Muchos hubieran deseado una referencia a la misión de Dios en el tema de 2010. La razón que finalmente movió a los responsables a escoger la *referencia a Cristo* lleva al hecho de que hablar de Dios en el mundo contemporáneo multirreligioso no remite necesariamente al cristianismo. La elección se hizo por una característica específica de nuestra fe, la referencia a Jesucristo. Sin embargo, no se puede interpretar eso en el sentido de un retorno al *cristomonismo*.

Hoy reemplaza de alguna manera la antigua formula “en nuestra generación”. Nosotros queremos



testimoniar en unión con la actualidad hoy, en dialogo con el mundo contemporáneo, para que el mensaje sea pertinente y creíble. Pero hoy no hay, generalmente, un sentimiento casi apocalíptico de un fin de los tiempos próximos. Si hay urgencia de la misión, es porque el mensaje es importante para cada uno. El tiempo de Dios, sin embargo, no depende de nuestra lectura del calendario.

Los temas de Edimburgo 2010, a la luz de los avances en misionología

La misión es *missio Dei*; ella parte del corazón mismo de Dios, entendido como Padre, Hijo y Espíritu. Enraizar el compromiso misionero en la dinámica de Dios, es lo que hemos percibido como el viraje principal en misionología ecuménica en la mitad del siglo pasado. Esta ponencia evoco igualmente como, después de decenios de debates y de conflictos, la exagerada división teológica entre “misión de Dios” y “misión de Iglesia” podría ser superada. Ciertamente, quedan diferencias en cuanto al significado de una presencia universal de Dios. Ella podría ser articulada exclusivamente a una teología de la creación o igualmente a la soteriología. La mayoría de Iglesias libres, evangélicas o pentecostales, se encontrarían en la primera interpretación, mientras que la mayoría de los teólogos activos en el movimiento por la unidad, aceptarían una presencia con consecuencia salvífica. Aunque permanezcan interpretaciones diferentes en cuanto a la significación de los términos, es regocijante haber podido decir juntos que nuestro compromiso, en el fondo, encontraba su justificación en Dios considerado como un Dios “en misión”.²⁰ En 1910, el acento cristocéntrico era aún más fuerte.²¹

La expresión inglesa *empowerment* figura en muchos lugares de los documentos de Edimburgo. Se habla del poder del Espíritu Santo que capacita a los discípulos de Cristo para un testimonio creíble ante personas de otras creencias, que actualiza la presencia del Señor en los creyentes y los dota para la misión, gracias a los carismas. El *Espíritu Santo* es percibido como *la presencia sensible de Dios en lo cotidiano de la existencia*. No es solamente una iluminación interior ni simplemente una presencia en la liturgia. En esto se puede descubrir la influencia creciente de la experiencia y de la reflexión académica pentecostal, que ha sido paralela a una mejor toma en cuenta de la pneumatología por los misionólogos, gracias también a los contactos con los ortodoxos.²² Cuando se sabe qué hace cien años, Edimburgo no contaba para nada con el pentecostalismo naciente y que durante decenios se denigraban y condenaban mutuamente, se puede evaluar el cambio hecho.²³

La insistencia en el poder conferido por el Espíritu a los creyentes no lleva a una afirmación triunfalista.²⁴ Sobre este punto, la diferencia con 1910 es notoria. Siguiendo las pisadas de David Bosch, los participantes en Edimburgo 2010 aceptan por mayoría de tender a un equilibrio entre una afirmación clara y consciente de su fe y un *testimonio humilde y respetuoso de los interlocutores*.²⁵ Este difícil balance es particularmente pertinente en la relación con los creyentes de otras religiones.

Por lo demás, el proceso de los estudios de Edimburgo permitió una amplia reflexión sobre la relación entre misión y poder, señalando la necesidad de declarar los abusos de poder frecuentes de parte de la Iglesia y de los cristianos. Los documentos de 2010 llaman a una conversión hacia una teoría y una práctica de la misión que se distancia de la utilización de un poder alienante y se compromete en un proceso de sanación de memorias y de reconciliación en la justicia. Sin que esto sea mencionado directamente, estas referencias a la humildad y a una relación crítica frente al poder evocan la expresión *misión a la manera de Cristo*, apreciado por el COE después de la publicación de su texto de base sobre la misión en 1982.

La referencia al Dios trinitario, creador, pero también al Espíritu que sopla donde quiere, permite restablecer la *unión entre misión y creación*. En el espíritu de Edimburgo 2010, eso tiene una connotación ética —el llamado a un celo por la protección de medioambiente— pero también litúrgico. En efecto, es cuestión de una *liturgia renovada reflejando la belleza del Creador y de la Creación*. Es notorio que este ensanchamiento —relativamente reciente— del horizonte de la misión a la creación entera haya llegado a ser un elemento de consenso amplio.²⁶ La misión del amor de Dios, que transforma y reconcilia, concierne a toda la Creación. En resumen, se puede decir que se trata de

revisar el conjunto de nuestra espiritualidad personal y comunitaria, para discernir nuestro lugar en la Creación y el lugar de la Creación en el marco de la misión de Dios.²⁷

No es posible, en el limitado marco de esta exposición, ofrecer una presentación aún limitada de los desarrollos relacionados a la *teología de las religiones*. Aún en el interior del COE, el asunto permanece reñido, y es el resumen de tres afirmaciones de San Antonio en que permanece la referencia: "No podemos indicar otras vías que lleven a la salvación en Jesucristo. No podemos tampoco fijar límites al poder redentor de Dios. Existe una tensión entre estas dos declaraciones, tensión que aún no ha sido superada".²⁸ En 1989, cuando esas declaraciones habían sido redactadas, el COE estaba bajo una doble presión. En el grupo de los teólogos, tales como Stanley Samartha o Wewesley Ariarajah, algunos querían que se abriera a los teólogos pluralistas, en respuesta a la publicación de las tesis de John Hick y Paul Knitter. Otros, como el obispo Lesslie Newbigin, los círculos misioneros tradicionales y los evangélicos advertían al COE que este paso significaría una transgresión real con respecto al conjunto de posiciones defendidas hasta ahora, con las consecuencias incalculables.²⁹ La conferencia de 1989 supo encontrar una fórmula de compromiso que es válida hasta nuestros días.³⁰ Pero sobre este punto, las propuestas ecuménicas, evangélicas y pentecostales permanecen en tensión, incluso en oposición; estos últimos defienden, mayoritariamente, una posición exclusivista.

El conjunto del proyecto Edimburgo 2010 puede ser interpretado como una tentativa de señalar un *avance en la relación entre misión y unidad*. En este sentido, la conferencia de 2010 está directamente en la línea de aquella de 1910 y ofrece la ocasión de una toma de conciencia de la extrema diferenciación y fragmentación del cristianismo desde hace 100 años, pero también del deseo de progresar hacia un testimonio común y, en este sentido, hacia la unidad deseada y ofrecida por Cristo, pero todavía siempre opacada por nuestras infidelidades. Uno de los caminos importantes para progresar en este asunto concierne evidentemente la eclesiología, asunto que había sido descartado en 1910 y en muchas conferencias misioneras. Hay que señalar que el debate sobre la integración en-tre misión e Iglesia permanece abierto y no solamente entre teólogos evangélicos y ecuménicos, y que una fracción muy importante del cristianismo continua de considerar la unidad exclusivamente desde un punto de vista espiritual, sin consecuencias institucionales.

En diversos lugares el llamado procedente de la conferencia de Edimburgo menciona elementos del contenido del mensaje o de la misión. Es cuestión de amor, de salvación, de perdón de los pecados, pero también de la vida en abundancia, de la liberación de los pobres, de justicia, paz y protección del medioambiente, de reconciliación y de gracia. También se trata, evidentemente, de dar testimonio de la verdad y en particular del carácter único de Jesucristo. El llamado común reúne pues de *facto* las prioridades que a menudo habían opuesto cristianos e Iglesias en misión durante estos últimos decenios. No podemos sino alegrarnos, aun si estamos conscientes de las diferencias de interpretación y del hecho que la conferencia de 2010 evito cuidadosamente los problemas teológicos y éticos que permanecen como asuntos de división. Es uno de los paralelos más evidentes con aquella de 1910.

Conclusion

Ya es tiempo de concluir este breve recorrido a través de las distintas etapas de la evolución de 1910 a 2010 en el mundo misionológico protestante y ecuménico. Convendría evocar otras numerosas temáticas nacidas de la conferencia de 1910 y contenidas en la preparación de la de 2010, como por ejemplo la cuestión de la asociación, de la espiritualidad y la migración, por mencionar algunas. En fin, hay que insistir en el carácter altamente provisorio de toda interpretación de las tendencias recientes. No es posible actualmente afirmar sin equivocarse que el siglo XXI será menos conflictivo que el precedente en misión, incluso si nos es permitido esperararlo.

NOTAS

¹ El término fundamentalista fue creado por un periódico bautista norteamericano en 1920 para describir a los conservadores. La serie de libros mencionados defendía contra las tendencias liberales y darwinianas los siguientes pilares del cristianismo: nacimiento virginal de Jesús, su resurrección corporal, su divinidad, el sacrificio expiatorio la inerrancia de las Escrituras. Cf. Olivier Favre, *Les Eglises évangéliques de Suisse. Origines et identités*, Ginebra, Labor et Fides, 2006, pp 47 ss.

² En cuanto a las sociedades llamadas "faith missions", ver las reflexiones de Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*, Gran Rapids y Cambridge, Eerdmans, 2009, pp 320-324.

³ WCC, Minutes and Reports of the Fourth Meeting of the Central Committee Rolle (Suiza) agosto 4-11, 1951 p 65. Traducción no oficial por el autor de este artículo.

⁴ Utilizo el término "ecuménico" en el sentido definido por el COE en el año 1951.

⁵ Es muy significativo que la profesora Dana Robert haya insistido sobre la importancia de la conferencia de Ciudad de México en su exposición principal en Edimburgo 2010.

⁶ El congreso se realizó en Lausana, Suiza, lo que ha dado el nombre al movimiento que es una asociación de personas individuales, y no como el COE una organización basada en la pertenencia de Iglesias. Se puede muy bien ser miembro del movimiento de Lausana y de una Iglesia ligada al COE.

⁷ Medios más conservadores sobre todo alrededor de Peter Beyerhaus en Alemania, habrían deseado un distanciamiento mucho más firme con el movimiento ecuménico. Cf. Waler Künneth y Peter Beyerhaus, *Reich Gottes oder Weltgemeinschaft? Die berliner Ökumene-Erklärung zur utopischen Vision des Weltkirchenrates*. Bad Liebenzell, Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1975, Einführung (introducción), pp 7s. Hay que mencionar igualmente que los representantes de las sociedades que dejaron el CIM en los años 20 no participaron significativamente en Lausana 1974.

⁸ El término "evangelización", tornado en el sentido de la proclamación *Ad gentes*, recobra muchas veces en la Iglesia católica un significado inclusive que se acerca al que el COE entiende por "misión".

⁹ En efecto, directa o indirectamente, los movimientos evangélicos y ecuménicos han sido influenciados en sus conflictos por los bloques ideológicos y políticos que marcaron la historia de 1917 a 1989. En todo caso, es interesante leer uno de los documentos que había revisitado las posiciones de los años 60 sobre la misión y la Iglesia. Se trata de un informe de una consulta piloto organizada en común por el COE (Departamento de misión) y la Conferencia de las Iglesias en Europa (Departamento de estudios) sobre las comunidades misioneras en una Europa secularizada. Este informe, enviado a todos los delegados de la Conferencia de San Antonio en 1989, hacía mención de las debilidades de posiciones del famoso estudio sobre la estructura misionera de las congregaciones de los años 60 y los puntos que se consideraban válidos. Cf. World Council of Churches and Conference of European Churches, "Missionary Congregations in a Secularized Europe", en *Report on a Joint Pilot Consultation* (Nonnenweier, Alemania, del 27 de marzo al 1 de abril 1989). Sin que se pueda pretender de otra prueba acerca de una influencia directa de los acontecimientos de 1989 sobre el replanteo de ciertas certezas, la contemporaneidad merece ser subrayada.

¹⁰ Salvo para la creación, después disolución, del gobierno *AD 2000 and Beyond*, cf. la nota siguiente.

¹¹ El desarrollo del movimiento de Lausana en dirección de una posición más abierta hacia una misión englobando diversos campos de testimonio provocó, sin embargo, una escisión suplementaria en su seno, sus militantes los más fervientes habiendo creado en la época del congreso de Manila el movimiento *AD 2000 and Beyond* para multiplicar los esfuerzos de la evangelización del mundo hasta un cambio de milenio.

¹² *Hacia una concepción y una visión comunes del Consejo Ecuménico de las Iglesias*. Declaración adoptada por el Comité Central en el 1997.

¹³ Igualmente, a partir de finales de los años 90, la Comisión de Misión y Evangelización del COE admitió representantes de organismos católicos, evangélicos y pentecostales como miembros de pleno derecho. La primera reunión internacional del nuevo *Fórum* se tendría finalmente en 2007 (ver nota 17).

¹⁴ El autor de este artículo. Se puede estimar que la nueva colaboración entre Lau-sana y la Alianza evangélica mundial en vista de la conferencia de Ciudad del Cabo en octubre 2010 es una consecuencia. *AD 2000 and Beyond* habían decidido no continuar como organización separada en el nuevo milenio. Sus militantes se fundieron en las sociedades llamadas *faith missions* o *misiones de frontera*.

¹⁵ Recordemos que los primeros contactos se remontan a los años 50, con la pre-sencia de David du Plessis, en esa época organizador de las primeras grandes conferencias pentecostales mundiales, en las reuniones del CIM y del COE, después en una de las sesiones del Vaticano II. Un primera paso decisivo fue el comienzo del dialogo teológico, desde 1972, entre el Vaticano y los pentecostales.

¹⁶ Hay una tensión prácticamente infranqueable entre los conceptos de *missio Dei* y de *missio ecclesiae*, según el informe asumido por la delegación coreana en una consulta sobre misión y unidad, realizada en y bajo la responsabilidad del Centra internacional reformado John Knox. Cf *And the Net Was not Torn. Report from a Consultation on Mission in Unity*, 19-23 de abril, 1998, p 33. La renovación del trabajo sobre eclesiología está documentada para el COE y la Alianza evangélica mundial en "Fe y constitución", *La naturaleza y la misión de la Iglesia*, Ginebra, COIE, 2005 (*Faith and Order Paper*, 198).

¹⁷ En efecto, el comité de preparación de Edimburgo reunió aproximadamente a los responsables misioneros de las organizaciones e Iglesias que habían participado en el *Fórum* cristiano mundial tenido en Nairobi a fines de 2007. Presenta-tion del *Forum*: Hubert van Beek (dir) *Revisióning Christian Unity. The Global Ch-ristian Forum*. Oxford, Regnum Book. Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, 2009, 288 pp.

¹⁸ Daryl Balia and Kirsteen Kim (dir.), *Edimburgo 2010 - Witnessing To Christ Today*. Oxford, Regnum Books, 2010, 310 pp. Este libro fue enviado a todos los delegados antes de la conferencia. Los temas misioneros eran los siguientes: 1) Fundamentos de la misión; 2) La misión cristiana en medio de las otras religiones; 3) La misión y las posmodernidades; 4) Misión y poder; 5) Formas de compromiso misionero; 6) Educación y formación teológicas; 7) Comunidades cristianas en los contextos contemporáneos; 8] Misión y unidad - eclesiológica y misión; 9) Espiritualidad de la misión y autenticidad de la vida del discípulo.

¹⁹ La consigna habitualmente atribuida a Edimburgo era del *Student Volunteer Mo-vement for Foreign Mission*.

²⁰ En respuesta a la crítica de los grandes relatos, la noción de *missio Dei* fue algunas veces sometida a discusión. ¿No había una manera apropiada de la teología, incluso de ideología, de la historia? Bert Hoedemaker ha cuestionado seriamente una serie de nociones misionológicas como resultado de la concepción del mundo heredado de la modernidad. Cf. Bert Hoedemaker, "Mission, Unity and eschaton: A Triadic Relation", en *Reformed World*, 50 (2000) 4, (numero temático sobre *Mission in Unity*), pp 173-182. Después de una importante consulta realizada en Willingen 50 años después de la famosa conferencia del CIM, pareció im-portante mantener la referencia a un Dios en misión, y revisando mientras tanto las consecuencias a tomar o a evitar para una interpretación de la historia. Cf. "Missio Dei revisited. Willingen 1952-2002", numero temático de *International Review of Mission*, Vol. XCII, No 367, octubre 2003.

²¹ Kirsteen Kin, "Edinburgh 1910 to 2010: From Kingdom to Spirit", en *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, por publicarse.

²² Se encuentra un buen resumen de los desarrollos en pneumatología en las obras y artículos de Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, profesor pentecostal en el Fuller Theological Seminary (USA), y de Kirsteen Kim, profesora protestante en Leeds (Reino Unido), y vicemoderadora de la Comisión de Misión y Evangelización del COE (ver también nota anterior). Uno de los precursores más influyentes, que mejor ha torna-do en cuenta de la pneumatología en los medios ecuménicos, fue incontestablemente Jurgen Moltmann (*Der Geist des Lebens. Eine ganzheitliche Pneumatologie*, Munchen, Kaiser, 1991), a menudo estudiado por los teólogos pentecostales.

²³ Los preparativos de la Conferencia de San Antonio en 1999, después de la asamblea de Camberra en 1991 habían insistido sobre el rol del Espíritu Santo. El conflicto suscitado por las intervenciones plenarias a dicha asamblea había retrasado los trabajos ecuménicos sobre la pneumatología, finalmente retomado en el cuadro de los preparativos para la conferencia de Atenas. Cf. Kirsteen Kim, "Controversy at Canberra, 1991", introducción de su libro *The Holy Spirit In the World. A Global Conversation*, Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 2007, pp VIII-XIV, y Michael Kinnamon, "Report on the World Mission Conference Athens 2005", en *IRM*, vol. 94, No 374, julio 2005, p 390.

²⁴ "Estamos llamados a encontrar formas prácticas de vivir como miembros de un Cuerpo Único, sabiendo que Dios rechaza a los orgullosos, que Cristo acoge y capacita a los pobres y los

desamparados y que el poder del Espíritu Santo se manifiesta en nuestra debilidad" (Edimburgo 2010, llamado común, 4).

²⁵ Este doble acercamiento resaltaba ya de los textos publicados en 2006 para lanzar el proceso de estudios al hablar de la misión en la humildad y la esperanza. Cf. el libro clásico de David J Bosch, *Dinámica de la misión cristiana. Historia y futuro de los modelos misioneros*. París/ Ginebra/ Lome, Karthala/ Labor y Fides/ Haho, 1995.

²⁶ A nivel del COE, los primeros esbozos se remontan a la asamblea de Vancouver en 1983, después a la Conferencia de San Antonio en 1989 cuya tercera sección se titulaba: "la tierra pertenece al Señor". Cf. Iglesia reformada de Francia, *Bulletin Information-Evangeliacion* 1990/1 dedicado a la conferencia del Concejo ecuménico sobre la misión y la evangelización en San Antonio 1989. Es necesario anotar por lo demás que los trabajos más pertinentes del COE respecto al tema de la creación han nacido del programa justicia, paz y cuidado de la Creación.

²⁷ En el texto de una página firmada por veinte delegados pentecostales en Edimburgo, figura la frase siguiente: "Afirmamos el mandato de la misión divina de reconciliar el conjunto de la Creación de Dios en Cristo, y esto lo hacemos más allá de las líneas de demarcación confesionales". *A Statement by Pentecostal Participants at the Edimburgh 2010 Centennial Celebration Edimburgh, Scotland, 2-6 June 2010*, traducción no oficial por el autor de este artículo.

²⁸ Así resumido en el texto adoptado en el año 2000 por la Comisión de Misión y Evangelización del COE. Cf. "Misión y Evangelización en la unidad hoy", oc, 58.

²⁹ La editorial de *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* de abril 1989 (volumen, No 2) se preguntaba si el COE iba a pasar el "Rubicon teológico" y abandonar la referencia a la unicidad del Cristo.

³⁰ Es lo que se pudo constatar en Atenas 2005. Contrariamente a una opinión difundida, el asunto significa la unanimidad en el seno del COE. Antes de 2006 y la exposición magistral del arzobispo de Cantorbery, los asambleístas generales habían señalado la mayor prudencia al respecto. Cf. Kenneth Cracknel, "Ambivalent Theology and Ambivalent Policy: the WCC and Interfaith Dialogue 1938- 99" en Id. (dir.). *In Good and Generous Faith. Christian Responses to Religious Pluralism*. Epworth 2005, pp 180-209.

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LES *gui*鬼 CHINOIS DANS LA FOI CATHOLIQUE

Paris, juillet 2011

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RESUME

Notre expérience ecclésiale durant trois années dans les communautés catholiques de Hong Kong nous a conduit à constater un paradoxe : les esprits/*gui* 鬼¹ sont dépeints comme une superstition chinoise sans consistance réelle mais sont en même temps sujets à mille attentions de la part des fidèles - et des pasteurs par la force des choses. Cet article tente d'éclairer ce paradoxe en posant plusieurs questions : que sont ces *gui* pour les catholiques Han ? Cette croyance enracinée dans le terreau chinois est-elle cohérente avec la foi chrétienne ? Comment s'opère la rencontre entre culture chinoise et foi chrétienne sur ce point ?



Dans le cadre de notre master en théologie à l'Institut catholique de Paris - et avec une bourse de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient - nous avons mené une étude ethnographique dans la communauté catholique de Taipei. Notre recherche proposait de se centrer sur les acteurs laïcs, et d'observer à travers cette réalité sociale des *gui*, comment la pratique des catholiques signe une accommodation entre culture chinoise et conversion à la foi chrétienne. Autrement dit, deux questions furent explorées : (1) comment ces pratiques font-elles sens pour eux et (2) comment dialoguent-elles avec les représentations anthropologique, cosmologique et sociale que la hiérarchie catholique propose ?

Condition de l'enquête et méthodologie de la recherche

L'enquête de terrain a été réalisée durant les six derniers mois d'un séjour à Taïwan d'un an et demi (de sept. 2009 à fév. 2011). Elle consista en des entretiens semi-directifs (suivant la méthodologie ethnographique²) de laïcs catholiques, pratiquants et engagés, issus de plusieurs paroisses de la capitale. Pour enrichir nos données, nous avons questionnés avec la même méthode des prêtres catholiques, ainsi que des pasteurs presbytériens, baptistes et pentecôtistes. Ces divers entretiens advinrent après une année d'immersion dans la réalité physique, sociale et ecclésiale de Taipei. Cette expérience ecclésiale (logeant successivement dans deux églises catholiques et une presbytérienne) fut un intermédiaire indispensable pour comprendre le contexte dans lequel s'inscrivent les propos recueillis durant les entretiens personnels.

Par ailleurs, au-delà de la minorité catholique, il était essentiel de chercher à comprendre à quoi renvoient les *gui* pour les « Taïwanais de la rue ». En parallèle à la recherche ethnographique, nous avons suivis des cours à l'université Fugen sur la « religion chinoise », tout en effectuant une recherche bibliographique. Quoique la

documentation soit aussi vaste que variée, il faut noter l'excellent ouvrage de Rober Weller³ - portant spécifiquement sur les *gui* - qui nous paraît incontournable.

Ce travail préparatoire permet d'éviter deux écueils pour la compréhension des *gui*. Premièrement, il faut constater que les *gui* ne répondent pas à une définition précise. Même si une cohérence est à postuler, les *gui* ne sont pas une notion qui serait cachée derrière des pratiques, mais ils sont d'abord un ensemble de pratiques évolutives. Ce n'est que dans un second temps que les divers clergés en présence (bouddhistes, taoïstes, chrétiens, etc.) définissent ce que seraient les *gui* d'après leur corpus doctrinaire ; redéfinitions dans lesquelles la population puise à son tour pour adapter ses pratiques. Ce processus complexe permet de comprendre la multiplicité et la divergences des discours à l'égard des *gui*. Ils sont une potentialité de sens, transmise par la tradition chinois à travers les rites, que chaque groupe sociale articule suivant les nécessités du contexte et de l'époque.

Dès lors, le second écueil est que la recomposition catholique des *gui* ne peut pas être appréhendée dans une logique binaire, où une position dite catholique serait en bute à une conception dite traditionnelle et définissable. De manière analogue, une étude attentive de la longue tradition chrétienne sur des phénomènes similaires révélerait une grande variété de discours. Ni la tradition chinoise, ni la tradition catholique ne seraient être univoque sur le sujet.

Ainsi, étudier les *gui*, c'est questionner nos représentations sur la religiosité chinoise. Celle-ci n'est pas seulement un principe d'ordre (l'archétype en étant les ancêtres et les dieux), mais est aussi marquée de transformations et d'adaptations. Mésestimer les *gui* risquerait de nous focaliser sur les dieux et les ancêtres, mettant l'emphase sur la religion comme conservation. Négliger les pratiques et les discours liés aux *gui*, en les considérant comme des superstitions arriérées, antiscientifiques et antimodernes, c'est entrer dans une vision plus élitiste de la religion. Or la matrice religieuse chinoise n'est pas d'abord un objet de débat intellectuel, ni une croyance fondée sur des individus posés comme sujets libres (et des clergés dépositaires de doctrines) mais c'est un ensemble de rites sociaux au service du vivre ensemble. Dès lors, ces rites s'imposent à tous, tout en gardant une flexibilité dans leur mise en acte et dans leur interprétation. Au sein de ces rites, les *gui* se révèlent le principe de désordre, ou plutôt d'articulation, qui permettent à cette matrice religieuse chinoise de se recomposer. C'est dans ce contexte de pratiques mouvantes que le catholicisme tente de prendre corps.

Que disent les catholiques des *gui* ?

Pour répondre à cette question nous avons auditionné plus de 35 catholiques, dont 20 laïcs, âgés de 18 à 65 ans, hommes et femmes, baptisés de plus ou moins longue date et tous engagés dans leur paroisse. Après une libre présentation personnelle, nous avons posé au cours de la conversation les questions suivantes (tout en veillant à ce que l'interviewé réponde le plus librement possible, sans se sentir dans un « contrôle de connaissance »). 1) Que se passe-t-il après la mort ? 2) Qu'est-ce que la résurrection ? 3) Y a-t-il un lien entre résurrection et chair ? 4) Que diriez-vous des *gui* ?

Le premier élément à souligner porte sur la résurrection (élément de la foi que la théologie catholique moderne a cherché à remettre au centre de son argumentaire). Pour les laïcs entendus, la résurrection n'est pas l'élément clé pour définir la foi chrétienne - et plus spécifiquement Jésus Christ. Ils insistent d'abord pour présenter le Christ comme enseignant et maître de justice. Etre catholique, c'est suivre son jiao 教 : enseignement au sens d'art de vivre (et non de connaissance théorique). Sa résurrection ne nous concerne pas vraiment, elle n'est pas directement la grille de lecture pour parler de l'après-mort des hommes (et donc des *gui*). A la mort, l'âme du défunt *linghun* 靈魂 quitte le corps, après le jugement des actes par Dieu, elle va au ciel *tiantang* 天堂 (après un éventuel passage au lieu de purification *lianyu* 煉獄) ou en enfer *diyu* 地獄. Les entretiens révèlent une certaine diversité de cosmologies sous-jacentes puisant aussi bien dans les traditions chinoises que dans le catéchisme catholique romain. Par

exemple, le passage dans une nouvelle vie humaine des *gui*, le *tuotai* 拖胎 est plusieurs fois mentionné comme possible.

Un deuxième élément que les entretiens révèlent est que la question de l'existence des *gui* est une mauvaise question. Si la question revient de manière récurrente, elle est systématiquement sujette à malaise. Il ne fait aucun doute que « quelques choses » *dongxi* 東西 puissent être là – quand bien même on soit mal à l'aise pour les définir. Ces « choses » renvoient à une expérience de négativité, d'angoisse, de danger, de mal être. Demander si cela existe et vouloir en rendre compte précisément apparaît comme prétentieux et peu réaliste. Devant ce négatif auquel renvoient les *gui*, chacun est enjoint de compatir en acte, d'être solidaire, ne serait-ce que par le silence. Dans ce contexte, les discours précipitamment théoriques apparaissent malséants.

Ceci étant dit, et sans faire abstraction de la variété des entretiens, des constantes apparaissent dans les propos des catholiques de Taipei : les *gui* sont d'abord un terme qu'on préfère éviter, c'est à la fois un sujet fascinant dont on aime entendre parler, mais à l'égard duquel on évite de parler légèrement. Ensuite, les catholiques de Taipei redéfinissent les *gui* en deux catégories plus précises (laissant délibérément de côté tout une série d'autres catégories traditionnelles telles que les *ligui* 厲鬼 *shuigui* 水鬼 *egui* 惡鬼 etc) qui sont : le *linghun* 靈魂 « âme » (mais on n'utilise presque jamais le terme traditionnel *hunpo* 魂魄) et le *mogui* 魔鬼 « démon », terme d'origine proprement occidentale.

Le *linghun* est présenté comme portion spirituelle et céleste de l'humain qui subsiste après la mort corporelle, elle se distingue nettement du corps physique (cette dichotomie est moins nette chez les autres chrétiens qui préfèrent souvent le terme *lingti* 靈體, qu'on pourrait traduire par corps spirituel), elle est anthropomorphique, elle peut parfois après la mort rester en ce monde, errant sans but, et ne pas retourner vers *tianzhu* 天主 Dieu.

Le *mogui* 魔鬼 quant à lui est une entité spirituelle intrinsèquement négative – qui dans la quasi majorité des cas est clairement définie comme n'étant pas un ancien humain. Ce point diffère des notions traditionnelles liées aux *gui* qui sont toujours anthropomorphiques. Ainsi, si les catholiques ne tiennent pas à s'étendre sur le terme *gui* perçu comme *buganjing* 不乾淨 « pas propre », ils parlent plus aisément du *linghun* 靈魂 et même du *mogui* 魔鬼 (au risque parfois que les histoires de *linghun* deviennent de véritable *guigushi* 鬼故事 : histoire de *gui*). Relevons que la présence du *mogui* 魔鬼 n'est pas objet d'insistance. Si « quelques choses » *dongxi* 東西 sont pressenties comme errants dans le lieu de vie, on fera dire une messe pour le *linghun* 靈魂 de ce mort, ou bien on fera faire une bénédiction qui chassera un éventuel *mogui* 魔鬼 sujet du désordre.

Les entretiens montrent que le problème réel pour les catholiques n'est pas tant de rendre compte théoriquement des *gui* que de gérer le sentiment commun d'angoisse et de crainte dont ils témoignent. Plusieurs fois les catholiques interrogés revendiquèrent de prendre part à un certain nombre de rituels traditionnels pour les *gui* (notamment au travail ou en famille – alors qu'ils ne participent pas aux rituels pour les dieux traditionnels), fiers de prier à leur manière catholique, mais surtout de prier avec. Cette participation ne fait nullement problème pour l'entourage, pour qui l'essentiel est que chacun contribue. Le problème des catholiques Han est avant tout de déterminer comment agir concrètement – au sein de leurs communautés de vie – en témoignant d'une attitude catholique pour ces « mal morts » que seraient les *gui*.

Cette position pragmatique contraste avec certaines positions protestantes – principalement baptiste et évangélique – qui reconfigurant les *gui* en *mogui* 魔鬼 uniquement (la notion d'âme *linghun* n'étant pas retenue), insistent sur la lutte à tenir vis-à-vis de toutes pratiques envers les *gui*, jugées comme démoniaques. Ces positions nettement plus tranchées conduisent ces chrétiens à opter pour la rupture et la séparation des pratiques « traditionnelles », option que la pratique catholique répugne à tenir. L'arsenal doctrinal catholique étant par ailleurs plus vaste – avec des concepts tels

que les limbes, l'âme, le purgatoire, la communion des saints, etc. – les laïcs catholiques créent plus facilement une synthèse théorique étayant leurs pratiques (et parfois même pour argumenter contre des prêtres et religieuses condamnant ces pratiques comme pure superstition).

Perspectives théologiques

Ces observations permettent *in fine* de répondre à nos questions. La tension observée chez les catholiques de Taipei entre les discours et les pratiques liées aux *gui* révèle que les *gui* sont avant tout un problème de pratiques sociales ; reléguant la dimension théorique du débat théologique au second plan. Pour les laïcs catholiques, il est prioritaire de s'insérer dans le tissu social qu'est le leur, avec ce que cela implique de rituels collectifs et d'impératif de communion – particulièrement vis-à-vis de ce qui est angoissant et douloureux. Devant la souffrance du prochain, les discours ne peuvent suffire !

Le problème pour les catholiques n'est pas d'élaborer une énième définition des *gui* mais de discerner comment agir chrétiennement face à l'impératif de compassion que posent les *gui*. Ceci illustre que la religion n'est pas seulement du côté des croyances, mais aussi – et peut-être d'abord – du côté du vivre ensemble. De plus, cette solution concrète pour vivre « avec les *gui* » révèle une grande ouverture d'esprit, un art de l'attention et une liberté certaine. Loin d'avoir cédé aux discours modernistes du gouvernement nationaliste – ou encore à la pression d'une partie du clergé enclin à condamner ces pratiques comme pure superstition – et résistant à la pensée scientifique d'aujourd'hui, les catholiques de Taipei restent au diapason de la population taïwanaise dans l'attention qu'ils portent à ces forces négatives sans-formes – *wuxing* 無形 – qui nous entourent, nous habitent. Une anthropologie positiviste fondée sur une raison toute puissante condamnant ces pratiques comme « superstitieuses », est tenue pour un manque de sagesse à l'égard du mystère de la vie humaine. Dès lors, les catholiques, sans craindre de prendre part à des rituels collectifs et de s'inscrire dans cette thématique des *gui*, n'hésitent pas à apporter leur propre approche de « ces choses », proposant des changements substantiels dans le rapport entretenu avec les *gui*.

Conscient que l'enjeu du débat n'est pas d'abord théorique, on peut cependant constater que les *gui* reçoivent de fait une certaine redéfinition. Loin d'être seulement des anciens humains anonymes à la force revancharde angoissante, les *gui* deviennent potentiellement des âmes particulières sujettes à compassion, et dont il n'y a pas lieu d'avoir une peur asservissante. Ou bien encore, les *gui* seraient des démons d'origine extrinsèque à l'humain, dont il n'y a pas vraiment lieu de s'inquiéter puisque l'accent est délibérément porté sur la proximité protectrice du Christ agissant au travers des rituels catholiques. L'insertion du *mogui* 魔鬼 (plus ou moins insistante suivant les Eglises chrétiennes) représente semble-t-il un vrai changement métaphysique au niveau des représentations religieuses, mais cela appellerait une autre recherche qui déborde le présent article.

Il faut souligner que le problème des *gui* (quotidien pour les catholiques Han) appelle la théologie à ne pas se tenir précipitamment du seul côté de la spéculation. Une approche trop conceptuelle des *gui* s'avère insuffisante face à la multiplicité des discours sur les *gui* et l'impossibilité de prouver quoique ce soit en la matière. Si la théologie veut œuvrer au discernement de la foi, elle doit être attentive à ne pas se laisser happer par un débat théorique mais porter son attention sur la dynamique de l'action et du rituel. C'est là que s'opère le témoignage du Christ, enjeux central.

En outre, le discernement ecclésial qui est opéré face à la présence des *gui* montre que ce sont tous les membres du corps ecclésial qui œuvrent dans le temps, les pratiques, la retenue et la fermeté. Nous ne sommes ni dans une logique verticale – où le clergé détiendrait la vérité sur la question – ni dans une logique binaire où une approche pragmatique s'opposerait à une approche théorique. C'est en réalité toute l'Eglise qui devant l'interpellation des *gui*, dialogue pour laisser entrevoir l'unique Logos qu'est le

Christ. Face aux risques de se noyer dans la spéculation sur la nature des *gui*, les laïcs portent délibérément l'emphasis sur le témoignage en acte du Christ vivant *hic et nunc*. Les *gui* deviennent un prétexte pour témoigner du Logos. Ils sont une clé pour articuler tradition et conversion.

Notons enfin que « l'Eglise » incorpore dans les faits les presbytériens et les autres Eglises chrétiennes présentes à Taiwan. En effet, les manières « protestantes » de faire face aux *gui* interpellent les catholiques et les obligent à réévaluer leurs propres attitudes. La réponse catholique intègre *de facto* les multiples options que la diversité des Eglises chrétiennes met en œuvre à Taiwan. Cette réponse « catholique » ne se crispe pas de manière docte sur une position, elle s'affine dans le temps et le dialogue. C'est en ce sens qu'elle se définit comme « catholique ».

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- Text forwarded by Fr. Paul STEFFEN, SVD through Internet.

¹ Pour la commodité de la lecture, on peut définir provisoirement (mais de manière très insuffisante et partielle) les *gui* comme étant des mal-morts restant dans le monde présent et cherchant à trouver la paix.

² BEAU, Stéphane, WEBER, Florence, *Guide de l'Enquête de Terrain*, Paris, Edition La découverte, 2008.

³ WELLER, Robert, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion*, University of Washington press, Seattle, 1987.

Sister Janice McLaughlin, MM

TURNED UPSIDE-DOWN: LEARNING AND CHALLENGES

A Missioner's Journey in Southern Africa

I feel honoured to address you today and also overwhelmed. A proverb of the Tonga people who live along the Zambezi River where there are crocodiles, hippos, lions and other dangerous animals, sums up how I feel right now: "The one who walks alone by the river gets eaten". I hope that I am not alone and that you will help me to discern the call for missioners today as I reflect on my experience on the African continent.

This is my first USCMA Meeting, so I have no reference point. I'm a novice at such a gathering so I hope to learn from all of you.

I have worked on the African continent for the past 40 years. I started in Kenya in 1970 during the honeymoon period after Independence and then went to Zimbabwe and Mozambique during the war years. Therefore, I don't know the U.S. reality. I am a stranger here.

I hope to share from my heart the lessons that I have learned from the people with whom I have been privileged to share my life.

In my work over the years, I have used the methodology of Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, who promoted participatory learning. That means that I won't be speaking to you non-stop for 45 minutes but I will call for some interaction from you.

During this time I plan to:

1. Paint the global reality as seen from the South
2. Share some of the lessons that I've learned
3. Raise questions for reflection
4. Describe the new face of mission

GLOBAL REALITY AND SIGNS OF HOPE

Our world is suffering from many ills. I will dwell on only three of them – issues that we encounter each day in the countries in which you and I work around the world. They are issues that cry out for hope and healing.

1. Crimes against the environment
2. Crimes against women and children, especially human trafficking
3. Crimes against the common good especially poverty and inequality

Migration and globalization are cross-cutting issues that interact with all the others. They are both the cause and effect of some of the crimes, or modern-day sins, that I will single out for our awareness and action.

As Christians, we are people of hope. Therefore, I will turn to the signs of hope that I see in relation to these realities and I will ask you to share with us what gives you hope as well.



Introduction:

The Shona people of Zimbabwe, where I've lived and worked for the greater part of my life, have many names for God. My favorite is *Chipindikure* – the One Who Turns Things Upside- Down – *Chipindikure*. It comes from the word, *kupinduka*, to be uprooted. This, I believe, is the gift and challenge of the mission vocation – to be uprooted from the familiar, the comfortable, from what we grew up knowing and believing; to be separated from our families, our culture, food, language, and even familiar forms of prayer; to be uprooted as well from our assumptions, prejudices and deeply held views. In other words, to be transformed into new people, like Ruth who followed her mother-in-law, Naomi, to a foreign land. It means to enter into our adopted home with openness, humility and a willingness to learn.

By letting go of our ingrained ways of perceiving and doing, we hear God speaking in new voices (the gift of tongues) and we see the world with fresh eyes. As we are turned upside-down, we move out of our comfortable zone and are reborn to receive God's revelation in new forms.

As I embraced the newness of Kenya and later of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, I encountered the resilience, endurance and strong faith of people living on the margins of society with barely enough to eat, a grass mat for sleeping, a pot for cooking and little else.

The first time that I walked into Mathare Valley, a slum of more than 50,000 people on the outskirts of Nairobi, I was overwhelmed by the stench of raw sewage, garbage, by the flies, crowding and noise. As I came to know some of the people who lived in this inhuman situation, I came to admire their ability to endure hardships and overcome adversity in their quest for a better life. I still marvel at their ability to sing, dance, pray and celebrate in thanksgiving for God's gift of life and love.

God kept opening my eyes, from the slums of Nairobi to a prison cell in war torn Rhodesia and refugee camps deep in the forests of Mozambique, to recognize God's presence in the courageous, suffering people that I met wherever I went. I continue to be turned upside-down as I re-enter U.S. society with its consumerism, militarism and polarized political debate.

Global reality:

A few statistics may help to situate our discussion in the wider global reality.

One in every six people on the planet lives in South Asia, one of the most heavily populated areas in the world.¹ This includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia.

One in every five people in the world speaks Mandarin.²

Seoul, Korea, is the second largest metropolitan area in the world with a population of 23 million.³ Can you guess which is the largest?

One million people migrate each day from rural to urban communities worldwide.⁴ The number of mega-cities is growing, bringing crime, disease and inhuman living conditions.

One third of the population of El Salvador lives in North America (the United States and Canada).

One fourth of Zimbabwe's population of 9 million lives in South Africa.

There are one million guest workers from the Philippines in Japan.

Hispanics constitute 14% of the U.S. population of 308 million. Approximately one million new immigrants enter the U.S. annually from various countries.⁵

Overall, minorities now constitute slightly over a third of the population; in four States, minorities are the majority: Hawaii (75%), New Mexico (58%), California (57%) and Texas (52%), as they are in the District of Columbia (68%).⁶

These statistics remind us that we are a people on the move, always searching for a better life, however we might define that. This is not a new phenomenon but the new factor is globalization, an economic and political reality that has increased the flow of migrants worldwide. "What we have is not the globalization of well-being and abundance", says Michael Amaladoss, Indian theologian, "but the globalization of poverty and injustice".⁷

I went to Ellis Island last month and was surprised anew by the statistics – 12 million immigrants from Europe arrived on these shores between 1892 and 1924. Between 1700 and 1810, six million slaves were brought from Africa to the Americas. Seventy-five percent of the settlers who arrived on this continent between 1620 and 1780 were indentured servants. The exhibition states: "By 1789, when George Washington was inaugurated, we were already a multi-ethnic and multi-racial society".⁸ I would add that we were also a deeply divided society with inequality of race and income as well as gender. Until today, in spite of having an African American (Kenyan American) President, the United States continues to struggle against the sins of racism and sexism and to experience a growing gap between rich and poor.

In terms of economic indicators, China has surpassed Japan as the second leading economy in the world while India and Brazil are also catching up with the United States. In fact, Bill Gates and Warren Buffett recently met with millionaires in China and India to encourage them to give some of their wealth to charity!⁹

Japan and Germany lead the way in green energy while the Kingdom of Bhutan in the Himalaya's has one of the most contented populations on the planet as it measures happiness rather than the gross national product as its indicator of success. The African continent leads the world in the use of cell phones and South Korea leads in their production.

I cite these few examples to illustrate that the United States is no longer the world's Number One in many areas. Unfortunately, the U.S. leads the way in military expenditure with 58% of the budget going to fund war.¹⁰ The U.S. also has the world's largest prison population and leads in the consumption of the world's natural resources. Our entertainment industry spreads a diet of sex and violence worldwide while our consumption of drugs fuels the drug cartels south of our border and in Asia.

What does this reality say to us, people of faith and bearers of the Good News of salvation? Christ's message is the opposite of the messages that bombard us each day in the mass media. Christ's measure of success is in direct contrast with this culture's call to be rich and famous at any cost. Christ calls us to be meek and humble of heart; to hear the cry of the poor....

Pope Benedict XVI has named North America and Western Europe as new frontiers of mission.¹¹ In August he created a new Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization, stating: "In the deserts of the secularized world, man's soul thirsts for God, for the living God". He spoke of the progressive secularization of society and of a sort of eclipse of the sense of God, ("there has been a troubling loss of the sense of the sacred", *Motu proprio*, *Ubicumque et Semper*, 21 September 2010). In many respects, these civilizations have indeed lost their way. What does this say to us as we discern the call to mission today?

Questions:

1. When have you been turned upside-down? What did you learn?
2. What can the United States learn from other societies?
3. What worries or concerns you most about the global reality?
4. What gives you hope for the future?

Crimes against the environment

Theologian and environmentalist Thomas Berry declared that the next cutting edge for prophetic ministry in the Church would be saving the planet from environmental destruction. "The Christian future, in my view, will depend above all on the ability of Christians to assume their responsibility for the fate of Earth", he has declared on many occasions. Calling on Catholic Sisters in particular to accept a new role, "the most difficult role that any of us has been asked to fulfill", he says, is "that of stopping the devastation that humans, principally those in our commercially driven societies, are inflicting on the planet".¹² The visionary Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin said much the same thing 50 years earlier.

I must admit that those working in mission overseas, as I have done, often put environmental concerns at the bottom of our list after poverty, war, racism and oppression of women and children. These seemed much more urgent and immediate than the loss of some animals and trees. I needed to be turned upside-down again to see the connections between those critical issues and the destruction of the environment.

It happened when I worked with displaced people in Central Mozambique in the late 1980s during a war of destabilization that was fueled by *apartheid* South Africa against the neighbouring States. As thousands fled their rural homes to escape being kidnapped, maimed and murdered by the rebel RENAMO forces, they flocked into urban centres that had no infrastructure to deal with the rapid influx. Trees were cut for firewood and for shelter; garbage piled in the streets, rivers and streams were polluted. In the absence of meaningful work, prostitution flourished and with it came AIDS. Meanwhile, the rebels slaughtered wildlife for food and killed elephants for their ivory tusks that they then sold on the international market to help fund the war.

Much later, when I visited a Game Park in the south-west corner of Zimbabwe, bordering Mozambique, I saw a generation of elephants without tusks. A game ranger told me that the slaughter of elephants for their tusks had been so great in that area that he believed there was an overnight adaptation for survival and forest elephants no longer had tusks. Whether this was indeed the case or not, it underscored the seriousness of environmental destruction due to war.

I saw a similar reality due to poverty in Zimbabwe. When the Government and the war veterans seized White-owned commercial farms in 2000 and 2001 the rural and urban poor flocked to the land. They cut down trees for firewood and shelter, killed farm animals for food, including breeding stock and denuded the land, selling off the irrigation pipes and farm machinery for daily bread. The long term consequences of this rape of the land have been hunger and starvation for a country that used to feed itself and its neighbours. Zimbabwe needed Land Reform but this was land devastation and land grabbing to satisfy a few. It will take years, even centuries, for Zimbabwe to recover from this man-made environmental disaster.

I have also seen environmental destruction caused by wealth. In fact, the greatest damage to the global environment is caused by the consumption habits of the industrialized North. The model of development that the North has espoused and is trying to teach the rest of the world is unsustainable. The North's insatiable demand for raw materials and non-renewable sources of energy is rapidly depleting the planet and

causing global warming and other environmental disasters. Think of the Gulf oil spill! Or of the toxic waste in Hungary!

When will we wake up to realize that our way of life may destroy the planet. We know the statistics – the industrialized North consumes 80% of the world's resources. As China, India, Brazil and other nations emulate the U.S. life style, where will they find sufficient resources to make it happen? Not only could there be wars over oil but over water as well.

Eco-Justice – Guardians of the Earth

The environmental movement has taken root worldwide. It's no longer a fringe group of a few scientists and middle class Western youth. The last World Earth Day saw public activities in ---- countries around the world with some of the largest and most creative taking place in Ethiopia, India and Bangladesh.

World Earth Day this year also witnessed the conclusion of a World People's Conference for Climate Change, held in Bolivia, that was attended by 35,000 people from around the world. It resulted in a People's Referendum on Climate Change.

South Africa has a strong environmental movement that calls for the protection of biodiversity in the face of a deliberate attempt by North American companies to sell genetically modified seeds on the African continent. In response, the Jesuit Center for Theological Reflection in Zambia and Silveira House in Zimbabwe joined hands to educate subsistence farmers about the risks of a commercialized model of agriculture and the loss of biodiversity it would cause.

The international mining industry has met opposition from Christian groups in Peru and Ecuador that have exposed the pollution of rivers and streams by mining waste that is causing sickness and even death. Human rights activists from Peru led by Maryknoll Sister Pat Ryan and human rights lawyer Trinidad spoke at the United Nations last year, raising awareness of the threat that mining poses to human life.

When I visited the Marshall Islands in the Pacific earlier in the year, I met environmentalists who are trying to protect their natural habitat from over fishing. I watched huge fishing vessels from Asia as they landed quantities of fish to export to Japan and Korea, and wondered how long it would be before the oceans are depleted.

Here in the States, the African Faith and Justice Network (AFJN) and Catholic Relief Services (CRS) have joined hands to oppose the sale of blood diamonds from Zimbabwe as well as from the Congo, Sierre Leone and other war torn nations. They are also leading the campaign against the sale of 'blood coltan', a rare metal from the Democratic Republic of the Congo that helps fuel the war there. Every one of us who has a cell phone and a computer must lobby that the coltan comes from legitimate sources and is not bought from the war lords in the DRC. This means that we will pay more for these items – a small price to help end a bloody and senseless war.

These small but significant steps are, I believe, new frontiers for mission in Asia, Africa, South America and the Pacific.

Saving the planet is not just a physical question or a geographic issue but is also a question of ethics and values with deep theological implications. Teilhard opened for us an understanding of a new cosmology and theology related to the use of the world's resources. Thomas Berry built on this rich foundation. He speaks of "the natural world as the primary revelation to us of the divine".¹³ "The Church", he says, "could provide an integrating reinterpretation of our New Story of the universe. In this manner it could renew religion in its primary expression as celebration, as ecstatic delight in existence. This, I propose, is the Great Work to which Christianity is called in these times".¹⁴

I conclude this section with a poem by Zimbabwean author Charles Mungoshi that reminds us about what really matters in life.

What to Do

Take out all your belongings –
Furniture, clothes, crockery –
All you have since held dear.
Take them all out
And return them to the forest.

Now bring in the sky
The mountains, distant views
Of anything, the rivers, trees,
Boulders; the animals, birds
And insects –
Set them loose in your room.

Now –
Kneel down anywhere
And give thanks.¹⁵

Questions for discussion:

1. When were your eyes opened to the reality of the environmental crisis?
2. What did you do about it?
3. What do you see as the most critical environmental issue facing the planet today?
4. How can the missionary Church respond?

Crimes against women and children --- Human Trafficking

Few places in the world are free from the spiral of violence that we are bombarded with daily in the media. We see the bodies of those brutally murdered by drug cartels that are battling for supremacy in Mexico and spilling over into the United States and south through Guatemala all the way down to Peru. We see images of those killed in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, including pictures of the American men and women who give their lives in the belief that they are protecting their country against terrorism.

We also are aware of the Government sponsored violence in many parts of the world where those in power suppress the Opposition with all the might at their disposal. I think of Zimbabwe where more than 5,000 people were murdered or disappeared after the contested Presidential elections of 2008. I recall the post-election violence in Kenya in early 2009 that took the lives of almost 20,000 people, violence instigated by political leaders from both the ruling party and the opposition. We are also reading about the violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo where thousands have been slaughtered and raped in reprisals for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

All of these examples are horrible and need a solution but the violence that I want to focus on today is the assault on women and girls, seen most visibly in the vast network of human trafficking that stretches around the world. The trafficking of people is a 32 billion dollar industry that rivals the illegal trade in guns and drugs. It's the modern day form of slavery. It cuts to the heart of the Christian message that stresses the dignity of the human person. When we allow human beings to be treated as commodities their true value as children of God is denied and their dignity and self-esteem is eroded.

As many as one million people are trafficked annually across international borders; approximately twenty thousand of these come to the United States, usually for sexual exploitation. Imagine my surprise when I read in the local New York paper shortly after returning to the United States in 2009 that a ring of traffickers were arrested in affluent

Westchester country for buying and selling the sexual services of women from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In Southern Africa, we have a new phenomenon called 'take-aways', named for the fast food that you pick up along highways. Truck drivers who travel from Zambia to South Africa pick up young women along their routes who can't afford the bus or train fare to travel to South Africa. Like take-away food, these women are abused sexually in exchange for free transport and discarded at the next stop. Imagine what this does to their self-esteem. It is also one of the main factors in the spread of AIDS.

When I visited Guatemala earlier this year, I learned about the kidnapping and sale of women throughout Central America. Many of them become HIV positive and live alone and rejected far from home.

The eradication of this modern day slavery will require a world-wide education movement and action across borders. Groups like the Network of Religions for Peace have made this a priority. Religious congregations have set up shelters for women who have escaped their captors but have nowhere to go and no skills to earn a living. The world legal system must devise stern punishments for the buyers and sellers of human cargo. Each of us in this room has a role to play in raising awareness and stopping this most dehumanizing industry. We are called to bring hope and healing to those whose humanity has been trampled upon. This is another face of mission today.

Questions:

1. Do you have any knowledge of human trafficking in the places where you and your members live and work?
2. How can you help to bring this practice to light and join others to stop it?
3. Can you help to rehabilitate the victims?

Crimes against the common good --- Poverty and Inequality

When I left Zimbabwe in January 2009, one U.S. dollar was worth 50 billion Zim dollars. Yes, 50 billion! We were all billionaires! When I returned six month later, the U.S. dollar was worth one hundred trillion Zim dollars. I think that's 13 zero's. One needs to be a mathematical genius to buy a loaf of bread there.

The people are now trillionaires – but they have nothing but useless pieces of paper – no food, water, electricity, medicine. One quarter of the population, almost 3 million people, have left the country to look for work in South Africa, Botswana or Zambia, where they become illegal immigrants and are arrested or deported if they are caught. Godfrey Fly, a father of three, often goes to South Africa where he finds temporary employment on commercial farms. When I last saw him he had been arrested and after spending several months in prison, he was deported back to Zimbabwe. Yet he was preparing to travel south again. When I pointed out that he might be arrested again, he replied with a smile: "They feed you in prison there and give you blankets. It's much better than life here".

This example from Zimbabwe illustrates the growing poverty and inequality within and between nations and the resulting migration of those seeking a way to survive. These are not new issues nor are there easy answers to the problems of poverty and inequality. However, globalization has made the impact greater. The growing gap between the rich and poor, for example, is no longer experienced only in Asia, Africa and Latin America but is becoming more pronounced in North America and Western Europe.

A consequence of our interconnected world is the growing inequality between the have's and have nots, both here and around the world. The richest 1% of the world has as much as the poorest 57% taken together and the three wealthiest individuals have as much as the poorest 48 nations combined, mostly on the African continent.¹⁶ Here on this continent, in this country, the gap between the highest paid and the average worker

has skyrocketed. In the 1960s it was approximately 25 to 30 times higher; by 1990, it was 100 times higher and in 2005, it was 900 times higher.¹⁷ The top 1% in the United States (this includes athletes and celebrities who are also highly paid) own a third of the nation's wealth – more than the entire bottom 90% put together.¹⁸ What's happened to the middle class?

The majority of the world's poor live in slums, subsist on less than one dollar a day, have only one change of clothes, a mat to sleep on and a pot in which to cook whatever scraps can be made into a soup to keep one alive for one more day. One billion people go to bed hungry on our planet each day and a child dies of starvation every six seconds.¹⁹ Truly, I am not exaggerating. I have lived with such poor people for almost forty years.

"... the kind of poverty which is lived by all too many people in our world is an evil and a scandal, something to be fought against and overcome whenever and wherever possible.... The great liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez says it this way: 'Material poverty is a subhuman situation.... Concretely, to be poor means to die of hunger, to be illiterate, to be exploited by others, not to know that you are being exploited, not to know that you are a person'. Quite simply, poverty is an evil".²⁰

Poverty is what drives migration and the vast flow of people from South to North and within the South itself. One quarter of Zimbabwe's population is in South Africa. One third of El Salvador's population is in Canada and the United States. People leave home, risking long journeys and exploitation along the way for one reason: – when they arrive to seek a better life for themselves and their families. Until we can create a more human and equal world, we will never stem the flow of illegal immigrants no matter how many border patrols we hire or how many fences we build. The brain drain that this migration represents is a huge loss for the countries of origin and helps keep them poor and underdeveloped.

The African Synod pointed out that the political leaders of Africa often collude with international companies to despoil their own countries. We are often very quick to judge and condemn this corruption, which is indeed very serious. But I must ask whether these greedy and corrupt leaders are so very different from some of the greedy and corrupt leaders on Wall Street and in the banks and major corporations in this country? When I read that the head of Citigroup received a bonus on 38.2 million dollars in 2008, I could hardly believe it! This bonus could have paid the salaries of all the teachers in Zimbabwe for a year. There teachers are happy to receive one hundred and fifty dollars a month.²¹ We continue to read news about such excessive compensation by banks and corporations that received our tax-payer dollars to keep them afloat.

As Christians we are called to put the common good first and to act in solidarity with one another. In other words, the recognition of our common humanity obliges us to take action to create a more just and equal world. Cornel West, professor of Religion and African American studies at Princeton University, argues that people's commitment to their faith is best demonstrated in service to others. "Are you concerned about those on the margins", he asks, "or do we define a catastrophe only when it relates to investment bankers and Wall Street Bankers as opposed to the precious children in chocolate cities or white children in Appalachia or red children in Navajo reservations?...What costs are we willing to actually undergo? You can't be a Christian if you're not willing to pick up your cross and, in the end, be crucified on it. That's the bottom line".²²

That sounds radical but so does Jesus. Have we really heard the message of the Gospel?

Here are a few excerpts from the Gospel of Luke:

"Be on your guard and avoid every kind of greed, for even though you have many possessions, it is not that which gives you life" (Lk 12:15).

"Sell what you have and give alms. Get yourselves purses that do not wear out, and make safe investments with God, where no thief comes and no moth destroys. For where your investments are, there will your heart be also" (Lk 12:33-4).

"No servant can serve two masters.... You cannot give yourself both to God and to Money. The Pharisees, who loved money, heard all this and sneered at Jesus" (Lk 16:13-14; Mt 6:24).

The Gospels are full of such reminders.

The message of Jesus turns the values of the world upside-down. The parables that we know so well - the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Woman at the well, and so many more - are stories of the kind of transformation that Jesus brings about in people's lives. He overturns the accepted values of his world and his time and introduces radical concepts of forgiveness, tolerance, compassion and love that are equally radical today.

The question, who is my neighbour, continues to call us to reach out to those in need, whether we know them or not. To conclude, we cannot return to business as usual nor can we restore things to how they were - nor should we want to. Why would we want to live in a world where the majority live in abject poverty while a few live in luxury? Why would we want to continue to pollute and destroy the environment? Why would we spend more on weapons than on education for our youth? And why should industry make more money eliminating jobs than creating them? Why should bankers get bonuses and corporate bosses get huge bonuses even when they bankrupt the rest of us? Truly the old growth-based model is a recipe for disaster. We now know that the U.S. economy was a house built on sand. When the wind and rain of reality hit, it was washed away.

Let's use this crisis as an opportunity to re-invent how we do things. I'm not just talking about adopting a simpler life-style, although that is a sensible thing to do, but of adopting a new global ethics that will care more about the future than about short-term gain; that will put people before profit; and that will protect and preserve the Earth's resources rather than exploit and deplete them. Let's also heed the call of PAX Christi International to the MDG Summit at the United Nations to reduce military spending, which it calls "the largest collection of economic resources available to governments"²³ (totalling U.S.\$1,531 billion globally in 2009). The authors ask: "What could be more innovative than a radical switch in priorities, resulting in a diminished commitment to weapons and soldiers, in favour of a massive boost for global public goods and the titanic challenge of climate change?"²⁴

Let me end this section with a story from the wisdom of African wildlife.²⁵ It is a story about the rivalry between an elephant and a warthog. The warthog is not a very impressive looking animal but one which is very resourceful. It looks like a pig with fur. It is able to survive by eating grass as well as roots and tubers. Its snout is like a shovel that can dig into the earth to find tasty bulbs and nutritious rhizomes. Its jaw is hinged, enabling the warthog to grind grass and fruits. It lives in burrows where it is safe from predators and also from the hot sun. The warthog does not impress by its looks or deeds, but has learned to use the scarce resources around it to survive.

A Kenyan folktale recounts that the warthog was created with beautiful long ivory tusks and the elephant was given very small curved horns. The elephant envied the warthog and tricked him into exchanging tusks. After they had traded, the warthog laughed and said that the elephant would always live in fear and danger, as it would be hunted for its beautiful tusks while the ugly warthog could live in peace.

Can we learn from the warthog to make the best use of the little that we have? Instead of envying those who have more, let us remember that the elephant, with its precious tusks, is becoming an endangered species while the resourceful warthog is safely roaming the African plain.

Questions:

1. How does globalization impact the reality of poverty around the world?
2. How does poverty affect migration?
3. How can the Church promote a new global ethic around economic issues?

The New Face of Mission

While I don't wish to blow my own trumpet, as the saying goes, I would be remiss not to mention that the next two years will mark the 100th anniversary of the Maryknoll mission movement. As you probably know, Maryknoll was the first Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, formed in 1911. Until 1907, the United States had been a receiving church. When Pope Benedict XV declared that the US was no longer a mission territory, the seeds of Maryknoll were planted. Mary Josephine Rogers, James Anthony Walsh and Thomas Frederick Price joined hands to begin a new mission movement for both men and women that grew into Maryknoll.

Maryknoll has become a large family. In addition to the Maryknoll Sisters, priests and brothers, we have two branches of lay members. The Maryknoll lay missionaries celebrated their 35th anniversary this year and have sent more than 400 men, women and children on mission overseas during this time. The Maryknoll affiliates mark their 20th anniversary next year. The affiliate movement is the fastest growing branch of Maryknoll with more than 900 members, the majority of them in the United States. The affiliates promote mission at home and abroad. They are involved in local projects that put into practice the Social Teachings of the Church. Some of them serve on mission overseas for short periods of time as well.

The growing role of the laity in mission is one of the major features of the new face of mission. Lay mission movements in South America and Asia are also thriving and sending members abroad. Short term service is another new feature. Short term service is experienced by many students as Catholic colleges and universities participate in semesters abroad. This experience helps to turn young people upside-down, opening their eyes to social injustice and the unequal relations between rich and poor, North and South. Many go on to join lay mission groups or to work with non-governmental agencies (NGOs) that serve abroad.

Another new feature of mission today is collaboration between different congregations. I have in mind, inter-congregational initiatives such as Solidarity with Southern Sudan that is made up of 142 religious congregations of sisters, brothers and priests. At present they have 24 members working in four areas in the South of Sudan to train teachers and health workers. They come from 14 different congregations, 13 nationalities and from every continent!²⁶ Perhaps this is a model of mission for the future.

The new face of mission also reflects the diversity of our globalised world. "As religious missionaries, the Maryknoll Sisters have also become globalized. Our membership is not only living in more than 25 countries, but many of our Sisters are from those countries".²⁷ I suspect that this is true of your communities as well. We have Korean Sisters working in Zimbabwe; Zimbabweans working in Bolivia, Bolivians in East Timor, Tanzanians in Brazil and Bolivia and so on.

The fact that our members are no longer from the dominant world power radically changes the way we are perceived and the way we do mission. Our new members do not intend to build churches, schools and hospitals. They do not intend to raise millions to leave behind an institution that represents a former model of mission - a Western model. Instead, our new members focus on relationships and accompaniment. They understand the late President of Tanzania's good advice. Julius Nyerere told us forty years ago that we should leave our institutions and go and live with the people, work with them, suffer with them and fight against injustice with them. "Only by sharing work, hardships, knowledge, persecution and progress can the Church contribute to our growth", he said. "If the Church is not part of our poverty and part of our struggle against poverty and

injustice, then it is not part of us", he declared. "The poor and oppressed should come to you not for alms", he stressed, "but for support against injustice".²⁸ These words are still relevant today.

What do these changes in the face of mission say to each of us today? How do we perceive mission?

In my own experience, one of the joys and frustrations of mission is to unlock the secrets of our new home gradually as well as to unlock the inner depths of our mission vocation.

My 40 years in mission on the African continent have helped me to know what this means.

- It means to make friends with the people to whom you are sent. They will be your new family and will teach you all you need to know.
- It means to let your heart be broken by the poverty and suffering you will encounter each day. Your tears will enable you to be a compassionate and healing presence.
- It means to accept your powerlessness. This will allow you to become an open channel of God's transforming love.
- And it means to trust in God who loves you and who loves the people you have come to serve.

In his new book Made For Goodness, Archbishop Desmond Tutu gives a wonderful description of those who serve in spiritual ministry to others, as we do in mission. He says that one of our roles is to be "mid-wives of meaning".²⁹ We help to reveal the presence of God in the small events of everyday life. We also help to unlock the message of the Gospel as it relates to the issues and problems, hopes and sorrows of today's world. In the words of Bishop Tutu: "We guide those in our care to discern a purpose in their challenges, in their suffering and in their joy". He goes on to explain that our Christian faith teaches us that there is a deeper meaning in life than personal pleasure. "The goal of human life", he says, "is to live beyond the small, narrow prison of our own cares, wants, and worries".

We see this in a very real way in mission as we share a table with "the poor, the crippled, the blind and the lame" (Lk 14:13) around the world, as we read in the Gospel of Luke. With them, we learn the meaning of Christ's death and Resurrection, as it is lived out in their daily lives. We carry with them the cross of their suffering and pain. With them we also experience the joy of resurrection in their hope and courage and their deep and abiding faith that God is with them in their daily struggles for survival. I have found that this entering into the lives of the poor is one of the greatest blessings of our mission vocation. It enables us to discern that deeper meaning of human life. To quote Tutu again: "When we recognize that our lives have meaning beyond our cares and comforts, we tap the source of true joy".

This year also marks the 30th anniversary of the death of Archbishop Romero and the four church women in El Salvador – Ita, Maura, Jean and Dorothy. It's also the 30th anniversary of the death of Carol Piette, who drowned in a flash flood in El Salvador in August 1980. We often forget about Carla but this year a book has been published about her life, Vessel of Clay, that will help correct that omission.

I will end this presentation with the song that Carla wrote and composed and that she and Ita sang on their many missions of mercy – "The Lord of the Road". **"God is the Lord of the road.** Wherever we go, whatever we do, God is leading us, accompanying us, strengthening, inspiring and consoling us". Without a deep trust that God was with me each step of the way, I would have given up and concluded that the mission was impossible. Faced with a racist government and a brutal liberation war in Rhodesia in 1977, I would have run away in fear and regret. Living through the violence and

destruction in present-day Zimbabwe, I would have collapsed in anger and despair. Trust in God made all the difference. I'm sure that the five women in El Salvador turned to God in the final horrifying minutes of their lives. I hope that each of you have that consolation of trusting in God when you face hard choices and difficult times in your life.

Questions: Signs of Hope and Healing

1. What are the leading global challenges that face missionaries today?
2. What are the signs of hope in Church and society?
3. What have we learned in our mission journey that can contribute to hope and healing in the United States and around the world?
4. What is the new face of mission today and towards the future?

**Sent by Fr. Michael MONTROYA, MJ, Executive Director of the USCMA.
MISSION CONGRESS 2010 Albuquerque, New Mexico 28 – 31 October 2010**

FOOTNOTES

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- ⁷ McCabe, McCabe, SMA, "Key Challenges for International Missionary Institutes in Africa Today in the Light of the Second Synod for Africa", 19 May 2010, SEDO Seminar 2010, Rome, Italy, p. 3.
- ⁸ Ellis Island, "The Peopling of America", first floor permanent exhibit.
- ⁹ NYT, October 2010.
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- ²³ "New Priorities", Statement by the International Peace Bureau, PAX Christi International and Religions for Peace, 20 August 2010.
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- ²⁵ McLaughlin, Janice, Ostriches, Dung Beetles and Other Spiritual Masters, A Book of Wisdom from the Wild, Orbis, Maryknoll, 2009, pp. 127-133.
- ²⁶ Correspondence from Sr. Cathy Arata, SSND and Pat Murray, IBVM
- ²⁷ McDonald, Sister Ellen, Benefactor's Day, Maryknoll Sisters' Center, 19 April 2010.
- ²⁸ Nyerere, Julius, "Freedom and Development", London, Oxford U. Press, 1973, pp. 213-238.
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ADVENT WORKSHOP 2011:

THE E-GOSPEL IN A POSTMODERN KEY

main animator: Pio Estepa, SVD

PIO ESTEPA obtained a licentiate in social communication and a doctorate in social sciences in the Pontifical Gregorian University. As a missionary he had worked in Congo, Mexico, Fiji, Australia. He is presently serving as mission secretary of the Society of the Divine Word.

IN ENGLISH, on 25-27 November 2011

..... IN FRENCH, on 2-4 December 2011

..... IN SPANISH, on 2-4 December 2011

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