

73/12

Rome, 30th March, 1973

This week:

pp.

1. THE MISSIONARY IN CHINA - PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE, by George H. Dunne S.J. 203/229/233

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The author, Father George Dunne, S.J., after serving in China for five years (1932-37), did his doctoral work on the early Jesuit courtier missionaries. His dissertation eventually became one of the outstanding English-language works on that episode in church history: Generation of Giants (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1962). For several years until his retirement in 1971 Father Dunne was director of SODEPAX.

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2. LISTS OF BOOKS RECEIVED DURING FEBRUARY 234/5
3. DIARY - NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES 236/237

EDOS has a vacancy for A SECRETARY AND ENGLISH GROUP ASSISTANT

The person appointed will

- (a) serve as personal secretary to the Executive Secretary
- (b) assist English speaking groups
- (c) do general office work and typing.

The person appointed will

- preferably be a Religious and a Man
- certainly be bilingual (English and French)

and have office experience, knowledge of Mission terminology, training and competence.

- The salary will be dependent upon previous experience (about 2,200,000 lire per annum plus insurances).

COMING EVENTS: CESTA-AGRIMISSIO Seminar (see p.237) on the 5th-3-73 at FAO, Building A, via delle Terme di Caracalla.

Internal Communications - 10-4-'73 - 4.00 pm - O.M.I.

Development Working Group - 9-5-'73 - 4.00 pm - SEDOS

Sincerely yours,

fr. Leonzio BANO, fscj

VIA DEI VERBITI, 1. 00154 ROMA, C. P. 50. 80. TEL. 571350



-1-

In the early 1950's Father Paul O'Brien, S.J., en route to Rome, paid me a short visit in Phoenix, Arizona. He held the office of vice-visitor of all the Jesuit missions in China and was charged with the task of re-locating Jesuits as they were expelled or voluntarily left the mainland. The great exodus was on. Father O'Brien asked me: "When do you think we will return to China?" "Not in our lifetime," was my reply.

I would be happy if my prognosis should prove wrong; but given my present age, and his, the odds seem in its favor. In a certain sense I do not believe the missionary will ever return to China. Inasmuch as this seems to contradict the title of this paper, a few words of clarification are in order. In my judgment, a missionary cast in the common mold of the recent past, that is, the religiously inspired, dedicated man or woman come to China for the sole purpose of preaching the Gospel "to the heathen Chinese", and making as many converts as possible, will not, for reasons which will become clear further on, have a place in China's future. Nor do I think this a matter of regret.

I do, however, have hope in the future of the Christian Church in China. This is based more upon history than upon scientific analysis, although such an analysis does provide grounds for hope.

The Church in China has several times risen from its grave. The Nestorian communities of the 7th and 8th centuries were destroyed by persecution. In the 13th century John of Monte Corvino, the first archbishop of Peking, brought the Roman Catholic faith to China. The flourishing Christian centers which he and his fellow Franciscans had established, disappeared in the following century following the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, victims of geography and of a vulnerable life line running to Rome. So deeply had all traces of the enterprise been buried beneath the sands of time that Matteo Ricci, who returned with the faith in the 16th century, was unaware that the name of Christ had ever been pronounced in China.

This is the basis of my hope that history will repeat itself, if not tomorrow, then fifty or one hundred or two hundred years from tomorrow. This kind of limited optimism is foreign to western habits of thought, but not, I think, to Chinese, who take a long view of history, like God to whom, the psalmist says, a thousand years are as a day.

Thoroughly Chinese is the natural way in which Mao Tse-tung reaches into the distant past for historical events of literary legends with which to support his analysis of current affairs. It is this ability to take a long view of history which accounts for the traditional patience of the Chinese. "The United States will not always control the vote of the majority of the member states of the United Nations," was Mao's typically Chinese reaction to Peking's exclusion from that body, "And when it no longer does, the People's Republic of China will become a member." (1) He was, of course, right. It is probably the same confidence in the passage of time, or rather in the changes that arrive with the passage of time - for time itself changes nothing - that accounts for the absence of a note of urgency in Peking's prosecution of its claims to Taiwan.

Inasmuch as this paper will frequently mention the sinicization of Matteo Ricci it may not be irrelevant at this point to call attention to the affinity between his way of thinking and that of the Chinese in this as in so many other respects. In 1609, the year before his death, he was asked by Francesco

Pasio, the Jesuit vice-provincial, to try to obtain from the emperor explicit permission to preach the Gospel. In reply Ricci counselled patience. It was not prudent to raise the issue, nor was it necessary at that time. Eventually "when we have already a goodly number of Christians, then perhaps it will not be impossible to present some memorial to the emperor asking at least that the right of Christians to practise their religion be accorded." (2) Eighty-three years later such a memorial was presented by Ricci's successors to the K'ang-hsi emperor who, responding favorably, promulgated an edict of toleration in favor of the Christian religion.

### The Problem Is The Future

There is no great difficulty about discussing the past and present of the missionary in China. The events of the past are inscribed and those of the present are being inscribed in a record which, however susceptible of different interpretations, is available to all who care to read. The problem is with the future. Here we are surrounded by imponderables, beset by contingencies, plagued by uncertainties. The question is best looked upon from the Ricci angle of vision and whatever answers are suggested are best qualified by his typically restrained appraisal of future possibilities: "then perhaps it will not be impossible."

There are some certainties, to be sure; one of them is that Mao Tse-tung, in his 80th year as these lines are being written, is near the end of his remarkable career. This certainty, however, only adds to the uncertainty. Who and what will follow? I leave speculation to bolder spirits. I shall, however, express one conviction: there will be no march back to the mainland by the Kuomintang, the long nurtured and from the beginning hopeless dream of Chiang Kai-shek and the small community of political refugees on Taiwan. Nor will there be a restoration of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial status of pre-revolutionary China which the Communist Party under Mao's leadership has effectively destroyed.

Beyond that predictions are risky. The decline and fall of Liu Shao-chi, who long shared power with Mao and for some time overshadowed him; the precipitous fall of Lin Biao, Mao's own choice as his successor, are warning flags to anyone who would launch himself upon the sea of prophecy. They also underscore the error of formulating policy upon the presupposition that things will always be as they now are. Political regimes change; and not only in the sense that they are over-turned by counter-coups, the forlorn hope of the exiles on Taiwan, but in the sense that in the crucible of events and under the necessity of dealing with stubborn facts rather than theories, even the most dogmatically committed regime may undergo a change of policy, if not of heart. The pilgrimage to Peking of Richard Nixon, who had built a successful political career upon a platform of intransigent anti-communism, is evidence of this; as was his welcome to Peking by the leaders of the People's Republic of China.

On the other hand, it is obvious that any speculation about the future of the Church in China has to be based upon some presupposition about the future of China itself. The presupposition within the context of which this paper is written is that, following the departure from the scene of the leader whom André Malraux has described as the last of the great men of the 20th century, China will develop along Maoist lines. This means that an examination of Mao's own thinking will figure prominently in the attempt to gauge future possibilities. Should this presupposition prove to be wrong, then, of course, the conclusions reached in this paper may be partially, but I think not entirely, invalidated.

Mao himself insists that any speculation about the future must begin with a careful analysis of the concrete situation. It is a method which he has repeatedly employed himself. Such an analysis, vis-à-vis the subject of this paper, must begin with the question of the policy of the government towards religion and specifically towards the Christian Church.(3)

#### Mao On Religion

Mao's explicit statements on the subject of religion are few.(4) When a student at the Normal School in Changsha, in a comment written in the margin of his ethics textbook, he listed religion, together with capitalism and autocracy, as one of "the four evil demons of the empire." He named the fourth evil demon as "repression of the individual" than which "there can be no greater crime." (5) It is doubtful that he had Christianity in mind. It is more probable that he was thinking of the superstitions and myths which form a large part of traditional folk religion in China. These he looked upon as fetters lashing the people to the pillars of semi-feudal servitude.(6) Christian missionary work, particularly that carried on in schools and hospitals, he looked upon as a form of foreign "cultural aggression." (7) He so branded it in 1939 and ten years later repeated the charge:

"For a very long period United States imperialism laid greater stress than other imperialist countries on activities in the sphere of spiritual aggression, extending from religious to philanthropic and cultural undertakings... 14.7% of the assets of the missionary organizations were in medical services, 38.2% in education and 47.1% in religious activities." (8)

To those who devoted years of service to the medical and educational institutions built in China by American, chiefly Protestant, churches, it must seem ungrateful on Mao's part to dismiss their work as a form of cultural imperialism. Nevertheless and granting the enormous benefits to the Chinese people, the markedly foreign character of the enterprise gives sufficient substance to the charge to make Mao's view, if excessively jaundiced, understandable. It is a notorious fact, for example, that even anti-clerical French governments have supported French Catholic missionary efforts precisely because they regarded their educational aspects as useful agents in the promotion of French cultural interests - which are not entirely divorced from French political interests.

Other than these few critical comments, Mao is on record as believing collaboration possible "in the field of political action... with some idealists and even religious people..." (9) and as supporting religious freedom. In his report On Coalition Government to the 7th National Congress of the Communist Party on April 24, 1945, he said: "All believers in Protestantism, Catholicism, Islamism, Buddhism and other faiths enjoy the protection of the people's government so long as they abide by its laws. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe; neither compulsion nor discrimination is permitted." (10) In the same report he listed "freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, political conviction and religious belief and freedom of the person (as) the people's most important freedoms." (11) He made it clear, however, in a paper written in 1955 that such freedoms did not extend to counter-revolutionaries. "Freedom of speech is the exclusive right of the people, among whom there can be a spectrum of views, i.e., freedom of criticism, freedom to express divergent views, freedom to publicize theism or materialism." (12)

### The Record on Religion

There is nothing in these stated views suggestive of implacable hostility. Against this, nevertheless, stands the record of suppression in the early years of the 1950's: liquidation of Christian institutions, imprisonment and expulsion of foreign mission personnel, imprisonment of Chinese clergy and laity. The violence of these years was primarily a result of the resistance, often heroic, of the majority of Catholics, acting in obedience to the directives of ecclesiastical authorities, to the acceptance of the Three Autonomies proposed by Chou En-lai as a basis for the establishment of peaceful co-existence between the government and the Catholic Church. The three autonomies which the government insisted the Chinese Church vindicate for herself were: self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. To the government the objective was to cut the Church loose from her foreign ties which, from its point of view, made her a foreign institution not attuned to the interests of China, hostile to the regime, and a natural tool of imperialistic interests. To the ecclesiastical authorities the objective seemed to be the establishment of a national Church separated from Rome, therefore schismatic in character. The issue seemed a simple one of loyalty to the Holy See. Because Chou En-lai had recognized "the necessity of Catholics remaining united to Rome in spiritual matters"(13) many Catholics, both of the clergy and of the laity, were disposed to accept the three autonomies. The inevitable result, in view of the categorical veto interposed by the apostolic inter-nuncio, was a cruel division within the Catholic body which exists to this day.

Shanghai, once one of the two most flourishing centers of Catholicism in the Far East, is a tragic symbol of this division. Her legitimate bishop, Kung Pei-mei, imprisoned in 1956, is serving a life sentence imposed in 1960. Another bishop, the legitimacy but not the validity of whose consecration is denied by Rome, occupies, or did at last report, his episcopal office. Both are Jesuits; and it might perhaps be said that, as far as it is proper for us to judge, both are equally devoted to the faith which they received in baptism.

Recently some Catholic writers have put the entire blame for the deterioration of the Catholic position in China upon the intransigence of the Holy See as represented by Archbishop Antonio Riberi, the inter-nuncio. I do not wish to enter into the polemics of this controversy except to say, as will probably appear from my later remarks, that if I held a position it would be in the middle ground.

It would be somewhat naive, I think, to suppose that acquiescence in the three autonomies would have assured the freedom of the Catholic Church. This would be to ignore the doctrinaire hostility of Marxism to religion. It would also be to ignore the evidence of the Cultural Revolution which vented its fury upon religion among other things, not sparing either the Protestant Church or the compliant sectors of the Catholic Church which had accepted the three autonomies. Again Shanghai is a tragic symbol. During the Cultural Revolution the two lofty spires of the great church of St. Ignatius at Zikawei were demolished and the church itself, scene over the years of countless inspiring liturgical manifestations of Christian faith, converted into a granary. The fact that the actual bishop in office adhered to the three autonomies did not save his church from vandalism.

Confrontation, conflict, imprisonment, expulsion, leaving the non-conforming Church either suppressed or in refuge on Taiwan and the compliant Church leading a fitful existence; then, after a lull of almost a decade, the furies of the Cultural Revolution, leaving in its wake desolation and silence. This in brief is the record that must be set against Mao Tse-tung's statements and which must be taken into account in any attempt to analyze the concrete situation.

The policy as reflected in Mao's recorded statements gives grounds for hope. The policy as reflected in the record of events does not encourage optimism. To what extent does the latter contradict the former?

#### Mao's Thoughts And The Record

The measures of suppression which followed the conflict over the three autonomies do not, in my judgment, contradict Mao's position. If he more than once declared freedom of religion to be a tenet of the regime, he also more than once expressed a conviction that missionary activity had served as a tool of foreign cultural imperialism. Out of his awareness of the humiliations inflicted upon Chinese pride, Mao developed quite early in life a bitter and understandable resentment of foreign institutions. An incident which took place in 1924 illustrates this.

"A former schoolmate who had been studying abroad for several years ran into him one day in Shanghai. Mao, who was dressed in worn Chinese clothes, looked disdainfully at his friend's Western-style suit and said to him: 'You'd better change your clothes.' 'Why?' asked the other. 'I'll show you,' replied Mao and took him to see the famous sign at the entrance to a municipal park in Shanghai, 'Chinese and dogs not allowed.'"(14)

From his student days he had made the liberation of China from the humiliations suffered at the hands of foreign arrogance and from all forms of foreign domination one of the chief goals of his life. Insistence upon an autonomous Chinese Church was a logical derivative of this point of view.

The attack upon religion which was part of the Cultural Revolution is another matter. This was an attack upon the free exercise of religion. Its violence also contradicted another one of Mao's often expressed thoughts: "...a tactic of intimidation does not produce any result ...The Communist Party does not depend upon intimidation."(15)

On the other hand, the initiative of the Red Guards in this, as in other areas, would find full support in another of Mao's thoughts, and one quite central to his thinking: his almost, although not quite, unlimited confidence in revolutionary movements originating with the masses.

The extent to which the revolution can rely upon the revolutionary spirit of the masses as against what Mao calls "commandism", or orders handed down from above, is an old issue which has divided communist ideologues. Lenin took a dim view of reliance upon the masses. Rosa Luxembourg sharply disagreed.

"The popular masses must participate, otherwise socialism is decreed, handed down by a dozen intellectuals gathered around a green table cloth."(16)

Throughout his career Mao has been a thorough believer in the Luxembourg thesis. There is perhaps no other single idea which appears so often in his admonitions as the necessity of relying upon the masses. It runs like a thread through all his writings.

- "The relationship between the party and the masses is comparable to that between fish and water."(17)
- "We must never detach ourselves from the masses... Understand them, be with them, and serve them well."(18)
- "The masses have great creative power... We should go to the masses and learn from them."(19)
- "Twenty years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses."(20)
- "We communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go we unite with the people, take root and blossom among them."(21)
- "If we rely on the masses, we shall overcome all our difficulties."(22)
- "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people."(23)

As early as 1927 in his remarkable analysis of the upsurge of the peasant movement in Hunan he had said: "There are three alternatives: to march at their head and lead them, to trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing, to stand in their way and oppose them."(24)

Mao's confidence in spontaneous mass movements, a trait which distinguishes him from party leaders elsewhere, can probably be traced to his active participation in the nation-wide student protest movement of May, 1919. The protest, the first large scale manifestation of political dissent of the century, was sparked by the transferal to Japan by the Paris Peace Conference of the former German territorial concessions in China. Mao had only recently returned to his native province of Hunan from Peking where he had spent some months working in the university library when the demonstration broke out on May 4. In Hunan he helped organize a "United Students Association" and took a leading part in its activities.

When Mao left Peking he was not yet a committed Marxist, although he had incorporated some of its tenets into "the curious mixture of ideas of liberalism, democratic reformism and utopian socialism" which formed the contents of his intellectual grab-bag at the time.(24-A) Less than a year after his involvement in the mass student protest he had adopted Marxism as his creed and two years later he participated in the first Congress of the minuscule Chinese Communist Party.

Out of this experience was born a confidence both in mass movements and in youth which were abiding. His confidence in youth did not later, as often is the case, fall victim to the generation gap. Twenty years later, in a speech commemorating the "great event" of May 4, 1919, he said:

"What has been the role of Chinese youth since the May 4 Movement? That of a kind of vanguard; everyone recognizes this except the die-hards. But what does it mean to play the role of a vanguard? It is to put oneself at the head, to march in the front ranks of the revolution. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ranks of the Chinese people there is a corps composed of young intellectuals and students... It numbers today an effective of several millions. It is an army which

forms one of the fronts, and an important one, in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism."(25)

### The Cultural Revolution and Mao

Whether the Cultural Revolution was started by Mao himself is a matter of dispute. Some are of the opinion that it was a genuinely spontaneous movement which, originating among students at the University of Peking, spread to other universities and cities, and soon assumed the proportions of a tidal wave that threatened to sweep away all traditions and institutions including the Communist Party itself.(26) Against this opinion is the claim of Mao himself: "I ignited the Cultural Revolution of the past five months."(27)

Whether he ignited the Cultural Revolution or whether, in accordance with his advice in connection with the Hunan peasant movement almost forty years before, he quickly moved "to march at their head and to lead them", is not of decisive importance. In either case, the Revolution served his purposes and he did manage with extraordinary nimbleness "to march at their head". Nevertheless, at various times and for considerable stretches of time it threatened to get completely out of hand. So much so that fear, bordering on panic, spread through upper echelons of the party apparatus. This was not surprising in view of the fact that none of the top leaders could be sure that on the following day they would not appear as a new target on a Big Poster.

Mao's reaction to this situation was typical and, among communist leaders, unique. He let the students have their head. At the time of the Hunan movement he had chided his colleagues for panicking in the face of peasant extremism:

"To talk about 'arousing the masses' of the people day in and day out and then to be scared to death when the masses do rise - what difference is there between this and Lord Sheh's love of dragons?"(28)

Lord Sheh was a character in a story dating from 77 B.C. who filled his palace with paintings of dragons. When a real dragon, drawn by friendly curiosity, appeared one day Lord Sheh was frightened out of his wits.

As in Hunan so in the case of the Cultural Revolution Mao refused to take fright at the appearance of the dragon. And as then so now he chided his colleagues.

"Let the chaos go on for a few months and just believe that the majority is good and only the minority bad...There are very few hooligans," he assured them, "Let the students go into the street. What is wrong with their writing big character posters and going into the street? Let foreigners take pictures. They take shots to show aspects of our backward tendencies. But it does not matter. Let the imperialists make a scandal about us."

--- "Some comrades are afraid of the masses, of their criticism and what they will say...I do not think a fear of this kind is necessary. What is there to be afraid of?...The question of right or wrong, correct or mistaken... can only be resolved by the method of reasoning, discussion, criticism and self-criticism."(29)

--- "It is understandable that there should still be ignorance and inconsistencies after less than six months...I think it is a good thing to have this tidal wave. Brains which have not thought for many years may think again under



its impact. At the worst, it is just a mistake. Any line, if it is a mistake should be corrected, and that is all. Who wants to knock you down? I do not. I do not believe the Red Guards want to do that either."(30)

It must be remembered that the chief object of Red Guard attack was the Communist Party bureaucracy itself. It is impossible to imagine a Brezhnev standing by, let alone encouraging, a nation wide student attack upon the Communist Party apparatus. Yet this is what Mao did.

Although Mao welcomed the attack upon the bureaucracy, he did not wish to see the party itself destroyed. The party was still, in his eyes, the indispensable leading force in the pursuit of the ultimate aims of the revolution. I have already observed that Mao's confidence in revolutionary mass movements is "almost, although not quite, unlimited." When the chaos had gone on long enough and when the existence of the party itself was threatened, Mao acted to bring the movement under control. He brought in the army, not, however, to crush the Revolution but to join it! And by joining it to establish control!

There was to be sure some confusion, situations in which neither the army units involved nor the students were sure who was on the side of whom. There were episodes of direct confrontation. But on the whole the takeover was managed with such adroitness that in the end the army appeared not as the enemy of youth but as its ally in the Cultural Revolution. The party, shaken, chastened, and purged, remained in place and Mao himself emerged with increased prestige and authority.

#### Deviations from Mao's Thoughts

Because he heartily endorsed the Cultural Revolution it does not follow that in all of its activities it accurately reflected his thoughts. While, for example, its attack upon the "four olds" (old ideology, thoughts, habits and customs) finds support in Mao's thought, its indiscriminate character does not...

"Ancient Chinese culture should neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied, but should be accepted with discrimination so as to help the progress of China's new culture," said Mao in a report of April 24, 1945, to the 7th National Congress of the Party, repeating a principle he had enunciated on more than one previous occasion.(31)

#### Mao and Violence

What has been Mao's position on violence generally? Speaking to a party congress in 1937 he said: "A bloodless transition (to socialism) is what we would like and should strive for, but what will happen will depend on the strength of the masses."(32) He accepts violence, however, as inevitable in a revolution. Defending acts of violence by the peasants in Hunan, he said: "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another...Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousand of years."(33)

He approved shooting "the handful of archcriminals who are really guilty of the most heinous crimes...after the people's courts have given (them) a serious trial

and sentenced them and the sentences have been approved by appropriate government organizations." (34) But he more than once condemned mass or indiscriminate killing. "Reactionaries must be suppressed, but killing without discrimination is strictly forbidden; the fewer killings the better." (35) "Our task is to abolish the feudal system, to wipe out the landlords as a class, not as individuals," (36) "We consider it absolutely necessary and proper to sentence to death, through the people's courts...the most heinous counter-revolutionaries and local tyrants. We must, however, forbid the killing without discrimination of ordinary personnel on the Kuomintang side, the common run of landlords and rich peasants and lesser offenders. Moreover, in trying criminals, a people's court...must not use physical violence." (37)

The French Revolution offers abundant evidence to support the view that people's courts are notoriously poor administrators of justice. The Chinese Revolution in the early 1950's proved to be no exception to the rule. There is no doubt that an appalling number of lives were sacrificed on the revolutionary altars. Nor is there any doubt that, in spite of Mao's often repeated restrictions, many "ordinary personnel...common run of landlords and rich peasants and lesser offenders" to say nothing of targets of personal vendettas were among the victims.

The extreme violence of those years is not supported by Mao's texts. Nor does the violence of the Red Guards in their attack upon religion reflect his views. He has condemned coercion as an instrument of attitudinal change, calling it "self-defeating." (38) In his Hunan report of 1927 he admonished: "It is for the peasants themselves to cast aside the idols, pull down the temples to the martyred virgins and the arches to chaste and faithful widows; it is wrong for anybody else to do it for them." (39) And at the height of the Cultural Revolution in September, 1966, he recommended "resort to peaceful, not violent, struggles." (40)

What the Red Guard attack does reflect is Mao's complaisance towards abuse which he considers inevitable in popular movements, arguing that "any excesses that have occurred can be corrected afterwards." (41) This is small consolation to the dead and no doubt excesses directed against religion would figure far down, if at all, on Mao's priority list of abuses to be corrected. Nevertheless, if my analysis is sound, one can still argue upon the basis of Mao's policy statements that authentic Maoism does not preclude the possibility of accommodation with religion.

To exclude such a possibility because of the excesses of the early 1950's and later 1960's is to forget the bloody Terror of the French Revolution, as well as the orgy of wanton destruction visited upon churches and monasteries. Today the highest dignitaries of the Church participate in civic celebrations on July 14 and stand at reverent attention to the stirring strains of the Marseillaise. Accommodation has long since been reached.

#### Obstacles to Accommodation

There are nevertheless formidable obstacles in the way of such an accommodation in China. There is first of all the traditional hostility to religion which is part of Marxism as interpreted by the Communist Party. Where the party has established its control the Church has to date at best managed to achieve an uneasy modus vivendi. In the case of China there is another and in my judgment more important factor contributing to the hostility. This is the element of Europeanism or the foreign character of the Church.

In a context which is evidently intended as a defense of Archbishop Riberi, the inter-nuncio, John Haughey, S.J., writes that "he effectively sabotaged the invitations being proffered by the party to develop an 'indigenous' Catholicism." (42) I am not inclined to regard this as among the more praise-worthy achievements of the inter-nuncio. Nor do I consider it especially to his credit that he, as Father Haughey says, "consolidated the will of the Catholic community to resist being domesticated." The great failure of the missionary effort, in my judgment, was precisely that it had not developed an "indigenous" Catholicism. The tragedy was that the Chinese Church had not been domesticated. It was a foreign importation, controlled by foreigners, speaking a foreign language, projecting a foreign image even in the architecture of its churches, protected by foreign powers, sometimes serving the interests of those powers, and which during most of its history had tenaciously resisted all efforts to domesticate or sinicize it. Archbishop Riberi was by no means the first to "sabotage" such efforts.

Let me take pains not to be misunderstood. I am aware that the policies of the inter-nuncio faithfully mirrored the views of Pius XII. I have already made it clear that acceptance of the three autonomies was no guarantee of security. I am cognizant of the fact that Mao Tse-tung's or Chou En-lai's conception of an "indigenous" Catholicism may not have much in common with the conception of a Matteo Ricci. It is within the context of these precisions that I argue that the greatest failure of the missionary effort was that it did not develop an "indigenous" Catholicism.

A notable effort to do so was made by Ricci and his colleagues in the 16th and 17th centuries. The prevailing missionary methodology of the time was informed by a spirit of Europeanism of a particularly virulent kind which identified Christianity not only with western cultural forms, but with national cultural forms. The Indian convert in India and the Chinese convert in Macao had to portugalize himself, discarding his Indian or Chinese name in favor of a Portuguese name, adopting Portuguese clothes, singing Portuguese hymns, in all matters, except in the matter of enjoying equal rights, becoming a Portuguese.

Completely repudiating Europeanism, Ricci and his associates sought to sinicize themselves and the Church rather than to europeanize the Chinese, to develop a Chinese Church and not a European Church in China. I have told their story elsewhere. (43) I may perhaps be permitted to quote the concluding paragraph:

"These few men by the contacts which they established between Chinese and European thought, almost changed the course of history in China, and hence in the world. Not even the reverses of the future can obscure the fact that they contributed brilliantly, as a modern author remarks, to 'that cosmopolitanism which is at the heart of modern civilization...and by helping to bridge the gulf between Orient and Occident, made an outstanding contribution to the ideal of universal brotherhood.' By their readiness to put aside European prejudices, by their adaptability, their innocence of snobbery and smugness, their alertness to discover the good and reluctance to note the bad, by the sympathy and understanding they brought to their contact with China, they pointed the way, and their example still points the way, to cultural rapprochement between the peoples of the world. They deserve to be held in honor not only by the Roman Catholic Church and by China, which has never had better friends, but by everyone who agrees with the Chinese proverb that 'within the four seas all men are brothers.'"



Gunboats Replace Accommodation

This saga ended tragically upon the reefs of the Rites Controversy. The Roman decisions, putting an end to the efforts of cultural assimilation, forced the Church into a position of seeming antagonism to the cultural heritage of China. Prevented from integrating herself with Chinese life and culture, a foreign substance in the life stream of the nation, her agents suspect and outlawed, the Church led a semi-clandestine existence during the last years of the 18th and a good part of the 19th centuries. When a new day dawned it was ushered in to the sound of foreign cannon fire. The Church, both Catholic and Protestant, marched in under foreign flags. The new freedoms and privileges enjoyed by missionaries were won for them by the imperialistic powers. Beginning with the British-Chinese Opium War (1840-1842) and culminating in the British-French occupation of Peking in 1860 the European powers imposed upon China a series of unequal treaties in the benefits of which Christian missionaries shared. There were actually missionaries who hailed with delight the odious Opium War because they foresaw that the victorious British would force the Chinese to open their doors not only to the importation of the drug, but of missionaries as well.(44) And when French troops occupied Peking in 1860 the Catholic Bishop, Msgr. Mouly, presided at a solemn Te Deum sung in the cathedral in thanksgiving to God and to the emperor Napoleon III!(45)

In his critique of Dean Acheson's views (46), Mao Tse-tung appositely calls attention to the fact that in "the Treaty of Wanghia of 1844, the first treaty ever signed between China and the United States...the United States compelled China to accept American missionary activity, in addition to imposing such terms as the opening of five ports for trade." In the 1860 settlement, France established a protectorate over all the Catholic missions and missionaries. Missionaries enjoyed extraterritorial privileges which they were not loath to invoke not only in their own interest, but sometimes in the interest of their Chinese Christians involved in private litigation with their non-Christian neighbors.

It is not surprising that, as John King Fairbank points out, "there were hundreds of anti-christian riots, sometimes with loss of life, including at least fifty cases that required top level diplomatic attention, up to the Boxer massacres of 1900." (47) The Boxer massacres themselves were motivated by hatred for the foreign connotations of Christianity more than anything else.

In a letter dated June 24, 1935, addressed to the Jesuit provincial of the California province, in discussing what I described as "one of the grandest epics of missionary endeavor in the history of the Church" and which I would later describe in Generation of Giants, I said: "It was the wrecking (by the Rites Controversy and the suppression of the Society of Jesus) that ended this whole epic...and practically destroyed the Church in China...Tolerance, liberty, sympathy gave way to intolerance, animosity, persecution. The Church was practically stamped out of existence. In the last century the Church was enabled to exist and to make feeble efforts to re-establish herself only under the protection of French gunboats. The French protectorate did a great service to the Church (today with better understanding I would omit the adjective "great"), but cannons,...are a poor substitute for intellectual ascendancy." (48)

Both Leo XIII and Benedict XV were thwarted in their desire to respond to an invitation of the Chinese imperial government to establish diplomatic relations by the opposition of the French government supported by the Church hierarchy in

China. As late as the pontificate of Pius XI the appointment of an apostolic delegate was strongly opposed by members of the episcopacy and mission superiors precisely because it was a threat to the French protectorate; which of course it was. The strong willed pontiff over-rode the objections and appointed Msgr. Celso Constantini who was coolly received in Church circles upon his arrival in China. When he left, after ten years of constructive effort to de-europeanize the Church, his mission had still not been accepted by all.

#### Lack of Cultural Respect

There was another even more deplorable aspect to the foreign flavor of the Church. This was a lack of respect for Chinese culture, Chinese society and even for the Chinese people which manifested itself both in official policy and in the behavior of individual missionaries.

In sharp contrast to the 16th and 17th century Jesuits, there was little interest in Chinese culture. Matteo Ricci devoted most of his time during the first two decades of his life in China to a study of Chinese literary classics. Like their non-Jesuit contemporaries, the Jesuits who, after the restoration of their Society, returned to China in 1840 had not time for such "hobbies". In my letter of June 24, 1935, to the California provincial, I remarked:

"It is interesting to note that the Christians themselves...who...had appealed to the Pope for the return of the Jesuits to China, addressed a severe reproach to the Jesuits for their failure in this very point to follow the traditions of their Fathers. The reproach was made in a pamphlet...published in...Sungkiang near Shanghai. The first Jesuit superior of the mission...defended himself and his missionaries on the ground that they were too occupied taking care of the christians and the ordinary duties of missionary work to be able to devote themselves to the study of language, literature, history, etc. of China."

That this attitude had not greatly improved in the interval is indicated by the fact that almost one hundred years later Jesuits arriving in China to begin a missionary career were allowed a maximum of one year of language study. In opposition to a proposal that a language school be established and that the length of time be increased it was argued by some, including a member of the California province mission group, that for missionary work in China it was sufficient to know enough of the language to muddle through a conversation. And ability to read was of no importance whatever!

The implicit disdain lurking beneath such attitudes was often quite unconscious. I cite the example of a priest who, at the request of the French bishop, had come to Shanghai to minister to the English speaking Catholic community of that metropolis. Riding in the usually almost empty first class section of the tram, he was engaged in conversation by the only other occupant, a handsome, tall and, judging from the quality of his silken i-shang, evidently well to do Chinese. After some minutes of friendly conversation during which the priest explained who he was, what had brought him to Shanghai, what the nature of his work was, his interlocutor asked him, speaking impeccable English, how long he had been in China.

"Eleven years," was the reply.

"Then you must speak Chinese."

"Oh, no! I never bothered to learn it."

Without another word his erstwhile friend arose, bowed coldly, opened the door of the compartment and moved back into the crowded second class section where he joined his less affluent compatriots.

I heard this incident described by the protagonist himself who narrated it with an air of puzzlement, still totally unaware of the nature of the affront he had committed.

Leaving the train on one occasion in the company of the superior of the local Catholic mission, which was the regional headquarters for all the mission stations of the area, we were surrounded by a crowd of rikshamen in clamorous but good-natured competition for our patronage. Suddenly one of them grabbed the valise out of my companion's hand and ran with it to his riksha - a common enough strategy. The priest followed, retrieved his valise and began furiously to belabor the rikshaman with it.

There was no physical harm done. The other rikshamen laughed with glee - though not all of them - at the discomfiture of their competitor who had thought to snatch a prize from under their noses. But I wondered at the burning sense of indignation other Chinese onlookers must have felt at the indignity inflicted upon a compatriot, of however lowly a social status, by a foreigner. Was there a potential Mao Tse-tung among the several student witnesses to the scene?

At supper that night the priest recounted the incident to his fellow missionaries, none of whom objected or found fault. On the contrary, they seemed to think it amusing. Less than two years later the angry missionary who wielded his valise like a flail was named by Rome bishop of the mission. Today he wields his episcopal powers, and perhaps his valise, on Taiwan.

Less than two years ago I had an identical experience at the London airport when, as I was bargaining with several taxi drivers, one of them suddenly grabbed my valise out of my hand and carried it off to his taxi. I retrieved it and took a bus into the city. I wondered what would have happened to me had I started to thrash the husky taxi driver with my handbag. In China the privileged extraterritorial status of the foreigner protected him from retaliation and exempted him from the ordinary courtesy due to a people among whom he lived as a guest.

Admittedly these are isolated incidents. I submit that they were symptomatic of a general attitude prevalent in the 19th and well into the 20th century.(49) If in the 1930's there were noticeable improvements, particularly among the younger generation of European missionaries, the old attitudes still lingered on, as the monumental gaffe of Archbishop Marius Zanin, the apostolic delegate, proves.

In what other country of the world, victim of a brutal aggression, would the apostolic delegate issue orders to the bishops that they and their clergy should adopt an attitude of strict neutrality "leaning neither to the right nor to the left"? Such an order was issued by Archbishop Zanin in March, 1939, at the height of the Japanese invasion. (Does the world remember the Rape of Nanking?) One can imagine the furious indignation such an order emanating from the papal nuncio and addressed to the bishops of Poland, Belgium, Holland, or France at the height of the Nazi invasion would have aroused among the people of those countries.



Missionaries have often been extremely nationalistic. Pius XI was simply taking note of a well known fact when he complained that "Nationalism has always been a plague upon the missions. It is not too much to call it a malediction." (50) But in China missionaries, often intensely nationalistic themselves viewed with suspicion evidences of nationalism on the part of Chinese priests or aspirants to the priesthood. It probably never entered Zanin's mind that his directive was mortally offensive to any Chinese with a sense of national pride. Chinese were not supposed to be patriotic.

This action of the apostolic delegate would have been enough of itself to persuade a Mao Tse-tung or any Chinese of patriotic instincts of the foreign character of the Church. At bottom, it was no less than the incidents cited above a manifestation of implicit disrespect for China as a nation and as a people.

To the Chinese, as intelligent, able and industrious as any people on earth and heirs to one of the oldest and most sophisticated civilizations, this attitude was especially galling. Nowhere was it more galling and less excusable than in the attitude towards the Chinese clergy. They were regarded as fit only to serve as helpers to and under the direction of foreign missionaries. They were not considered qualified to hold positions of authority, certainly not over foreigners. (51)

Assembled in Rome for the first Vatican Council in 1869-70 the bishops of the Church in China, all of them Europeans, reaffirmed their unanimous opposition to conferring the episcopal dignity upon Chinese. As late as 1924 none of the forty-two bishops who met in Shanghai for the first synod in the history of the Catholic Church in China was a Chinese. The only two Chinese participating were newly designated apostolic prefects. Apostolic prefects are not of episcopal rank.

Chinese were excluded as a matter of policy not only from the episcopal office, but from any position in which European missionaries would be subject to their authority. Ma Hsiang-p'ei, a brilliant Jesuit priest and co-founder of Aurora University in Shanghai, left the Society of Jesus and the Church because of his resentment over this policy which relegated all Chinese members of the clergy to second class status. (52)

The treatment of indigenous clergy as second class citizens in the Church, a manifestation of the inbred sense of racial arrogance which is a feature of Europeanism, has a long history reaching back to the 16th century - the beginning of the modern missionary era. As usual Matteo Ricci is found on the side of the angels. Even before reaching China he recorded his views on the subject clearly and forcibly. The Jesuits in India, influenced by the views of Francisco Cabral and other missionaries in Japan, had adopted a policy of teaching native candidates for the priesthood Latin and casuistics, but not admitting them to the courses in philosophy and theology required of Europeans. In a letter of November 20, 1581, addressed to the general superior in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva, Ricci strongly objected:

"The reasons advanced in support of this policy seem to me of little weight. It is alleged that philosophical and theological studies will make (native students) proud and that, as a consequence, they will not be content to serve in poor parishes; and that, furthermore, they will look down upon those European (students) who do not do so well in their

philosophical and theological studies. But all of this could be said, and perhaps with more reason, of others who study in our schools whether in India or in Europe. Nevertheless, we do not on that account refuse them admittance to our schools. Much less should we do so in the circumstances here, since no matter how learned they be native born Indians rarely receive due credit from whites...Secondly, by this new policy we shall encourage ignorance on the part of ministers of the Church and in a land where learning is of much importance... Thirdly, and it is this which disturbs me more than anything else, this people have been greatly humiliated in this land. No one has shown them as much understanding as have our Fathers. It is for this reason that they have a special love for us. If now they are to be made to feel that even our Fathers are against them and do not want to enable them to hold their heads high and to make it possible for them to aspire to any office or benefice on a basis of equality with Europeans, as education enables them to do, I am very much afraid that they will come to hate us..."(53)

In the 19th and into the 20th century Europeanism had carried the day against the enlightened views of Ricci in this as in other aspects of mission methodology. The first one to speak out, loud and clear, in protest and by word and example to take up the cudgels against Europeanism in all its forms was the Vincentian missionary, Vincent Lebbe. His story is well known.(54) He was hounded by his superiors and by bishops from city to city, province to province, pillar to post. Consistently opposed by authorities he was persuaded in 1920, after nineteen years in China, to return to Europe where he worked among Chinese students abroad and sought to win support for his ideas. He found strong support in Pius XI and with his encouragement returned to China in 1927. Here he discovered that papal approval had not abated ecclesiastical hostility. As late as the 1930's, although the younger generation of missionaries admired him, few of the older generation looked upon him with a kindly eye. To them he was still a maverick.(55)

Pius XI threw the full weight of his authority into an effort to put the Church in China on the road to indigenization. In this he had the enlightened support of Zanin's more enlightened predecessor, Celso Constantini. In 1926 in a dramatic repudiation of deeply entrenched prejudices of mission policy makers the pope himself consecrated six Chinese bishops in Rome.

It was a turning point in the history of the Church in China, but it came too late. Six years earlier Mao Tse-tung had joined the Communist Party. Two years earlier the party had held its first National Congress. Less than twenty-five years later the People's Republic of China was in command. Twenty-five years was too short a time to take more than a few steps towards indigenization.(56) It was far too short a time to develop a new mentality or to erase an old image.

#### Two Conclusions

The conclusions I draw from this brief survey are two-fold: 1) In the light of this history and altogether apart from the inclination of a Communist Party in power to bring all institutions under its control, the view of the Church as a foreign institution serving foreign interests becomes quite understandable - as does the insistence that she declare herself independent from foreign control. 2) If the Church has a future in China it will be as an indigenous Church - the Chinese Church and not the Church in China. It will still be, in the words

of Chou En-lai, "united to Rome in spiritual matters" or, more precisely, in matters concerning the theological content of Christian revelation as interpreted by the magisterium of the universal Church over which the Bishop of Rome, as successor to St. Peter, presides.

In other matters, particularly, to use the lapidary expression of the three autonomies, in matters of "self-government, self-support, and self-propagation" it will be largely independent. This obviously runs counter to deeply engrained habits of Roman thought and practice. It does, nevertheless, find support in certain developments within the Church issuing from Vatican II to which John Haughey has called attention.

"We have witnessed, for example, the further evolution of a theology of the local church and the emergence inchoate fashion of a process for implementing the principles of collegiality and subsidiarity enunciated in Vatican II. These developments hopefully bear on the future of the Catholic Church in China because the question of how national the Church can become was the one that shredded the 1950's and 1960's. The answers developed outside of China could help to reknit it in the 1970's and 1980's. There is at least material similarity between some of the changes the progressive priests were calling for in China and those that have transpired in many other national Churches since the end of Vatican II."(57)

The developments to which Father Haughey refers have, to be sure, run into increasing resistance in Rome. The wave of euphoria generated by Vatican II has subsided as the forces of conservatism and advocates of centralization, demonstrating remarkable recuperative powers, have moved back into posts of command. I would not venture to predict the outcome of this, to my mind, regrettable trend. I will, however, venture the opinion that unless Rome can wrench free from the grip of a mind set upon centralization and accept the principle of extensive autonomy the Church will have no future in China.

#### Ricci and Indigenization

Again I reach far into the past to find guidance for the future. I do not think I am reading my own views into ancient texts when I invoke the authority of Matteo Ricci in support of the indigenization of the Chinese Church. I have already cited his insistence upon a policy of complete equality which would open the door for the native clergy to every ecclesiastical office. At the end of that road is self-government. It was to develop further this policy that Ricci's successor, Nicolò Longobardo, in February, 1613, sent Nicolas Trigault off on the long voyage to Rome to defend the cause of an indigenous clergy and as a corollary to seek permission to employ the Chinese language in the liturgy.(58)

In his remarkable letter of February 15, 1609 (59), in which he set forth his mature views on methodology, based upon twenty-seven years of experience, Ricci warned against the dangers of Europeanism and insisted upon minimal foreign contacts. He stressed the importance of making the Chinese Church self-supporting as soon as possible, insisting that recourse to Macao for foreign funds be resorted to "as cautiously and as little as possible." Perhaps this might be described as the earliest recorded advocacy of the second of the three autonomies.

While there could be no question of compromising Christian doctrine, needless conflicts with Chinese prejudices and suspicions should be avoided. At the same



time he apparently felt that Rome should have greater confidence in the integrity and intelligence of those on the spot. This is suggested by his complaint to a Jesuit friend, Girolamo Costa, about the mania for centralized control that obliged him to send his writings off to distant Goa or more distant Rome for censorship. "In order to publish anything I have to get permission from so many of our people that I cannot do anything. Men who are not in China and cannot read Chinese insist upon passing judgment." Ricci found a way around this ridiculous roadblock. He sometimes wrote his manuscripts in the form of letters to Chinese friends who thereupon undertook on their own initiative to publish them.(60)

I cannot but feel that Ricci would not have dismissed the three autonomies out of hand, but would have been quite willing to sit down with Chou En-lai to discuss them over a bowl of tea. Whether they would have reached an agreement and whether such an agreement would have materially changed the course of events is, as I have indicated, another question.

#### Place for the Foreign Missionary?

Will the indigenization of the Chinese Church mean that there will be no place for the foreign missionary? Not, in my judgment, for one who remains a foreigner. Matteo Ricci is on record as regretting that he was unable to change the cast of his eyes and the size of his nose the more completely to sinicize himself. Missionaries of more recent vintage have been unwilling even to change their dietary habits.

In the large community at Zikawei, where I spent four happy years, and of which I have the warmest memories, there were thirteen nationality groups, one of the largest being Chinese. Instead of the Europeans adjusting themselves to the culinary habits of the Chinese - whose cuisine is after all ranked among the best in the world - the Chinese were obliged to follow a European diet. A single minor concession was made in their favor. At breakfast, which for the Europeans meant bread and café au lait, a Chinese menu was provided on a table apart for the Chinese members of the community.(61)

Ricci would have been out of place. In a letter of 1599 he said of himself and his associates: "We are here clothed and shod Chinese style, speaking, drinking, eating, and living according to the customs of China."(62)

Kuo Tzu-chang, governor of Kweichow province, in his introduction to an edition of Ricci's World Map which he published and in anticipation of objections to taking lessons in geography from a foreigner, said of Ricci: "he is no longer a foreigner, but a Chinese."(63)

I should hope there may be a place in China for missionaries of whom it can be said that, although of foreign provenance, they are "no longer foreigners, but Chinese."

I make another qualification. The missionary of tomorrow, whether of foreign provenance or Chinese, will have to have something to contribute other than preaching the Gospel. That is to say, I doubt that proselytism, or convert making, will meet with official favor in China. I should hope that eventually the situation will have sufficiently evolved to permit a realization of the religious freedom which Mao has described as government policy. Even in that hypothesis, however, direct methods of preaching the Gospel may not be acceptable.

This undoubtedly is a "hard saying" to those to whom the preaching of the Gospel is not only the major, but the only mission of the Church and who cannot conceive of other methods of apostolic work than those to which they have been accustomed. A good example of this kind of mentality and of the disasters to which it can lead is furnished by the Spanish missionaries who, coming from the Philippines, undertook to preach the Gospel in the province of Fukien in 1637 employing the only methods which in their eyes were permissible.

One of them, Francisco de Escalona, has described the method. They marched through the streets in their religious habits, holding their crucifixes high in the air, and proclaiming in "a loud voice that this was the image of the true God and Man, Savior of the world, creator of all things, who punishes those who do not keep His law and rewards eternally those who keep it; and that the idols and sects of China are false and deceits by which the devil leads them to hell forever, and that whoever ordered these placards posted, if they did not repent of the offence they had committed against our Lord, the true God, would be condemned to hell, whether they be viceroy, judges, military commandant, mayor, or any other mandarin." (64) The placards referred to were orders posted by the city authorities banning further street preaching by the foreigners which had resulted in riotous disturbances comparable to what might be expected today should a foreigner march through the streets of Foochow announcing that Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, the central committee and the secretary of the local party would all be condemned to hell if they did not repent and renounce their Marxist-Leninist ideas. Not content with words, de Escalona and his companions went about tearing the official posters from the city walls.

Guilio Aleni who had acquired such a mastery of Chinese literature and culture that he was widely known as "the western Confucius" (65) had, through ten years of patient effort, won a respected place for Christianity in the province. Fukien rivalled Shansi in the mid-1630's as the most promising center of missionary activity in the empire. Aleni's work was almost destroyed as a consequence of the activities described by de Escalona. Christianity was proscribed, ninety chapels closed or torn down, Christians imprisoned, Aleni himself driven from the province. The offending foreigners, leaving ruin behind, were soon back in the Philippines rejoicing that they had been found worthy to suffer for Christ.

This kind of apostolic activity will be no more acceptable to the new China than it was to the old. On the other hand, the methods developed by Ricci, Aleni and others may be no less applicable to 20th and 21st century socialist China than they were to 16th and 17th century imperial China. The principles are still valid although the missionary of tomorrow will have to adapt them to a greatly changed social and political scene.

#### Ricci Did Not Preach

There is no evidence that during the entire twenty-eight years of his life in China Ricci ever "preached the Gospel" in the sense in which that expression is generally understood. He did not preach the Gospel. He witnessed to it by the manner of his life.

To those who cannot imagine the Gospel being preached without benefit of soap-box, school, or pulpit it will come as an even greater shock to learn that Ricci also dispensed with churches. Writing from Nanchang on October 12, 1595, to his friend Giulio Filigatti in Rome, he remarked: "I do not think we shall establish a church, but instead a room for discussion and we will say Mass

privately in another chapel, or perhaps use the reception hall for chapel; because one preaches more effectively and with greater fruit here through conversations than through formal sermons."(66) And three days later, writing to Girolamo Costa, he observed: "We shall not in these beginnings establish either church or chapel, but conversational halls."(67) Today they would be called seminar rooms.

Ricci did not underesteem making converts. "It is for this purpose," he wrote, "that having left our country and our dear friends, we are here."(68) But he insisted on quality, not quantity - "good Christians, rather than multitudes."(69) The apostolate should be carried on "prudently, without fanfare, and with good books and reasoned arguments, proving (that) our doctrine...serves the cause of good government and peace in the empire."(70) "In China more can be done with books than with words," he advised the general of the Jesuit order in 1609.(71)

It was not from the pulpit or in the street, but in long hours of private conversation with visitors who flocked in ever increasing numbers to see him that he exercised his apostolate. Although it was well known that he was a religious man, it was not interest in his religion that drew them to his door. He had something else to offer, a certain competence in geography, mathematics and astronomy. It was this that brought them. But curiosity about the faith to which his life gave witness often followed and Ricci was always ready to respond. That was his way of preaching the Gospel. As he wrote to his brother from Peking: "Without going out of the house we preach to the gentiles, some of whom are converted, and as for (the others)...little by little through the contacts which they establish with us God softens their hearts."(72) When he died in 1610 the Gospel seed had been sown in every one of the fifteen provinces of the empire, in each of which he had influential friends familiar with and well disposed towards the religious teaching which he represented.(73)

The future missionary may or may not be a priest or a religious. It is quite possible that a dedicated Christian layman, offering his services as a skilled educator, economist, nuclear physicist or whatever, may have the principal role to play. It would also be infinitely desirable that he or she represent an ecumenically united Christianity. Given the snail's pace at which genuine ecumenism has advanced in recent years it may be too much to hope that the image presented by tomorrow's missionaries in China would be that of a family united in a common discipleship of Christ and not that of dozens of quarrelsome, antagonistic sects united only in a common mistrust. In any case, his mission will be, after the example of Ricci, to witness to the Christian faith rather than to preach it.

Radiation of the faith through the charismatic example of Christian life may not only be the sole option available in the new China, it may indeed be a method more congenial to the eastern mind than less subtle methods of apologetics. This is suggested at least by the story of Shoma which, according to Father Joseph Spae, C.I.C.M., from whom I borrow it, is "known to millions of Japanese... searching for the wisdom of life."

"Shoma was born from a poor family. He was stubborn and ignorant but wholly without the usual worldly desires. He never married and, looking at the world differently from others, he spent his entire life wandering east and west, causing people to become more aware of their salvation. His way of enlightening others was simplicity itself. Just by being himself, Shoma caused everyone to appreciate the mercy of Amida."(74)



It could perhaps be said of Ricci that "his way of enlightening others was simplicity itself. Just by being himself" he aroused in those who met him an interest in the faith which expressed itself in his life.

#### Points of Contact with Maoism

Confucianism was the ideology which determined the shape and texture of Ricci's China. It was with Confucianism therefore that he sought points of contact. It is Marxism which, in one form or another, will have replaced Confucianism, although elements may survive, in the new China. It is with Marxism therefore, or more precisely and upon the assumption which undergirds this paper, with Maoism that points of contact must be found. This should not be too difficult. My guess would be that there are far more points of contact between Christianity and Maoism than between Christianity and Confucianism.

From his youth Mao has pursued with single minded dedication the liberation of China from its semi-feudal and semi-colonial servitude, and the deliverance of the masses of the peasant poor, 70% of the population according to his own estimate, from exploitation and misery. A Church attuned to the Gospel message and sensitive to social realities could not fail to find points of contact here. However much one might disagree about means, the end sought deserves the sympathetic understanding of anyone who hungers after justice.

The injustices rampant in pre-revolutionary China cried out for a radical transformation of the social, economic and political structures of the country. That should have been evident to anyone who surveyed the scene. It was evident to Mao, and it explains his confidence at a time when the Communist Party membership was decimated, when it had been badly battered by Chiang Kai-shek, when its Russian advisers had been recalled by Stalin, when its fortunes and its prospects were at the lowest possible ebb. In January, 1930, Mao wrote a letter criticizing the prevailing mood of gloomy pessimism that had taken hold of the party leadership. He based his own confidence on an analysis of the contradictions existing in the structures of society:

"...In the wake of the contradictions among the ruling reactionary cliques - the tangled warfare among the warlords - follows heavier taxation which steadily sharpens the contradiction between the broad masses of taxpayers and the reactionary rulers. In the wake of the contradiction between imperialism and China's national industry, follows the failure of the Chinese industrialists to obtain concessions from the imperialists, which sharpens the contradiction between the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Chinese working class, with the Chinese capitalists trying to find a way out by frantically exploiting the workers and with the workers resisting. In the wake of imperialist commercial aggression, Chinese merchant-capitalist extortions, heavier government taxation, etc., follows the deepening of the contradiction between the landlord class and the peasantry, that is, exploitation through rent and usury is aggravated and the hatred of the peasant for the landlord grows...Because the reactionary government, though short of provisions and funds, endlessly expands its armies and thus constantly extends the warfare, the masses of soldiers are in a state of constant privation: Because of the growth of government taxation, the rise in rent and interest demanded by the landlords and the daily spread of the disasters of war, there are famine and banditry everywhere and the peasant masses and urban poor can hardly keep alive. Because schools have no money, many students fear that their education may be interrupted; because production is

backward, many graduates have no hope of employment. Once we understand all these contradictions, we shall see in what a desperate situation, in what a chaotic state, China finds herself. We shall see also that the high tide of revolution against the imperialists, the warlords and the landlords is inevitable, and will come very soon. All China is littered with dry faggots which will soon be aflame. The saying: 'A single spark can start a prairie fire' is an apt description of how the current situation will develop."

Mao refused to establish a timetable for the revolution, but, a poet, expressed his confidence that it would not be long delayed in striking imagery:

"Marxists are not fortune-tellers. They should, and indeed can, only indicate the general direction of future development and changes; they should not and cannot fix the day and the hour in a mechanistic way. But when I say that there will soon be a high tide of revolution in China, I am emphatically not speaking of something which in the words of some people 'is possibly coming', something illusory, unattainable and devoid of significance for action. It is like a ship far out at sea whose mast-head can already be seen from the shore; it is like the morning sun in the east whose shimmering rays are visible from a high mountain top; it is like a child about to be born moving restlessly in its mother's womb."(75)

Early in 1933 in a letter to the California provincial, without the benefit of Mao's analysis of which I was unaware, I reached the same conclusion. And, bolder than Mao, I established a timetable. I was arguing in favor of the establishment of a center in Nanking to develop cadres of Chinese leaders, competent in the relevant disciplines and capable of playing an effective role in the struggle to achieve within the context of democratic freedom a society based upon social justice. I said that if such leadership were not developed China would be in communist hands within twenty-five years.

It seemed evident to me that, given the monstrous and palpable injustices arising out of the existing structures of society, whatever party made the destruction of those structures its avowed purpose would win the support of the exploited masses. In the 1930's the Communist Party was the only organized group in China dedicated to the restructuring of society. (The Kuomintang, to be sure, mounted a campaign called the New Life Movement to "reform" society. The chief reform aimed at, judging from the extensive poster propaganda, seemed to be a moderation of the Chinese habit of expectorating.)

#### Structural Reform and the Church

The missionary Church in pre-revolutionary China was not concerned about the structures of society. The same, of course, can be said about the Church elsewhere. The Christian Church has traditionally concerned itself with the poor. Concern for the poor expresses itself in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, nursing the sick, sheltering the homeless. In all of these corporal works of mercy the record of Christian concern is impressive and the Church in China is no exception.

It is possible, however, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, shelter the homeless while leaving untouched the economic, social and political structures which cause hunger, nakedness, disease and homelessness.

Traditionally, Christian concern has been content to deal with the effects of

social injustice rather than the cause, to succor the miserable rather than to root out misery. Although nuances are called for in both terms of the general proposition, it might be said that Christian concern has been about people rather than structures, while Marxist concern has rather been about structures. (76) In this respect the Church in China followed traditional lines.

P'u-t'ung is an industrial area in Shanghai. In the early 1930's children from twelve to sixteen years of age worked up to sixteen hours a day in a large cotton mill in the area for a daily wage equivalent roughly to ten cents. The pastor of the Catholic Church in P'u-t'ung, a zealous, dedicated missionary, busied himself caring for the spiritual needs of his flock, baptizing their babies, blessing their marriages, burying their dead, comforting their sick and, within his limited means, feeding their hungry. He accepted from the owners of the cotton mill a small annual subsidy which helped support his works of mercy. Meanwhile the Communist Party, from its inception in 1921, busied itself organizing the workers of P'u-t'ung with a view ultimately to overthrow the economic structures, of which the cotton mill was a monstrous example, which held them and their children in bondage.

Again it might be objected that a particular case does not prove a general thesis. I contend that this case is prototypal. Few missionaries of the period would have questioned the policy or the attitude of the pastor.

The rationalization is, of course, that it is not the business of the Church to build the temporal city. That is the business of secular authorities. This is true in a sense. The institutional Church has no mandate to determine the political and economic arrangements which society should adopt to promote the common good. But the Christian, and therefore the People of God, has a mandate laid upon him of concern for his neighbor and for justice.

"In the real conditions of the contemporary world an effective concern for one's neighbor cannot be satisfied with bandaging his wounds and leaving two pence with the innkeeper for his keep. It must extend to a concern about the conditions which cause crime to run rampant and violence to stalk the streets. A Good Samaritan who today walked through the nauseous alleys of the alagado in San Salvador or the mocambo in Recife handing out parcels of food or cartons of dried milk would be unlikely to return home satisfied with himself. Not so long as the nauseous alleys remain! Not so long as year after year the teeming multitudes who people these peripheries of hell multiply! Not so long as the economic, social and political arrangements which are responsible for these outrages rest intact! (77)

My criticism of the pre-communist Church in China is not that it failed to provide a blueprint for the structural reform of society. That would have been outside its competence. It is rather that it overlooked this entire dimension of the Gospel message as applied to the modern world and consequently failed to arouse within the Christian community this kind of concern. The graduates of Aurora University, for example, were well prepared to find a comfortable niche for themselves in the existing structures of society. The Catholics among them were well prepared by the Gospel message to practise the corporal works of mercy after the magnificent example of Lo P'a-hong and other zealous Catholic business and industrial leaders of Shanghai. But how many of them were inspired by their education under Christian auspices to seek alternatives to the prevailing economic, political and social structures? The question might be put more provocatively: how many of them were inspired by their understanding of Christ's message to dedicate themselves to the ends to which Mao Tse-tung devoted his life -

the liberation of China and the Chinese people from political and economic servitude and the building of a new society based upon social justice?

But what of the future? If yesterday the Church failed to concern herself with the structures of society, in the China of tomorrow her freedom to do so will be sharply curtailed. The quickest way to land in trouble in a communist controlled society is to concern oneself with its structures. That is a concern which the communist party vindicates as exclusively its own.

### Socialism and Christianity

About this I will make two points:

- 1) I see no incompatibility between a socialist structure of society and the Gospel message - on the contrary; and therefore no intrinsic reason why the Church cannot find a legitimate place in such a society and cooperate in building and improving its structures.
- 2) The dynamic message of the Gospel contains elements that can contribute positively to the realization of the ultimate goals of a socialist society; and therefore the Church has something to offer to the new China.

In an article which I wrote thirty-seven years ago, entitled "Socialism and socialism", I said: "There is no insurmountable obstacle to peaceful relations between Catholicism and Socialism." (78)

Both Socialist and Catholic spokesmen disagreed. Prieto, the exiled head of the Socialist Party of Spain, took issue with me in a lengthy article published in Mexico City's Excelsior. Norman Thomas, in a letter to Commonweal and in a personal meeting, disagreed more mildly. And of course, Pius XI had said in Quadragesimo Anno that "no Catholic can be a true Socialist." Despite this impressive array of dissenting voices I continued to hold to my opinion the basic reason for which I had put in these words:

"Socialism has embraced two different things: a philosophy about man and society, and a program for the economic reorganization of society to assure a just distribution of this world's goods. The philosophy was not essential to the program, nor was the program a logical derivative of it. Many socialist movements of non-Marxist inspiration were innocent of the philosophy. But modern Socialism, scientific as distinguished from utopian, has been Marxist. It is a tragedy that the founders of this, the most influential socialism, insisted that philosophy and program were inseparable."

When Pius XI affirmed an incompatibility between Catholicism and "true" Socialism he was making no distinction between program and philosophy. He was in fact implicitly accepting the thesis of Marxist dogmatists that "true" Socialism cannot separate program from philosophy. Yet that he was aware that such a distinction can be made is evident from his further remark in the same encyclical that Socialist "programs often strikingly approach the just demands of Christian social reformers."

John XXIII in his encyclical Pacem in Terris goes much further, insisting not only upon the possibility, but upon the necessity of making such a distinction. "It must be borne in mind, furthermore, that false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin and destiny of the universe and man, cannot be

identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from those teachings and have drawn and still draw inspiration from them. Because the teachings, once formulated and defined, remain always the same, while the movements, working in historical situations in constant evolution, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to changes, even of a profound nature. Besides, who can deny that those movements, in so far as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?"(79)

The more dogmatic of modern Marxist ideologues, like their forefathers, refuse to make this distinction. Efforts at rapprochement meet a cold reception in these circles. The latest to feel the sting of inquisitorial rebuke is Roger Garaudy, the intellectual luminary of the French Communist Party until his refusal to bend his mind to the exigencies of the Moscow line in the Czechoslovakian affair led to his expulsion. Despite his exclusion from the party he remains a loyal, but honest communist. He has engaged in dialogue with Christian thinkers and his latest book, Alternatives, attempts to reconcile Marxism and Christianity. For his pains he has been scornfully taken to task by Soviet ideologists, notably the academician Fedor Konstantinov, who sarcastically, and evidently intending no compliment, charges him with wishing to set himself up as a new Martin Luther taking issue with the authorized interpreters of Marxist doctrine.(80)

I am on Garaudy's side. The watch dogs of Marxist orthodoxy are mistaken. I accept that any coherent program for the organization of human society will relate to certain philosophical and theological principles. It has been remarked that every political problem is at bottom a theological problem. I do not agree, however, that the kind of society envisaged by Marx is only conceivable and realizable within a context of dialectical materialism. On the contrary, I think it is entirely conceivable within the context of the Christian Gospels.

- A society whose organizing principle and primary goal is social justice.
- A society from which class distinctions between rich and poor will have disappeared because the rich will have disappeared.
- A society in which what and how much is produced is determined not by greed but by human needs.
- A society in which cooperation, brotherhood and equality replace competition, egoism and exploitation.

I would add to this

- A society in which no one is rich and no one is miserable but everyone is respectably poor.

The average socialist would not accept this latter qualification as reflecting a socialist aim. But given the mounting evidence of the deleterious effects upon human character and the serious threat to the human environment posed by the dynamics of a consumers' society, I suggest that a universal sharing of decent poverty rather than of riches for all not only better mirrors the evangelical ideals, but is a worthy goal for a socialist society.

Whether, given the formidable fact of original sin, it is possible to achieve



such a society and in the attempt to avoid the pitfall of totalitarianism, I do not know. Dostoevski thought not. Michael Harrington thinks otherwise. He regards the despotic aspects of the Soviet system as grotesque distortions of authentic Marxism and has written a large volume to prove his point.(81) The Soviet frost that nipped springtime in Czechoslovakia in the bud may have deprived us of a promising test case.

I would hope Harrington right. In any case, my point is that this kind of a society is worth striving for. It embodies the central values of the prophetic messages of the Old Testament and certainly reflects the spirit of the New. It finds far more theological support in the Gospels than a society organized around the principle of private profit, which depends upon human greed to keep the wheels turning and in which a small minority gather the riches of the world into their pockets while the vast majority of mankind live in desperate poverty, like Lazarus dependent upon the crumbs that fall from Dives' overlaid table. Only one who would argue that Aristotle Onassis is closer to the evangelical ideal than Francis of Assisi could dispute this thesis.

Here then is a point of contact between the future missionary and Maoist China. The conflict between the Church and Socialism has always seemed to me one of the ironies of history because in a sense they are made for each other. That is to say, a Church authentically interpreting the evangelical ideals should easily find in a socialist society a natural terrain for the cultivation of the Christian virtues. Conversely a socialist society should find in the Christian virtues and view of life a source upon which to draw for the motivating force indispensable to the achievement of its aims.

The future missionary, although he may not embrace a philosophy of dialectical materialism, can find in his faith ample grounds for collaboration in the pursuit of the ultimate aims of Maoism. At the same time, drawing upon the resources of his faith, he can make an important contribution to that collaboration.

#### Marxism and Original Sin

One of the theoretical and practical weaknesses of Marxist Socialism is in the area of motivation. This is a problem it has not effectively solved. What motives can it enlist in its effort to develop, and more importantly to maintain, the sense of solidarity, fraternity and service which are essential in a socialist society? The theoretical assumption is that the vices opposed to these virtues arise out of the institution of private ownership of the means of production. With its abolition the egoistic drives which it engenders will disappear and be replaced by the contrary social virtues which will then become natural to man.

In an article analyzing the possibilities of peaceful relations between the USSR and the United States, published in the Historical Bulletin of St. Louis University in April, 1945, I gave as my opinion that the principal error of Marxism was that it ignored the fact of original sin. Later, during a visit to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, I presented a copy of the article to Mr. Yuri Brusilov, assistant chief of the cultural relations section. This observation, not really central to the analysis of foreign policy, caught his eye. Perhaps he had never heard of original sin. He had certainly never heard it referred to as representing a lacuna in Marxist theory. Upon hearing my explanation he took no side, but pronounced the theory "very interesting."(82)

I think the theory, valid as well as interesting. Whatever tomorrow's theologians may discover about the nature of the reality that lies behind the dramatic Genesis story about Adam and Eve, the fact is that the selfish drives in man are deeply rooted in "fallen" human nature. The institution of private ownership is not the cause, but one of the results of those drives. Contrary to the Marxist theory but if you change institutions you change man, the selfish drives will not automatically disappear with the abolition of the institution.

Institutions do indeed greatly affect man. His predatory instincts are encouraged in a society which gives a high rating to rugged individualism. Conversely, these predatory instincts can be materially weakened in a society which consciously downgrades individualism and upgrades the social virtues. Weakened, but not destroyed. The experience of hundreds of years of socialist life in Catholic religious communities is evidence of this.

Marxists have generally overlooked the fact that the Catholic Church has had considerable experience with socialism as a way of life. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need", the ultimate ideal to which socialism looks, but which admittedly no socialist society has yet achieved, has been for hundreds of years the monastic and religious way of life. The evidence is conclusive that, although private ownership has been banished from the cloister, the "old man" still lingers about the premises. The conflict between the "old man" and the "new man" which troubled St. Paul is part of the human condition.

Fifty years of experience in the USSR confirm this. Some of the problems Tito is having in Yugoslavia as these lines are being written are rooted in this phenomenon. And there is evidence that it was the reappearance of the "old man" throughout the party apparatus, from top to bottom, that explains the Cultural Revolution.

It is this problem of the "old man" with which Marxist ideology is not equipped to deal. Communist regimes have attempted to deal with it by subjecting people from their earliest to their latest years to a sometimes deafening din of propaganda, employing all the available means of mass media communication and audio-visual education. When these means fail the only resort left is recourse to force.

#### A Christian Contribution

The problem is obviously one of motivation. What the Christian can contribute to the Maoist effort to create a "new man" and to build a new society is the motivation of love. The example of Christ, the servant, and the entire thrust of His teaching is oriented towards service, denying of self to serve the other - the grain of wheat, the life laid down for a friend. The whole of the law and the prophets is summed up in love, for God and for men, and especially for the poor, the hungry, the naked, the exploited, and the outcast with whom Christ identifies Himself.

Mao discounts love as a motive force. "As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in a class society. There will be genuine love of humanity - after classes are eliminated all over the world."(83)

If Mao rejects love as an effective force in the class struggle phase of the revolution, he does not deny it a place in a classless society. I would argue that it can be a force in both. A thirst for justice and a love for the oppressed and dispossessed - Christ's poor - can issue in a powerful force concerned not simply with the merciful care of the wounded, but determined to dismantle the structures which inflict the wounds. And in the post-revolutionary phase of a presumably classless society, love can be an effective motive force in the unceasing struggle of the "new man" against the efforts of the "old man" to reassert himself - and a less shrill force of persuasion than the blaring loudspeakers and shrieking posters on ubiquitous display. For, contrary to his optimistic appraisal, Mao Tse-tung will discover, should he be looking on from somewhere au-delà, that an "all-inclusive love" of all for all will not automatically flower in a classless society. The struggle will go on.

That Christianity can make such a contribution presupposes that Chinese Christians, unlike pedestrian types commonly found elsewhere, be genuinely fired with the spirit of the Gospel. I hope it is not sheer romanticism to dream about the contribution a few good Christians, the kind recommended by Ricci as the goal of the mission, could make to the realization of the communal goals in one of Mao's communes; or of what a constructive force Father Lebbe's Little Brothers could have been had not the vagaries of history prevented both Mao and the Church from realizing how much they have in common.

The missionary of tomorrow will have to be one who is thoroughly committed to the ends of a socialist society and ready to contribute to the enormous task of developing the "new man" with a radically different set of values which the realization of that kind of a society demands. It will greatly help too if he is a man after the image of Matteo Ricci of whom one of his companions, Alfonso Vagnon, writing from Nanking in 1605, remarked:

"Incredible is the reputation which good Father Matteo Ricci enjoys among the Chinese, and the extent to which he is visited by important personages and esteemed throughout the whole empire of China...they say that there cannot be another man in Europe equal to him. And when we say that others are more gifted than he, they cannot believe it. In truth...he captivates everyone by the graciousness and suavity of his manners, by his conversation and by the solid virtue which his life exhibits."(84)

Which may be saying, it would help if he were a saint.

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February 1973

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#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) The source reference of this question has been mislaid.
- 2) George H. Dunne, S.J., Generation of Giants (Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1962), p. 88.
- 3) In the communist system government and party are distinct, but the government is controlled by the party. Wherever in this paper the term "government" is employed this is understood.
- 4) Cf. Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, 4 vols. (Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1965), hereafter cited as SW. The original text of Mao's statements was extensively re-written for publication in this collection which first appeared in 1950. Often there is a wide discrepancy between what Mao actually wrote at any given time and what he is here represented as having written. However, I do not believe that in the case of the texts cited in this paper the discrepancy is so pronounced as to invalidate the argument. Secondly, inasmuch as Mao himself carefully edited the text for publication, it may be supposed, where such discrepancy exists, that the version contained in this collection represents his thinking in 1950 if not earlier.
- 5) Stuart Schram, Mao Tse-tung (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 44.
- 6) Cf. SW, I, 44 ff.
- 7) Id., II, 312.
- 8) Id., IV, 448.
- 9) Id., II, 381
- 10) Id., III, 313.
- 11) Id., III, 293
- 12) Jerome Ch'en, ed. Mao Papers, Anthology and Bibliography (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.51.
- 13) Leon Triviere, M.E.P., "Le Mouvement des Trois Autonomies en Chine" in Bulletin des Missions, n.3-4, Bruges, 1952, p. 229.
- 14) For this and other examples of Mao's early resentment of foreign arrogance and domination cf., Schram, op.cit., p. 73.
- 15) Cf. infra, pp. 15 f.
- 16) Jean Esmein, La Revolution Culturelle (Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1970), p. 18.
- 17) Jerome Ch'en, op.cit., p. 56.
- 18) Id., p. 127
- 19) SW, III, 158.
- 20) Id., 315.
- 21) Id., IV, 58 f.

- 22) Id., IV, 81 f.
- 23) Id., IV, 241.
- 24) Id., I, 24.
- 24-A) Stuart Schram, op.cit., p.50, quoting Edgar Snow.
- 25) Id., II, 245
- 26) Cf. Bernd Oelgart, Idéologues et idéologies de la nouvelle gauche (Paris, Union Générale d'Éditions, 1970), pp. 44 f.
- 27) Jerome Ch'en, op.cit., p.44
- 28) SW, I, 56.
- 29) Jerome Ch'en, op.cit., pp.35 ff.
- 30) Id., pp.44 f.
- 31) SW, III, 305.
- 32) Id., I, 290.
- 33) Id., I, 28.
- 34) Id., IV, 185 f.
- 35) Id., IV, 202.
- 36) Id., IV, 186.
- 37) Id., IV, 229.
- 38) Id., III, 241.
- 39) Id., I, 46.
- 40) Jerome Ch'en, op.cit., p. 130.
- 41) SW, IV, 72.
- 42) John C. Haughey, "Religion in China II: Shredding the Catholic Church", America, April 22, 1972.
- 43) George H. Dunne, S.J., op.cit.
- 44) For documented instances cf. Louis Wei Tsing-sing, Le Saint Siège et La Chine (Paris, Editions A. Allais, 1968), pp.91 f. There would later be missionaries - no doubt a small minority - who looked benignly upon the Japanese occupation of the late 1930's because they anticipated that it would "establish some order in the country."
- 45) Id., p.93.



- 46) SW, IV, 448. This was a critical analysis by Mao of views expressed by Dean Acheson in a letter to President Truman accompanying the State Department's White Paper on United States China Policy.
- 47) John King Fairbank, The United States and China, ppb. 3ed. (Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 178.
- 48) California province archives.
- 49) For evidence in corroboration cf. Jacques Leclercq, Vie du Père Lebbe, (Editions Casterman, 1955), passim.
- 50) George H. Dunne, S.J., op.cit., p. 9.
- 51) Cf. Jacques Leclercq, op.cit., p. 73.
- 52) Ma later married, raised a family, rose to high position in the government, became a nationally recognized intellectual. In his old age he returned to the Church and was living in an apartment in the Jesuit administered boys' orphanage at Zikawei during my last year there 1935-36. He refused to stay under Japanese occupation and died in Indo-China.
- 53) George H. Dunne, S.J., op.cit., p. 25.
- 54) C. Jacques Leclercq, op.cit.
- 55) Father Lebbe died in Chungking during the war in 1940. Continually frustrated by superiors he had reluctantly left his religious order and taken vows in the congregation of Brothers of St. John the Baptist, a Chinese community which he had founded after his return to China.
- 56) By 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established four of the twenty archbishops, twenty-five of the ninety-two bishops and six of the thirty-four prefects apostolic were Chinese.
- 57) John Haughey, S.J., op.cit.
- 58) The permission was granted but never implemented, although the canon of the Mass was translated by the Jesuit Ludovico Buglio and published in Peking in 1670. A copy is in the Vatican library. For the history of the non-implementation of the permission cf. Dunne, op.cit., pp. 162 ff.
- 59) George H. Dunne, S.J., op.cit., p. 87.
- 60) Three and a half centuries later Teilhard de Chardin would be obliged to resort to similar means to assure that his works, proscribed during his lifetime, would be published posthumously - an eloquent, if sad, commentary on the folly of censorship.
- 61) One of my warm memories is of Stanislas Liu, now a pastor of a parish in T'ai-p'ei, who, whenever peanuts figured among the breakfast dishes, invariably appeared in my room shortly afterwards and emptied his pockets on to my desk.
- 62) George H. Dunne, S.J., op.cit., p. 124.

- 63) Id., p. 92.
- 64) Id., p. 257.
- 65) Id., p. 147.
- 66) Id., p. 46.
- 67) Ibid.
- 68) Id., p. 124.
- 69) Id., p. 88.
- 70) Id., p. 87.
- 71) Id., p. 94.
- 72) Id., p. 91.
- 73) Id., pp. 106 f.
- 74) Joseph J. Spae, C.I.C.M., "Japanese Religiosity and the Humanizing of Man", a paper presented at the International Congress of Learned Societies in the Area of Religion and Antiquities, Los Angeles, California, September, 1972.
- 75) SW, I, 120.
- 76) Cf. George H. Dunne, "Development - A Christian Concern?", America, December 2, 1972.
- 77) Ibid.
- 78) Commonweal, November 23, 1945.
- 79) A 1963 Vatican Polyglot Press edition in English of the encyclical, p. 41.
- 80) Cf. La Liberté, daily newspaper published in Fribourg, Switzerland, editorial of November 29, 1972.
- 81) Michael Harrington, Socialism (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972).
- 82) I should perhaps apologize for citing so frequently ancient opinions of my own; but they have the merit of establishing that my present views, right or wrong, are not indebted to hindsight.
- 83) SW, III, 91.
- 84) George H. Dunne, S.J., Generation of Giants, p. 92.

LISTS OF BOOKS RECEIVED DURING FEBRUARY

Compiled by Sister Agnetta, SSps

## I. INTERNAL

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Institute</u>	<u>Title of Book</u> (Number of pages in brackets)
3.63	SM	Tableau du Personnel et des Etablissements 1972-1973. (130)
3.64	CMM	Am Rande der Kalahari, by Adalbert L. Balling. (175)
3.65	Ibid.	Brasilianisches Potpourri, by A.L. Balling. (222)
3.66	RSCJ	Catalogue de la Paroisse du Sacre Coeur de Jésus. Première Partie 1972-1973. (307)

## II. EXTERNAL

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Author or Publisher</u>	<u>Title of Book</u> (Number of pages in brackets)
6.310	IBRD, IFC, and IDA, Washington, D.C.	Summary Proceedings of 1972 Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors. (232)
6.311	Church of South India	Master Plan for Technical and Vocational Training in the Church of South India. (337)
6.312	Vicariato di Roma	La Diocesi di Roma 1972/73. (979)
6.313	Université St. Thomas	Introduction ala problematique de l'initiative à l'action "en Afrique Intertropicale" by Alexis I. Mukaba. (95)
6.314	Città del Vaticano	Annuario Pontificio 1973. (1920)
6.315	Editrice Nigrizia	Quaderni della Missione Nuova, 5. (89)
6.316	Ibid.	Quaderni della Missione Nuova, 6. (122)
6.317	S. Cong. for the Clergy	Il Mondo è la mia Parrocchia. (201)
6.318	Orbis Books, Maryknoll	Picture-Tube Imperialism? by Alan Wells. (197)
6.319	Ibid.	A Theology of Liberation, by Gustavo Gutierrez. (323)
6.320	Ibid.	Live with yourself - and like it, by Colette Hovassé. (162)

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Author or Publisher</u>	<u>Title of Book</u>
6.321	Orbis Books, Maryknoll	The Church and Revolution, by F. Houtart and A. Rousseau. (371)
6.322	Ibid.	Christian Political Theology, by Joseph Petulla. (256)
6.323	Ibid.	Consciousness and Reality, by John B. Chethimattam. (228)
6.324	Ibid.	Patterns of Indian Thought, by John B. Chethimattam. (172)
6.325	Ibid.	Shaping a new world, edited by E.U. Cleary. (319)
6.326	Ibid.	Missionaries to Yourselves, edited by Ayl Shorter and Eugene Kataza. (212)
6.327	Ibid.	Japanese Religious Attitudes, by Fernando M. Basabe. (92)
6.328	Divine Word Publications, Techny, Ill.	Church and Cultures, by L.J. Luzbetak, SVD. (429)
6.329	Secretaria Status Vatican	Annuario Statisticum Ecclesiae 1970. (291)
6.330	Newman Press, U.S.A.	The Missionary's Role in Socio-Economic Betterment, edited by John J. Conidine, MM. (330)

D I A R Y

- 1-3-'73 Fr. Tonna visits the SVD's - and their (new) Mission Secretary: Fr. Rühling.
- 6-3-'73 Assembly of Generals.
- 7-3-'73 Fr. J. Kelly, CSSp of the documentation centre of AMECEA visits the office.
- 8-3-'73 Fr. G. Vanhenkel, executive secretary of Concilium interviews Fr. Tonna.
- 9-3-'73 Fr. O'Driscoll, delegate for SSC, dies suddenly. Fr. Tonna and other Sedos members concelebrate at the funeral on 12-3-'73.
- 14-3-'73 Fr. Van Asten spends the day at the Sedos Secretariat.
- 20-3-'73 Internal Communications group meet at OMI;  
Fr. Tonna meets fellow animator of the Stewardship Seminar.
- 21-3-'73 Urban mission group meets at Sedos.  
Sr. de Fatima of Kenya visits the Secretariat.
- 22-3-'73 Fr. Buhlmann lectures (with slides) at SVD on India.
- 23-3-'73 Sr. Danita, Fr. Tonna at opening session of the Urban and Industrial Mission session of the WCC. They take 16 participants to the "field" in Rome: Acquedotto Felice and Spinaceto.
- 26-3-'73 Fr. Raymond Hill, new Superior General of Maryknoll, visits the Secretariat.  
New Mission Secretary of OFM Conv. Fr. Blane, visits Sedos.
- 27-3-'73 Fr. Tonna at Maryknoll Procura.
- 29-3-'73 Executive Committee meets.



NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES  
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1. AGRIMISSIO - THE ROLE OF CREDIT COOPERATIVES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPING REGIONS (morning) and THE ROLE OF MISSIONARIES IN THE PROMOTION OF CREDIT COOPERATIVES (afternoon). A one-day Seminar organized by CESTA and AGRIMISSIO on April 5th, 9-12 and 15.30-17.30, FAO, Building A, via delle Terme di Caracalla, (Mr. Tosbath's Office). Speaker: Mr. B. QUAINOO, General Manager of ACOSCA.
  
2. LA TOURETTE 1973
  - \* INTRODUCTION A LA THEOLOGIE: ouvert en priorité aux Religieuses: du 17 au 30 Juin.
  - \* RETRAITE POUR RELIGIEUSES: du 1er au 8 Juillet.
  - \* DEUX SESSIONS D'INTRODUCTION A LA MEDITATION ZEN: du 9 au 13 Juillet - du 15 au 19 Juillet.
  - \* UNIVERSITE D'ETE: cinq sessions internationales d'étude théologique, ouvertes à tous ceux qui desirent approfondir leur foi:
    - Psychologie, morale et vie chrétienne: 20-27 Juillet.
    - Jésus de Nazareth, Seigneur: 29 Juillet - 5 Août.
    - Comment lire l'Evangile: 7-14 Août.
    - Communautés, événement politique: 16-23 Août.
    - Les ministères dans l'Eglise: 25 Août-1er Septembre.
  - \* STAGES D'HIVER, de recyclage théologique: 1er Octobre-15 Décembre; 7 Janvier-23 Mars 1974.

Pour Renseignements: Centre Saint-Dominique LA TOURETTE, Eveux par l'Arbresle 69210 (France)
  
3. AFRIQUE ET LANGAGE est une association culturelle qui a pour but de promouvoir l'étude des langages Africains et des situations de Langage en Afrique noire, dirigée par Maurice Houis. Session d'été de Linguistique Africaine, du 2 au 21 Juillet 1973. Programme Général: Grammaire, Phonétique et Phonologie, Anthropologie du langage, Assimilation personnelle et contact individuels. Adresser toute correspondance à: Afrique et Langage, 28, rue d'Assas, 75006 PARIS (Tél. 222-23-78).
  
4. CATECHETICS - AN IMPACT SPECIAL: REPORT ON THE ZAMBIA NATIONAL CONGRESS, Lusaka, December 11-16, 1972, dealing with Catechetical Renewal, Religious Education in Primary and Secondary Schools, Initiation to the Sacraments for Children, Volunteer Catechisers, Catechesis of Youth and Adults, Marriage and Parental Responsibility, Catechumenate, Full time Catechists (pp. 30).

73/13

Rome, 6th April, 1973

SEDOS has a vacancy for A SECRETARY AND ENGLISH GROUP ASSISTANT

- The person appointed will
  - (a) serve as personal secretary to the Executive Secretary
  - (b) assist English speaking groups
  - (c) do general office work and typing.
- The person appointed will
  - preferably be a Religious and a man
  - certainly be bilingual (English and French)
  - and have office experience, knowledge of Mission terminology, training and competence.
- The salary will be dependent upon previous experience (about 2,200,000 lire per annum plus insurance).

This week :

		PP.
1.	<u>ANNOUNCEMENT: EVANGELIZATION TODAY</u>	English 238
	<u>EVANGELISATION AUJOURD'HUI</u>	French 239
2.	<u>EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE</u> - Report	240/1
	<u>EVANGELIZATION TODAY</u> : proposals for documentation and study programme	242/6
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4.	<u>NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES</u>	258

COMING EVENTS

- Evangelization Today:
  - (a) Brainstorming session with Commission VI: doctrinal aspects: 9-4-'73 - 4.00pm SJ (p.233)
  - (b) Brainstorming session: practical side 17-4-'73 - 4.00pm SJ "
- Internal Communications - 10-4-'73 - 4.00 pm - O.M.I.
- Development Working Group - 9-5-'73 - 4.00 pm - SEDOS

Yours Sincerely

Fr. Leonzio BANO, fscj

EVANGELIZATION TODAY

A brainstorming session will be held on April 9, 1973 at 1600 at the SJ Generalate, Borgo S. Spirito, 5, on the theological side of evangelization today.

Fathers BUNDERVOET, KAUFMANN, LINSSEN and PEETERS, members of the Committee formed by USG - Comm. VI to study this will open the session by presenting the concepts of SALVATION, EVANGELIZATION, MISSION.

The meeting is intended to help theologians confront their ideas with the experiences of missionaries.

Simultaneous translation into English and French will be provided.

ALL MEMBERS OF SEDOS GENERALATES AND OF COMM. VI ARE INVITED.

EVANGELIZATION TODAY

A brainstorming session will be held on April 17, 1973 at 1600 at the SJ Generalate, Borgo S. Spirito, 5, on the practical side of evangelization today. The meeting will focus on subsahara AFRICA. Later on other meetings will be called for Asia and Latin America.

Fr. W. Goossens will preside and will pose the questions:

If you had a 100 missionaries leaving a country:  
WOULD YOU SEND THEM TO ANOTHER COUNTRY?  
IF SO, TO WHICH COUNTRY?

The meeting is intended to help Sedos top the experiences of the member Generalates in searching for the best approach to these fundamental questions.

Simultaneous translation will be provided into English and French.

ALL ARE CORDIALLY INVITED.

Those interested will find the relevant documentation in SEDOS 73/171-202 and 73/242 ff.

## EVANGELISATION AUJOURD'HUI

Un carrefour aura lieu le 9 Avril 1973, à 16 h à la Curie des Pères Jésuites, Borgo S. Spirito, n°5, sur le thème : "Evangelisation Aujourd'hui" du point de vue théologique.

Les Pères BUNDERVOET - KAUFMANN - LINSSEN et PEETERS, membres du Comité formé par l'U.S.G. - Comm. VI, ouvriront la session en présentant les concepts de: SALUT - EVANGELISATION - MISSION.

La réunion a pour but d'aider les Théologiens à confronter leurs idées avec les expériences des missionnaires.

La traduction simultanée en Anglais et Français sera assurée.

TOUS LES MEMBRES DES GENERALATS DE SEDOS ET CEUX DE LA COMMISSION VI SONT INVITES.

## EVANGELISATION AUJOURD'HUI

Un carrefour aura lieu le 17 Avril 1973 à 16 h à la Curie des Pères Jésuites, Borgo S. Spirito, n°5 sur le thème: "Evangelisation Aujourd'hui" du point de vue pratique.

La réunion se concentrera sur l'Afrique Sud-Saharienne. Des réunions pour l'Asie et l'Amérique Latine seront organisées ultérieurement.

Le Père Goosens, Président de cette réunion, posera les questions suivantes:

Supposez que 100 de vos missionnaires devraient quitter un certain pays.:

LES ENVERRIEZ-VOUS DANS UN AUTRE PAYS ?

SI OUI, DANS LEQUEL ?

La réunion a pour but d'aider SEDOS à rassembler les expériences des Généralats Membres en cherchant la meilleure méthode pour aborder ces questions fondamentales.

La traduction simultanée en Anglais et Français sera assurée.

VOUS ETES TOUS CORDIALEMENT INVITES.

Les intéressés pourront trouver toute la documentation pertinente dans le bulletin de SEDOS 73/171-202 — 73/242 et en suivant.

A meeting of the Executive Committee was held on March 29, 1973 at 1600 at the SEDOS Secretariat.

Present were : Fr. W. Goossens cicm, Bro. Ch.H. Buttimer fsc, Bro. G. Schnepf sm,  
Sr. Danita McGonagle ssnd, Sr. M. Therese Barnett scmm-t.

In the chair : Fr. Th. Van Asten pa, President.

Secretary : Fr. B. Tonna.

1. The minutes of the meeting of the 19th February, 1973 were taken as read and approved.
2. Arising from the minutes:
  - a) The President read a letter for Sr. J. Burke, member of the Budget and Staff Committee. It was agreed to send her (and the other members) the minutes of the meetings of January 10, 16, 19, 24, 31 and February 6.
  - b) The drafts of the contracts prepared by Mr. Prestijacopo had to be re-worked. Sr. Danita would take up the contracts and discuss them individually with the members of the staff.
  - c) Fr. Th. Van Asten, Bro. Ch.H. Buttimer, Sr. Danita and Sr. M. Therese would meet the staff on April 17 at 1000. Fr. Van Asten would present the philosophy and goals of Sedos, Sr. M. Therese the new job description, Sr. Danita the new financial arrangements.
  - d) Towards the end of the year a decision should be taken on the investment of the items voted for depreciation and separation funds.
  - e) The PIME had answered the letter of the President re- the membership fees but the point would be taken up later during the year.
  - f) No applications had been received for the vacant post of secretary.
  - g) Bro. Schnepf had written to the President to tender his resignation. It had become necessary because of the new style (+ travelling commitments adopted by the MS Council) He thanked all involved in Sedos. The Executive Committee expressed its gratitude for the 6 year services he had generously given Sedos.
3. Fr. Goossens who is also Chairman of the USG - Commission VI, introduced the first item on the agenda by referring to the two sub-committees set up (by Comm. VI) to study the topic of Evangelization Today. The first would consider the specificity of Salvation and would take a doctrinal stance. The second would be more practical and would willingly accept the collaboration of Sedos.
4. Fr Tonna then presented his synthesis of the present felt needs of the members and of the suggestions made to respond to them. (See attached document, Evangelization Today).

Asked about the response of the members to the draft proposal, Fr. Tonna answered that most had been contacted by 'phone and had expressed their satisfaction, even enthusiasm, that such an important matter was being tackled. Some hesitations, however, was expressed about the magnitude of the enterprise but this did not affect their agreement with the thrust of the project. (see Appendix for response).



In the course of this discussion the following points were made:

- Its objectives and priorities were valid but the scope seemed too vast; if accepted, it would have to be continued until the objectives were achieved a hundred per cent.
- This, however, affected only the study side of the proposal; the proposed frame could be used to sharpen the focus of the present documentation system; one problem would be: would it be fully used?
- It could certainly be used before and during chapters, during the discussions, missionary activity; but the commitments of Brothers and Sisters in the health, education and social services would have to be given more room.
- The concept of missionary had to be reconsidered: after all, the thrust was towards a diffusion of the missionary attitude: all Christians were called to be missionary; in this respect, however, the proposal could be useful in anchoring eventual studies to the experiences of the grass root and "professional missionaries".
- A doctrinal study on salvation and evangelization would also help but that would go beyond the present orientation of the Sedos group.

5. It was agreed that:

- a) It would be useful to start with para. 13 of the document and particularly with the two basic questions put there: whether and where to send missionaries.
- b) A brainstorming session would be organized for each continent, in an effort to round the members' views on how best to arrive at a documented answer to the questions.
- c) The present input of the Sedos documentation department be henceforth organized according to the system proposed in the document; its output would also adopt the proposal - especially in providing the working groups with grass root data relevant to their studies.

6. It was also agreed that, at its request, a brainstorming session could be organized for the theological group of Comm. VI of the USG. Its purpose would be to confront the conclusions reached by the theologians with the experiences of the Sedos members.

7. It was agreed that:

- a) A brainstorming session on Africa be organized before the next meeting of the Executive Committee;
- b) which would take place on May 8, 1973 at 1600 at the Secretariat.

DRAFT I

EVANGELIZATION TODAY : proposals for a documentation and study programme

- 1 During its meeting of March 28, 1973, the Executive Committee will be drawing up a programme of at least a year's work for the Sedos groups and secretariat. The elements of this programme will be the ideas of the March Assembly and the suggestions which, during the same Assembly, have been solicited from the members.
- 2 The following is one such suggestion or, rather,, a set of proposals which synthetizes suggestions already made during the Assembly or by individual members - as these have been perceived by the Executive Secretary in his day-to-day contacts with the Generalates.
- 3 The key ideas behind it, in fact, have persistently kept piercing through the apparently unconnected discussions about the roles of the overseas missionaries in the local Church, the urban mission, formation as well as through the statements made during the last three Assemblies.  
They are:
  - .1 the concrete situation should be taken very seriously in deciding on specific forms of mission
  - .2 but the concrete situations present such a diversity that it is almost impossible to arrive at meaningful, general orientation
  - .3 still this diversity can be "caught" and eventually interpreted through the experiences of our missionaries in the field
  - .4 such interpretation could be attempted in the frame of the concept of Salvation Today - that is, their experiences as a sign of God's Plan of Salvation for today
- 4 This document attempts to translate such ideas into a programme. The first two (3.1 and 3.2) could be operationalized by taking as the working unit of the programme the "culture", or as it has been also called, the "milieu", the environment, the "way of life", the "tribe", social system, or, simply, and as the Gospel calls it, the "nations" gentes, in Greek:  
This means that we have to break up Africa, Asia, and Latin America (the Sedos definition of mission) into about 10,000 such units. By focussing on such a unit, however, we will come much closer both to the situation and to its diversity.

- 1.1 the concept of "culture" as a social system which conditions (and is conditioned by) the "living together" of individuals involved in it. It usually demands a shared mode of communication (language, symbols, etc.) as well as a shared set of orientations (values, norms). It can be analyzed through the sociological concept of role.
- 1.2 the concept of evangelization as that relationship (intentional or existential) established by individuals and groups within a specific "unit" in view of the communication of the Message of Christ. As such it involves a process which can be analyzed from the points of view of dialogue, of the groups of Christians as activation of the Church in its function of Sacramentum Mundi, of the impact of the latter on the "unit".

The main responsibility for guiding this thrust would fall on the Sedos documentation department.

- .2 A study thrust would move towards the analysis of data assembled by 8.1 above in order to discover aspects of God's Plan for his mission of Salvation, and, eventually, to translate them into guidelines for missionary action.

The main responsibility here would fall on the Sedos working groups.

- 9 In terms of techniques, the documentation thrust would be three pronged:

- .1 exploitation of sources, that is,
  - the experiences of our missionaries as these come through either
    - directly - through contact with the communities on our files (Comm. Card. file)
    - indirectly - through the internal bulletins through the visits of Sup. Gen. and Councillors.
  - the documentation available at the various Generalates, in Sedos, in our outer ring (MARCC, Human Relations Area Files etc.)
  - resource persons in the Generalates and in Rome.
- .2 the classification of data, that is,
  - in terms of a set of indicators to operationalize the concepts of "culture" and of evangelization (Appendix A)
  - a grid to bring out the interplay of the same two concepts (Appendix B)

.3 the systematic dissemination of information

- in response to specific requests from Generalates especially if the requests come from the Councils (and in relations to their agendas) e.g. requests listed in WB
- to service the working groups of Sedos (see below 10). E.g. the Dev. Group study in the Urban Missions
- as a form of collaboration with other groups, within the orientations adopted by the Assembly. E.g. sharing with the USG - Comm. VI on Evangelization in Mundo.

10 The study thrust would be developed as follows:

- .1 the creation of "ad hoc" groups to follow developments in "hot spots". In this case, each group would be able to start "from the situation" by studying the data available for the "units" of that "spot". Conversely, it would also guide the documentation department in finding the missing data
- .2 the creation of "ad hoc" groups to read the Signs pointing to the various aspects of mission - e.g. urban mission, Buddhism, schools and to indicate the priorities to assign in each case. Again, the "unit" and evangelization files would allow for a situational approach.

11 In terms of sheer time, the programme looks, of course, formidable. In actual fact a lot has already been done. In February we received, through the courtesy of the CSSp Generalate, the results of a similar project undertaken by the All African Conference of Churches and completed in late 1972 for the continent of Africa. (A full report is being circulated in Sedos Doc. 11). Abundant material already exists for Latin America in the Sedos Secretariat and in the Generalates and would only demand scanning and classification. Asia would be more problematic but, even here, we could move ahead by being very selective. Meanwhile Appendix 3 proposes a tentative time-table for April '73 - April '74. There is no doubt that the use of the grid (Appendix B) by Superiors General and Councillors in their very frequent visits to the field would make the programme much more feasible than a superficial consideration might warrant.

- 12 Such use, on the other hand, could only be expected if its "products" are experienced. It is here that the vicious circle of the debate on Sedos purposes could be broken: such use, in fact, could become simultaneously the heart of the "investment" and the "returns" that each member Generalate puts in it.
- 13 But it is not only that: as the Church painfully moves towards a keener awareness of its identity as Mission, it will have to learn more about its agenda as the agent of Evangelization. The task can be approached from the "situational" point of view. Besides reflecting "in abstracto" on the Lord's mandate to "go and teach all nations" we can also ask ourselves specific questions like "which 'Nations' are currently open to evangelization?" "Which forms of evangelizations would be opportune in each?" As things are - and on the eve of a Synod on Evangelization - no group in the Church seems to have bothered to draw up this agenda. And yet it could make our discussions much more realistic. And our decisions on whether and where to send missionaries less risky.
- 14 Sedos seems to be called to be such a group.

APPENDIX A: Indicators used by the AACC survey on Frontier Situation  
for Evangelization in Africa

.1 "Culture" indicators

- Population - total for each "culture"  
              - urbanized (in towns over 2000)  
              as % of total population
- Literacy - % of literates among adults over  
          15 years of age
- Number of distinct African languages.

.2 Evangelization indicators

Religious profession - % of population professing  
to follow religions:

- a) Traditionalists %
- b) Muslims %
- c) Catholics %
- d) Protestants %

No. of indigenous African languages in which Scriptures have been translated

- e) Gospels
- f) New Testament
- g) Complete Bibles
- h) Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox denominations
- i) African independent Churches
- j) Total no. of professing Christians with nation
- k) Total No. of traditionalists
- l) Number of unevangelized persons
- m) Status of evangelization index  
    
$$\left( \frac{\text{no. of unevangelized persons}}{\text{total population}} \times \frac{\text{Scripture translation progress}}{\text{}} \right)$$
- n) Year when permanent missionary work began
- o) Dioceses or other jurisdictions.





APPENDIX C : TENTATIVE TIME TABLE

Documentation (1)				Study: (2)	
	Africa:AI	Asia: BT	L.America:ES	Region:WG's	Ministry: WG's
April 73	Analysis of AACC report with Gen.	Survey of data in Gen.	Survey of data in Sec.	Africa + Comm VI	Theology of Salvation Today
May	Africa files	SE Asian cultures	Survey of data in Gen.	Cities of Africa	Theology of Evangelization
June	Africa files	SE Asian files	L.America files	Cities of Asia	Evangelization + Sacraments
July	Africa files	SE Asian files	L.America files	Cities of L.America	Local Church
Aug.	S.African files	India files	Caribbean files	"Hot Spots"	Dialogue with Hinduism
Sept.	S.African files	India files	Mexico files	"Hot Spots"	Dialogue with Hinduism
Oct.	W.African files	Oceania files	America Indians	"Hot Spots"	Dialogue with Buddhism
Nov.	S.African files	Oceania files	America Indians	"Hot Spots"	Dialogue with Buddhism
Dec.	N.African files	Pakistan files	Central Republics	"Hot Spots"	Dialogue with Islam
Jan. 74	Colonial Africa	Middle East files	Central Republics	"Hot Spots"	Socialism
Feb.	Colonial Africa	China files	S.America files	"Hot Spots"	Communism
March	Africa Synthesis	Asian Synthesis	S.America synthesis	"Hot Spots"	Synthesis
April	Africa Synthesis	Asia Synthesis	S.America synthesis	"Hot Spots"	Synthesis

- (1) Each unit ("culture") will have a file.  
Each file would contain an up to date summary of the state of documentation (exploitation of sources, classification and dissemination of data).
- (2) Each region (or "hot spot") and ministry (or function) will have a working group or panel. The group would not have to finish its work in the month indicated.

APPENDIX D.

Response of the member Generalates  
re- draft of the "Evangelization Today" project

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Agreement on main thrust of project:

CM	CMM	PIME	SSC	SSPS	SVD	MSC	MSF	FMM	SHCJ	O.CARM,
MM(Frs.)	SX	FSCJ	SJ	OMI	CSSp	RSC	SCMM-M	OFM.Cap.	ICM	
CRSA										

Not contacted

MM(Srs.)	MEP	MHM	SSD	RSCM	SA	SNDN	SFB	SMA	OSU
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Executive Committee

WF	FSC	SM	CICM	SCMM-M	SSND
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# INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

The group for Internal Communications met on March 20, 1973 at 1600 at the OMI Generalate.

Present : Fr. F.P. Moody, Fr. A. Hubenig, Fr. B. Tonna, Sr. M. Schellings,  
Sr. Genevieve Dumont sfb.

1. As agreed during the meeting of February 19, Fr. Moody distributed the second instalment of the "common effort documentation sheet" (see appendix to this report). He highlighted its characteristics
  - (a) new forms of the apostolic community can and do take place within the present structures of the religious life
  - (b) indeed the initiative is often taken - as the Indian case shows, by the authorities of religious institutes
  - (c) at times community "happens" as a result of a particular mission (as in the OMI case).

It was agreed that, in the days we were living the structures of authority do allow for experiments.

2. The group then discussed the desirability and feasibility of carrying on with the documentation sheet. It was pointed out that the whole Sedos group had opted for documentation on the experiences of the members of its Institutes. The internal group, in its part, had opted for "experiences of apostolic communities". There could be no doubt, therefore, about a desirability of the present initiative. As regards its feasibility, the raw material was there but more effort had to be put with its excavation. A plea was made not to limit the search to "experimenting" in the Third World. It was agreed that, for sheet no. 3, the focus would be the experiences of community among novices and students.
3. The group then devoted time to the exchange of information about the new forms of apostolic community.

The major points made were:

  - (a) it could be difficult to have a "lasting" bond when there was complete diversity of interests and tastes. But the community should be seen as a "family" rather than a "task force" type of group. The family allows for an advanced diversity of interests and tasks among its members. Because these are bound together by a set of deeper, common, bonds. Is not the common faith in Christ a powerful enough bond to unite people of different professions?
  - (b) The person best fit to live in community is the person who can live on his/her own. This statement implies a typology of persons based on the community principle: a person who cannot live without the support of a community may be a liability rather than an asset to community building.
  - (c) All communities need a constant input from their environment if they are to maintain a healthy atmosphere. In this sense, the diversity of tasks performed by its members to the environment of a community becomes a precious asset.

- (d) A number of Institutes, consequently, have adopted a policy of building communities around the core values of faith (and, its major expressions: faith, love, acceptance, etc.) rather than around a task or a service or a function.
  - (e) An apostolic community is more than a group. Sociologically, a healthy group is shy of admitting new members and, in any case, is very strict on their qualifications. This is often expressed in the evaluation of candidates for membership undertaken by its members. Not so the apostolic community (which here becomes an "activation" of the Church) which sees, precisely in the new ideas of new members a contribution rather than a threat to the health of the community. Here evaluation becomes a two way street: the "new", as well as the "old", are evaluated. And thus the old principle that the new have to conform to the old is discarded.
  - (f) Identity is thus not threatened by sharing. Unfortunately not all religious Institutes have accepted this insight.
4. The group concluded by re-stating the motives behind the sharing of experiences in the documentation sheet. It is what is being done to achieve the Christian ideal - in community living as well as in other vital spheres - that will finally accelerate the pace of the Coming of the Kingdom. People may be very busy preparing meetings and reunions and even synods about it. But in the end only "experience" will communicate to the world why ours is a good life. The job the group has set itself is to look for a style of communication which will be acceptable to this world. An example of a week of discernment in Latin America was given as an example of what such a procedure could achieve.
  5. It was agreed that the group meet again on April 10, 1973 at the OMI Generalate. Fr. Moody would prepare document sheet 3 with Sr. G. Dumont supplying him with the experiences of the SFB novices in France and Spain and Fr. A. Hubenig with those of the OMI International Scholasticate by April 5.

## Sodos Social Communications Working Group

### Common Effort Documentation Sheet n°2: APOSTOLIC COMMUNITY.

#### Preliminary Note:

This is the continuation agreed on at the February meeting, and is again edited by Fr Moody pa. It represents a further exploration of the achievements by missionaries in search for more valid forms of local community. Hopefully, the exploration as well as the search will be ongoing.

#### 1. Community of the Ursulines of the Roman Union.

An experiment in small-scale common life in Djakarta, Indonesia.

Date of foundation: April 2nd 1971, evaluation due late in 1973.

Procedure followed: the Sister initiating the project discussed the matter with her Provincial; she then submitted it to the Provincial Chapter, after which the Provincial sent an official request to the General Council.

Precedents: the Ursulines have accepted for some time the possibility of new forms of community, without the customary framework of authority i.e. a Superior appointed for a fixed period, a Directress, a Treasurer etc.

Some communities have a "delegate" who is responsible for teamwork; others are responsible to the Superior of a neighbouring convent; others again depend directly on the Provincial. For all matters within their own competence they are autonomous and take their own decisions.

The Ursulines also accepted the existence of small living groups which arose out of apostolic needs; there are five of this kind in Indonesia. What is so different about the community we are now considering?

1. It grew from the inspiration of a Sister already many years in Indonesia, an American, who supervises a catechetical centre and also gives lectures at the University.

2. It was envisaged not directly as a means of assuring any particular work, but of assuring a real "presence" so as to discover what sort of "sign" such a group should be.

3. From the beginning it has been difficult to engage younger Indonesian sisters in the experiment, which may be a very crucial consideration when the project comes up for evaluation. Originally a 4-5 person community was projected but Ursulines and other Sisters are very much fewer in number than the demands made on them would imply. At present, the two younger Sisters in the group of three are engaged respectively in social work and in training for radio apostolate; the common work motive and bond is therefore absent.

Location: in the centre of Djakarta in one of the narrow streets - Gangs, of the Kampung - the ward.

The inhabitants are mostly moslem, mostly poor, very friendly and very hospitable. Houses are small, families large. Relations of the Sisters with them are excellent; the installation was marked by a "selamatan", a feast.

Prayer-life: for the Eucharist the Sisters go to the local church; they have shared prayer at home.

Witness: turning mainly on "open-house", sharing ideas and talents, relating to a population who can hardly grasp "consecrated virginity" or "Christian



witness" but who are open to the values these ideas represent.

Extracts from the Sister's exposition of the project:

"... a very demanding form of asceticism: not to have the security of fixed times of quiet, but taking them or looking for them when possible...

... I think a concrete plan is precisely what we don't need... through trial and error to arrive at the kind of practical, normal structures which answer the needs of the place....

... the very experience of sharing the life of most people would affect our attitudes and theirs of course. This is less efficient, but which is more important, efficiency or embracing human life as Christ did, making ourselves more approachable so that He is more approachable?

.... Every week I go to Rawanagon by bus to teach at U.T. - by bus this takes one hour or more whereas by car it would take 20 minutes. But when the students here know that I come and go by bus, it makes a big difference in the way they approach me. And I gain every week in sympathy and understanding for my fellow-citizens who do this every day to get to work and back again. And then things that could be "problems" in daily life fall into insignificance. We really live a life apart. Why should it be necessary for a religious community located in a parish to have a separate Sunday Mass? Daily Mass together is good to build our own community, but would one day a week be too much for us to be with our fellow-parishioners, to hear the same sermons they hear?...."

#### FURTHER NOTES:

1. The Major Superior who supplied this information preferred to call the new community "experimenting" rather than "experimental".
2. the Bishop, who was in favour of the experiment, insisted on recognisable religious dress of some sort for Indonesian Sisters, but allowed more freedom to overseas Sisters.
3. The house is simple and modest. In front there is a little open space used by the children as a playground. It is always noisy, except when the moslem people are at evening prayer, or during mealtimes.
4. For important matters the three Sisters refer to the prioress of the House of Studies; younger Sisters rotate regularly, so it has not been possible to form a real community of life.

#### 2. Community of the Religious of the Sacred Heart .

A Christian Ashram in India.

The Ashram has been operative for over a year; it has become the noviciate for the Sacred Heart Sisters; it may host groups of United States students for a few weeks of their inter-cultural advanced training.

#### Background:

In 1927 an Anglican Ashram was founded at Poona, India by Father Jack Winslow. It was to be a compound of five acres of land in Shiva jinagar, a place where a community of Indians and Englishmen could live together in charity and humility a life of prayer and of service to the poor and needy. It had not functioned as an Ashram for nearly 30 years when in 1971, a group of Religious of the Sacred Heart and two Anglican Sisters of the Congregation of St Mary the Virgin arrived

to begin preparations for a new start. The Anglican Trust still owns the property.

The Ashram is known as the CHRISTA PRIMA SEVA ASHRAM, which may be translated "Spiritual Centre at the Service of the Love of Christ."

The life is simple, the prayer-filled life of a typical Indian Ashram - vegetarian diet, a bare minimum in the stone-floored cells, silence, study, manual work, social work, all centred on the presence of the Guru who is Christ Himself.

In the old rule of the ashram, three characteristics are noted as being essential: humility, love and joy - qualities basic to the tradition of Christian religious life.

#### The Spirit of the Community:

Before the foundation was begun, there were meetings at which the life to be lived was the subject of prayer, reflection and study. There was unanimity about the idea of what a Christian Ashram should be: a place where Christ is the Guru and where prayer, openness to the Spirit, silence as a means of recollection, Indian simplicity of life-style and hospitality should be essential characteristics.

All agreed that there should be complete reliance on the Holy Spirit in planning the activities of the Ashram which, because of the three-fold stress in Indian Ashrams on BHAKTI (devotion), GYAN (knowledge) and KARMA (work), would seem to point to ecumenism, dialogue with non-Catholics and non-Christians, retreats, seminars, contact with students and others, research in Indian religions.

Father Lederle sj, in one of the discussions gave an exposition of the sociological, religious and educational background of Poona and recommended that beside a study of Marathi and books on Maharashtrian religion and culture, the religious should cultivate the "Spirituality of the Open Door", characteristic of the Indian Ashram.

#### Preparatory Seminar.

In March 1972, a month-long seminar was held in preparation for the new foundation. Religious, both men and women from many congregations as well as Hindi religious and a Hindu lady, took part. Except for the hours of conference and dialogue, life was "Ashram-style". Early rising (4a.m. for some), celebrated Mass which grew out of the prayer without a break. The liturgy was central to the life as the themes of the exploration from the Upanishads and daily experience were woven into it. The Mass was followed by work for all until breakfast, and the rest of the day followed a pattern of study, prayer, work and reflection, usually closing with Compline which varied in form: psalms, shared prayer and petitions, but always concluding with the arati when the day went up to God in the evening flame.

Many visitors joined the seminar, including some who had spent years in the early Ashram. One of these pleaded with the religious to enter into the life of the region and make friends with the Brahmin women. "If you think you have found the jewel of truth, pass it on. Let us know really what inspires you: share your inner secret." He also asked them to do something for the students, (in the same compound but some distance from the Ashram buildings is a College Students' Hostel,) especially to let them, help them, know what freedom really means.

Other visitors also came - alumnae of the Sacred Heart Colleges and schools in India, a group of Hindu ladies, small boys from the slums, and two big boys who asked permission to study under the verandah light at night.

A centre for prayer and study, the Ashram is also to be a centre of welcome.

NOTE: The Ashram is the Provincial House of the Society of the Sacred Heart in India at present.

### 3. An Oblate of Mary Immaculate venture, experiment in Christian Community Living.

La Poudrière, Brussels, Belgium.

As the basis of this article, Father Al Hubenig sent along two articles, one from the Newhaven (Conn.) review "Columbia", the other from the Philippines Free Press. The first was dated 1967, the other 1969. The community in question started in 1957 and is still a going concern with national significance.

#### Origins:

Fr Léon van Noord OMI was appointed to help out with a mission, centred on a chapel in a store that another Father had installed in an evangelisation venture. The district was poor, the buildings dilapidated, the people hostile to priests. When Fr Léon went around telling them that he had come to live with them, they snored at him for having nothing to do while they worked for a living.

He obtained a small pushcart and started his rounds again: "If you wish a service " he said, "I am at your disposal." One night he took a crippled man in his arms into a café to watch the television. Another day he was called on to take a large armchair to the home of a young girl just married; the parents walked beside the cart and when the job was done, they offered the priest a beer with them. That was the breakthrough.

#### Community:

The idea of community began to evolve one day when a down-and-out asked for an alms. Father Léon was at that time installing a new chapel in an old mission house and he asked the poor man to lend a hand cleaning old bricks. The poor man stayed on and as he knew the dialect of the district he became a means of spreading the good word. A few years later he died and his portrait is now hanging in the centre's dining-room: he is figured in mason's overalls as a pioneer apostle. During the first four years, Father Léon carted household possessions, shaved bedridden patients, helped the sick who could not afford a nurse. At first he worked in his cassock, but soon changed to overalls.

In 1967 there were 27 formal members of the community; in 1969 there were 50. About two-thirds of them are men; all take a pledge to serve anywhere from a year to indefinitely. The pledges are not vows and have no legal or religious binding force. A person can make the pledge to himself if he likes, but Father Léon must find out on whom he can rely for work and for support. There are some members who have regular salaried work outside the centre; their earnings help all and let some work for nothing or on maintenance of the installations. The community pays the living and general expenses of members; women receive \$20 monthly as pocket money, the men about half that sum; smokers are given cigarettes.

The community is housed in several old buildings, all but the old mission house being rented. In one, the kitchen and dining hall, the families with children share a house. There is a special building for the women. There are now several priests but they are given no privileges except that "Father" is always prefixed to their Christian names, the general term of address.

On Mondays in the evening all the men meet to discuss whatever is on their minds; on Tuesday the women have a similar meeting; every two weeks all the pledged members including women and couples meet with the priests for a round-table discussion.

Incorporated as a non-profit organisation, La Poudrière has an administrative board presided over by Fr Léon, which includes two of the women and four of the men among whom one other priest. The members from the beginning have represented a wide range of social and educational backgrounds: in 1969 they included a lady physician, an accountant and a girls' high school teacher. Often the transient members are foreigners so there is usually a strong international flavour both in the liturgies and in the recreational activities. Once a year the whole group go off together for a community holiday.

#### Work:

Apart from members going to regular employment, there is a group, including many part-time or temporary guests, who assure the services they are asked to perform for the poor. The main activity is still house-removals, for which no charge is made, to any distance within the country; the poor pay what they can. Now two removal vans have replaced the original hand-cart. Among works they like to assure is the installation of stoves for winter in the houses of the poor.

"This new world began with Christ" says Father Léon. In the old days, he went on, a man could show the work of his hands and say "I have created something". Now, with machines gradually taking over the credit, the individual feels an increasing need for indications of his value. "A man working to accumulate wealth or to reach a production goal finds that is not enough. He then wants to be considered with respect. But prestige is not it either. When he turns to participating in the community around him and serving his neighbour in the spirit of unity and friendship, he discovers his real purpose and the answer to "Who am I? The idea of service responds to the needs of the times as well as to the Gospel of Christ."

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Are we dealing here with charisms? In how far are they individual charisms? Can one institutionalise a charism without nullifying it? If one does build an institution, is there not then a built-in law of security and efficiency that in the end pushes risk and providential care into the background?

I think the answers to these and some similar questions lie in experiences such as the foregoing.

Presence, sign, testimony -- effective and acceptable. APOSTOLIC COMMUNITY.

NEWS FROM AND FOR THE GENERALATES

1. JOINT VENTURE - The SEDOS Quarterly JOINT VENTURE in its 11th issue of June 1973 will deal exclusively with the SEDOS DWG study on URBAN MISSION. The contents will take more or less this form:

- Editorial
- The aims and limitations of the study
- The theological base as expanded by Fr. Bundervoet msc
- Pastoral trends outlined and interpreted by Fr. Houdijk cssp
- Sociological considerations presented by Fr. B. Tonna
- Special dimensions : education and health care
- Documentation available
- Epilogue

The editor of JOINT VENTURE invites SEDOS members who would have comments to make or suggestions to offer, that have not yet been reported in the weekly bulletin, to get them to him as soon as possible. To be useful, such comments or suggestions should reach him before Easter. Members who would rather express them orally than put them in writing are invited to meet Fr. Moody in the SEDOS office at 15.30 on Friday, 13th April.

2. AVEX 1973 - Pour répondre aux vœux exprimés par de nombreux délégués au congrès des O.P.M. à Lyon, en novembre '72 et sur la demande expresse du Président de la Commission Episcopale des Moyens de Communication Sociale d'Amérique Latine, A.V.E.X. '73 comprendra deux sessions:

- une session courte, du 2 au 29 septembre;
- une session longue; du 2 septembre '73 à fin février 1974.

Pour tous renseignements, écrire, en précisant à quelle session vous êtes intéressé, à: C.R.E.C. - session A.V.E.X., 19, rue de chavril, 69110 SAINTE-FOY-les-LYON (France).

3. CATHOLIC MEDIA COUNCIL, Aachen, Germany: the executive secretary, Fr. F.J. Eilers svd, is looking for an English speaking Sister, with good typing and some knowledge of office routine, for one or two years in their Aachen office. Convent accomodation available nearby. Knowledge of French and/or German would be a help, but not necessary. Apply through SEDOS Secretariat.
4. FSCJ - The PROCURA CENTRALE DELLE MISSIONI of the Verona Fathers have printed (11 pp.): PROGETTI 1972-1973, being a list of recommended micro-realizations envisaged for the coming year. A useful model for drawing up similar schemes, such as the SEDOS one on local "cultures".