Admittedly, my bus was not what I called a "chicken hauler," it was relatively luxurious. But it still gave another perspective on the kaleidoscopic Latin Americas of our continent. As the driver wove through the four-lane highway (bereft of any painted lanes), dodging vehicles of all sizes and makes, animals and chuck-holes, I surveyed my fellow-travelers as well as the world outside my window. To my surprise, a father and son bowed in prayer as the bus departed the stations. "Could they be believers?" I thought; then, "How do I find out?" Well, I simply asked them if they were praying. They were, and we launched into the varied stories of our relationsh with Christ. Through the window I caught a glimpse of a bumper sticker, "A Jesus por María" (To Jesus through Mary).

The bus wove its way through eastern Guatemala and then to the border crossing into El Salvador. (Borders still represent major Latin reality for me, recalling memories of scores of similar trips in years past.) Foreigners needed passports and visas, yet most of the other people swarming around that porous border didn't seem to! Children, Latin America's most precious product, were all over the place. Everybody was working: bustling and hustling, changing currencies, charging admission for a clean toilet, selling everything from chewing gum to audio cassettes to fruit and other food, to literature, to small appliances. We were far from the global economy and information age. But, then again, were we really? Satellite dishes announced their apparent capacity to beam in signals from space; the ubiquitous military had modern armaments and communications equipment; the luxury Mercedes Benz bus was a late model. Latin America was on the move here with their major product, people, always evident: children, youth, and adults of all ages, sizes, colors and nationalities. We drove on into El Salvador, a dynamic, small, post-civil war nation in transition. I would be speaking at a missions conference in a growing urban church that was breaking new ground in terms of what it means to be "the church" in Latin America.,

Spiritual concerns evidenced themselves on that bus trip, with two samples engraved on my memory. One, the conversation with my fellow passenger and his young son. Fairly recent converts to Christ, they attended a dynamic charismatic church in San Salvador. They represented youth and adults coming to Christ from traditional Latin Christianity. Secondly, the surprising number of small evangelical churches dotting the roadside. I tried to count them but finally gave up. They were simply everywhere, from Episcopal to Pentecostal to non-charismatic to independent.

Latin America: that vast spectrum of peoples, races, geographics, socio-economic status. Latin America: not realizing for the most part

what the Berlin Wall and its fall represented to them. Latin America: selling sugar cane, Coke and Pepsi. Latin America: a world of worlds. Latin America: social, political, economic, always spiritual.

Continental Socio-Political-Economic Changes

The Overarching Panorama

Since publication of the first edition of this book, significant changes have rippled, and sometimes ripped, through the continent.[1] Some of them are hopeful, while others chronicle the ongoing painful crises of this continent. We could write at length about contemporary (and dated) events in all of the nineteen nations included in this work. Let me scan ten of them:

Cuba: her uncertain future, painful present and the latest flood of refugees; Fidel the unreconstructed Marxist forced to grapple with the loss of his economic/political godfather, Russia, and the need to introduce some form of market liberalization; the USA with thousands of Cuban refugees unhappily consigned to camps in Panama until the USA returned them to Cuba.

Nicaragua: with the stunning elections of February 1990, which tossed out the Sandinistas and brought in a Mother of the nations, Mrs. Chamorro with a gilded last name; an impoverished nation with no democratic tradition.

Peru: under the Peruvian-Japanese president and authoritarian leader, Alberto Fujimori, who was elected with strong evangelical support but he then rejected them; who in spite of widespread condemnation of his "fujimoraso" self-coup, has been widely supported by the people; under whose rule the Shining Path Maoist terrorists have been profoundly wounded and its prime leaders jailed; where the drug issue is now being addressed wtih tough laws and crop-substitution; but where the president openly feuds with his estranged wife.

Ecuador: in late January 1995, needlessly slicing open an historical scar as it initiated border hostilities with Peru, with killing and wounding on both sides and the inflaming of nationalistic spirits; Ecuador attempting to regain territory (potentially rich in minerals and oil) which it claims was unjustly lost in the 1941 war between these Andean neighbors—all will lose, particularly Ecuador, again.

El Salvador: with a surprising peace treaty that dissolved the long-term civil war between Marxist guerrilla forces and a rightist government, with a peace dividend opening the door to an economic boom coupled with an explosion of common criminality.

Colombia: introducing macroeconomics that appear to bring initial benefits on a national scale; but a nation profoundly affected by a drug industry formerly headquartered in Medellín but now led by more sophisticated drug imperialists from Cali, the drug lords having found new markets in Europe and even Russia with rumors of drug money funding presidential campaigns; Colombian guerrillas jumping into the drug trade to finance their wars and extend their power.

Panama: where strongman Noriega was ousted in another American military invasion of a small Latin American nation; the same caudillo captured and transported to an American prison and court system which eventually convicted him of drug charges; and the Panama holding elections to determine how it would sink back into "business as usual" politics.

Brazil: the mega-giant, with a former president, Fernando Collor de Mello, impeached for corruption charges in 1992, tried by the Supreme Court and found innocent in late 1994, but barred from politics until the year 2001; a nation led as of January 1995 by a gifted economist and former finance minister (who early in his career was known as a left-leaning sociologist). Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who swept the opposition in the 1994 elections and has tamed the wild tiger of inflation (1,158% in 1993!).

Guatemala: with a decades-long guerrilla war possibly about to be terminated, led now by an interim president elected in the wake of the moral and political failure of so-called evangelical Serrano Elías; a small nation, yet the largest in Central America, reeling from political and economic crises, living the peace of corruption with military leaders involved in the drug trade, and with a noble Indian majority working to sustain ethnic dignity and to stay alive economically.

Argentina: a giant, led by a president of Lebanese extract, Carlos Saúl Menem, who calls himself a fatalist with regard to personal faith; a "backwoods governor turned economic messiah," creating financial stability and a kind of free-enterprise "success story" under the name of Peronism, dramatically reducing the power of the unions, privatizing state-owned entities; a survivor of scandalous charges, once locking his former wife (a Muslim) out of the presidential palace in a very public spat; but as one political wag declared, "With low inflation, Menem could wed 10 women and dance till dawn, and nobody would care."[2]

Let us choose one nation, however, to serve as an extended test case to evaluate the attempts at ongoing transformation in Latin America: *Mexico.* Even as I write at my desk today, the daily newspapers as well as European and American magazines chronicle the Mexican political

and economic crises: the crash of the nascent stock market and national currency; the growing doubts about Mexican capacities to face and resolve their internal crises; a massive US $50 billion bailout cobbled together by the USA ($20 billion from the USA, the rest from the IMF, the European-oriented Bank for International Settlements, and four South American nations); it would come in loan form, but Mexico must guarantee oil revenues pledges of US $7 billion per year in return.[3] The facile analyst reviews only economics and current politics, while disregarding history and the profound tectonic social changes rumbling through Mexico—home to 92 million people (including at least 4.6 million evangelicals), most of whom are still on the underside of history. Consistent with the historical thesis of this book, the Mexican case study reminds us that contemporary Latin American must be understood in the context of over five centuries of the Latin American experiment.

From now on Mexicans approach their new year with a sense of trepidation. On January 1, 1994, the Zapatista National Liberation Army rocked the nation with a major revolt against hte central government. Based in the southern state of Chiapas with a social structure somewhat closer to feudalism than democracy, a band of rebels opened their attack, claiming the legendary name of one of Mexico's revered revolutionaries, and led by a former university professor.[4] Granmt the rebels an historic fist! With high skill they won international defenders on the Internet system—with the help of peace activists and other rebel support groups. The crisis shook national confidence and provoked erratic reactions from local, state and central Mexican officials. Rebellion has always festered like a dormant volcano that periodically blew off steam. But this time the volcano erupted, ireevocably forcing a different governmental response from the old benevolent paternalism and quiet violence once used to suppress the rebels. Early in 1995 matters had seemed to simmer down, particularly when the government appointed the progressive and controversial Catholic Bishop of Chicapas, Samuel Ruíz, as its official mediator. Then, in February 1995, the president sent the military into Chiapas to clean up the rebels, but rapidly reversed his orders. On top of these crises, Mexico in 1994 also suffered the assassination of the leading presidential candidate and other top political leaders, crimes possibly orchestrated by competing politicians in the ruling party.

Almost exactly one year later, Mexicans awoke to the news of their economic crisis with a collapsing peso, an imploding economy, and a shaken new president Ernesto Zedillo who had inherited much of the mess from his predecessor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Salinas had avoided a planned devaluation of the peso, partly because it would jeopardize

his chances—now failed—to become the first czar of the new World Trade Organization. Mexican writer and former diplomat Carlos Fuentes feels that Salinas "was worried that an ecnomic crisis in his turf would bury his candidacy."[5] As the Spanish proverb states, Zedillo, Salinas's successor, became "the duck for the soup." Optimistic reports of a new emerging and stable Latin America crashed along with Mexico's economic crisis. NAFTA supporters were shaken and NAFTA opponents were gleeful. And Salinas fled to the USA to avoid prosecution himself.

This national case study reflects issues that must be understood in a broader context. It is one thing to tout economic reforms; and they are fine and acceptable. But when they are too rapidly grafted onto five centuries of a particular political and social culture, a crisis such as Mexico's is not surprising. What's more, much of the quick foreign investment that poured into Mexico was not geared to developing critical national infrastructure but rather to making rapid profits. Dubbed the "Tequila effect," it casts shadows on the economic and political reliability of the other emerging Latin economic giants, such as Brazil and Argentina, as well as all investment expectations for the Two-Thirds world. At the January 1995 World Economic Forum in plush Davos, Switzerland, Argentine president Menem argued that his nation was not Mexico.[6] But the Mexico case illustrates that an exodus from a culture of poverty and structural injustice (30% unemployed labor force) is not achieved simply and quickly. The battle must be engaged at a much deeper level. It is cultural, it is historic, it is bound in centuries of a particular set of behavior and values. Economic metamorphosis simply must go beyond the financial categories (fiscal restraints, reforms and market liberalization) and be accompanied by systemic transitions in the legal, political, social and educational realms. Modernity and economic reforms implemented by the younger national leaders, many of them graduates of prestigious North American universities, are not enough. Treaties like NAFTA peer into the future, for they prelude broader economic and trade reforms that will radically alter the continental, political and human landscape.

Again, Mexico is only one national example. Parallel stories can be developed for each of the Latin American nations, particularly as they attempt to transition into the broader economic worlds (regional and global) as well as into the information age of the present and future. The tensions inherent in structural change must be understood in the context of 500 years of history. Nevertheless, change is in the wind, and it is here to stay. Latin America is not what it was even ten years ago. Crisis and hope in Latin America.

Some Major Trends in Latin America

In the last eight years, and particularly since the fall of the Berlin wall, the major foreign policy, political and economic professional journals have written primarily about the former Soviet empire and Central Europe, as well as the Pacific Rim world. After the Sandinista debacle in Nicaragua, with Panama's Noriega languishing in a USA jail, and the glories of NAFTA in the bag, Latin America receded from public interest—until the recent Mexican economic crisis. However, some provocative essays have come out with application to Latin America. This continent is but one major region of our world community; it is undergoing its own transformation as it grapples with its history and the future. It probably does not yet qualify for what Kenichi Ohmae calls the "region state" of natural economic zones, whether within a nation or a grouping of them.[7] Latin America could possibly become a region state under certain circumstances, but not with nasty hostilities like Ecuador and Peru in 1995. Ohmae has also written about the economic "borderless world"; but, frankly, Latin America is not there yet. Nevertheless, the sub-regions within Latin America are definitely moving towards serious and structural economic covenants. NAFTA (which may include Chile and others) is but one example. Central America, the Southern Cone and the Andean nations are working on their own trade agreements.

What are some of the major trends of the '90s that can be observed in Latin America? I mention only a few of many.

First, the rise of democratization, coupled with the ongoing search for a political model for Latin America. One clear item of good news is that seventeen (all but Cuba and Peru) of the nineteen nations forming the core of our Latin continent now have some kind of a democratic regime. All Latin Americanists have noted this phenomenon, for every country in some measure has been impacted by political forces that generate different models of democracy. Some of the forces come from far beyond the continent, such as the imploding of European/Soviet Marxism; the economic factors that push towards a globalized economy and the technology-driven information age; or they reflect fundamental changes taking place within the continent. Example: if the Mexican dominant political party, the PRI, wants to survive, it must rewrite the rules of national governance. The Latin American military has withdrawn in failure and frustration. With only two exceptions, the strongmen are out. And even that unrepentant Marxist, Fidel Castro, is forced to modify some of this ideology, though he tinkers with economics and not his system nor his personal status.

What are the political model options? One is the "Asian Tiger" route, exemplified by Singapore, Malaysia and Korea; another is the classical North American/European form; yet another is the *caudillista* strong man; finally, the traditional politics of same old business done in the same old way. Whither Latin America? Will any one of these models guarantee a healthy transition into the new world order, level the political playing field, control corruption and transform public state structures? Of course not; it may be too much to ask. But the fact is that for the first time we observe a healthy political heterogeneity of systems on the continent. French sociologist Alain Touraine argues that Latin America stands halfway between two worlds, two continents and, in a sense, two worldviews. He ponders whether Latin America will move towards the Western democratic model or will approximate the Asian authoritarian one.

> It is particularly difficult to answer that question, because the political model which dominated during much of the time in Latin America was neither the European nor the Asiatic one, rather that of the national-popular State, which redistributed the resources, in great measure external, and at the same time possessed a nationalist and integrative character.[8]

Undoubtedly the collapse of Soviet Marxism has profoundly impacted Latin American intellectuals and leftists. They simply did not foresee that fall. But then, who could have? And now what were those warriors to do with their lives, their dreams, their political and economic systems and infrastructures, their international benefactors and naive press, their subordinates? The Mexican writer, Jorge G. Castañeda, offers a serious self-evaluation and critique in *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War,* where he recognizes the mistakes of the left, exposes internal disagreements and suggests a future role of the left in building democracy.[9] Some unreconstructed Marxists continue to defend the tired ideology. Some of the radical movements fragmented, or their leaders simply dropped out dismayed. Yet others moved into the revised political games, so today you find former Marxist militants competing in the political process. Examples include El Salvador, Colombia, possibly Guatemala if a treaty is signed between the government and guerrilla forces. However, the left enters this game at high personal risk.

Secondly, a growing wave of opposition to traditional political parties and leades. This trend is closely related to the first one, but it applies

directly to the vested interests of establishment party hacks, whether Argentine, Brazilian, Guatemalan, or Mexican. Emerging on the scene is the powerful presence of the new economic wizards (some of them now presidents) through national or state election or by administrative appointment. This is a reality in nations such as Mexico, El Salvador, Brazil and Argentina. In the past national leaders would have their symbolic crew of appointed technocrats, whose actual power and influence were limited by political realities and personal preferences. What's more, when a Latin politician made it to the top, governmental benefits and perks were presumed to flow first to family and close friends rather than qualified appointees. On the positive side, the rise of this new cadre of political leader brings an improved quality and capacity for financial planning to the nation. They want to manage countries on a corporate model—a massive challenge! On the negative side, if the poor are seen only as ciphers or percentages on statistical reports, and if the technocrats heartlessly forget their own roots in the less-advantaged past, these new political leaders will also forget the masses of poor people who must benefit as well from new policies and trade reform. Another evidence of the discreding of traditional politicians is that some of them have been charged and convicted of corruption and other crimes, an amazing feat in light of the vagaries and weaknesses of the Latin American legal system. No former Latin head of state sleeps fully at peace today, as former Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner has discovered while in exile in Brazil.[10]

Thirdly, and interrelated with politics, is the structural move to some kind of market economy. The propaganda, slogans, buzz words are unceasing; internal and international trade reform, regional treaties, economic pacts with the USA, NAFTA, currency metamorphoses and new names for old currencies, privatization, macroeconomics, and so much more. For many observers the December 1994 "Summit of the Americas" held in Miami was cosmetic, merely a chance for thirty-four new and old politicians to pose and posture together, some hoping that better public relations and pictures with more popular colleagues would improve their image and skills and longevity.[11] On the other hand, the summit leaders represented their changing Latin America.

Moises Naim writes of the continent's "post-adjustment blues" as the tension rises between Latin governments and the market-oriented reforms. The state simply is not equipped to deal effectively with the economic transformations taking place. Historically the Latin state has defended varieties of mercantilism; but it now backs the new rules. What will the future bring as state expectations engage with conflicting private

and public forces? "Not one of the democratic governments that launched market-oriented reforms ran on a platform of free trade, price liberalization, and privatization. The drastic reforms of elected governments almost uniformly surprised Latin American voters."[12]

Is there a downside to the lavish and even poetic language of economic reform? Of course there is! There is the problem of new political and economic dependencies—on the International Monetary Funds and the World Bank or others like it. Even as I write, the debate rages in Mexico, for one major bone of contention over the proposed US $50 billion loan guarantee for Mexico has to do with national identity, sovereignty and pride. "Our petroleum deposits belong to us and no other!" Beyond the implications of the IMF, what will happen to the majority of Latins who live on the underside of history? So what if the World Bank predicts that Latin economies would grow by 3.4 percent annually over the next ten years if that growth does not significantly improve the life of the majority of its people. Argentine news warms the hearts of free market economists. But as one commentator writes on Menem's reforms, "The biggest risk, however, is that his program to build the free market and stimulate the economy will somehow fail to reach the 30% of Argentines who lives below the poverty line, the very people for whom Peronism always had the greatest appeal."[13] The same story applies to every single Latin nation, for everywhere you find beautiful, modern buildings, high tech transformations, new ways of doing business. But what about those millions living at subsistence level? Former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin warned, "Should such conditions persist, I have profound doubts about how stable a democracy and the open-market economic model can really be."[14] At the same time Chile boasts that one million people had already moved out of poverty in the first three years of Aylwin's term, under a highly rated antipoverty program.

A fourth trend looks at the significant and growing role of micro-economics and the non-formal economy. Read the important work by Peruvian entrepreneur Hernando de Soto, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World.*[15] De Soto documents the daunting and time-consuming task faced by the "little people" in order for them to acquire legal approval for their own business as the first step to making their way out of pvoerty. On the other hand, if the same man or woman simply sets up shop—that is, dreams up the idea, gets a family loan, buys the equipment, hires a couple of relatives and starts working—the same shop is off and running in a matter of days! but it is not legal, and its precarious existence could easily be snuffed out by the beaurocrats. This is the reality of the informal economy that churns out goods and pays peo-

ple for honest work, with or without legal documentation. While De Soto's database comes from Peru, the reality is continent-wide.

The private sector is now getting into the business of micro-economics and extending small loans to the "little people" making a living. For many years Christian organizations have understood how small self-help projects leverage into something much greater. I continue to praise God for organizations such as World Relief, World Vision and Opportunity International, to mention but three, who invest financial resources into wholistic ministries and come as servants of the people.[16]

Fifth, the military have for the most part retreated to their barracks. About twenty years ago Latin American regimes were dominated by the military, who cast their black military-boot shadow over the continent. But civilian authority has now reclaimed governmental control. However, this does not mean that the military has disappeared. Its work on the one hand is more professional, distanced from the political quagmire. On the other hand it is more subtle, and in some cases corrupt. The military is also restless, as in Venezuela where it recently attempted two coups—to the surprise of few Venezuelans and the surprise of many non-Venezuelans. The generals of Guatemala first backed Jorge Serrano Elías's self-proclaimed coup of May 1993, but rapidly changed their minds when they met the united front of national and international opposition. Serrano Elías (who had identified himself as an evangelical) soon fled to Panama as his "fujimoraso" collapsed. The soldiers' forays into public governance are now generally discredited, but they remain self-defined true patriots, consonant with their traditional institutional values. In some countries military involvement in the drug industry is documented: Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala. But their greatest fear is to be tried and punished by the civil judiciary of corruption. The Argentine example where civilian authorities tried and convicted military officers brings nightmares to all corrupt Latin military forces. Their budgets have been slashed in some countries; but when the mother country calls for them in the hour of crisis, they will rise again and rule if needed.

The rise of the continental Indianist Movement has been notable. Many new publications—major articles and books—are revealing the astonishing new discoveries of pre-Columbian societies. Archaeologists have exulted in fabulous recent discoveries, from Mexico to Guatemala and down to the Andean region. The "lost empires" had been found; tombs would solve the mystery of the collapse of the Maya empire.[17]

But the Indianist Movement introduces a new dimension into the Latin equation. It has galvanized and unified the Latin America's indigenous population with a plethora of informal and formal cultural and

political associations. Continental summits of Indian people have helped to celebrate a valuable heritage. The movement has contributed to legitimate pride in ethnicity, culture, language, customs, history, religion. They have discovered the power of political numbers. It is difficult to affirm just how many Indians there are. While in some countries the percentage of indigenous population is very small (Argentina 3% of 33.9 million and Brazil 1% of 155.3 million), in others they represent a significant percentage of the national total: Bolivia (66% of 8.2 million); Ecuador (21% of 10.6 million); Guatemala (50% of 10.3 million); Mexico (11% of 92 million); Peru (40% of 22.9 million); Chile (9% of 14 million).[18]

To the surprise of all, the joy of some, and the consternation of others, the Guatemalan, Quiché Indian woman, Rigoberta Menchú Tum, received the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize.[19] This astonishing international decision catapulted Rigoberta Menchú into the spotlight, and she became a foremost spokeswoman for human rights. Representing the Indian, the poor and oppressed, those on the underside of history, her story is dramatic and provacative—she lost her parents in the nasty Guatemalan civil war, fled to Mexico, and then while in exile emerged into political leadership. She is seen as a public symbol for all the Indian peoples of Latin America. To top it off, the United Nations declared the year 1993 as "International Year of Indigenous Peoples," though the Indianist leaders wanted a decade!

The Indianist Movement must also be observed in the context of the 500th anniversay of Coloumbus's first journey to the "New World." While historians, publishers, map-makers, sailors, citizens of all communities with the name "Columbus" celebrated, other voices utilized the occasion to focus on the contemporary plight of Latin indigenous peoples. And make no mistake, most of them continue at the bottom of the social pyramid. Escobar quotes Emilio Castro on these celebrations: "From a European perspective a Te Deum could be called for; from the perspective of the original inhabitants of those countries, it will be the occasion for a Requiem."[20]

All Latin Christians rejoice in the legitimatization of healthy pride and self-identity of race, culture, language. For too long prejudice and discrimination against the Indian peoples has been tolerated. However, there are aspects of the Indianist Movement that must be critiqued, not so much the political issues related to the exercise of power. Rather I allude to the spiritual dimensions of this movement. The summits and celebrations many times begin by invoking the traditional Indian spirits. The religious revival focuses on the rediscovery and practice of pre-Christian

religions, with universalist emphases, worshipping nature gods and other spirits. This is not a sign of hope but rather of spiritual identity in crisis. What's more, Latin Christians face the challenge of these indigenous people groups considered unevangelized. Patrick Johnstone lists ninety-six groups, with the largest number in Brazil (31), Peru (20) and Colombia (13).

Finally, we must mention the drug industry. "Economic logic and textbook business methods have brought victory in the drug war to the illegal entrepreneurs of Colombia, and those of the city of Cali in particular. The implications are depressing for Colombia, for the inner cities of rich countries, and for prohibitionists everywhere." With these strong words *The Economist* (December 24, 1994–January 6, 1995) summarized their report on Colombia's drug business. No country in the world denies that drugs are an internal problem. Former American President Bush declared a national "war on drugs" and to date the USA has invested (spent, used, wasted) more than US $50 billion in the effort to deal with the problem. The drug (cocaine, heroin, marijuana) industry is a classic case of capitalist supply and demand. As long as people want it, need it, crave their results, and are willing to pay the price, drugs will be grown, harvested, processed, shipped and sold.

Medellín, to the chagrin of Medellín's noble citizens, used to be synonymous with drugs. Of the various groups involved, it was the Escobar family that captured the world's imagination until its leader, Pablo Escobar, was killed by anti-drug security forces. He was a ruthless, violent man who also cunningly played his political cards by building homes for the poor, providing jobs for many, owning soccer teams and politicians, thus projecting the image of a benevolent "Robin Hood." His death dealt the final blow to the Medellín gang but not to drugs in Colombia. Cali is now the headquarters of a sophisticated, business-savy conglomerate of drug lords. They have suborned or openly bought political and military leaders to protect their "business." It is not really a cartel, argues *The Economist.* Rather, it is more of an "exporters association," a "co-operative," or a commodities-style "cocaine exchange." But clearly the Colombian case augurs only evil for that country. We could also write of Peru and Bolivia as major producers, of Panama as a financial laundry center, or of Guatemala and Mexico as transshipment players. But drugs would not be big business without consumers, whether Latin, North America, Asian, European or Russian. "...new markets for cocaine have opened up across the world, especially in Europe. America's State Department notes that all major European capitals have reported a growing influx of cocaine. Last year Russian police seized more than a ton of Colombian cocaine in St. Petersburg."[21]

Can the government of Colombia, or Peru, or Bolivia do anything substantial to change matters? The Peruvian case merits comment. While a fungus affected the most densely planted areas in 1992 and thus reduced yields, the fact is that under the autocratic Fujimori progress is being made against Peruvian drug production. Terrorism has receded with singular victories over the anarchist Sendero Luminoso movement. Hyperinflation has also been brought under control. "In the last month, Peru has made its largest cocaine and opium seizures ever, dismantled one of the largest drug trafficking groups, and indicted an army general for protecting cocaine shipments."[22] While some 200,000 Peruvians cultivate the coca leaves, low prices and crop substitutions have put a major dent in this destructive industry.

This is a story of crisis and very little hope. Will the drug-consuming and producing nations realize the complexity—political, social, economic, cultural and spiritual—of this problem? Ultimately, Christians acknowledge the reality of people (children, youth and adults) bound down by their sinful nature and without a transforming knowledge of the Savior.

Significant fault lines of crisis needing hope

Latins are all too familiar with the language of earthquakes. That analogy becomes relevant as we close this brief review of these current socio-political-economic realities in the Latin continent during these recent years.What are some of the fault lines that point to the deeper elements of crisis? Whatever positive elements we observe taking place in Latin America, there are certain realities that still persist, painfully so. The rise of secularizing materialism is not necessarily good for ultimate values rooted in the Living God and his Word. Modernity has its faith-killing, dehumanizing dimensions. Latin cities face an explosion of violence, where street children are hunted and killed like wild rats—Brazil and Colombia are documented examples.[23] Wealth is not trickling (much less flowing) down rapidly enough to make substantive difference for the masses of the poor. The development of underdevelopment continues; the percentage of poor increases out of proportion to the percentage of the wealthy; family breakdown is endemic particularly in urban centers; and the fragmentation has accelerated with the move from rural to urban centers. During the last twenty-five years Latin urban population increased 216%, and there are twenty-seven Latin cities of over one million inhabitants. The values of made-in-USA entertainment industry are fundamentally destructive. The decade of the '80s was a lost one ec-

onomically for the poor and even for the middle class, with per capita gross domestic product *declining* 1.2 percent during that decade. The North-South Center of the University of Miami states it eloquently:

> The number of people living in extreme poverty increased dramatically—in some nations encompassing over 75 percent of the population. At the same time, the middle class, which had grown rapidly since the 1950's, found its position threatened in the 1980's by a shrinking job market, rampant inflation, and government austerity programs. Secondary and university education, long seen as a virtual guarantor of middle-class status, no longer provided such secure opportunities, producing rising frustrations and a heightened flow of intellectual capital out of the region.[24]

That same report lists evidence of a series of relatively late political crises that evidence different fault lines: "The turmoil of recent years has largely laid to rest the simplistic view that creating and maintaining democracy could be achieved simply through holding relatively honest elections, installing civilian governments and preventing military coups."[25] The fact of the matter is that if economic reforms are not accompanied by broader reform in the executive and legislative branches as well as the judiciary, military, and education sectors, and endemic corruption addressed, then economic Band-Aids of modernity will simply cover over the historic and entrenched self-defeating political culture. History and tradition cannot be ignored in any discussion of "progress into the modern era" of a global economy and information age. The same reports calls this "the burden of history."

Crisis and hope in Latin America. I see both in tension. Only the biblical Christian has the potential to understand the times in this Latin continent, who knows what to do as a modern son and daughter of the King, and is able to boldly lay hold of the Eternal Kingdom. Concluding this section I ask myself, "Am I encouraged or discouraged by the Latin scenario?" Fundamentally, I believe in the sovereignty of the God of history; this story is his Story. On the human and concrete turf of today's Latin reality, I acknowledge a degree of optimism that goes beyond my pessimism of just eight years ago. It is a matter of hope in the midst of the ongoing crises of the continent.

And where do Latin evangelicals fit in this scenario? The continent is their world, their context, their battleground, their identity, their de-

velopment, their spiritual growth and their future impact on the social structures of their continent. When tectonic political and economic forces explode through a country like Mexico, our 4.6 million Mexican brothers and sisters in Christ are directly affected. Their jobs and future are on the line, their children's education is uncertain, their political, religious and human rights are threatened. And theirs is the task to focus clearly on the overall, divine big picture—with a keen eye on the eternals but with feet rooted in the world which God loves personally and desires to transform completely.

PART B
Surveying the Latin American Spiritual Landscape

The Broad Scenario

Perhaps five vignettes can offer fresh insight into the surprising changes taking place in Latin spirituality.[26] The first one I witnessed with my son-in-law in a small Guatemalan Indian town on the edge of glorious Lake Atitlán. Cliff and I stood towards the back of the church quietly observing the service in action. The music was lively, all ages were represented, the people were involved, the speaker spoke with conviction from both the Bible and the liturgy, and when the meeting concluded church members chatted warmly until departing. It was a contemporary, small-town, Catholic service in a rapidly changing Latin America.

About three weeks later I was the invited speaker at a Salvadoran church for their world missions conference. The church had recently gone through a series of major transitions—a neighborhood move, a new name, a new shared leadership team, clear-cut vision statement, a modern auditorium-style facility. The music was vibrant and charismatic in feel, a broad basis of leadership was in training, the members were enthusiastically involved, most of the young people were recent converts, and many entire families had come to Christ through the witness of peers. This church had broken into a relatively under-reached people group, the upper middle class of El Salvador. It was a new community, a new model of church, with a broad basis of fellowship with other believers, while holding membership in a non-charismatic denomination. Something powerful and new was taking place there; history was being made.

A third facet of Latin spirituality comes from Brazil where in late 1994 Catholics and evangelicals united in an unusual way to condemn a

Brazilian television soap opera with open occultic themes:

> The Journey, a prime-time, six-night-a-week soap on Brazil's largest network, TV Globo, won record ratings during its five months on the air." The report goes on to state that "...the occult has a strong pull in this country of 160 million people. Catholicism has long coexisted or competed with African spirit religions, witchcraft and European spiritualism, and now with fast-growing fundamentalist Protestant groups...A 1992 study by the Religion Studies Institute said non-Catholic churches [Evangelical] were opening at a rate of one a day in Rio de Janeiro."[27]

Brazil considers itself over 92 percent Christian, although about 60 percent are involved in occult activity. Yet with almost 29 million people—attending over 149,000 churches and belonging to over 270 denominations—who call themselves evangelicals, these believers outnumber practicing Catholics. The percentage who attend mass currently hovers around 5%, in a nation of 152 million people, and with no Catholic growth forecast.[28]

We visit Argentina. "'What do you believe in?' This question was put by Argentina's weekly current affairs magazine. The survey found that we believe overwhelmingly in God, followed closely by economic stability and 'nothing and nobody.' But our God seems remote; we prefer monetarism and privatization to economic chaos; and nothing and nobody merits our confidence." So writes Silvia Chávez, General Secretary of the Asociación Universitaria Argentina (IFES partner).[29] Yet in this same nation known for its agnosticism, the Spirit of God is breaking through in marvelous ways. Nation-wide, the strong growth rate of evangelical churches continues, though probably not at the high pace of a few years ago. Churches across the spectrum are growing, as long as they reach out with conviction and warmth.

Finally, a double report from Cuba, that island nation of eleven million people living under a Marxist regime since Castro's victory in 1959. The collapse of Cuba's Russian support system plunged the country into catastrophic crises. Some 41 percent of the population call themselves Catholic, yet only 2 percent attend mass. Evangelicals claim only 2.7 percent of the population. But something is happening on the island, and its impact is felt in both Catholic and evangelical communities. "Cuba's New Cardinal Leads a Bolder Church," proclaims *The New York Times.*

Jaime Cardinal Ortega y Alamino represents a key aspect of Christianity's new role in Cuba. Catholics report that attendance at masses has increased as much as 50 percent in recent years. On the evangelical side all report remarkable growth, whether in the rural areas or the cities. Congregations are growing, starting branch works, even acquiring building permits from a more flexible government. Bible schools are overwhelmed with the response to even limited theological training. Cubans are now sending young leaders to acquire formal theological studies in other Latin American countries, as well as missionaries to other nations, and many of them come with a unique credential, they speak Russian.

Every Latin Christian interviewed provides a personal window into the transforming spiritual landscape of the continent. Now let us travel rapidly and widely across the spectrum in the attempt to offer a concise update on broader spiritual realities in Latin America.

Recent Literature on Evangelical Christianity in Latin America

A most surprising thing has happened since the first edition of this book: the number of very significant publications dealing in particular with the rise and strength of the evangelical/Protestant movement in Latin America. Secular academicians are rethinking their posture in light of evangelical growth, Roman Catholic scholars are revisiting their own presuppositions, and evangelical writers have contributed other special insights and reports.[30] David Martin and David Stoll have probably done more than any others to challenge preconceptions. Both write from a sociological perspective, with focus on the social dimensions and impact of this religious phenomenon under study. Not all they write will encourage evangelicals, and Stoll periodically raises hackles; but their perspective demands respect from all.

Martin approaches Latin America from the perspective of a British sociologist of religion with strong academic credentials. With a vivid literary image, "tongues of fire," he casts his study in a context of a historical genealogical struggle between two rival civilizations, "...the four hundred year clash between the Hispanic imperium and the Anglo-Saxon imperium. On the one side are all the successor states of the Iberian Peninsula; on the other side are England and its mightiest successor state—the USA."[31]

Martin traces an ethos found in British Methodism's battle to create free religious space within the Church of England's spiritual monopoly. To him a similar momentous encounter of world views in Latin America is taking place between Protestantism and Catholicism, with the former

opening up the space at the expense of the latter. The term "movement" is crucial to him.

> The new society now emerging in Latin America has to do with movement, and evangelicals constitute a movement. Evangelical Christianity is a dramatic migration of the spirit matching and accompanying a dramatic migration of bodies. In undertaking this migration, people become 'independent' not at all by building up modest securities but by the reverse: by the loss of all the ties that bind, whether these be familial, communal or ecclesial. Pentecostalism in particular renews these ties in an atmosphere of hope and anticipation rather than of despair. It provides a new cell taking over from scarred and broken tissue. Above all it renews the innermost cell of the family, and protects the woman from the ravages of male desertion and violence. A new faith is able to implant new disciplines, re-order priorities, counter corruption and destructive machismo, and reverse the indifferent and injurious hierarchies of the outside world. Within the enclosed haven of faith a fraternity can be instituted under firm leadership, which provides for release, for mutuality and warmth, and for the practice of new roles.[32]

A final eloquent word from Martin underscores the long-term implications of momentous spiritual changes rippling across Latin America. "As the sacred canopy in Latin America is rent and the all-encompassing system cracks, evangelical Christianity pours in and by its own autonomous native power creates free social space."[33]

American David Stoll comes with a different history and perspective. Known previously for his polemic criticism of Wycliffe Bible Translators,[34] when he began research on the book that asks the question, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, he openly acknowledged a negative presupposition. He had earlier supposed that the cause of such Protestant growth came from the influx of funds, personnel and other material resources from the USA, particularly the fundamentalist missionary industry. Stoll is honest to confess the fallacy of his *a priori* judgment and now concludes that Latin Protestants explode in growth because they are an autochthonous movement, coming primarily from the poor. He argues that to criticize evangelicals of simplistic acceptance of a "made in the USA right-wing Gospel sect" is a reductionism that denies their personal integrity.

Both Martin and Stoll unexpectedly critique liberation theologies, saying that they never enjoyed broad support from those expected to benefit from its theory and praxis. Martin notes that liberationists primarily came from radical intellectual circles and not from "below" from the people. Stoll concurs:

> The central exercise in liberation theology, consciousness-raising, raises a tangle of issues. To begin with, there is the risk of failing to speak to the actual needs of the poor, as opposed to idealized versions of those needs. Liberation theology endeavors to come out of the day-to-day experience of the poor; when successful, maybe it does. But it also originated in the crisis of the Catholic church and its attempts to recover a popular base. Despite the struggle to build a grass-roots church, the prophets of the movement tend to be religious professionals with professional interests, a fact dramatized by their disputes with offended laities and anxious hierarchies.[35]

Stoll has cooperated with Virginia Varrard-Burnett to edit a more recent series of essays under the theme *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*. Just the introduction and conclusion to the book are worth the price. Stoll addresses the crisis of identity and mission within Latin Catholicism as it confronts the exploding evangelical communities, and then casts a context within the broader sociological changes wracking the continent.

> In societies whose economies are being globalized, whose traditional social structures have heaved apart, where people must fend for themselves in hostile new environments, how can a single, centralized religious hierarchy satisfy a newly individuated population whose members need to chart their own courses? For those same individuals, afflicted by new forms of personal insecurity, how can sprawling, territorially based Catholic parishes satisfy the desire for closer-knit congregational experiences? How can a religious system organized around sacraments satisfy the hunger for personal transformation? In each of these respects, the decentralized structures of Latin American Protestants, their multiple

leaders competing for followers through charisma, and their emphasis on conversion proved to be distinct advantages.[36]

Evangelicals Samuel Escobar and Guillermo Cook have interacted at length with the broad gamut of social and spiritual life in Latin America. Escobar's essays have appeared in a variety of journals and interviews, and his perspective is highly valued in sociological and religious circles. He combines an unusual insight into sociological and religious phenomenology and dynamics, while remaining faithful to Scripture as well as his Latin evangelical roots.[37] Cook has recently edited *New Face of the Church in Latin America: Between Tradition and Change,* a very profitable series of essays ranging across the ecclesiastical, theological and thematic spectrum of the continent. For him, "....the new face of the Church in Latin America is largely a Protestant story." At the same time he acknowledges that there is no single face to the Latin Church.[38]

A Status Report of Latin Evangelicalism Today

How many evangelicals are there today, particularly in comparison with our first edition? "Belgian missionary specialist Franz Damen, an advisor to the Catholic Bishops of Bolivia, reports that '...every hour in Latin America an average of 400 Catholics move to membership in Protestant sects which today represent an eighth, that is 12% of the population of the continent, but in countries like Puerto Rico and Guatemala, they constitute nothing less than 25 or even 30% of the population.'"[39] Surprisingly, Damen's figures are close to ours.

But what do current numbers report? One measure comes from comparing data in the 1993 edition of Patrick Johnstone's *Operation World* with those from his 1986 edition.[40] (See chart on page 460.) But readers beware! It is impossible to resolve differences in terminology, reports or statistics. These results represent composite data, giving more conservative totals than others. For example, COMIBAM leaders in 1992 reported a total of 65 million evangelicals, while ours give 52 million. The terms "Protestant" and "evangelical" refer to the same general population, and the 1993 general population figures come from the Population Reference Bureau.

A few comments are necessary regarding the two far-right columns. Our previous edition only listed missionaries "to" Latin America. Now we report one of the dramatic changes within the continent, the emergence of Latin America as a significant missionary-sending base and

Country	National Population (millions)	Protestant Population (thousands)		Percent Growth	Prot. % of population	Missionaries	
	1993	1986	1993	1986-93	1993	To	From
Argentina	33.5	1680	2500	49%	7.5%	911	144
Bolivia	8.0	471	681	45%	8.5%	1011	47
Brazil	152.0	24120	28815	19%	18.9%	3381	2755
Chile	13.5	2710	3662	35%	27.1%	565	102
Colombia	34.9	900	1193	33%	3.4%	946	148
Costa Rica	3.3	200	323	63%	9.8%	452	107
Cuba	11.0	244	291	19%	2.7%	2	2
Dom. Rep.	7.6	397	439	10%	5.8%	174	51
Ecuador	10.3	301	376	25%	3.7%	1116	48
El Salvador	5.2	766	1083	41%	20.8%	102	130
Guatemala	10.0	1720	2212	29%	22.1%	699	123
Honduras	5.6	435	566	30%	10.1%	384	58
Mexico	90.0	3200	4628	47%	5.1%	1891	376
Nicaragua	4.1	298	670	125%	16.3%	108	34
Panama	2.5	252	403	60%	16.1%	228	26
Paraguay	4.2	236	233	71%	5.5%	522	15
Peru	22.9	692	1563	126%	6.8%	1039	190
Puerto Rico	3.6	911	966	6%	26.8%	141	65
Uruguay	3.2	76	111	46%	3.5%	218	63
Venezuela	20.7	450	1054	134%	5.1%	637	131
TOTALS	**446.1**	**40059**	**51769**	**30%**	**11.6%**	**14527**	**4615**

force. Johnstone's numbers seem high to many Latin leaders, partly because of his broader "domestic national missionary" category working within the nation. For example, Brazilian mission researchers have identified 1,783 cross-cultural missionaries, 972 less (35%) than Johnstone's figures. COMIBAM missions leaders tend to feel more comfortable with an across-the-board reduction since they apply the missionary category to refer to cross-cultural workers serving either within their country or outside its national borders. This would suggest close to 3,000 cross-cultural Latin missionaries in current service.

EVANGELICALS IN LATIN AMERICAN SINCE 1900

Regardless of precise numbers, the facts are incontrovertible. Latin

evangelicals are a major force in Latin America today, and their growth appears unstoppable. But why is Latin America turning Protestant? This is the central question posed by so many students of the continent.[41] The answer depends on the presuppositions, whether Marxist, agnostic, Catholic, spiritist, liberal Protestant or evangelical. Some growth explanations come from sociology (migration from rural to megacities and its corresponding displacement which seeks new identity and community), the political left (money-inspired conversions, fanaticism, religion as opiate),

Year	Communicants	Total Community	Percent of Population
1900	?	50,000 (Arias)	
1916	126,000	378,000	
1925	252,000 (?)	756,000 (?)	
1936	2,400,000	7,200,000	
1967	4,915,400	14,746,200	6.0
1973	6,666,666	20,000,000	7.5
1987	11,635,666	37,432,000	8.8
1993	16,177,812	51,769,000	11.6
2000	26,666,666	80,000,000 (P. Johnstone, est.)	15.0

or Catholicism (USA-funded sects, or recognized absence of Catholic pastoral presence). The reasons suggested here reflect evangelical values. Berg and Pretiz offer twelve reasons, with each one playing its own role in the conversion process.

1. A background of Christian knowledge already acquired in the Roman Catholic tradition.
2. A world view that still accepts the supernatural and is not over-rationalized.
3. Disenchantment with the Roman Catholic Church and search for alternatives.
4. Expression of religious liberty in a religious space not used in pluralism.
5. Poverty and insecurity about the future lead to search for ultimate answers.
6. Evangelical use of mass media to communicate the

message.

7. Evangelical church structure providing lay participation at all levels.
8. Mobilization of all believers in obedience to Christ.
9. Faith in God's power to perform miracles and the gifts of the Spirit.
10. Contextualization of the gospel and church community.
11. The critical mass where numbers grow like compound interest.
12. A straightforward message, "Solo Cristo Salva."[42]

Here are some other causes for evangelical growth: the structural social changes which have profoundly affected the struggle to live which in turn have opened up space for alternative spiritual choices and thus lead to significant new Christian communites; the movement from Catholicism to evangelicalism through the Catholic charismatic groups; the popular recognition that the evangelical gospel affirms many Latin cultural values through spontaneous and practical contextualization; the fact that women are drawn to the gospel because they are granted dignity as women and encouraged to take public roles in church life; the dynamic of Latin music and participatory worship, whether Quechua or Caribbean salsa style. Ultimately, it is the sovereign Spirit of God working at all levels of Latin society, drawing people to the living, resurrected and powerful Christ.

Trends within Latin Evangelicalism Today

Not all that glitters is gold! As in the first edition of this book, we raise crucial questions. What are some of the major trends moving through the continent? Here are some. *First, while the numerical growth attracts widespread attention, there is another dimension.* The growth is unevenly spread across the continent. Mexico City has proven resistant, Venezuela also, particularly Caracas. Uruguayan Christians live in a nation with a strong agnostic and atheistic heritage where Christmas is called "Family Week" and Holy Week is called "Tourism Week." You can identify through the statistical report the countries or megacities with a low percentage of evangelicals; there church growth is slow and tough. Some students of Latin evangelical church growth predict a tapering off of the growth rate in the next decade. Others suggest a darker reason for rapid growth; the mass selling of a cheap gospel that offers easy solu-

tions to tough questions, but has little lasting power.

Do all converts to evangelical churches remain in their new churches? No. Across the continent there is growing evidence of another spiritual movement as people return to the original church—mainly Catholic—or even depart from all organized Christianity! One example that has recently jolted evangelical leaders came from Central America: "In a 1989 survey of Costa Ricans, nearly as many said they used to be evangelicals as currently identified themselves as such. Evangelicals have long boasted of their ability to convert Catholics, but we have yet to hear much about evangelicals who go back to being Catholics."[43] Why is this the case? A number of reasons could be suggested: family pressures not to depart from the "Mother Faith of our culture, from the Blessed Mother of Jesus, from the faith of our mother and grandmother"; shattered expectations when the facile gospel promises die from an aborted conversion experience; inadequate discipleship of new believers that does not prepare them for practical life or opposition. The fact is that relatively few evangelical leaders want to face the implications of this disturbing development.

Second, most of the growth—though not all of it—comes from churches belonging to what Berg and Pretiz call the "Fifth Wave." The first four growth waves refer respectively to the historic immigrant churches, the denominational missions, then the independent "faith" agencies, and finally the new denominations led by Pentecostals but including other global-expanding denominations. In these first four movements the presence of expatriate missionaries was obvious. But not so in the last one. This last wave is birthing independent evangelical churches of every size, doctrine and ecclesiastical structures, and they are nationally owned and directed. This is true indigeneity. Charismatic groups predominate here, including almost all of the younger megachurches. Whether just a store front or a new cathedral, these churches are on the move. Some of the leaders have formal theological training, but most are self-made pastors; many of them now are university graduates with a mid-life call to the ministry. Worship plays an important role in just about all Latin churches; and charismatic styles predominate. Significantly, many denominational churches or those with roots in the faith missions have adopted new worship patterns—with a Latin beat!—while maintaining their doctrinal heritage.

New Latin Christian musicians such as Marcos Witt have had continental-wide impact with albums selling over 100,000 copies. Fredy Gularte's missionary music is sung in most countries. A major new Spanish hymnbook (with Latin-style songs, guitar chords and other worship aids)

has been introduced continent-wide with surprising sales and the appreciation of hundreds of congregations.[44] The Aymara hymnal has sold more than 200,000 copies in Bolivia alone! How far evangelicals have come in Latin America can be seen in this item: "Sony recently launched a Christian music line in Mexico—finding and recording Mexican evangelical Christian artists and promoting them alongside its secular artists."[45] Some might wonder whether this is good or bad news!

The megachurches bear further comment. Most of these are centered on one strong, charismatic leader and perhaps members of his extended family. He may be authoritarian or even gentle in style, but the ultimate issue of power and control is clear. This style is not generally consultative, much less democratic; and there is little accountability. Obviously this can lead to potentially grave problems when power is abused. There is a debilitating spirit of competition between strong leaders in the same city or country. Few of these caudillos build relationships with the broader Body of Christ. And since so many of them have no serious biblical or theological training, there is a tendency towards dynamic preaching with little biblical content. These churches feature pulsating worship, multiple activities for all believers, and the building of ecclesiastical mini-empires. Some of them have bought into the "health and wealth gospel" of the "word of faith" movement. The megachurches have quickly moved into mass media, either providing instant recordings of their Sunday sermons, buying radio and television time, or, in other cases, acquiring ownership of radio and television stations!

Third, Latin evangelical leaders continue to lament the dearth of a theological foundation for the churches. While evangelicals are called "people of the Book," the fact is that biblical literacy is anemic. It leads to legalism, activism, superficial discipleship, reductionism, increased loss of members, and a simplistic response to complicated issues; at the same time it opens the window to manipulation, false teaching and subtle occultism. While the number of believers and churches grows, not so the number of training programs and centers that can equip lay and vocational Christian leaders for effective ministry. Many formal and non-formal theological institutions have diversified their educational delivery systems, whether to stay alive or to meet the expanding needs. The Seminario Teológico Centroamericano in Guatemala is one school where over 1000 students from eighteen nations are enrolled. It maintains a broad spectrum of programs—day, night and weekend studies; residential and non-residential; from women's programs to lay training to master's degrees. Other programs, such as Logoi, offer a broad-band curriculum to provide direct non-formal training to many leaders who prefer this ap-

proach or who do not have access to formal schools. Larger local churches are getting in the business of starting their own training programs for internal leadership and for broader geographic expansion, which eventually converts the megachurch into a mini-denomination. Even though Christian literature production increases, too many titles are still translated from English, pricing is high (booksellers must buy stock in US dollars), and most bookstores have limited stock. Brazil undoubtedly has the strongest selection of high quality Christian literature, much of it at affordable prices.

One good piece of news since the first edition is the appearance of the AETAL (the Evangelical Association for Theological Education in Latin America), a new continental Latin partner in the International Council of Accrediting Agencies (ICAA) related to the World Evangelical Fellowship. AETAL's primary values emphasize theological education renewal, the importance of mutual encouragement and increased interaction among evangelical institutions, as well as the development of accreditation standards that will enable member schools to network and strengthen each other on a global basis.

It is necessary to register other concerns here. Up to now the term "evangelical" has been used as a broad category different from both Latin Catholics and Latin liberal Protestants. But will the term "evangelical" in Latin America continue as the prime defining term in coming years? Will the churches and leaders who claim it truly rest their authority on Scripture, on justification by faith in the finished work of Christ? Will their essential doctrines reflect the historic confessions of biblical Christians along with the call for personal holiness? Will they affirm the centrality of both Great Commission and Great Commandment? Will they be both Latin and biblical? These issues must be faced sooner rather than later so that the vitality of today's Latin evangelicalism not be diluted or wasted.

Fourth, the last decade has witnessed a very significant evangelical involvement in contextualization, including involvement in the sociopolitical arena. Dr. Núñez has ably dealt with issues related to contextualization, and both of us are encouraged to observe recent Latin developments in this area. Whether the topics are debated in the local church or theological institution, through the networks or the theological associations, by lay leaders or theological students or highly trained theologians and writers, the fact is that believers are coming to grips with what it means to be a Christian in the context of Latin America. They want to release the power of God's Word and his Spirit in their continent! The results are evident at the local church level, in theological lit-

erature, in creative theological training alternatives and institutional curricula in the formal schools.

One of the broadest-based evangelical events in recent years was the 1992, Third Latin American Congress on Evangelization, celebrated in Quito, Ecuador, and sponsored by the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL). This congress, including its origins, program, participants, and outcomes, must be evaluated from the perspective of Latin contextualization of the gospel. Under the banner "The Whole Gospel for All Peoples, from Latin America," over 1,000 youth, women, men, of all races and ecclesiastical confessions, came from twenty-six nations. The leadership of CONELA (the World Evangelical Fellowship regional partner in Latin America) and CLAI (related more to the World Council of Churches) met in a serious exchange of concerns during that congress.

A year earlier, a special group of Latins had been convened in Buenos Aires for the 1991 "Second Consultation on Evangelicals in Political Action in Latin America." Much had happened since their 1983 conference. Also convened by the FTL, this gathering drew evangelicals already committed to and participating in the broader political process. They included the Peruvian president of the Bank of Nations, the Vice-Minister of Interior of El Salvador, a black Brazilian Pentecostal woman member of the Workers Party, some politically sensitive pastors and theologians. The discussions were spirited and valuable. Relationships were established, and the network was strengthened for Christians in the political process. We can make one very clear observation about evangelical political action—no single ideological position is taken by all evangelicals. This surprises many North American observers of the political scene, who assume Latin evangelicals are all right-wing conservatives or defenders of USA policies. One secular observer notes that "[t]here is no single Protestant political paradigm in Latin America, nor is there yet a focused, articulated movement of evangelical political activism equivalent to that of the Christian right in the United States."[46]

Why are evangelicals getting involved in political action?[47] For one, they are gradually rejecting the old dichotomous pietism that cast the world as the ultimate enemy, and politics the dirty game for pagans. This shrunken worldview has been replaced by one that integrates all of life under the sovereignty of Christ. Secondly, a growing number of younger believers sense God's call upon their lives in political vocations, whether by election or appointment. For them a tough decision has to do with the choice of party. Why join a party with no chances of victory? Thirdly, believers are saying, "For such a time as this we were born, and born again!" That is, space has opened up in an increasingly pluralistic (polit-

ical and religious) Latin America, and the gospel has the only true power to transform individuals, families, communities and nations. Clearly all of these factors have their pitfalls, but they reflect new commitments and action.

What about Latin evangelicals with a controversial record in the political arena? Because of our work in Guatemala, both Núñez and I are periodically asked about Efraín Ríos Montt and Jorge Serrano Elías. The first edition of this book discussed some of the Ríos Montt issues. As of this writing the charismatic leader serves a year term as president of the Guatemalan Congress. The national constitution a few years ago had been purposefully rewritten to bar candidates for the presidency who had participated in previous political coups, and the Constitutional Court had thus effectively barred him from the last presidential race. But the popular vote (including Catholics and evangelicals) elected him to Congress. Then again, by the time this book is printed he could be back in civilian life!

Serrano Elías, a proclaimed evangelical, is a more difficult case to deal with, and others have done so with thoroughness.[48] When elected president, he inherited the impossible task of governing in a context of corruption, and he himself brought no clear political ideology nor realistic program for the nation. As the nation slipped out of control he gambled and lost, having opted for an auto-coup. The promised military support evaporated and Serrano Elías soon fled into exile. A lot of good people, including Guatemalan evangelicals, were hurt by his autocracy, his lack of personal accountability and the charges of personal corruption. Significantly, Guatemalan evangelicals were not tarred with Serrano's failures, although churches and leaders were left with many unanswered questions. However, this Guatemalan case again illustrates the inadequate evangelical preparation for high political service, as well as an astonishing naiveté. One Guatemalan Christian said it well, "We have lost our innocence."

Fifth, Latin America has been transformed from a mission-sending field to a global mission-sending base. I have chosen here two voices to represent this rapidly expanding international Latin movement. Both utilize similar language, namely, "shouldn't Latin America be considered rather as a mission base, from which missionaries go as messengers of Jesus Christ to plant Christianity in other continents?"[49] This language and the corresponding paradigm shift have also undergirded the vision of COMIBAM, the Latin American interdenominational missionary movement, currently under the leadership of Rudy Girón. The two Latin representatives (Escobar a Baptist and Girón a Guatemalan Pentecostal) may

disagree on matters of strategy, emphases and even missiology, but they both agree on the primacy of Scripture, on the centrality of the church, on the unity of the Body of Christ, on the potential role of Latins in world evangelization, on the need for effective pre-field training of missionaries, and on a wholistic mission of the church. They represent a healthy convergence of two major Latin currents: the theological and missiological reflection engaging with the missiological/global task yet to be done.

At least 3,000 Latin Americans have moved out in cross-cultural missions, and the numbers are projected to rise rapidly in future years. Latin missions are birthed not in the context of wealth but of poverty; not in a world of privilege but limitation; not strong in high-tech equipment but strong in zeal and the power of the Spirit; not owning passports with the clout of Europe or the USA, but they will go anyway; not capable of sustaining an expensive overseas missionary machinery but committed to sending whatever force they can. This movement is predominately a church-based one, not one primarily driven by para-church agencies. Yes, Latins are short in effective cross-cultural training programs, but that is being remedied even now. Yes, they may have borrowed some constructs from "managerial missiology," but churches around the world have borrowed terms and concepts only to modify them to fit their own understanding of Scripture and the global task. Yes, they have been rightly accused of sending missionaries ill-equipped and poorly supervised and shepherded on the field (the fault of both churches and the few agencies), but this hopefully is changing. Yes, they do have a high attrition rate, but all missionary movements in their genesis suffered from the same ills. Yes, Latin missions has been romanticized, but this will moderate rapidly with the tough realities of mission service. One Salvadoran Chrisitan musician in a North African nation was suddenly taken from his home in late 1994, interrogated, charged, imprisoned, convicted. And then early in 1995 he was expelled from that nation. This was not a romantic story but a real-life account of the price to be paid. But most Latin missionaries are willing to suffer in North Africa or anywhere else, just as their believing grandparents suffered decades ago when they converted to Christ in Latin America.

How does the younger COMIBAM Latin missionary movement relate to the older Western one, predominantly from Europe and the USA? Significantly this contemporary Latin movement was not godfathered by Anglo missionaries. In fact, relatively few Western missionaries attended the major 1987 COMIBAM congress in Brazil. The energies, creativity and personnel were and continue to be overwhelmingly Latin. And we

rejoice in this, for it demonstrates their capacities. These ministries welcome partnerships with expatriate colleagues and agencies serving in Latin America. But the foreigners must come in the spirit of true servanthood, open handed even as they offer their varied services. Neopaternalism will be quickly rejected. All partners, whether Anglo or Asian (the "new missionaries" to Latin America) must also be willing to work under Latins and on a broader basis of doctrinal fellowship.

Relationship Between Evangelicals and Roman Catholics

Núñez has updated the larger issues dealing with Latin American Catholicism, so this section will specifically treat the diverse and symbiotic relationship between the two. Catholic leaders are worried, for "the percentage of professing Catholics dropped eleven points during the 1980s, from 89 percent to 78 percent at present."[50] There is a profound crisis of vocation in Latin Catholicism, and the shortage of priests and nuns for priority ministries is notable. Andrés Tapia writes:

> The Pope is concerned. In the aftermath of his second visit to Brazil, his eleventh to Latin America, it is clear that he doesn't pull people in as he used to. In Brazil—supposedly the most Catholic nation in the world—the usual throngs just did not materialize: for one scheduled event, 500,000 people were expected, but only 100,000 showed up. In contrast, on the morning of the Pope's arrival, 200,000 evangelicals packed a soccer stadium for a rally sponsored by a local church, underscoring the fact that over a half-million Brazilians are leaving the Catholic church for evangelical churches *each year*.[51]

Attitudes towards evangelicals by Latin Catholics are diverse. On the one hand you will find the traditionalist, such as Pope John Paul II himself. When meeting with the bishops in the 1992 Santo Domingo CELAM he spoke of the "sects...which are destroying the true church." A growing number of bishops recently appointed by the Pope have taken a very conservative, hierarchical line. In one interview, Guatemalan Archbishop Penados affirmed that evangelical "sects" were radicals with whom there could be no dialogue, they were enemies of tradition who reject Mary (who for Catholics is critical to faith, "the exemplary figure of following the Lord and of total commitment to others"), they buy their converts and give away both Bibles and money, they are supported by

USA funds, they are part and parcel of cults like Mormonism, they are gospel reductionists and provoke religious confusion with their thousands of sects.[52]

Other Catholic leaders reflect a different spirit, which is more self-critical of their church as they evaluate what it means to be the Roman Church in a transformed Latin spiritual landscape. The late Ignacio Ellacuría, a Spanish priest who served in El Salvador (one of six Jesuits assassinated in that country) represented this segment of the church. He evidenced greater objectivity when writing on contemporary tensions, and felt free to critique traditional church leadership, as well as Catholic liberation theologies and their practical implications.[53] Franz Damen, whom we have previously cited, is another who has directly questioned the popular Catholic "conspiracy theory" about popular Latin Protestantism (Escobar has also dealt with this new "Black Legend"[54]). Damen is willing to take on top hierarchical leaders on this issue as a result of his field research on Latin evangelical growth. We have mentioned Edward L. Cleary, another irenic Catholic scholar who writes with singular objectivity even about spiritual competition between Catholics and evangelicals.

Christians from Europe or the USA tend to judge Catholicism through their own grid, and thus have difficulty understanding the nature of Latin American Roman Catholicism. Evangelical Lutherans and Catholics in Germany openly cooperate in the distribution of Scripture; both are opposed by liberal Lutherans! British Catholics have existed in a context of Anglican historic dominance, but they have competed on a fairly level ground. In the USA Catholicism has had to adapt to a particular historical context of theological pluralism. But in Latin America the Roman Church has never wrestled with religious pluralism; rather, it has enjoyed temporal and spiritual hegemony for 500 years. It is not easy for the Latin Catholic hierarchy to open spiritual space on a voluntary basis, but until they open this arena, the tensions will remain.

During 1994, well-known North American figures Charles Colson and Fr. John Neuhaus convened a common-cause consultation in light of the avalanche of anti-Christian propaganda and destructive attacks on common virtue and Judaeo-Christian values in the United States. They published a document, "Evangelicals and Catholics Together," also called "The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium," and appended the list of prominent evangelicals and Catholics who had signed it or later endorsed it.[55] The declaration provoked a bracing debate in the USA amongst evangelicals. However, a number of observers—whether Latin, from the USA or other nations—felt that the declaration was too culture-specific; that it went beyond "co-belligerent" cooperation and moved

into theology and mission; what's more, it did not clarify that it spoke exclusively for the USA context and was not to be generalized in the rest of the world.

Latin American Catholicism is unique and therefore distinct from its North American branch. It must be understood within its particular history, its context, its own religious language and values. But neither is it the monolithic force of yesteryear, for the Roman Church struggles with its own internal divisions, and its leadership is attempting to understand and respond to the major crises in their church. Meanwhile, evangelicals must demonstrate a gracious spirit to all who differ with them on foundational biblical understanding. They must guard their attitudes and public judgments against Catholics. At the same time, Latin evangelicals must not be denied "hispanidad" identity simply because they are not Catholics. Nor do they want to be called "sects" (few understand how these categories are used in the sociology of religion). But they will remain firm on the meaning and process of salvation, for it defines what it means to be "Christian." And they will not restrain their enthusiastic proclamation of the whole gospel to all who will hear the message. This is part of their spiritual genetic code. The people of the Book simply cannot be silent in spite of the crises of cultural Christians, modernity, secularization and the explosion of the occult. To them Christ *is* the answer.

Whither Latin American Evangelicals As We Approach the Third Millennium?

It is not certain what evangelicals will do with some of their internal challenges. I briefly and with broad strokes sketch a future here in a dialectic tension. These eight points bear watching over the next decades.

First, the battle between profound renewal and maturity over nominalism and cultural evangelicalism. Numerical growth is encouraging, even though statistics are imprecise. But we must ask again the hard questions, "What is church?" and "What is growth?" "What about the problem of 'former evangelicals'?" Internal weaknesses and open heresies—from other regions as well as Latin species—will seep into the churches and sap their vitality. The churches must face head-on the crisis of the Latin family and articulate better answers in light of modernity's impact. The Spirit of God must be invited to renew decaying evangelical churches.

Second, the struggle between evangelical mutual acceptance and interdependency versus isolationism and critical divisionism. There is a sad division virus loose in the Body of Christ, and it manifests itself lo-

cally and nationally. At times it is open, other times more subtle. It pits Pentecostal against Pentecostal, charismatic against charismatic, Pentecostal against charismatic, non-Pentecostal against charismatic, non-Pentecostal against non-Pentecostal, traditional denomination against Fifth Wave church. The Spanish spirit of the independent "yo!" is alive and deadly. Late in 1994, the WEF-related Confraternity of Evangelicals of Latin America (CONELA) held its fourth general assembly in Costa Rica. This movement has great promise for biblical unity. But it awaits visionary, godly and gifted leadership which understands the potential influence of national and regional fellowships, and which will set a course with bold programs geared to the life of the churches. Meanwhile, a few national movements as well as sub-regional ones will increasingly and effectively address their needs.

Third, the tension between relevancy and biblical contextualization versus the super-spiritualization of the faith. There is a hermeneutical struggle going on in every Christian community. Christians must be encouraged and equipped to face the insidious enemies filtering in through the spirit of modernity, secularization and materialism. Latin theological leaders, pastors and those preparing for ministry must be equipped for the challenge of ongoing contextualization. Expatriate missionaries and organizations have a genuine contribution to make in this regard. The church must be equipped to confront the black powers of the occult which are openly active in every Latin nation.

Fourth, effective equipping of leadership for ministry versus informal volunteerism. The models of leadership development are legion, and function at all levels. But most formal educational delivery systems are still costly to create, fund, staff, and produce graduates. They do have their strategic place and we affirm it. A very small number of schools offer degrees beyond the masters, but most Latins must yet travel "North" for doctoral study. But then, others ask, "Do we need Latins with doctoral degrees?" There are two major entry points to ministry, with one route coming through formal theological study and the other emerging "on the march." How they relate to and influence each other in the future will profoundly influence the Latin churche.s

Fifth, involvement in the crises of society and political governance versus spiritualized isolationism. The genie of evangelical political action is out of the bottle and will probably never be stuffed back in. But what forms will it take in the future? Will evangelical parties be established that have no hope of winning national victory? Too many evangelicals in politics are naive, have been manipulated or have lost their vibrant faith while in power. This latter case comes from nonexistent ac-

countability as well as weak pastoral ministry to public servants. Who will offer stable guidance to these political activists?

Sixth, polarized polemics between Catholics and evangelicals versus mutual respect. The former know they are losing influence and space to the latter, and it makes them uneasy. Some evangelicals still suffer from the ghetto mentality of a persecuted minority. Evangelicals are still being persecuted for their faith from different opponents. The Chamula Indians of Southern Mexico (religious persecution)[55] and the Quechua believers in Peru (political persecution) are just two examples. The Catholic attitude of "hispanidad" which identifies Latins intrinsically as Catholics simply must be laid to rest.

Seventh, the tension between mono-cultural evangelization and cross-cultural mission, whether national or international, continental or inter-continental. The number of evangelical churches with cross-cultural vision is still low. This must change as they are challenged biblically and then mobilized to broader mission. In Latin America, church-based missions will continue to carry the day, but church leaders must break old molds and attitudes. Missiological literature must be developed by Latin writers and theologians, as well as by the practitioners. The imperative Latin missions infrastructure must be developed for the movement to be truly viable. This challenge focuses on three areas: the pre-candidate phase of screening, primarily by the local church; the pre-field training phase; and the field ministry phase which requires supervision, shepherding and strategizing.

Eighth, the spirit of interdependent partnership versus control and neo-paternalism by expatriate organizations. This is a word to international organizations with vested interests in Latin America, whether they be funding bodies, denominations, parachurch organizations or mission agencies. Control must pass to the grass roots, and decisions must be made by those directly affected by the decisions. In the providence of God a few more Latin leaders have been appointed to governing boards of Western agencies with ministry in Latin America. On the continent we see more and more expatriate missionaries serving under Latin leadership. But much remains to be done. Expatriate missionaries from all nations continue to be welcomed . . . if they come with the true spirit of servanthood. They may have to pay a high price, a painful reality understood by the families of the five New Tribes missionaries (two of them now martyrs) and one from Wycliffe who were kidnapped in Panama and Colombia in the last two years. We will pray until we rejoice in the release of the others.

A Final Word

Crisis and hope are woven into this entire section. Am I hopeful now? Yes. Am I naive about Latin America's history and Christianity? I trust not. The future of Christianity in Latin America lies in its commitment to biblical truth unleashed in relevance and power. ¡Maranatha!

NOTES

1. It was a challenge to prepare for this continental review, for it required sifting through hundreds of documents, reading the updated books, interviewing and surveying people. I am especially grateful for the *Economist Country Profiles.* Produced on a quarterly basis, they provide a singular perspective on Latin America. Also of value was Benjamin Keen's *A History of Latin Americ.* The complete information on these sources is given in the annotated bibliography. *Time Magazine,* February 20, 1995, featured Castro and Cuba as its cover story.

2. "Menem's Miracle," *Time,* July 13, 1992, pp. 19-23.

3. "The Rescue of Mexico," *U.S. News and World Report,* January 23, 1995, pp. 48-49. "Mexican Aid Plan Loses Support in Both Parties," *The New York Times,* February 1, 1995.

4. "The Revolution in the Other Mexico," *U.S. News and World Report,* January 17, 1994, p. 47.

5. Carlos Fuentes, "Peso Crisis: Mexico's problem is basically political," *The Dallas Morning News,* January 12, 1995, p. 27A. "Giving critics a place on the field," *U.S. News and World Report,* January 30, 1995, p. 45.

6. "At Forum Peso Draws Attention," *The New York Times,* January 30, 1995, p. C3.

7. Kenichi Ohmae, "The Rise of the Region State," *Foreign Affairs,* Spring 1993, pp. 78-87.

8. "La elección del modelo," *Crónica,* 1 de julio de 1994, p. 53.

9. Jorge G. Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War* (Vintage Books, 1994).

10. "Los archivos del dictador," *CAMBIO16,* 22-2-93, p. 58.

11. "Summit throws door open to trade in Americas," *USA Today,* December 12, 1994, p. 10A.

12. Moises Naim, "Latin America: Post-Adjustments Blues," *Foreign Policy,* Number 92, Fall 1993, pp. 133-150.

13. "Menem's Miracle," *Time,* July 13, 1992, pp. 19-23.

14. "Winners and Losers," *Newsweek,* June 15, 1992, p. 41.

15. Hernando De Soto, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World* (Harper and Row, 1989).

16. "The Gospel comes to San Mateo," *World Vision,* February-March, 1995, pp. 19-21.

17. For only two examples see "Lost Empires of the Americas" in *U.S. News and World Report,* April 2, 1990: "Lost Secrets of the Maya—What new discoveries tell us about their world—and ours," *Time,* August 9, 1993.

18. *Austin American-Statesman,* August 30, 1992, p. G10. This article gave the percentages, but the population totals come from the *1994 Population Data Sheet,* Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

19. Rigoberta Menchú, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (Verso, 1984).

20. Samuel Escobar, "Latin America," in *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission,* James M. Philips and Robert T. Coote, eds. (Eerdmans, 1993), pp. 125-138.

21. "Colombia's Drug Business," *The Economist,* December 24, 1994-January 6, 1995, pp. 21-24.

22. "Peru Combats Drug Traffic, Winning U.S. Team's Praise," *The New York Times,* January 23, 1995.

23. "Brazil's war on children," *World Vision,* February-March, 1992.

24. "North South Issues—Democratization," University of Miami, A North-South Center Publication, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 2.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 1.

26. In preparation for this section focusing on Latin evangelicals, I wrote letters and sent a short survey to selected colleagues on the continent. The majority graciously responded, and their reflections have been included here.

27. "Catholic Church blasts Brazilian soap for occultic theme," *Austin American Statesman,* November 25, 1994, p. A24.

28. Patrick Johnstone, "Brazil," in *Operation World* (Zondervan, 1993), pp. 128-131.

29. InterVarsity IV Link letter, September 1994.

30. Included here are some of the ones that have shaped my own thinking. They appear in the annotated bibliography at the end of the book.
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    Cook, Guillermo, ed. *New Face of the Church in Latin America, Between Tradition and Change.* Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994.
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    Stoll, David. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth.* University of California Press, 1990.
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31. David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Blackwell, 1991), p. 9.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 284.

33. *Ibid.,* p. 280.

34. David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (University of California Press, 1990). See Guillermo Cook's review of both Martin and Stoll in *The Christian Century* , December 12, 1990.

35. *Ibid.,* p. 312.

36. David Stoll and Virginia Barrard-Burnett, eds. *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America* (Temple University Press, 1993), pp. 5-6.

37. See "A New Reformation," *Christianity Today,* April 6, 1992, pp. 30-34; "Protestantism Explodes," *Christian History* Vol. XI, No. 3. This copy of the journal was entitled "What Happened When Columbus and Christianity Collided with the Americas?"; "Mission in Latin America: An Evangelical Perspective," *Missiology: An International Review,* April 1992, pp. 241-253; "Se revisa la nueva leyenda negra?", personal copy of essay sent to the author; "Catholicism and National Identity in Latin America," *Transformation,* July/September 1991; "Latin America," in *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission,* James M. Phillips and Robert T. Coote, eds. (Eerdmans, 1993), pp. 125-138.

38. Guillermo Cook, ed. *New Face of the Church in Latin America, Between Tradition and Change* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994), pp. xiii, 268.

39. Samuel Escobar, "Latin America," in *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission,* James M. Phillips and Robert T. Coote, eds. (Eerdmans, 1993), p. 125.

40. Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World* (Zondervan, 1993). See the continental report on Latin America, as well as those of individual nations.

41. "Why is Latin America Turning Protestant?" *Christianity Today,* April 6, 1992. *Christian History,* Vol. XI, No. 3. Secular papers have also given their reports. See "Protestants Create an Altered State," *Insight,* July 16, 1990, from the *Washington Times* magazine.

42. Mike Berg and Paul Pretiz, *The Gospel People* (MARC/LAM, 1992), pp. 118-120.

43. David Stoll and Virginia Barrard-Burnett, eds., *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America* (Temple University Press, 1993), p. 9.

44. *Celebremos Su Gloria* (Celebremos/Libros Alianza, Dallas, 1992). The hymnbook won the "best book" award in the 1993 Spanish Christian book convention.

45. "Christian Music with New Beat," *Latin America Evangelist,* January-March 1994.

46. Virginia Barrard-Burnett, in *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America,* p. 201.

47. See the entire issue of *Transformation: An International Evangelical Dialogue on Mission and Ethics,* dedicated to "Evangelicals and Politics in Latin America," July/Sept, 1992. Numerous articles have come out in *News Network International,* P.O. Box 28001, Santa Ana, CA 92799, USA. The period January-November, 1994, featured 44 articles on Latin America, with many reports of evangelicals in politics.

48. Stephen Sywulka in "Evangelical President Ousted in Power Struggle," *Christianity Today,* July 19, 1993, p. 52.

49. Samuel Escobar, "Latin America," in *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission,* James M. Phillips and Robert T. Coote, eds. (Eerdmans, 1993), p. 127. The COMIBAM literature and general language is nearly identical. See *World Pulse,* January 20, 1994, for the report on COMIBAM's continental church/agency consultation held in December 1994 in Panama.

50. David Miller, "Roman Catholicism and the New Evangelization," *News Network International,* February 1993.

51. Adrés Tapia, "Why is Latin America Turning Protestant?" *Christianity Today,* April 6, 1992, p. 28.

52. "Arzobispo Penados: El Papa llama a católicos a combatir a las sectas," *Siglo Veintiuno,* 13 December, 1992, p. 12.

53. Ignacio Ellacuría, "Esquena de interpretación de la Iglesia en Centroamérica," *Revista Latinoamericana de Teologia* 31 (1994):

54. Samuel Escobar, "The Church in Latin America After 500 Years," an unpublished paper given at the April 1992 OMSC Mission Study Group.

55. "Evangelicals and Catholics Together: A Declaration," *First Things,* May 1994, pp. 15-22. See Alister McGrath, "Do We Still Need the Reformation" and J. I. Packer, "Why I Signed It," *Christianity Today,* December 12, 1994, pp. 28-37. See also four articles in *Moody Monthly,* November 1993. In early 1995 Colson convened a special meeting of leading American evangelicals that clarified some of the misunderstandings and affirmed biblical non-negotiables for American evangelicals.

56. "Chiapas Evangelicals Have Little Faith in New Government," *Christianity Today,* February 6, 1995.

15

Catholicism and Liberation Theology Today

Emilio Antonio Núñez C.

Some important events that have taken place both inside and outside the Roman Catholic Church deserve a few comments in this addendum to our book.

The Fall of the Berlin Wall and Liberation Theology

When the first edition of this book was published (1989), the communist system in Eastern Europe was crumbling. On November 9, 1989, the government of the German Democratic Republic decided to open the border to the West, and later on the Berlin Wall, the well-known symbol of the cold war, fell down. The collapse of Soviet power is of transcendental importance for all nations on earth. There is no peace on earth yet; but the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America for world supremacy seems to have come to an end. In the area of theological reflection, the undeniable failure of Soviet socialism has raised some interesting questions.

For instance, some people ask: Did Liberation Theology collapse with the Berlin Wall? This question seems reasonable in view of the accusation that Liberation Theology is Marxist. In fact, this accusation is made in the *Instruction on Some Aspects of Liberation Theology,* pub-

lished by the Holy See, under the direction of Cardinal Ratzinger in 1984.

The use of the "Marxist analysis of society" in Liberation Theology is strongly criticized by the *Instruction*. For their part, liberation theologians argue that the use of the "Marxist analysis" does not mean that Liberation Theology accepts the whole system of Marxist thought. Juan Luis Segundo, a prominent liberation theologian from Uruguay, affirms that there is no unanimity among liberation theologians as to the extent in which they use the "Marxist analysis of society." He adds that there are no two liberation theologians who agree in regard to the degree in which the atheistic conviction is a central element of Marxism. Besides, he says, there is no liberation theologian who can be accused of being atheistic. He is not convinced of the impossibility of separating the "Marxist analysis of society" from Marxist philosophy.[1]

Some liberation theologians insist that in the academic world it is usual to make reference to Marx without accepting, for instance, his interpretation of human existence as a totality. This interpretation leaves out the reality and the demands of the Christian faith. They say that even John Paul II makes use, in his encyclical *Laborem exercens,* of Marxist categories, such as alienation, exploitation, means of production, productive relations, and praxis, although the pope is against Marxism.[2]

In a paper published in 1991, Enrique D. Dussel says that Liberation Theology was not originated by the Marxist analysis of society. It was born out of Latin American reality. It was originated by Christian praxis, by the faith of the church. "It is on the road of liberating praxis that Liberation Theology comes in touch with Marxism." Dussel explains that Liberation Theology uses "a certain type of marxism," excluding other types of this socialist system, either in an implicit or explicit way.[3] "[T]he marxism used by liberation theologians is the sociological and economic marxism that in Latin America emphasized the concept of 'dependence,' the sociology of 'dependence' in its criticism to functionalism and developmentalism in Latin America."[4] Liberation Theology is far away, according to Dussel, from Stalinist dogmatism, or from "philosophical marxism."[5] He would also say that Liberation Theology has not collapsed with the Berlin Wall. This would be also the opinion of the Chilean Jesuit P. Richard who has said that "marxism is not the big problem of Liberation Theology."[6]

Speaking of "the instrumental use of marxism," Leonardo Boff and his brother Clodovis Boff admit that liberation theologians have assumed "some methodological indications" that are valuable in understanding the universe of the oppressed. For instance, the great importance of economic factors, the emphasis on class struggle, and the deceiving power of ide-

ologies. At the same time, the Boff brothers affirm that liberation theologians have assumed a critical attitude towards Marxism. Marx may be accepted as a "fellow traveler," not as "the leader" in the effort to liberate the poor. To liberation theologians "the materialism and atheism of Marx has not been a temptation."[7]

On the other hand, Pierre Bigó, a Jesuit priest, concludes that "the marxist analysis of society is closely related, in a symbiotic way, to the global theory . . . To respect the analysis is to swallow the theory. The attempt to separate from the theory the analysis, would require a change so radical in the analysis, that this one would be marxist only in an equivocal way."[8]

It is evident that liberation theologians, such as Gustavo Gutiérrez M., have admiration for Marx, and they see a Latin American socialistic system as the answer to our economical, social and political problems. He says that the new insights coming from Marx enabled humankind to have initiatives which

> ought to assure the change from the capitalistic mode of production to the socialistic mode, that is to say, to one oriented towards a society in which persons can begin to live freely and humanly. They will have controlled nature, created the conditions for a socialized production of wealth, done away with private acquisition of excessive wealth, and established socialism.[9]

Gutiérrez seems to quote with approval the declarations made by radical leftist priests in Latin America. For instance, he cites the Mexican bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo, who asserted:

> Only socialism can enable Latin America to achieve true development . . . I believe that a socialist system is more in accord with the Christian principles of true fellowship, justice, and peace . . . I do not know what kind of socialism, but this is the direction Latin America should go. For myself, I believe it should be a democratic socialism.[10]

Of course, Gutiérrez agrees with the Argentinian priests who propose "a Latin American socialism that will promote the advent of the New Humanity."[11]

Gutiérrez has made some changes in his way of analyzing our Latin

American reality. For example, in the Introduction to the new edition of his Theology of Liberation (1988), he says:

> It is clear, for example, that the theory of dependence, which was so extensively used in the early years of our encounter with the Latin American world, is now an inadequate tool, because it does not take sufficient account of the internal dynamics of each country or of the vast dimensions of the world of the poor. In addition, Latin American social scientists are increasingly alert to factors of which they were not conscious earlier and which show that the world economy has evolved.

He has also confessed that he and other liberation theologians were in danger of initially adopting a "simplistic position,"[12] in analyzing the situation of poverty.

For the new edition of his book, Gutiérrez has "rewritten" the section that in the first edition was entitled "Christian Fellowship and Class Struggle." Gutiérrez says that this section, which included some of his most radical statements, "gave rise to misunderstandings that I want to clear up. I have rewritten the text in the light of new documents of the magisterium and by taking other aspects of the subject into account."[13] The title of the new section is "Faith and Social Conflict." Pierre Bigó points out that the orientation of Gutiérrez's introductory words to the new edition of *Liberation Theology* is different from the rest of the book, except in the section on social conflict. "There is no evidence of the marxist tendency in the 'Introduction.' Gustavo Gutiérrez is now defending democracy . . . But he does not subject to criticism the marxist system as a whole."[14]

On September 30, 1991, news came from Brazil that Leonardo Boff had decided to give up Liberation Theology, because of the pressure exercised upon him by the Vatican, through the Congregation for the Defence of the Faith. It is said that Boff sent his letter of resignation to the prelate of the Franciscan order, Hermann Schalueck. Boff has been a member of this monastic order. A version of the letter was published by the Spaniard newspaper *El País,* and then reproduced by the *Journal do Brasil.*[15]

Up to now we do not have a declaration by Boff himself about this report. But it is widely known that on June, 1992, he announced his decision to leave the Catholic priesthood. Since 1972 he had been questioned by the Vatican because of his book *Jesus Christ the Liberator.*

The publication of his work entitled *Church: Charism and Power* (1981) aroused the anger of the hierarchy. He had to meet with the Sacred Congregation in Rome in 1984 to answer questions about his writings. It seems that the major concern of the hierarchy is that in that book Boff challenges the validity of the ecclesiastical structures. It was decided to consign him to "silence" for "an opportune period." From then on he was supposed to submit his writing to censorship before publication. Boff has declared that the Catholic Church is under a dictatorship that has been trying to oppress him for the last twenty years. But he is leaving the priesthood, not the church. He remains in the church as a layman, "to continue his theological activity in freedom."[16] This freedom includes rebellion in his personal life against celibacy. The Brazilian magazine *Revista da Folha,* November 1993, reveals that Boff has had a romance with his secretary, Marcia Miranda, since 1982. She is legally separated from her husband; but she cannot get married again in the Catholic Church.

The last five years have been quite difficult for liberation theologians. Boff had to leave the priesthood because of his radical views on the institutional church. Ignacio Ellacuría and five of his Jesuit colleagues were assassinated in El Salvador in November 1989, because of their ideological and radical identification with the revolutionary army of that country. At that time, Soviet socialism had started to crumble. Of course, it is possible to say that in some respects Liberation Theology did not collapse with the Berlin Wall.

Twenty-three years ago, Gustavo Gutiérrez M. said that his theology was "a theology of the road." It was not a final system of theological thought; it was an unfinished process, open to change. Some of its chapters would be written later on. And Gutiérrez has demonstrated his willingness to make some adjustments in his way of thinking.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that after the failure of the Soviet system, the socialistic inclination of theologians like Gustavo Gutiérrez is questioned more than ever by those who are deeply concerned about the political mediation proposed by Liberation Theology to solve our social problems. And if the political mediation cannot be separated from the philosophical and metaphysical aspects of Marxism, then the foundation of Liberation Theology is badly deteriorated. But liberation theologians believe that such a separation is possible, as we have seen above.

In a book published in 1991, Jon Sobrino, one of the outstanding liberation theologians in Latin America, affirms:

> In some circles Liberation Theology is explained as a passing fad . . . Unfortunately, it is not a passing fad . . .

> Liberation Theology is contextual, and the context demands more liberation than ever . . . In our continent we are still under oppression, and the statistics indicate that this oppression in the form of unjust poverty is increasing.[17]

The Preferential Option for the Poor

Definitely, Liberation Theology is not a passing fad; but an inescapable challenge to us evangelicals to consider our social reality and to contextualize the gospel in Latin America. At the same time we have to be alert to another attempt to impose a political ideology on the biblical text. After the collapse of Soviet socialism, some people in the northern part of our continent started to speak about "A New 'Liberation Theology' for the World." K. E. Grubbs, Jr., Editorial and Commentary Director, *Orange County Register,* presents two arguments:

> First, that the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and elsewhere around the world must be attributed to faith and the promise of the free market. Second, that these are precisely the things that lead to 'moral prosperity' and the true liberation for all men.[18]

It is obvious that if we accept this "new liberation theology" we would go back to the times when consciously or unconsciously we applied the ideology of capitalism to the interpretation of Holy Scriptures. From the hermeneutical standpoint, we have problems with the socialistic ideology of liberation theologians, and with the free market ideology of the heralds of "A New Liberation Theology. "The authority of God, revealed in the Bible, is far above all human systems of thought.

Liberation Theology is alive in Roman Catholicism, especially in the version accepted by the hierarchy, with emphasis on the preferential option for the poor. Roman Catholics have always given the poor a place in their soteriological thinking. The beggars at the entrance of the imposing cathedral were quite convenient to gain heaven in exchange for the alms given to them. It was a soteriology of human merits. But in practice that was not really designed to liberate the poor from social injustice and oppression. Liberation theologians were able to see beyond the symptoms of poverty to its causes, and proposed a change in our social structures to liberate the poor.

At a congress of Dominican fathers in Salamanca, Spain, April

1989, Gustavo Gutiérrez said that in his speeches previous to Vatican II, Pope John XXIII discussed three important themes: (1) the openness of the church toward the world; (2) ecumenism, namely the openness toward other Christian confessions; and (3) the church of the poor. The pope said: "In the presence of the underdeveloped countries, the Church is and wants to be the Church for all, and especially the Church of the poor."[19] At the Third Conference of Latin American Bishops, held in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979, Liberation Theology was not condemned; but the Documents of Puebla speak of "total liberation," and "the preferential option for the poor." The bishops who participated in the 1992 Fourth Conference of Latin American Bishops, in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, assumed "with renewed zeal the evangelical and preferential option for the poor, in continuity with Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1979)."[20]

In his encyclical *Centesimus annus* (on the centennial of the *Rerum novarum,* of Leo XIII), John Paul II says:

> The crisis of the marxist system (1989) does not eliminate the problems of social injustice and oppression . . . To those seeking a new and authentic theory and praxis of liberation, the Church offers not just its social doctrine and, in general, its teachings on the redeemed person by Jesus Christ, but also the concrete commitment to help in the struggle against margination and suffering.[21]

In his social encyclicals, John Paul II has been emphatic in declaring that the social doctrine of the church *is not* a "third option" between "liberal capitalism" and "marxist collectivism." The model of a free market society has demonstrated the failure of Marxism in the effort to build a new and better society, but coincides with Marxism in reducing humans totally to the sphere of economics, and to the satisfaction of material needs.

In his message to the Fourth Conference of Latin American Bishops in Santo Domingo, October 1992, the pope said:

> In continuity with the Conferences of Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1979), the Church reaffirms *the preferential option for the poor.* This is an option based essentially on the Word of God, not on human sciences or ideologies, which frequently reduce the poor to socio-economic and abstract categories. It is a firm and irrevocable option . . . The authentic praxis of liberation

> has to be always inspired by the doctrine of the Church, as this doctrine is exposed in the two Instructions of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith *(Libertatis nuntius, 1984; Libertatis conscientia, 1986)*, which has to be taken into consideration when dealing with the subject of the theologies of liberation.[22]

The New Evangelization

The basic document for the Conference of Latin American Bishops in Puebla, 1979, was the exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, written by Paul VI to promote the evangelization of the world by the Catholic Church. The *Document of Puebla* affirms that Holy Scriptures are supposed to be "the soul of evangelization." But the Word of God is revealed both in the Bible and in the living tradition of the church, particularly expressed in the symbols or professions of faith and dogmas of the church. The Scriptures must be read and interpreted under the living faith of the church. The meaning of the Scriptures, of the symbols and dogmatic declarations of the past does not come out only from the text itself, but from the faith of the church.[23]

The Catholic bishops who met at Santo Domingo to participate in their Fourth Conference (1992), took the opportunity to declare that the Catholic Church has been evangelizing in Latin America for the last 500 years. They explain in chapter 1 of their *Conclusions* that the new evangelization does not mean that the first evangelization is invalidated, or fruitless. It does not mean the proposal of a new gospel, different from the first and only gospel of Christ. It does not mean to disregard the first evangelization. It is the answer to the problems of our continent, in which there is a divorce between faith and life, to the point of producing painful situations of injustice, social inequality and violence. It is especially a call to conversion. It is to have the gospel in active dialogue with modernity and post-modernity. It is the effort to inculturate the gospel.[24]

According to the Latin American bishops, the goal of the new evangelization is to form people and communities deeply grounded in their faith, and to respond to the new situation in which the Latin American people live as a result of the social and cultural changes of modernity. Attention must be given to the problems of urbanization, poverty, margination, materialism, the culture of death, the invasion of the sects, and religious proposals from different sources.[25]

The "new evangelization" has meant that we evangelicals suffer

again unjust criticism and even subtle defamation from some Catholic hierarchs. There is no doubt that the Catholic Church is alarmed by the significant growth of the evangelical community in Latin America. Their "new evangelization" is also an effort to neutralize that growth, and, if possible, to recuperate lost ground in these countries. To this end, they are also imitating some of our evangelistic strategies. For example, public preaching, door-to-door visitation, singing of evangelical choruses, and, most significant of all, home Bible study. The Word of God is powerful to convert the soul, and many Catholics have come to know the Lord Jesus Christ as their only Savior as a result of having read and studied the Scriptures. But we know cases of Catholics who have also discovered, in their Bible study, that some cardinal doctrines of Roman Catholicism are not in keeping with God's written revelation.

On the other hand, "the new evangelization" means also a reinforcement of popular religiosity, which includes, of course, centuries-old practices of the Catholic Church in Latin America. It is also evident in the great emphasis given to Mary, mother of Jesus of Nazareth. The cult of Mary is deeply rooted in the heart of many Latin Americans, and in the heart of John Paul II,who takes every opportunity to express his Marian devotion. To many people in Latin America, Marian devotion is the greatest distinctive of Catholicism. The theologians of the Catholic Church know this aspect of popular religiosity, and they try to reinforce it both in their doctrine and in their liturgy. On a TV program in Guatemala City, behind the preacher there is an image of Mary, as a reminder that the broadcast is Catholic. The preacher uses the Bible a great deal in his sermons, and some people may think that he is a Protestant evangelist.

John Paul II usually does not finish his sermons, speeches, encyclicals and other writings without honoring Mary. In reality, the motto he chose for his pontificate is *Totus Tuus,* which literally means "all belongs to you"; and in the case of the pope, "I belong to you, Mary," with no reservation whatsoever. In *Crossing the Threshold of Hope,* his international best-selling 1994 book, he explains his Marian devotion as a total surrender to Mary, since the days of his youth. He says that genuine devotion to Mary "is Christocentric; even more, it is deeply rooted in the Trinitarian mystery of God, and in the mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption."[26] His sincerity, his profound spirituality, and his strong religious convictions deserve our respect; but in this book which reveals his innermost being he does not appeal directly to the Scriptures to support his Marian devotion. His argument is theological and existential. He depends on a theological deduction, and on the memories of his early youth.

Evidently, in the pontificate of John Paul II, the mother of Jesus is "the star of the evangelization," according to the desire expressed by Paul VI in his encyclical *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (1975).

The Ecumenism of John Paul II

On more than one occasion we may have asked ourselves whether the strongly conservative John Paul II is really following the steps of his predecessors John XXIII and Paul VI in his attitude toward the ecumenical cause. The final answer to this question will be given, after his death, by those historians who will evaluate his pontificate. For the time being, he has not been really enthusiastic in promoting the ecumenical cause in Latin America. At least, when he visited Central America eleven years ago, ecumenism was not one of his favorite subjects. On the occasion of his first visit to Mexico in 1979, news came about the disappointment experienced by some Protestant leaders when they saw the extreme form of Marianism displayed by the pontiff to please the multitudes.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that John Paul II is ecumenical, in complete agreement with Vatican II. In regard to the relationship of the church to non-Christian religions, the council declared: "The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true in these religions."[27] John Paul II comments that instead of being concerned about the existence of so many religions, we should rather marvel at the many elements that all of them have in common. He says that all the religions have the *semina Verbi* (seeds of the Logos) which the Holy Spirit uses to do his work outside the church.[28]

At the same time the pope affirms that the Catholic Church is necessary for salvation, because the Vatican Council II has declared that the church, "constituted and organized in the world as a society, subsists in the Catholic Church," and because "it is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the all embracing means of salvation, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained."[29] There is salvation outside the Catholic Church, but it is an incomplete salvation. In the final analysis, the ecumenical dream of Catholicism is that all human beings, even the animist and the atheist, will be integrated to the one church that *subsists* in the Roman Catholic Church—"the sacrament of salvation for the whole world."

It is true that in some respects the Catholic Church is the same; but although (superficially at least) her distinctive and fundamental dogmas remain unchanged, she has experienced several changes in response to

internal and external pressures; and she has to go through more changes in the years to come. We pray that the Catholic Church may change in complete submission to God's written revelation, under the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

NOTES

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21. Pope John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (Guatemala: Conferencia Episcopal, 1991), par. 26, p. 52.
22. John Paul II, "Discurso Inaugural," *Santo Domingo. Conclusiones,* par. 16, p. 10.
23. *Puebla. III General Conference of the Latin American Catholic Bishops* (Bogotá, Colombia: CELAM, 1979), pars. 372-374, p. 118.
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26. John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* (Barcelona, España: Plaza & James, 1994), pp. 207-209.
27. "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: Guild Press, 1966), par. 2, p. 662.
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16

Mission, Missions and Missionaries in Latin America

William Taylor

So many of my thoughts on Latin America crystallized during that long predawn ride from Maracay to the Caracas airport. I had spent a packed week of ministry in the country, with the honor of staying with some dear national friends; and now I was returning to my family. The ride with Jorge and Roberto became a transforming moment as we came to grips with issues raised in this book: the history and reality of Latin America, both strengths and weaknesses; the Latin idiosyncracies; religious currents surging through the continent; the role of a minority evangelical church in an increasingly hostile secular and Catholic world; the mission of the churches of Christ in the Latin American context; the nature of evangelical contextualization and ministerial preparation; cross-cultural missions; and finally, the crucial role of the foreign missions and missionaries.

Jorge (the analytical teacher) and his colleague Roberto (the pastor), together with their wives, represented the essence and promise of evangelicals in Latin America. Both could have taken a secular vocation and made more money, but both were intensely committed to Christ, to his churches, to leadership training, to Christian literature, to theological reflection based on the Word and from Latin America. They symbolized hope; and I was proud to know them, to share with them, to learn from

them, to interact seriously with them, to be their friend, and to laugh, cry and pray together. It was a great ride to the airport, and as the dawn light conquered the night, I intuitively sensed that Jorge and Roberto also represented Christ's light overcoming Latin America's spiritual darkness.

A REVIEW OF THE TERRITORY WE HAVE COVERED

As I look back over the previous chapters, I congratulate readers for coming this far. We have traveled much and perhaps you are weary of details and statistics, of the overwhelming number of topics apparently important to Latin America. You now need to sift through the material, to evaluate and reason, seeking discernment of the Lord, looking toward some kinds of decisions you might need to make. But let us review the territory once more.

Our first major section of the book dealt with a number of themes. We attempted to survey the Latin American scenario; we delved into the history in search of understanding; we were hit in the face with the acute human crises of Latin America's population; we viewed the spiritual dimensions, marking the Latin openness to messages of hope and power; we risked a personal evaluation of the Latin American personality.

Then we moved to other issues, examples of evangelical contextualization from Latin America. We examined the different Christs of the continent; we spent a serious amount of time working through an understanding of Roman Catholicism in Latin America; we were exposed to the challenge of doing theology based on the Word and from the Latin context; and finally we evaluated the call for evangelical social responsibility and concluded with a study of the nature of the church's mission.

And now what? What is my responsibility as well as yours as we wrap up this book? Clearly we as authors want you the reader to conclude our time together with a solid understanding of what Latin america really is today, as a result of evaluating her history and culture. We want you to increase your sensitivity to the unique factors that make up this kaleidoscopic mosaic, this rich tapestry of Latin America. We want to promote in you a genuine love for the continent's culture and its people, a love that ultimately must come as part of the love of Christ.

But there is yet more. And I suggest that we conclude with some brief final observations on two critical topics: the nature of the church's mission in Latin America, and then the role of the foreign mission and its missionaries.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF LATIN AMERICA

I trust you were careful to sense the heartbeat of my friend and co-author as he developed his topics, particularly the mission of the church in Latin America. This concern probes directly into the heart of many issues that have provoked serious polemic for evangelicals in today's world.

The Issues

We are here speaking of the nature of the gospel and of the church and its biblical and contemporary mission. We cannot afford to ignore the cry of the people living on the underside of history. Nor can we capitulate to the demands of a purely political gospel of societal transformation. As I interact with and read the writings of key Latin American evangelicals, I see that they call for a biblical balance that takes into account the human socio-spiritual problems of people who do not live in a context of Anglo-Saxon prosperity. These committed men—Padilla, Escobar, Arana, Núñez, and others—are challenging us to reread Scripture with the insight and discernment that the Holy Spirit can give when there is also sensitivity to different histories and cultures.

The plea is to consider a complete and integrated gospel that deals with the fundamental spiritual alienation of humanity from God, an alienation that splinters all the relationships that humans sustain: those to God, to oneself, and to others. No serious Latin evangelical wants to dump the gospel and adopt mere humanistic reformation. But they do say that the social implications of the gospel are clear in Scripture and must be made clear today in the demands of the biblical gospel. Social responsibility must never become a substitute for the gospel, for there is no true gospel without the person and work of Jesus Christ. But at the same time, the gospel and social responsibility are intimately related. In some cases the social responsibility prepares the way for the gospel as Christian compassion is incarnated; in other cases it accompanies the gospel proclamation as a full partner; and in still other instances it is a product of the gospel.

We also are dealing with the issue of contextualization, that prickly and misunderstood task of churches around the world. If the Scripture is to have contemporary impact equal to that experienced by its first readers and hearers, then we must dedicate ourselves to the task of examining how this can take place within Latin American realities. As Latin ev-

angelicals commit themselves to contextualization, their task will call for godly humility and trust. Humility is imperative for all because nationalistic pride can destroy the best Christian minds. Trust is imperative because the Holy Spirit must be their guide. In particular, Anglo-Saxons must trust the Spirit to lead their Latin colleagues. The postulates, process, and products may threaten some, but ultimately the matter calls for trust and prayer.

In the providence of the Lord, he may call Latin churches and leaders to take routes uncommon to the countries of the northern hemisphere. Latin American evangelicals need to develop more bonds with their brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia who have experienced similar histories of colonization and underdevelopment. And we can praise God for the vast number of gifted Christian men and women in the Two-Thirds World who are very capable of sharing the work of contextualization. There will be different emphases than in the North. These will be based on gifts, vocations, objectives, and the particular historical context being lived out. Latin American church history must increasingly be written and proclaimed by Latins themselves. They are capable and willing, and members of the Body of Christ worldwide will be enriched as we listen to one another.

A Full-Orbed Thrust

The power of the gospel in its fullness must be proclaimed in Latin America. This means the utilization of all the vast resources of God's people on the continent. It means a clear understanding of the unadulterated essence of the life-saving gospel that brings eternal salvation. We may have to re-examine and probably restructure some of the made-to-order-market-tested-gospel-formulas. But the centrality of the life and ministry of Christ, his death and resurrection, must be the core of the proclamation and persuasion.

We must preach the powerful gospel, power that transforms lives, families, vocations, communities, and even nations when fully unleashed. We will be called upon to understand and practice spiritual warfare, to understand powerful encounters with demonic forces that operate openly in the occult and spiritist worlds as well as in socio-political arenas. We must call Latin Americans to repentance before the Lamb, and we must call them to an understanding of the implications of a commitment to Christ that goes beyond easy-believism and a shallow Christian life. Believers must be confronted with their responsibilities before the Lord not only to evangelize but also to live out the gospel and its full im-

plications in the social dimension.

The church in Latin America has generally been self-propagating, self-governing, and self-financing. Now the fourth "self" must come, self-theologizing. This includes doing theology in Latin America, preparing people for ministry through all forms of theological education (formal, nonformal, and even informal), modeling, mentoring, and writing. This task is not easy. Perhaps it will call for greater development of international and intercultural theological communities and fellowships where the richness of varied heritages and experiences are focused on self-theologizing. We must pray in particular for the individuals and groups dedicated to theological reflection based on the Word but who operate within the Latin world.

A WORD TO FOREIGN MISSION AGENCIES WORKING IN LATIN AMERICA

A very significant ceremony took place at COMIBAM in November 1987. The beginning of that historic congress was marked by a poignant ceremony of celebration—a time of thanksgiving for the foreign missionaries who left Europe and North America to bring the gospel and establish churches and institutions in Latin America. Latin Americans spoke in magnificent Spanish and Portuguese, thanking God for the legacy. Then a veteran North American former missionary to Latin America responded. God was praised, the thousands clapped with enthusiasm, and prayer was raised in thanksgiving, coupled with the realization of the enormous responsibility that lay upon Latin evangelicals. Speakers also frankly underscored the shortcomings of the foreign missionary during COMIBAM. I was one of those.

As I talk with Latin Christians, the vast majority are openly thankful to the expatriate missionaries and agencies that work in Latin America. In spite of the plethora of limitations and mistakes, there is appreciation. I frankly asked my Venezuelan friends Robert and Jorge: "What is the place of the foreign mission and missionary in Latin America today? Do you still want us?" There was quietness in the car as we sped toward the airport. Both of them pondered the question, an honest query that called for an honest answer. Then Jorge spoke: "Yes, there is a place today, but—" The "but" is crucial, for as we interacted with the topic both men spoke with heat and conviction of the benefits and then the unfortunate errors of Anglo-Saxon agencies and missionaries.

Let me focus on the missionary agencies for now. Patrick Johnstone

reports that there are about 11,544 foreign missionaries in Latin America today.[1] How many agencies only God knows, but the thirteenth edition of the *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas* lists the major ones.[2] My concern right now is not for the number of agencies or for increasing their number and size. I am more concerned about the leadership of the foreign agencies working in Latin America. I assume that these leaders operate with high Christian motives and that they are ultimately led by the love of Christ, albeit in some cases they are misguided. What can be done to stimulate more culturally sensitive foreign mission agencies? Here are a few lines of thought.

How many of these organizations have Latin representation on their boards? Precious few, if my sources are correct. There are all kinds of reasons given, but they do not hold water today. Too many agencies are built upon the North American transnational corporation model. Anglo boards make decisions based on executive leadership input. Discussions are obviously in English, a fact that probably cannot be obviated for now. But too many times decisions affecting the Latin American churches are made without an iota of Latin input. Is this the right way to do God's business? And the same is true for those missions that work in Africa, Asia, the South Pacific, and Europe. There must be national representation. To excuse this lack with "Well, there just are not any qualified Latins" or "It just costs too much money to have them travel to our meetings" is simply not right.

Secondly, agencies are challenged to take decision-making processes to their fields of service, where there is greater direct access to godly Latin American leaders. Perhaps we need to rethink our entire authority structure in light of the demands of international partnership in order for the agenda to be guided and informed by national thinking. Surely national input is needed for decisions that affect institutional budgets and construction, the placing of missionaries and their orientation, and the setting of goals and priorities. It requires a painful transition. Mistakes will be made once again during the transitional process, but the results will ultimately outweigh the problems.

Thirdly, foreign agencies with formal institutions must make sure that local national boards are developed to assume full responsibility for those ministries. There will in all probability be an ongoing financial and staff partnership with the agency, but ultimate authority must reside in the local board. Tragic mistakes have been made in the past in the entire nationalization process; and the evangelical camp has lost more than one institution in Latin America. But this should not deter the process of serious nationalization, including the ultimate ownership of the properties.

Fourth, a word to the newer ministries coming to Latin America in recent years, whether youth organizations, specialized groups, or the international television experts invading Latin America with a high-tech gospel, capitalism, and expensive methodology. Beware of what is being done with the vast amounts of personnel, time, funds, and equipment. Be sensitive to the local churches and leadership, which will generally withhold their evaluation and opinions until asked. Some groups should stay "home."

Completely stop buying off with money and the promise of prestige those gifted church leaders who are dedicated to local congregational ministries. Obviously the Lord can lead them to change their ministries, but this decision should be made without financial temptation. Some years ago while I taught at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Illinois, an international recruiter of a large North American agency spoke with me. He knew of my experience in Latin America and asked me for the names of Latins who could fill seven key positions in their work. I frankly told him that I did know of people, but that I was reluctant to give the names, for the above-stated reasons. This prompted a most interesting discussion on the place of money and ministry in Two-Thirds World recruitment.

Fifth, all foreign-based ministries must re-examine the challenges of partnership in mission in Latin America. Some agencies still sadly continue subsidizing pastor's salaries, thereby further promoting the dependence and paternalism. This practice should be terminated at the local-church level. Ministry and economic partnerships are still needed at the institutional and capital-investment end, guided by constant dialogue. Scholarship programs that will provide further training in Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe, or North America are greatly needed for gifted leaders. Theological institutions, literature ministries, development projects, and other strategic outreaches need foreign partners—personnel and finances.

The vast under-reached cities of Latin America require enormous creativity and investment in terms of evangelism and church planting. Here is fertile ground for experimenting with new partnership models. And as new agencies come to Latin America, there is also a challenge for these agencies themselves to work in cooperation with each other or with established national churches. Why duplicate efforts or multiply more church bodies than already exist? Here is an area calling for evangelical unity and sharing of both tasks and glory.

Finally, now is the time for missions agencies to initiate and hasten the serious process of organizational contextualization in Latin America.

Let us do it before tensions rise to the explosion stage. It can be done wisely, thus avoiding the charges of paternalism and neo-colonialism.

A WORD TO THE EXPATRIATE MISSIONARIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Some Initial Thoughts

Are you wanted in Latin America today? Yes, you are, but—and the "but" is of crucial importance, presenting a great challenge to the missionary. If you accept the challenge, the "but" will open doors of loving relationships and effective communication. In recent years and in preparation for this book I have asked scores of Latin American friends what they think about foreign missionaries—most of whom come from North America or Europe. I have asked my friends if they still need missionaries and, if so, what kind of missionary they want.

Significantly, the answers fall into clear patterns. They do want them to come, but they want them to live with the people, to learn from the people, to love the people, to serve the people, to understand their history, to appreciate their culture, to work alongside and perhaps under them as time develops. They do not speak—as expatriate missionaries tend to do—of "Working yourself out of a job." It is more, "Stay with us and work until the task is completed. Then move horizontally to another job."

My friends Roberto and Jorge affirmed that Venezuela did need missionaries, "but" they must be sensitive to culture, live outside the Anglo ghettos, curb their American lifestyle, renounce their paternalism, work as servants in dialogue with national colleagues, strive to contextualize their ministries, and be willing to relocate to areas of major need, such as under-reached Caracas.

The Fruit of Brainstorming Sessions

On different occasions I have asked Latin Americans to think through the advice they would give new missionaries to their countries. Here is their counsel, as well as the creativity of a number of former students of mine at the Central American Theological Seminary in Guatemala. I give them to you as they came, requiring you to evaluate each one on its relative importance and merit.

Suggestions for New Missionaries and Their Adaptation to Latin America

1. Remove from your head your great American ideas of how things should be done here.

2. Do not think you have come to work with uncivilized people.

3. Do not teach so much theory, but practice your teaching in your life. Show us how it works in real life as you model the truth.

4. Read about Latin America and my country. Find out who our best authors are.

5. Have more contact with the people, not only in the churches but in your social life.

6. Live at an adequate level, neither too high above us nor too low below us. Adapt your lifestyle to the people with whom you work.

7. Do not talk in English when there are people present who do not understand it. This is rude on your part, and we tend to suspect that you are talking about us.

8. Do not impose your American customs on us or belittle ours. Do not try to make us into little North Americans.

9. Do something to meet the social needs of our people, whether it be literacy, relief, or development projects.

10. Do not feel that you are superior to us. We can sense pride even in small amounts. You came to serve in humility, and it is best that you not compare cultures, trying to prove yours is better.

11. Show love to people as you do in your country, and then learn how we do it here.

12. Learn our language well: our sayings and proverbs, our youth slang if appropriate, our subjunctive, our regional and national accents.

13. Try to learn our language so well that you speak without a foreign accent.

14. Read about our continental and national heroes: Bolívar, Miranda, Juárez, San Martín, and others.

15. Be willing to accept our suggestions. That may hurt, but we want to help. You have to accept them with humility. Learn the meaning of Proverbs 27:6 and 17.

16. Watch the way you speak to us. We are very sensitive to the tone of voice and the choice of words. We are touchy people.

17. Be more diplomatic in your relationships with us. Do not greet us as you *gringos* greet each other. You seem too cold and distant. Ask about our families and our personal lives.

18. Learn to touch us appropriately. You people seem very cold in human relations. There is nothing like a great *abrazo.*

19. See yourself as a co-equal with us, neither higher nor lower.

20. Develop serious and deep friends from among us, people with whom you can be transparent and vulnerable. This will take time and is costly. But you can ask them about the intimate things, about ideas and other topics. This step is risky, for the closer you get to us the more unhappy you might make your missionary colleagues.

21. Love without talking about it. Just show it.

22. Show that you lovingly expect much from us without coming across as a paternalistic chief.

23. Make disciples among us, leaving a human and reproducible legacy when you leave.

24. Eat and like our food, not just Pizza Hut and McDonald's. We also like to know what you eat at home as a family.

25. Learn to dress like Latins, using our styles and fabrics.

26. Be more flexible in terms of time. Slow down! Why are you always in a hurry, looking at your watch? There is more to life than time.

27. Learn and appreciate our music and instruments, both folk and classical.

28. Drop the terms *pounds* and *miles,* and then learn to give weights and distances in kilos and kilometers.

29. Struggle honestly with our struggles: social, historical, cultural, church, and Christian life. Do not just give us capitalistic answers, and do not reduce societal problems to simplistic spiritual solutions.

30. Learn to read the Bible from our perspective and culture. You will have to work at this, but it is worth it. Note how much of the Bible was written to people who lived in violence, injustice, and political uncertainty.

31. Remember that we think differently from the way you do, and our problem-solving is different from yours. Learn how we do it.

32. Come and stay with us for a long time. Short terms are shortcuts many times.

33. At the same time, be bold enough to examine whether or not you should stay in Latin America as a missionary. Perhaps some of you should return home, particularly if you cannot adjust here, or do not know why you came, or are having serious family problems, or cannot work with us.

Two Farewells of Missionaries

I shall never forget two contrasting farewells given to two different North American missionary families in Latin America. In one of the cases I was driving through a certain Central American country and dropped in to visit a pastor friend. The church rang with chatter and laughter. "What's going on?" I asked. The pastor replied frankly, "Well, we are giving a farewell party to a missionary family that is returning to their country. But to be honest, most of us don't know when they came, what they did, and why they are leaving. But we are giving a party." What stunningly sober words. A ministry of nothingness, leaving behind nothing. Surely other facets could explain the case, and probably the missionary couple was about to return home in profound frustration and defeat. But unfortunately, cases such as this true one represent a current reality in Latin America.

The other case was radically different. At the farewell service one veteran Latin Christian took the microphone and spoke warmly. "This missionary family leaves us, for a time. But from them we have learned many things: how to love the Lord and His church; how to love our spouses and children, and I in particular have learned this from them, even how to love our own culture, for their home is decorated with our art and artifacts. We will miss them, but they have left a legacy of transformed lives. They leave, but live with us still."

Leave a Legacy

I learned this lesson from my own parents and their ministry in Latin America: Leave a legacy. When my wife and I first drove to Costa Rica for language study in 1968, I found my father's footprints all over the country. He had indelibly marked lives, from humble *campesinos* to future presidential candidates. On one occasion I spoke with a Costa Rican pastor, and as we shared experiences I asked him how he had come to the Lord. It had been through my father, and now he was pastoring the church where as a lad I had accepted Christ through my father's ministry! As I traveled throughout Central America the same story came out time after time—men and women in the ministry because a young missionary had led them to Christ or had encouraged them to serve the Lord and his church. On one occasion I spoke at the chapel service at John Brown University. To my amazement I met a young student from Costa Rica whose grandparents had come to Christ through my parents' ministry. The reverberations continue.

I grew up with a living model of a modern Barnabas, a man who in biblical days quietly worked to bring people to Christ. He apparently did not have the powerful personality of Paul, or his eloquence. But humanly speaking, without Barnabas the church would be poor. This unassuming man left behind a phenomenal legacy: the church at Antioch, the very apostle Paul himself, and the gospel writer John Mark.

Barnabas becomes a model for today's missionary to Latin America, and by extension this can be applied to mission agencies. Expatriate missionaries as well as Latin leaders could well learn from Barnabas. What is the legacy you wish to leave behind? Make sure you do your work in the power of the Spirit; with a spirit of true humility; with a gradual identification with and bonding to Latin America, recognizing that this takes time; with a genuine love for people. Invest in the process of reproducing disciples who at the same time are given the liberty to develop according to their own personalities.

I am impressed that Barnabas did not demonstrate paternalism. Nor did he cling to his position of power in Antioch or on the first missionary journey. He became a beautiful model for the foreign missionary by the way he passed the leadership to his assistant, Paul. In Acts 13 we see how from the references to "Barnabas and Saul" we shift to "Paul and Barnabas." What happened here? A friend has called this "The Great Renunciation"—that is, Barnabas renounced his position of leader and transferred the torch into the hands of his brilliant and gifted assistant, Paul. Barnabas thus becomes a paradigm for today's missionary: go out and work with a ministry, or start one; then develop other leaders to work with you and learn from you; keep the future in focus, and then begin the process of the total transfer of responsibility and authority; if necessary, move on to another ministry in God's kingdom.

Where Are Missionaries Needed Today in Latin America?

The question of where missions are needed today in Latin America is crucial to the role any expatriate missionary would play in that continent. At the conclusion to chapter 4, I mentioned a variety of areas where the Latin American churches need partners. Let me look at these areas again.

First, missionaries are needed to reach the unreached peoples of Latin America. These include those Indian populations with little or no gospel witness, some needing a Bible translation. Wycliffe Bible Translators report in the tenth edition of their *Ethnologue* that Latin American countries have 191 languages with definite and potential needs for Bible translation.[3] But let us also include among the unreached groups the economic and social elites; military offiers; Indian, labor, and peasant officials; media leaders; university professors; and national intellectuals. And surely there are others.

A second group to consider is that of the under-reached populations. Include here the megacities, with Caracas and Mexico City showing that evangelicals have not taken seriously the challenge to establish vital churches in all the neighborhoods of these cities. While some ministries labor among university students (with the IFES-related groups the strongest), the vast majority of strategic students are not being touched by a powerful witness to Jesus Christ. Such a witness requires an understanding of apologetics from the Latin-American and not the Anglo-Saxon perspective. This means coming to grips with the claims of socialism and Marxism, critiquing capitalism for its basic greed motive, and pointing people to the One who alone brings purpose in life and life everlasting.

Yet another group, unreached or under-reached, are those living on the absolute underside of history. They are the street kids, the prostitutes and pimps, the dump dwellers. They are the most obviously hopeless; and ministry to them cannot be at a distance. It requires unusual incarnational commitment that, frankly, few Christians possess.

A fourth area of ministry is that which clusters together relief and developmental projects. The priority must be on tasks that provide long-term incentives and personal participation. These can be specifically focused, such as basic sanitation or portable water projects, housing and resettlement programs. They can be geared to helping the little entrepreneur or small-project businessperson, such as Opportunity International (formerly IIDI), does. World Vision and World Relief have refocused their programs less on relief and more on preventive and developmental projects, and this is a good sign. Such ministries must be seen as just that, ministries. They may require graduate degrees in international development as well as profound cultural sensitivity.

Yet another need calls for partners in ministerial preparation, from the most popular level Bible institute or correspondence course all the way up to higher degrees in theological and missiological studies. As of today, no evangelical seminary in Latin America offers a doctorate in theology, but the plethora of programs operating are enough to daunt the researcher in this area. The continent requires a major commitment to the full utilization of all models of theological education, from extension (born in Guatemala in 1963) to residence programs (one of the largest and strongest is also in Guatemala), to anything else that works. Theological institutions must bravely accept Latin America's challenges from both the secular and spiritual courts. There is a desperate need for renewal and sharing of experiences and resources.

In the sixth place let me mention the specialized ministries that focus on leadership development, evangelism training and crusades, family and counseling programs, or other particular needs of the churches. Many times these missionaries serve as catalytic agents to bring about change, demonstrating new ministry models, publishing key literature, and stimulating the local churches to set new goals. One weakness of some of these ministries is that they run the risk of operating independently of the national church. They have international and creative leadership that purports to serve the churches, but not always is this the case. Some of them also have been accused of skimming off the cream of evangelical leadership for their own ministries. I see here a real need for initial and ongoing dialogue for such ministries. At the same time we thank God for these service teams, which have a strategic role to play.

A significantly growing target for creative ministry is that composed of immigrants from Asia. This includes the thousands of Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese, most of whom profess one of the traditional Oriental religions. Just in Central America there are some one hundred thousand Chinese, and in Peru about sixty thousad. Recent years have seen a large number of Middle East Arabs moving to Latin America, most of them Muslims. It will take new approaches to reach these peoples and establish vital churches that will minister to them adequately.

A final area I mention is the training of the new generation of Latin American cross-cultural missionaries. This requires a great deal of initial research and planning, avoiding the slavish copying of models that work in North America. The tendency will be to think that all we need to do is to add new courses or programs to existing theological institutions. This is inadequate. What is needed today is to study programs operating in Africa and Asia and then come up with new models for the Latin American realities. Veteran missionaries have much to share, particularly if they are sensitive and trained in linguistics, cultural studies, contextualization, and other missiological studies. Writers are urgently needed to create contextualized missions material.

Every expatriate missionary should keep in mind the legacy he or she wishes to leave in Latin America after the years invested in ministry. Ponder anew the life, ministry, and legacy of Barnabas.

What Kind of Preparation Does a New Missionary Need?

Clearly the kind of preparation a new missionary needs depends on the individual, personality and gifts,ministry goals, and the needs on the various fields of service. Many others have written on the preparation of missionaries, so I want to address a few items briefly. Missionaries tend to come with a checkered academic background. Today's Latin America needs people with as much formal training as possible. Whether it is a Bible college, a Christian liberal-arts school, a secular college, or a university, all candidates need further training in a number of areas. I am fully committed to the best pre-field preparation, particularly on the seminary level—if possible, one that will also offer cross-cultural studies and other missions courses.

Another area of study is specific to the Two-Thirds World, and in particular courses on international studies or on Latin American history, literature, culture, and contemporary issues. Perhaps the best place for such courses would be a university setting where one is challenged to see the world through secular eyes. I have never regretted for a moment all

my university courses on Spanish-American literature. They became a treasure to draw upon as I learned, spoke, and taught in the context of Latin America. Illustrations emerged from that body of literature that affected Latin American listeners much more than those that came from the Anglo-Saxon worlds. Obviously, formal study of Spanish or Portuguese will be most helpful.

The Latin American church needs more and more expatriate servants with practical experience both in sheer living that brings personal maturity as well as in ministry. The former rush to "get to the field right away" now must be tempered by experience in the Lord's work. Commit more of your initial ministry mistakes in your home country.

Finally, as you move toward actual service in this continent in crisis, make sure you select your mission team wisely. This is much more important than the geographic area in which you will work. In the course of your service to the Lord you may change locations, but you may continue with the same organization, your team. Be sure the mission is biblically solid and culturally sensitive to Latin America. Assure yourself that the mission strategy is wise and that it is focused on the local church and its broad ministries. It is important that contemporary mission agencies have a broad continuum of ministries: from evangelism to discipleship to church planting to leadership training.

A FINAL WORD TO OUR READERS

May God bless you as you ponder Latin America today, learning her history, appreciating her cultural heritage, and loving her peoples. Some of you have already invested part or all of a career in Latin America. You in particular can understand more of this book than the rest. Others of your kind will follow. Still others of you will not invest a career in Latin America, but you are keenly interested in understanding this continent in crisis. Perhaps you have friends or family in Latin America, and you desire to be a more informed friend supporter. To all of you, we wish God's blessing on you.

Yes, the old Quiche words for *crisis* come back; *xak quieb cubij päkawi'* ("Something I'm in and either way I go it's trouble, but that's just where we are"). What is the future of Latin America? Only God knows fully. Political, economic, and military systems attempt to bring peace, justice, liberty, and some kind of development and prosperity to a continent rich in natural and human resources. But these systems have a bankrupt core. The Christian yearns for the City of God, yet struggles to

proclaim the gospel in all its fullness and power on earth, desiring to be obedient to the biblical demands of citizenship. What are we left to do? Praise and worship the Lamb, Lord of the universe and Savior of the world. May the name of the true Christ come to be exalted and served in Latin America.

NOTES

1. Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World* (Bromley, Kent, England: STL Books, 1986), pp. 62-67.

2. Samuel Wilson and John Siewert, eds., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 13th ed. (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1986).

3. Barbara Grimes, ed., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 10th ed. (Dallas: Wycliffe Bible Translators, 1984), pp. xi-xiv.

Annotated Bibliography

A recent computer list of books on Latin America offered 3,296 titles for sale just in the English-language! We suggest the following as a solid library for the beginning or advanced Christian student of Latin American. Obviously we are selective, and probably reflect our presuppositions and preferences, but we trust all will profit from this brief recommendation.

History and Culture of Latin America

Arciniegas, Germán. *Latin America: A Cultural History*. Translated by Joan MacLean. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

A magnificent and insightful survey by a great Colombian. Unfortunately out of print, but can be acquired in libraries.

Armesto, Felipe Fernández. *Columbus*. Oxford University Press, 1991.

This superb Spanish author and Columbus scholar carefully uses primary and corroborated sources, placing the explorer in the context of his own world. Good chronology and maps.

Chang-Rodríguez, Eugenio. *Latinoamérica: su civilización y su cultura*. HarperCollinsPublishers, 1991.

Well-written portrayal of Latin America, with strong regional perspective, emphasizing the cultural perspective. Good section on Brazilian distinctives. This is a text to accompany Benjamin Keen's *A History of Latin America*.

Collier, Simon, Thomas E. Skidmore, Harold Blakemore, gen. eds. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

A comprehensive well-illustrated report of the entire continent plus the Caribbean. A brief four-page section on the Catholic Church in Latin America with scant reference to evangelicals.

Economist Country Profiles. The Economist Intelligence Unit (15 Regent Street, London, SW1Y, 4LR, United Kingdom) on a quarterly basis publishes its global research.

All 19 nations included in *Crisis and Hope in Latin America* are carefully covered in these profiles.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Translated by Cedric Belfrage. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Though dated, it is a well-written Marxist perspective of the continent, with heavy commitment to questioned dependency theories. Still in print.

Keen, Benjamin. *A History of Latin America*. 4th ed. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992

An excellent university text that in 630 pages covers all you might want to know about Latin America. Perhaps the most updated history. Strong regional and national sections. To be read in tandem with *Latinoamérica: su civilización y su cultura* by Eugenio Chang-Rodgríguez.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea—A Life of Christopher Columbus*. Little, Brown and Company, 1942.

The classic scholarly work which brought the author the Pulitzer prize, one of many books emphasized during the multiple 1992 commemorations.

Stuart, Gene S. and George E. Stuart. *Lost Kingdoms of the Maya*. National Geographic Society, 1993.

A splendid analysis and pictorial exposition of some of the most recent discoveries and interpretations of the complex, sophisticated and spiritually-oriented Maya.

Spiritual Dimensions of Latin America

Berg, Mike and Paul Pretiz. *The Gospel People*. MARC/LAM, 1992.

A very readable place to start for the lay reader wanting insights on the growth and faces of Latin American evangelicalism. Of particular interest is their five-wave sequence of evangelicalism in Latin America.

Christian History. "What Happened When Columbus and Christianity Collided in the Americas?" Issue 35 Vol. XI, No. 3).

Excellent articles related to the major theme, but ranging beyond the specific topics of Columbus and dealing with Christianity today in Latin America.

Cleary, Edward L. and Hannah Stewart-Gambino, eds. *Conflict and Competition: The Latin American Church in a Changing Environment*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.

Careful analysis of contemporary crossroads experience of the institutional Catholic Church. Just Cleary's chapter, "Evangelicals and Competition in Guatemala," is worth the book, reflecting growing balance of some Catholic and academic scholars in their treatment of the Latin American religious arena.

Cook, Guillermo, ed. *New Face of the Church in Latin America: Between Tradition and Change*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994.

A very profitable series of 21 essays moving across the ecclesiastical and thematic spectrum of the continent. The primary grid is that of Protestantism, the truly new face of the church in Latin America. Probably the most complete bibliography on the subject.

Deiros, Pablo Alberto, ed. *Historia del Cristianismo en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamerica, 1992.

For Spanish readers, a ground-breaking 847-page history of Latin Christianity written by one of Latin evangelicalism's most respected historians.

Dussell, Enrique. *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981.

A Catholic, liberationist perspective of the Roman Catholic Church and its historical impact in Latin America. Systematic research, scholarly, penetrating.

Dussell, Enrique, ed. *The Church in Latin America, 1492-1992*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992.

A wide-ranging series of essays with predominant focus on the Catholic Church. The first of three volumes focusing on the church in the Third World, giving a chronological and regional survey, followed by selected thematic presentations. Primarily a Catholic perspective. One challenging though minimalist chpater on Protestantism on the continent built primarily on a sociological model.

Escobar, Samuel. *Fe Evangélica y las Teologías de la Liberación*. El Paso: Casa Bautista de Publicaiones, 1987.

An excellent study, still relevant, by one of Latin America's leading evangelicals. Helpful appendices and Spanish bibliography

Goodpasture, H. McKennie. *Cross and Sword.* Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989.

A fascinating tour through 500 years of Latin religious history through the perspective of eye-witnesses of the church in Latin America, with anthologies of letters and other documentation from 1492 to the present. The author starts with Catholic sources and then interweaves Protestant ones as the centuries roll along.

Gutiérrez, Gustavo. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation.* rev. ed. Translated and edited by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988.

The classic work on liberation theology, now in current edition with a new important introduction. Study of this seminal book should be followed by reading his more recent pastoral writings.

Johnstone, Patrick. *Operation World.* Zondervan, 1993.

Excellent continental essay with extensive statistical data, as well as information on every Latin nation: general and religious status, with emphasis on task remaining for evangelicals.

MacKay, John A. *The Other Spanish Christ.* New York: MacMillan, 1932.

The unparalleled classic on some of the spiritual dimensions of Latin America. Long out of print, but can be located in some libraries.

Martin, David. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America.* Blackwell, 1991.

A most significant work by a British sociologist sympathetically documenting what secular and even Catholic scholars had wished to ignore. Now in a 1993, reasonably priced, paperback edition.

Núñez, Emilio Antonio. *Liberation Theology*. Translated by Paul E. Sywulka. Moody Press, 1985.

An outstanding work by a true scholar, unfortunately out of print, but still available in libraries. Written prior to the collapse of European/Russian ideological/political Marxism.

Stoll, David. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. University of California Press, 1990.

From an anthropological perspective Stoll analyzes evangelical growth in Latin America, correcting his own presuppositions by the data. Stoll and David Martin have impacted the academic and non-evangelical world with their books. Now in a 1991, reasonably priced, paperback edition.

Stoll, David and Virginia Barrard-Burnett, eds. *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*. Temple University Press, 1993.

The most recent example of growing balance in the reporting of Latin spiritual dimensions.

Compiled by William David Taylor
with the assistance of John Maust
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