The Role of Foreign Christian Organizations in Asia today (part 1)*

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ABSTRACT: The author discusses the role that Foreign Christian Organizations (FCOs) play in Asia. He begins with the global context of Christianity within which FCOs currently work. After reviewing history of FCOs in Asia, he examines the working relationships of national governments and FCOs, both in theory and in practice. He suggests, in the conclusion, that both parties must work harder to find the time and space for honest dialogue and mutual understanding. They should find ways to build enough trust in the relationship to withstand the stress of the distance that now stands between them.

While there are many social issues to consider as we chart a course through the waters of globalization, religion is certainly one of the most important. Indeed, Philip Jenkins writes that, "... it is precisely religious changes that are the most significant, and even the most revolutionary, in the contemporary world." In a world where information flows more and more freely, where the volume of international travel and the number of expatriates living outside their home countries increases geometrically each year, the religions of the world are setting up camp in all of our neighborhoods. According to the *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development* there are over one billion immigrants and expatriates worldwide and the number increases every year. Since the end of the cold war, religion has emerged in this context as, at times, a force for chaos and at others a force for national development and unity. Islam and Christianity, having the largest followings and the most aggressive agendas for global expansion, deserve our special attention. This article however will be limited to a discussion of the role that FCOs play in Asia. To begin this discussion it will be useful to set the global context of Christianity within which FCOs currently work.

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1. Christianity in the Global Context

Of the 6.6 billion people on our planet over two billion or about 34% of them are Christians. Of the more than two billion Christians in our world more than 350 million of these live in Asia. This number of course represents a very small percentage of the Asian population. Worldwide, Christians belong to more than 39,000 different Christian denominations and support 4,340 mission-sending organizations. These organizations send more than 440,000 Christian expatriates around the world in Christian service. Of these about 115,000 are expatriate Christians from the United States (the number one sending nation) but an increasing number of missionaries are sent from Africa (18,406), Asia (35,862), and Latin America (43,967).

In spite of the tradition of foreign Christian teaching and service in Asia extending back to Nestorian Christians in China beginning in 635 C.E., a very small percentage of Asians have become Christians. But since the end of World War II the number of Christians in Asia has been rapidly growing in China, South Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines. This growth is largely due to the efforts of local Asian Christians however and not FCOs themselves, even if these organizations have often played supporting roles. Meanwhile, the number of FCOs is significant and growing in the region of Asia. Though they share many key values and beliefs it is important to note that their methodologies are often very diverse.

Many national leaders have understandably mixed feelings about FCOs. On the one hand, FCOs often provide needed and quality social services. On the other hand, FCOs represent a foreign Christian entity that gives its ultimate allegiance to the God they believe in and not to local governments. This makes it difficult to understand the relationship FCOs have with local governments. From the beginning of Christian history this tension between the service Christians offer society and their refusal to give ultimate allegiance to earthly authorities has been there. Any person in authority would naturally find this situation unsettling since there is no guarantee that Christians will support national laws and policies. This raises the question of how Christians and by extension FCOs see the relationship between Church and State.

It is important for national leaders and FCOs to better understand this tension that is built into their relationship and that they learn to work with it creatively. Towards this end I will proceed by briefly reviewing the history of Christian organizations in Asia. Then I will discuss the various ways in which Christians have understood the relationship between Church and State in history. Finally, I will outline some lessons

that both national leaders and FCOs can take from this overview of Church-State relationships.

2. The History of Christian Organizations in Asia

The history of FCOs in Asia is a long one. Christianity originated in Palestine among poor Jews and spread to Greek converts to Judaism. By the end of the first century the faith had extended into the far reaches of the Roman Empire – north into Western Europe and south into North Africa. These early Christians also took their faith to India in the 2nd century (180 C.E.) and as mentioned above the Nestorian Christians brought it to China in the 7th Century (635 C.E.).

The close association that many make between western culture and Christian faith is a result of the great expansion of missionary activity from European Catholic nations into Asia beginning roughly in the 16th century. This was followed up by the western European and American Protestant missionary effort into Asia that began roughly in the early 18th century.

Catholic missionaries came on the coat-tails of the Portuguese and Spanish global expansion of power but Catholic missionaries from Italy, Ireland and France also played important roles. Catholics arrived in China in 1294, Japan in 1540, the Philippines in 1564, in India in the 1540s and mainland Southeast Asia in the early 17th century.⁵ In Korea the son of the Korean Ambassador to China (not a foreign missionary) brought home Catholic books and articles and created a self-study group of early Korean Catholics.⁶

German and Danish Pietist and Moravian (many of Celtic descent who lived in what is now the Czech Republic) missionaries were among the first Protestant missionaries. The Danish-Halle mission began in India in the early 18th century and Moravian work began shortly afterwards on St. Thomas island in 1732. British Protestants entered India in 1792. Later, Adoniram Judson, among the first American Protestant missionaries, landed in India before beginning his life long work in Burma in 1812. American missionaries went to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1816 and China in 1830. The work of Western mission organizations grew rapidly throughout the 19th century. They entered China in 1807, Thailand in 1828, the Philippines in 1899, Laos in 1902, Vietnam in 1911, and Cambodia in 1923.⁷ They were from America, Canada, Britain, Switzerland, Holland, Finland, Denmark and Germany. Again Korea was unique in that the first Protestant missionary there was a Japanese (not a westerner) Christian who arrived in 1883.⁸ By the end of the 19th century every Protestant country in the world had sent missionaries to other nations.⁹

These Catholic and Protestant missionaries did more than just seek converts to their religious faith. They started schools, hospitals, orphanages and homeless shelters that cared for the marginalized and forgotten members of society everywhere. The western educational system that has impacted the world so greatly was significantly shaped into much of its present day form by Christian organizations and taken around the world by Catholic and Protestant missionaries. ¹⁰ It is true that these schools were not always culturally sensitive and did not often take into account the rich tradition of learning in the countries in which they served. Nevertheless, the single greatest social contribution in history of the Christian Church is probably this educational tradition. In these schools people were exposed to a system of learning and investigation that over time laid an intellectual foundation for people to seek truth, freedom and liberty that critiqued cultural traditions and the authority of politics and religion. Graduates of schools using this educational system not surprisingly led many of the national independence movements that ended western colonialism.

FCOs both collaborated with and criticized colonial power, but on the whole their collaboration has been overstated. In this regard Ryan Dunch writes the following:

While particular exceptions can be found, generally speaking neither mission societies nor missionaries as individuals were directly influential with their home governments or their colonial representatives, nor were they directly linked to the traders and economic interests of their home countries. In fact, the interests of missions were often diametrically opposed to those of their compatriots in government or commerce, and the relationships on the ground between missionaries, consular/colonial officials, and traders were as often cool or antagonistic as warm or cooperative. ¹¹

It is a fact, however, that Christian missions at times opened the way for western political and commercial interests and at other times arrived on their coat-tails. ¹² At the same time it should be noted that Christians have often played key roles in selflessly serving these same societies. ¹³ On the whole I take the position of Lamin Sanneh who suggests that rather than discussing how Christianity discovered indigenous societies it is more interesting and significant to *consider how indigenous societies discovered and shaped Christianity*! ¹⁴ Let us not make the mistake of seeing converts to Christianity as passive and helpless victims. The reality is that most of local converts welcomed Christianity and then did the lion's share of work to further expand the faith within their own societies. In the process these new converts left their mark on Christian faith.

Christianity is a missionary religion but it is also a widely traveled one that is significantly marked by its 2000 years on the road.

This points to another tension within the Christian faith between the historical doctrines of the faith and the local cultures. Theologians refer to the process of dealing with this tension as "contextualization." Christianity has always been a contextualizing faith from the beginning and as a result its followers have translated their holy scriptures into thousands of languages while maintaining that each translation is the Word of God.¹⁵ Andrew Walls writes the following about this tension.

Translation involves the attempt to express the meaning of the source from the resources of, and within the working system of, the receptor language...In the process that language and its system is effectively expanded, put to new use; but the translated element from the source language has also, in a sense, been expanded by translation... ¹⁶

FCOs agree that local cultures must be respected and not unnecessarily changed even if they do not always get it right when it comes to contextualizing the Christian message within local cultures.

After World War II the world saw a marked increase in the number of FCOs working around the world to improve human health, education, human rights and community organization. They were motivated by their faith, which taught them to care for their neighbors, and because they felt these actions would express the love of God for the world. The environment of peace, the ease of travel and their increasing prosperity made their vision possible. Today there are thousands of Christian organizations some incorporated independently and some that belong to various church denominations. ¹⁷

In the last twenty years the single most significant trend among FCOs has been the growth of the Christian Church in the southern hemisphere and by extension the number of non-western FCOs and FCO personnel. Today western Europe can be described as largely post-Christian and, while a large percentage of the North American population still practice the Christian faith, spiritual vitality is low outside of first generation immigrant communities. Wealth and secularism have sterilized the Christian faith in the West. Today we see the emergence of FCOs from many non-western nations and a significant increase in non-western personnel working for western FCOs. Philip Jenkins suggests that the shift of the Christian Church into the Southern Hemisphere may be the most significant event in Church history since the Reformation. ¹⁸ It is estimated that by the year 2025 only 30% of the Christians in our world will live in Europe and North

America. In that year fully 70% of the Christian population will live in South America, Africa and Asia. 19

Today it would be naïve to talk about FCOs as if they were only a western initiative. Asian Christians themselves are doing a good deal of the FCO work in Asia. By some estimates more than half of the expatriate Christians in Christian service today come from the non-western world. This shift from the Northern Hemisphere to the Southern Hemisphere follows a long pattern in Christianity in which it reaches out from one place, takes root in new societies and then slowly dies away in the societies from which it extended itself. 1

3. Church and State in Christian Theology

Having very briefly considered the global context and historical development of FCOs I turn my attention now to the key tension between national governments and FCOs. This issue relates to how Christians have variously understood what their faith teaches them regarding their responsibilities to society at large and particularly the state.

For the first two centuries of its history the Christian Church lived as a minority group within the Roman Empire. These people were often persecuted for their allegiance to Jesus and his teachings. Because of this these Christians saw their relationship to the state and society as one of separation and opposition. They understood that they were to live according the ethic of the Kingdom of God until the return of Christ. This ethic called Christians to live on behalf of others or as we more commonly say, "to love your neighbor as yourself' (Matthew 12:31). This ethic seems simple enough and yet when applied it can mean that if you see your neighbor being oppressed or being dealt with unjustly, you are obligated to act. This has meant that Christians have confronted people who have misused their power to oppress others throughout Church history. ²² This has often led to the persecution of Christians. Christians were also persecuted in the early centuries because they placed allegiance to Jesus before allegiance to the Emperor of Rome.²³ But it is also true that governments throughout history have persecuted Christians because Christians have sometimes failed to engage society and explain themselves. Where Christianity has been in a minority role local churches have had the tendency to withdraw and create their own isolated communities, making them objects of suspicion and targets for state terror.

Most Christians in the first two hundred years refused to serve in the military and refused to toss a pinch of incense on the altars of Rome to demonstrate their allegiance to the imperial cult of Rome.²⁴ Eventually however they became known for their social

compassion. Eusebius wrote the following report of Christians who responded to the great plague during the reign of Maximius Daza.

Then did they show themselves to the heathen in the clearest light. For the Christians were the only people who amid such terrible ills showed their fellow-feeling and humanity in their actions. Day by day some would busy themselves with attending to the dead and burying them; others gathered in one spot all who were affected by hunger throughout the whole city, and gave bread to them all.²⁵

All States, including my own United States of America, ask their citizens to pledge allegiance to the nation, the King or to some political ideology. While Christians are taught by their faith to respect and obey the State they have never felt free to grant any State or system of thought their ultimate allegiance. I myself made the decision as a young Christian student never to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States even though almost all public school functions begin with this ritual. I stand respectfully as others recite the pledge. I pay my taxes every year. I do my best to be a positive contributor in American society. But I do not and will not give my allegiance to the United States because I understand myself to be first of all a citizen of the Kingdom of God. ²⁶ Christians are called by their faith to obey and respect the State (Romans 13:1) and be positive contributors to the welfare of the nations they live in (Jeremiah 29:6; Acts 9:36; 2 Peter 1:7). But they also feel an obligation to play the prophetic role of critic to the State and the societies they live in when either acts in a way contrary to the ethic of God's Kingdom (Isaiah 58). Of course, we are speaking in ideals. Christians themselves have often acted unjustly and have sought their own benefit over that of others. Fortunately, their own teachings have usually been turned back on them and they were eventually brought to account.

Early Christians saw a clear separation between Church and State. They lived in the Roman Empire but they did not feel allied to it. At the same time their faith moved them to contribute to the social context of the Roman Empire in positive ways. All this changed after the Emperor Constantine became a Christian and issued the freedom of religion edict of Milan in 313 C.E. The union of Church and State was further consolidated with the reign of Charlemagne and the emergence of the Holy Roman Empire (800 C.E.).

From the conversion of Constantine (early 4th century) until the Reformation (early 16th century) western Christians viewed Church and State as being two sides of the same coin. At different times in this era the State dominated the Church while at other times

the Church held sway over the State.²⁷ Secular power was seen to be subject to the teaching of the Church but of course the Church often compromised its teaching to accommodate State power. The State was understood to be an instrument of God guided by the teaching of the Church. This union however made it difficult for the Church to keep a critical distance, and it did not always act on behalf of what was just, fair or good for society.

The Protestant reformation birthed several new understandings of the relationship between Church and State. Lutheran Protestants described the relationship in terms of two Kingdoms – the invisible Kingdom of God that was invisible now and to be fully realized in the future, and the visible Kingdom of this world in which they lived. This dualism was the soil in which the idea of the separation of Church and State was to grow in the West. The Lutheran view that influenced western Christians created a worldview in which Christians saw themselves as living with dual allegiances to the religious and secular worlds. As a member of the Kingdom of God a Christian saw the evil of war and of worldly possessions. But as a person living in the Kingdom of this world a Christian had to be ready to defend the State even with violence and to enter into the push and pull of the market to earn a living and support the Church. Lutherans embraced the tension of being a citizen in both these worlds even when it created contradictory demands.

By contrast Calvinist Protestants believed the State's role was to create a civil order based on Christian principles that allowed the Christian faith to thrive. This was to be accomplished by appointing civil leaders who were leading Christians in the Church. The goal was the complete transformation of society. Christians were literally to be salt seasoning society with righteousness.

The Anabaptist Protestants offered a third solution. Their view was much closer to that of the early Christians. Jesus had said that Christians were to live in the world but not to be of the world. For the Anabaptists this meant that Christians were physically in the world but had to be spiritually and – to a large extent – socially removed from it. This led the Anabaptists to establish separate Christian communities that sought to live out the ethic of the Kingdom of God in newly established Anabaptist communities. Anabaptists understood the Bible to teach them to call people out of non-Christian, secular society into a separate Christian community where they were individually transformed and made members of a sanctified Christian fellowship. They had little hope of transforming the society at large. The Churches of this tradition are often called the peace churches because of their refusal to serve in the military or to use violence

against others. They saw themselves as a light on a hill calling out to the world to join them.

As we look at the FCOs working around the world today it is important to realize that they work with differing views of the relationship between Church and State/Society. In fact, many if not all of them have been influenced by several of the positions outlined above and may emphasize one model over another depending on the context. In addition to the Lutheran, Calvinist or Anabaptist models we should also keep in view the Catholic model. Catholic FCOs today use a model that is most similar to the Calvinist position. They seek to transform society through their Christian presence and activity as the Church on pilgrim in the world.²⁸ In the Catholic view however there is no division between secular and sacred. "The Church is called to be a sacrament of God's Reign, a visible embodiment of the type of community God is working to bring about."

Some FCOs work on the one hand to convert local people to a spiritual allegiance to Jesus and keep this work separate in their minds from the work they do in the—as they see it—secular world of community development. These FCOs are often accommodating towards local governments in terms of the social programs they carry out since the programs do not appear to have great consequence for Christian spiritual work. At the same time they often pursue their religious goals quietly and with little or no discussion with local governments. These FCOs have almost no interest in politics as long as they enjoy the right to share their religious ideas with others. In fact, they are generally very accommodating and respectful in relation to local governments.

The FCOs that share a more Calvinist view tend to see themselves as transformers of society and seek to bring justice, righteousness and prosperity to society over time. They tend to be as concerned (or more) with the structural change in society for justice, prosperity and peace as they are with the spiritual allegiance of the people in that society. They also tend to feel that strategically placed Christians in society are the key to social transformation, but they will settle for policies and structures that line up with their view of the Kingdom of God. These FCOs are politically strategic. They make use of the law and the structures and processes of governments in order to work with and through them to establish more justice and prosperous societies.

FCOs influenced by the Anabaptist model tend to want to establish Christian communities and direct their aid towards those communities. They are some times accused of being isolationists and of only helping and employing Christians. They are in some ways the most spiritually minded of the Protestant groups but also the most

reluctant to engage society. It isn't surprising that that very few churches that follow this model have established FCO work internationally.³⁰

Catholic FCOs today tend to work broadly with the community and the local Catholic Church. Because of their allegiance to the authority of Rome they too tend to be accused of working most closely with other Catholics but in fact they work with a broad spectrum of people. Catholic theology today allows Catholic FCOs an embracive style that seeks to the transformation of all the earth–nature, society, culture and religion–toward the Biblical vision of the Kingdom of God.

Traditionally, national churches in Asia meanwhile often used a more Early Church view of Church and Society. As minority populations these Christians have tended to feel that their influence in society was too small to make any difference. The result has been many isolated Christian communities that have had little social engagement. They have tended to see the Church as a sign of the truth of the gospel offering itself to others as an alternative community. Very often these communities have been so socially isolated that the larger society has not understood them and rumors of anti-social behavior have often circulated. Another result of this paradigm has been a very conservative theology that tended to equate contact with the world as contact with sin. It is tempting to speculate whether some of the persecution of Christian communities around the world has been due to the failure of Christian minority communities to show themselves as the generally loyal and productive members of society that they have been and are.

(to be continued)

Reference:

¹. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 1.

². Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, http://www.oecd.org/document/51/0,2340,en_2825_494553_34063091_1_1_1_1_1,00.html (accessed July 30, 2007).

³. "Global Table 5. Status of Global Mission, Presence and Activities, AD 1800 – 2025," http://www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/globalchristianity/resources.php (accessed June 4, 2007).

⁴. David Barrett, Todd M. Johnson and Peter E. Crossing, "Missiometrics 2007: Creating Your Own Analysis of Global Data" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 31 No. 1 (July 2007): 25-32.

⁵. J. Herbert Kane, A Concise History of the Christian Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions From Pentecost to the Present (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House), Pp. 57-64.

- ⁶. Andrew Kim, "History of Christianity in Korea: From Its Troubled Beginnings to Its Contemporary Success," *Korea Overseas Information Service*. http://www.kimsoft.com/1997/xhist.htm (accessed July 27, 2007).
- ⁷. Howard Culbertson, "Christian Mission History: Important Events, Locations, People and Movements in World Evangelism," http://home.snu.edu/~HCULBERT/line.htm (accessed July 27, 2007).
- ⁸. Andrew Kim, "History of Christianity in Korea: From Its Troubled Beginnings to Its Contemporary Success," *Korea Overseas Information Service*. http://www.kimsoft.com/1997/xhist.htm (accessed July 27, 2007).
- ⁹. J. Herbert Kane, A Concise History of the Christian Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions From Pentecost to the Present (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House), p.93.
- ¹⁰. See discussion of how this occurred in Kenneth Latourette's book, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Thousand years of Uncertainity 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D.* Vol. 2. (Zondervan Publishing House, 1970). Pp. 388ff. For a review how much education was shaped by the Church in the United States (which then influenced millions through its worldwide missionary efforts) see David L. Weddle's article, "Christians in Liberal Education" *Religious Education* 80, (Winter 1985), Pp.141-147.
- ¹¹. Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41, no. 3. (October 2002), Pp. 308.
- ¹². There are many places to read about the failings of the Christian Church around the world and I will not rehearse them again here. See Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* Volumes 1-6, (Zondervan Publishing House, 1970).
- ¹³. For example, consider G.A. Oddie's book, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms* (Columbia, Mo.: South Asia Books, 1978). For several decades the Catholic and Evangelical communities have been working to repeal abortion laws in the United States and the current work of the Christian organization Sojourners which is rallying Christians to end poverty and reform immigration laws in the United States. See Sojourner's website at http://www.sojo.net
- ¹⁴. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), p.22.
- ¹⁵. For a more thorough discussion of the impact of translation on Christian faith see Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989).
- ¹⁶ Andrew Walls, "The Translation Principle in Christian History," *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), p.28.
- ¹⁷. See Daniel Bergner, "The Call," for an excellent interview with a typical American missionary family working Kenya in *The New York Times Magazine* (January 29, 2006), Pp.40ff.
- ¹⁸. Philip Jenkins, "The Next Christianity," *The Atlantic Online* http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200210/jenkins (accessed July 30, 2007).
- ¹⁹. Bryant Myers, *Exploring World Mission: Context and Challenges* (World Vision International, 2003), p. 57.
- ²⁰ Jason Mandryk, "State of the Gospel," *Operation World* http://www.gmi.org/ow (accessed on July 27, 2007).
- ²¹. Andrew Walls, "Culture and Coherence in Christian History," *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 22.
- ²². I want to acknowledge that people of other religious faiths have also taken up the responsibility of seeking justice for their neighbors. See Article 9 of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the World's Religions" drafted by the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University as an alternative to the UN's "Universal Declaration on Human Rights." http://www.worldsreligionsafter911.com/pdf/UDHRWR.pdf (accessed August 13, 2007).
- ²³. Another reason that Christians were seen as suspicious elements was due to their inclusive nature. Robert Bank comments, "The novel feature of these [local church] groups was their basis in something other than the principle of *politeia* [the civil order] or *oikonomia* [the household kinship

- group]. They bound together people from different backgrounds on a different ground to that of geography and race, or natural and legal ties. Their principle of *koinonia* i.e. a voluntary sharing or partnership." *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980), p. 16.
- ²⁴. J. Herbert Kane, A Concise History of the Christian Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions From Pentecost to the Present (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House), p. 27.
- ²⁵. J. Herbert Kane, A Concise History of the Christian Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions From Pentecost to the Present (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House), p. 25.
- ²⁶. Of course most American Christians are in fact quite patriotic and have no problem at all with pledging allegiance to the flag of the United States of America. Also, this should not be understood to mean that I am anti-American. I am very glad to be a citizen of the USA where I can exercise the right to give my ultimate allegiance to Jesus over the State.
- ²⁷. For concise but excellent review of this era see Robert Gallagher's article "Church and Sate," *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, A. Scott Moreau ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), Pp.195-196.
- ²⁸. See Hans Kung's discussion on the Church as Pilgrim community in his book, *The Church* (Image Books, 1976), p. 176.
- ²⁹. Edward P. Deberri and James E. Hug, *Catholic Social Teachings* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), p. 25.
- ³⁰. Certain sections of historically Anabaptist churches have all but abandoned this model of Church and State in order to become more socially engaged. A good example is the Mennonite Central Committee.