

Understanding Richard Shaull's *Third Conversion*: Encountering Pentecostalism among the Poor

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For a short time I had the honor of working with the late M. Richard Shaull, the Henry Winters Luce Professor Emeritus of Ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary. He gladly agreed to be a part of my doctoral dissertation committee. Despite the fact that he was already facing the limitations imposed by the illness that would eventually take his life, the energy and alertness of his mind were impressive. After reading several texts that he wrote in the last years of his life, and comparing them with some of his earlier writings, I was convinced that by the time of his death Dr. Shaull's theological reflections were still fresh, and that he was still able to make a significant turn in his thinking in order to capture the new things that God is doing in these times. Shaull never allowed his theology to be crystallized into a final format. At the age of 82, he was still open to the future. He kept himself open to new transformations because he believed that God is always doing something new in the world. For him, theologians, like prophets, must be always open to the new irruptions of the Spirit of God into human life and history. God is always coming to us *from the future*.

In this essay, I want to point out the significance of three important *turns* in Shaull's life, each of which profoundly marked his thought and spirituality. In his latest writings Shaull referred to these turns as *conversions* or *spiritual transformations* that deepened his faith. These spiritual conversions, instead of signifying radical transformations of his convictions, were rather *transforming encounters* that reaffirmed and even radicalized Shaull's basic faith tenets and convictions. I will pay special attention to his encounter with Pentecostalism, a turn that he called "the third conversion"¹ This en-

¹He also uses this term as title for a short article written for *The Other Side* (Shaull 1997:32-34).

counter has often been overlooked in assessments of Shaull's theological legacy. In fact, he used the term *third conversion* to speak not only of the impact upon his *own* faith of his encounter with the poor Pentecostals in Rio's shantytowns—that is, its impact in terms of his own personal experience of spiritual transformation—but also as a term pointing to current *global* experiences of transformation taking place in worldwide Christianity. After referring to the Latin American base communities in the eighties as a “second Reformation” (Shaull 1984), in the second half of the 1990's Shaull became convinced the Christian movement was now undergoing a third conversion as it was beginning to incorporate the experiences of global Pentecostalism. For him, the encounter of older churches with Pentecostalism had the potential of presenting possible alternative futures to the Church as a whole.

I will focus upon these three experiences which Shaull interpreted as *conversions*. After briefly describing the two first conversions, I will discuss Shaull's *third conversion*, showing its significance for other Christians who, like Shaull, have undergone the *second conversion* by meeting the poor of the world.² Unlike many other analysts of the Pentecostal movement, who see it as a substitute for a liberationist movement that has failed to achieve its goals, Shaull saw the encounter with Pentecostalism as an opportunity to radicalize some of the claims of liberation theology, especially those concerning the privileged hermeneutical standpoint of the poor. Therefore, as I will show later, Shaull's ‘third conversion’ has its full meaning only for those who have first been affected by the ‘second conversion’.

SHAULL'S FIRST CONVERSION

Although Shaull never offered many details about what should be called *the first conversion*, it is logical to assume that Shaull was referring to his first encounter with God, as well as with the Protestant faith. As Reynaldo Ferreira Leão Neto (1995:104) affirms, Shaull never, throughout his life, ceased being a Protestant, in the full sense of the word. His life was profoundly marked from beginning to end by a strong belief in the sovereignty of a God who is

²Since Shaull did not offer a theological definition of conversion, I won't spend time elaborating any possible meaning for this word. I will use the term *conversion* here as simply meaning a profound spiritual transformation that one experiences as a result of their encounter with the Divine, which manifests God's Self in our human encounters with people and situations.

the only absolute, and who judges all other circumstances of life—religious, social, political, ecclesiastical, and ideological, for example—which become relative before this Absolute. Following what Paul Tillich named as the Protestant principle, Shaull believed that because God is sovereign, everything else should be submitted to critique and protest, including the Protestant church itself. It is possible, then, to understand all the experiences that contributed to the development of this Protestant aspect of Shaull's theology as constituents of his *first conversion*.

From the time of his youth, Shaull lived a religious life in which each experience and each encounter with new realities were understood as encounters with God. By reading Shaull's memoirs,³ one can clearly see that his autobiographical testimony attests to the fact that his faith was developed through several significant encounters. Shaull's encounter with his parents' Calvinism gave him the initial basis for the cultivation of a faith in the sovereignty of God, mentioned above. His own encounter with the Bible, in the beginning of his adolescence, produced in him a deep understanding of Jesus' radical call to discipleship — that is, Jesus' teachings which contrasted a life of love with a self-centered life characterized by greed and egoism. Shaull's encounter with some material deprivation in his childhood opened his eyes to the reality of poverty in the world, and challenged him to give his whole life in an attempt to transform the structures that create social injustice. His college encounter with the Brethren and the Mennonites taught him about the importance of conceiving the church as a community rather than as an institution. Also during these years, Shaull was also influenced by the study of sociology, which would help him later to deal with the economic, political and social structures of life.

At the age of 18, as a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, Shaull's Protestant faith was significantly transformed and deepened as he encountered three thinkers whose life and work would become profoundly influential to him, namely John Mackay—the President of the Seminary and a former missionary to Latin America— Emil Brunner, and Josef Hromadka. From Mackay, Shaull learned that his intellectual and spiritual journeys

³ The full text of Richard Shaull's memoirs is going to be published in Portuguese in November 2003 under the title *Surpreendido Pela Graça*, which means Surprised by God's Grace. (Shaull 2003) All the quotes and references to this text here come from the unpublished manuscript to which I had access. The page numbers used here, then, will not correspond to the published version. All translations from this manuscript are mine.

could not exist apart from each other. In his memoirs, Shaull (2003:21) affirms that every biblical and theological principle taught by John Mackay was corroborated by his personal faith and life experience. Mackay also helped him to understand that the nature of Christian faith is such that it inevitably leads to action.

His encounter with the already-famous Swiss theologian Emil Brunner enabled Shaull to re-elaborate the Reformed faith of his youth, rather than give it up, when faced with new intellectual challenges. Brunner helped him to find a balanced alternative between fundamentalism and liberalism. Furthermore, Brunner's theology reinforced Shaull's conviction that the supreme reality at the heart of the universe is the Grace of God, .i.e., God's presence and activity in the midst of human life and history. (Shaull 2003:19)

But no one was more influential to him during this time than Czech theologian Josef Hromadka. Hromadka's theology offered Shaull the tools he needed to understand the crisis of Western civilization as well as to engage, theologically, the emergent philosophical and social forces of the time. However, the most profound mark of Hromadka's influence upon Shaull can be seen in his understanding of the central place of eschatology in Biblical and theological thought. According to Shaull, Hromadka taught him that "we can better understand the struggles of life in the tension with 'what is going to be.' We can act more responsibly in the world when guided by a vision of the things that can most contribute to its future transformation." (Shaull 2003:20) This eschatological emphasis became one of the primary marks of Shaull's theology and thinking throughout his life. Because of this emphasis, some people referred to Shaull as "the prophet of the future." (Leão Neto 1995:106) Rubem Alves, one of Shaull's most famous pupils, wrote the following words, as he remembered Shaull soon after his death:

Prophets are not like clairvoyants who announce the future that is going to happen. Prophets are like poets, who picture the future that may happen. Prophets suggest a road. Richard Shaull spoke of futures that we had never dreamed of. He was able to see what no one else was seeing at that time. (Alves 2002:1) [translation is mine]

It is important to notice that towards the end of his life Shaull continued to see the Gospel of Jesus Christ as "the good news of tomorrow" (Shaull 1989:150). It was this feature of his theology that made it sound subversive and dangerous for many. As Alves affirms, Shaull challenged all of our certainties and prohibitions.

The centrality of eschatology in Shaull's thought was deepened even more by the theological language he later acquired as he interacted with Paul Lehmann, under whom he studied between 1950 and 1952. Shaull affirmed that Lehmann helped him understand that the neo-orthodox theology that he learned at seminary could become a powerful tool to analyze social changes that were happening — and to participate in these changes. “For him, the Bible offers a messianic vision of a world in transformation. Therefore, theology must be done vis-à-vis the coming of God's Kingdom” (Shaull 1985: 188). In an open letter written to Lehmann, Richard Shaull and Barbara Hall say:

Especially in the Brazilian context, but not only there, your eschatological perspective helped us to look for order and synthesis on the other side of change and confusion. It was possible for us to search without fear or defensiveness for opportunities to witness and contribute something positive in a highly uncertain situation, because we believe with you that God was taking us somewhere. We were able to accept risks, make mistakes, and above all sit loose in the chaotic state of things primarily because the eschatological dimension of faith was opened up to us by you. (Shaull & Hall 1972:88)

Thus, under Lehmann's influence, Shaull began to see the church as that *koinonia* in the world where Christ is being formed. Lehmann was able to show him that this *koinonia* is the main locus of the apostolic-prophetic witness as well as the creative reality of Christ's presence in the world. In his experience as a missionary in Colombia, and later in Brazil, Shaull often did not find this apostolic-prophetic witness in the *ecclesia*. So he began to look for other kinds of worldly *koinonias* where Christ was also being formed. He found them in the Brazilian students movement, in the labor movements, and in other social movements that he identified with “the church in the modern Diaspora” (Shaull 1964:3ff.).

THE SECOND CONVERSION

Shaull's “second conversion” was related to this awakening to the nature of the church as existing in what he called the modern Diaspora. In 1942, when he first arrived in Colombia, Shaull had his first dramatic encounter with extreme poverty and oppression. On his first night in Colombia, as he walked

to the hotel, he passed by numerous children sleeping on the streets who were using old newspapers to protect themselves from the cold of the night. Months later he realized that a young presbyter, who was one of his assistants in Barranquilla, was dying from tuberculosis because he had had to choose between buying food for his children or medication to cure his disease. This was a dramatic experience and began an encounter with poverty and deprivation that affected the rest of his life. By becoming fully immersed in the Latin American reality, Shaull could get a close-up view of the people's suffering — suffering which was the result of social injustice and exploitation. In his encounter with that reality his ears were open anew to the Scriptures' passionate cry for justice. Shaull referred to this encounter as a "second conversion," which he described as a "conversion to solidarity with the poor" (Shaull 1997:32). This conversion transformed his theology. It prompted him to pay special attention to this context of injustice and oppression in which he was now immersed, leading to a deepening and reinterpretation of some of the things he had learned in his prior encounters.

Although the time Shaull spent in Colombia was very significant, it was during his encounter with the Brazilian students in the 1950's that he was able to play the role not only of a prophet, but also of a theologian who would become influential to an entire generation of young Brazilian thinkers. During this period Shaull became the main organic intellectual of a Protestant movement of a progressive and ecumenical character, which was being formed among young university students and seminarians, primarily. This movement flourished until it was harshly suppressed in the early 1960's by both the military and by conservative elements within the Protestant churches. In these groups of students Shaull envisioned a new form for Christian communities operating along a new frontier—the frontier of social transformation. With his eyes turned to the future, Shaull understood that as the Christian Student Movement developed alternative *koinonias* in Brazil, it risked the possibility of becoming the "church of tomorrow" (Shaull 2003:146).

Despite the influence of this movement upon others that came later—including the base community movement and the development of liberation theology—some of its potentials and facets were never fully developed. Shaull and his pupils did not have the time nor the means, for instance, to fully develop a social ethic that could function as a Christian testimony in the midst of the struggle for social change. There were times of frustration, but Shaull was never discouraged. Believing that God was taking him some-

where, he expanded his field of action by creating interactions and developing new dialogues among diverse groups, such as the Brazilian intelligentsia, Marxist activists, and Dominican priests. His theology of social change, thus, was now being developed in dialogue with Christians and non-Christians, because of his early belief that Christians are called to follow God's actions in the frontiers of social change. (Shaul 2003:122ff.) His Reformed heritage, nevertheless, enabled him to be critical in his interaction with all these movements and ideologies. He emphasized the need for a constant dialogue between theology and political ideologies, but never desired a full integration between the two.

A good example of this position can be seen in the way Shaul used the term *revolution*, a key-word in his theology. Shaul used this word as a theological category—not an ideological one—understanding it in light of his eschatological emphasis as well as in the light of the radical transcendence of God, an emphasis which characterized his entire thought. By using the word 'revolution' within this theological framework, he found a common theme that facilitated the connection of the Christian faith to the historical situation that Christians were experiencing in the particular context of the struggle for structural transformation in Latin America. In this way Christians could get involved with secular movements struggling for social change, offering some contribution on their own terms, instead of passively accepting the original logic and orientation of Marxist ideologies and strategies. (Shaul, 2003:132ff) By conceiving of political involvement along these lines, Shaul affirms, "we did not have to lose our Christian identity, nor had we to accept their plans for action; we were rather forced to deepen our knowledge and develop a more critical perception of what we were doing" (2003:178).

In that effervescent period in Brazilian history, Shaul cleared the path that would be broadened and further developed by liberation theology. His contributions to Latin American theology can be perceived as daring anticipations of themes that would not become central to the agenda of the field of theology until many years later. Because of his constant emphasis on the eschatological burst of God's kingdom and action into our lives and history, Shaul viewed the nature of theology as being a "kind of dynamic thought in permanent process of re-creation, looking for a response to the God who comes to us from the future" (2003:193). This vision kept him open-minded throughout his life to the creative action of the Holy Spirit in human history. As the ecclesiastical structures seemed to not be able to move as

fast as was needed, Shaull started to affirm that the Church was in need of experiencing *resurrection*, and that would happen in the form of *Diaspora*. Pressed by the plots against him in the most conservative sectors of the Brazilian Presbyterian church, Shaull was forced to return to the U.S. in 1962. He took a position at Princeton Theological Seminary, and was prohibited by the new U.S.-backed right-wing military government in Brazil from returning to that country for twenty years. So, only in the 1980's did Shaull have his first encounter with the Latin American base communities, which had spread throughout the continent during the two previous decades. He understood those new communities that flourished out of liberation theology to be a new reformation taking place in the Church — as a new theology giving birth to a new church. (Shaull, 1984:119) Shaull described his encounter with these poor base communities as a *second conversion*. In a response to Latin American liberation theology he wrote:

I cannot escape the fact that the theology I am examining confronts *me* and calls *me* into question. Because of its message, I have been compelled to read the Bible in a new way and hear a word I had not heard before. My eyes have been opened to see new dimensions of the Gospel message about God's concern for the poor and Christ's proclamation of the advent of a kingdom in which the poor and marginal will have a new life and a special place. My relationship with God has been enriched and transformed, and I have been forced to hear a new call to obedience. (Shaull, 1989b:148)

On another occasion Shaull referred to the base communities as a new expression of the Protestant Reformation's motto, *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*. He further affirmed that his Calvinist heritage led him "to believe that the church, in order to be faithful to this calling, must always be open to renewal and willing to respond time and again, in new ways, to the guidance of the Holy Spirit in new historical situations" (Shaull 1991:201). Therefore, for Shaull, the church is being called over and over again to read the signs of the times. From his first encounter with the Latin American poor, in the 1940's and 1950's, to his encounter with the poor base communities in the 1980's, Shaull experienced a progressive conversion to the poor. He moved from a solidarity with the poor, in the 1940's, to a continuous struggle for social justice in the years that followed, to a realization regarding the hermeneutical privilege of the poor—which became mature in the 1970's and 1980's—that made him believe that the poor were the main theological

actors to whom the professional theologians should listen. With this background in mind one can better grasp his view of what he called "the third conversion."

SHAULL'S THIRD CONVERSION

While the emphases that characterize Shaull's first two 'conversions' are better known, the later experiences that coalesced in what he called the 'third conversion' have been largely ignored as if they were not so important for his thought. As one reads Shaull's writings from the mid-1990s to the time of his death, it becomes clear that one last encounter was very significant to him, his encounter with Pentecostalism. Whereas many scholars have seen the boom of Pentecostalism in Latin America as a response that replaces the emphases given by liberation theologians in the previous decades, Shaull, on the contrary, understands Pentecostalism as a complement or radicalization of an important tenet of liberation theology, namely the hermeneutical privilege of the poor.

In 1996 Shaull wrote an article in which he affirmed that liberation theology was alive and well in Latin America. On the other hand, he recognized that it was going through a process of renewal, which asked for more participation of those traditionally marginalized and excluded from theological elaborations. According to him, a new generation of liberation theologians in Latin America did not want simply to *be* with the poor and *do* theology *for* them. Instead, they wanted theology to rise *from* the poor themselves. Looking at this situation, Shaull noticed that new theological voices were arising in Latin America: the voices of women, peasants, indigenous peoples, and Pentecostals. (1996:48-50) His earlier experiences with the base communities in Central America had definitely convinced him of the hermeneutical advantage of the perspective of the poor, and now he wanted to carry this principle to its ultimate consequences. His encounter with the base communities were impressive to him because here he saw in those poor and almost illiterate people an amazing capacity to understand the depth of the Biblical message to an extent that he could not, despite all his theological formation. From that first experience with the base communities in the 1980's on, Shaull decided that it was indispensable for him to meet with these poor communities regularly so that he could really understand what God was doing and how God was trying to address him through these communities.

He expected that these encounters would deepen his faith and teach him the real meaning of Christ's discipleship. When he was not able to meet with the Latin American base communities, he attended prayer services in a poor black church in the United States. He expected to listen to God's voice in these encounters with the poor. (Shaull 1998:75)

Later on, when Shaull was invited by Waldo Cesar to do a two-year field research among Pentecostal churches in the shantytowns of Rio de Janeiro, instead of adopting the 'objective' approach of the typical participant observation method of the social sciences, Shaull approached these Pentecostal churches and people as someone who was convinced not only that that the Spirit of God was acting *among* them, but also wanted to address other Christians *through* them. Therefore, as he met with them, he felt that he was stepping onto holy ground, into a new frontier where God was doing something new.

That does not mean, however, that his approach was uncritical. He soon realized that the things he was seeing among these churches were part of a new expression of Christian faith that was significantly different from Christian faith as it had been defined by the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. However, "if developed in faithfulness to the biblical witness, this vision and experience of Christian faith...could offer a compelling response to the present crisis of civilization, especially to the vast numbers of poor and excluded people victimized by it" (Shaull 1998:71). Thus he challenged the so-called historical churches to engage the Pentecostal world in an open dialogue. The terms of that dialogue would be the same he used to determine the character of his earlier conversations with Marxism, during the 1950's and 1960's. In other words, there should be sufficient openness and humbleness to learn from the Pentecostals as well as to discern what God wanted to say to us non-Pentecostals through them. On the other hand, there should be enough critical reflection to allow for re-orientation and even protest, when necessary. Shaull continued to be a Protestant, despite all his encounters and conversions.

In his contacts with Brazilian Pentecostals, Shaull seemed to be enchanted by them. He realized that Pentecostals had managed to touch the lives of the poor in a deeper way than the base communities, because they spoke a language known by those living in that context, and offered them a sense of dignity that they had never experienced before. Instead of stressing a preferential option for the poor, Pentecostals often speak about rejecting poverty. In contrast with the more traditional churches, they are not so con-

cerned about the right doctrine, but focus instead upon a living and dynamic relationship with the Holy Spirit, which makes the power of God visible to them in daily lives. Shaull was aware that despite the almost fifty years of struggle against social injustice and poverty in Latin America, more and more people continued to be victimized by harsh living conditions, unemployment, homelessness, and lack of decent health care, security and even food. He understood that human suffering and social injustice have escalated in to such a degree that "our future may depend upon nothing less than the reconstruction of human life and community at the most basic level" (Shaull 1998:2). In the Pentecostal churches he visited in Rio de Janeiro, Shaull realized that the people who were most victimized by this erosion of human community have found a profound faith capable of awakening in them a hope for the future, as they experience God's power in their daily lives. Although they believe that the world is inhabited by demons which cause the evils that they face, these Pentecostals believe that they are safely protected by the hand of God. With this faith, they become able to create an oasis of peace amidst a reality full of violence. The faith in the living presence of the Holy Spirit has helped many of these victims of a social order that failed them to be able to reconstruct their lives and relationships. Despite the fact that Pentecostals in Latin America generally place a greater emphasis than mainstream Protestants upon the personal aspects of human life, many Pentecostals have, as a result of their immersion in the dimension of the Spirit, heard God's calling to become more involved in the struggle regarding social issues and solidarity. This observation on Shaull's part gave him the hope that the Pentecostal faith that he encountered in Rio's slums could become very significant in the struggle for social change.

When Shaull spoke of this *third conversion* he was not inviting all Christians to become Pentecostals. Instead, he invited them to open themselves to the riches of the Pentecostal churches in a way that would allow them to connect with the symbolic world of the poorer classes, which is impregnated with the sort of symbolism and expressions employed by the Pentecostals. If mainstream Christians were to do this, he believed, they would discover new ways of building solidarity and of deepening their own faith. (Shaull 1997:33) For him, then, the 'third conversion' was a natural outcome for those who had undergone the 'second conversion', i.e., for those who had become sensitive to the plight of the poor, as well as to the biblical cry for justice. The 'third conversion' only makes sense to those who believe in the value of sharing the life and suffering of the oppressed. Shaull understood that these people

were now being called to a more radical step, that of opening themselves to be transformed by the encounter with the symbolic world of the poor. Shaull felt that mainstream Protestantism was challenged to let itself be “surprised by discoveries of how the Holy Spirit works when an old order is breaking down and a new order has not yet emerged” (Shaull 1998:5). Shaull was convinced that in this Pentecostal-nonPentecostal encounter, the nonPentecostals could contribute new theological ways of framing the experience of empowerment by the Spirit lived out in these Pentecostal communities. The call for a ‘third conversion,’ then, is at heart an invitation to an encounter with the *other*. Shaull teaches us, like Emmanuel Levinas, that ethics and theology begins in a face-to-face encounter with the *other*. In the case of Shaull’s third conversion, the *other* whose face we mainline Protestants should face is the *Pentecostal other*.

CONCLUSION

In his life, Richard Shaull managed to combine a firm set of ethics and a sense of mission with an extraordinary capacity for letting himself be transformed by the diverse encounters he had with different realities and people. When one reads his writings one notices that ever since his youth he carefully nurtured his passion for justice, and his faith that God is alive and active in the world. Nevertheless, it is precisely the firmness of his belief in the dynamic presence of God—a presence always acting in new and surprising ways in the world—that prevented his theology from being frozen into a rigid, final form. As I have demonstrated, from beginning to end Shaull was always trying to discern the ways God is acting now, and what God is calling us to do today. It is in this context that one finds him speaking of ‘conversions’ as an analogy for the diverse transforming encounters that he had throughout his journey. In fact, if one reads his autobiographical writings, one will see that he used this analogy to describe several moments of his life. There was a conversion in the classroom at Princeton, another in his first encounter with poverty in Colombia, another conversion as he met the base communities in Central America, and finally a conversion as he interacted with the Pentecostals. Richard Shaull left us all, as part of his legacy, a challenge to nurture this capacity for allowing oneself be transformed, that is, allowing oneself to be *converted* by one’s constant encounters with a God that comes to us from the future, and is manifest in the faces, actions, prac-

tices and beliefs of those who live in the underside of history. Shaull's life and faith can give us a lesson in humility. Throughout his life he always engaged the *other* in a serious and active way, so that he could meet the *Totally Other* in his encounters with these different *others*. Shaull, however, never gave in to a simplistic adhesion to, or integration with, the *other*. On the contrary, because he respected the *other's* otherness, and the Divine presence in the *other*, he engaged all others with an open and critical mind, never passively.

Shaull's legacy should not be forgotten. His last challenge to the mainstream church was that they should not only *encounter* face-to-face the reality and the world of the oppressed, but that mainstream Christians should become open to *listen* to their testimony. Theology is challenged to be creative and re-creative, and to play its role as a force to transform and re-create our logics. Since he believed that God is, today, doing something new among the Pentecostals, Shaull called upon non-Pentecostals to let the Spirit speak to us through them. His last appeal to mainstream North-American Christianity should be heard in his own words:

If we take all this seriously, we cannot escape the fact that it calls for a radical change in our mission strategy: a decision first of all to enter into the world of the poor, to re-situate ourselves among the poor ... Now this doesn't just mean re-situating ourselves geographically among the poor, although that in itself would mean a formidable change of direction. To enter the world of the poor means to enter into their *religious* world, and allow ourselves to become broken by that experience and thus become wounded healers as Christ was... Our traditional churches are not going to take these steps toward solidarity with the poor. But there is one thing we can do and that is urgently needed. We can find ways of relating authentically to Christian communities, largely Pentecostal, who are living this relationship, if we are willing to become wounded to go through a process of *kenosis* which permits us to relate to them and engage in dialogue with them, on their terms not ours. That in itself is something we have hardly begun to do... And a second radical change is called for: not just to move toward the world of the poor but also *to be open to their witness to us*. (Shaull 2002:1)

This is the prophetic call for a third conversion, which comes to the church from someone who dared to remain a prophet to us to the very the end.

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